HANDBOOK OF
AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

By ROLAND B. DIXON, P. E. GODDARD, WILLIAM JONES AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, JOHN R. SWANTON, AND WILLIAM THALBITZER

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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 can not 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.

Franz Boas.

New York, February 26, 1910.
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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 occur 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 Indians 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-
istics—traits which are considered as characteristic of certain groups of mankind; while still others are based primarily on the study of the 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 this 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 division. The numerical preponderance of the European types has evidently led him to make finer distinctions in this race, which he divides into the xanthochroic and melanochroic races. It would 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 Friederich 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 contradic-
tions and lack of agreement as are actually found.

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

It seems desirable to consider the actual development of these
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 corre-
sponding change in physical type. This is true, for instance, among
the North American negroes, a people by descent largely African; in
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 that
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
prevalent language in various parts of the continent. It might be
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 many
times without corresponding changes in blood.

Recent investigations of the physical types of Europe have shown
with great clearness that the distribution of types has remained the
same for a long period. Without considering details, it may be said
that an Alpine type can easily be distinguished from a north-
European type on the one hand, and a south-European type on the
other. The Alpine type appears fairly uniform over a large territory,
no matter what language may be spoken and what national culture
may prevail in the particular district. The central-European French-
men, Germans, Italians, and Slavs are so nearly of the same type
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 with far-reaching modifications of language and culture, are found in other parts of the world. As an example may be mentioned the Veddah of Ceylon, a people fundamentally different in type from the neighboring Singhalese, 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 of the northern part of Japan, who are undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, Ainu in blood; and the Yukaghir of Siberia, who, while retaining to a great extent the old blood, have been assimilated in 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 Magyar 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 migrated from one part of this large area to another, where they intermingled 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-
vails. 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 a strong 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 type 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
the 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 as an r, sometimes as an 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 t 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 this 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 \( \hat{a} \) (\( aw \) 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 \( \ddot{u} \), which is connected with the \( a \) by a series passing through \( \ddot{o} \). 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-passages 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.

| Bilabial stop | ... ... ... ... ... p |
| Linguo-palatal stops: | |
| Apical (dental, alveolar, post-alveolar) | ... t |
| Cerebral (produced with the tip of the tongue turned backward) | ... t |
| Dorsal: | |
| Anterior palatal | ... k |
| Medial | ... k |
| Velar | ... q |
| Glottal (a stop produced with the vocal chords) | ... s |
| Nasal | ... N |

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 "surds."

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 Е; when it is more definite, A, I, O, U, etc. In other cases, where the release at the
closure is made without a full breath going out, and simply by com-
pressing 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 apos-
trophe ('). It seems likely that, where such a hiatus occurs fol-
lowing 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

¹ See P. W. Schmidt, Anthropos, II, 834.
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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Apical  
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Velar  
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Glottal  
Nasal

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Semi-vowels y, w. Breath, 'h. Hiatus'.

The vocalic tinge of consonants is expressed by superior vowels following them: a e i 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
sufficient 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, piqsirpoq, 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 seal; another one signifies the seal basking in the sun; a third one, a seal floating on a piece of ice; not to mention the many names for the seals of different ages and for male and female.

As an example of the manner in which terms that we express by independent words are grouped together under one concept, the Dakota language may be selected. The terms naxta'ka to kick, paxta'ka to bind in bundles, yaxta'ka to bite, i'e'a'xtaka to be near to, boxta'ka to pound, 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 must to a certain extent depend upon the chief interests of a people; and where it is necessary to distinguish a certain phenomenon in many 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 what 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 every 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 expression must be found in every language. This classification of ideas into groups, each of which is expressed by an independent phonetic group, makes it necessary that concepts which are not readily rendered by a 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 *amâlöt I give him to her* may be analyzed into the following elements: $a$ (tense), $n$ $1$, $i$ him, $a$ her, $l$ to, $ə$ (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 *mɪxʷə'ɡá̓s*, 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 *xa*, and the $s$ the fuller form *sə*, 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
that the preceding phonetic group loses its more permanent phonetic form whenever they appear added to it. To give an example: takuvoq means he sees; takulerpoq means he begins to see. In the second form the idea of seeing is contained in the element taku-, which by itself is incomplete. The following element, -ler, can never begin a sentence, and attains the significance of beginning only in connection with a preceding phonetic group, the terminal sound of which is to a certain extent determined by it. In its turn, it requires an ending, which expresses, in the example here selected, the third person singular, -poq; while the word expressing the idea of seeing requires the ending -voq for the same person. These also can not possibly begin a sentence, and their initial sounds, v and 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 knit 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. Watgajijanegale the flower breaks open consists of the formal elements wa-, -t-, and -g-, which are temporal, modal, and pronominal in character; the vowel -a-, which is the character of the stem -jija flower, which never occurs alone; and the stem -negale to break open, which also has no independent existence.

In all these cases the elements possess great clearness of significance, 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 particularly the case when nouns enter the verbal complex without any modification of their component elements. This is the case, for instance, in Pawnee: tā'tuk'ut I have cut it for thee, and riks arrow, combine into tātā'rikshk'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-t-ru*ⁿ combine into *ta'hu*ⁿ *i* make (because *tr* in a word changes to *h*); and *ta-t-riks-ru*ⁿ becomes *talikstu*ⁿ *i* make an arrow (because *r* after *s* changes to *t*). At the same time *riks* arrow occurs as an independent word.

If we follow the principle laid down in the preceding remarks, it will readily be seen that the same element may appear at one time as an independent noun, then again as a part of a word, the rest of which has all the characteristics before described, and which for 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 so vague and weak as compared to the other parts of the sentence that 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 Ponca texts by the Rev. James Owen Dorsey,¹ in which the same elements are often treated as independent particles, while in other cases they appear as subordinate parts of words. Thus we find *géama these* (p. 23, line 17), but *jábe amá the beaver* (p. 553, line 7).

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

Other examples of this kind are the modifying elements in Tsimshian, 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 these phonetic groups are considered as separate words, or whether they

¹Contributions to North American Ethnology, vi.
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 grammar
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 Uchee 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 Athapascan have no trace of a classification of nouns. The examples here given
show 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 that 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 the occurrence of tenses and modes. We are accustomed to verbal forms in which the tense is always expressed with perfect definiteness. In the sentence The man is sick we really express the idea, 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 relation. 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 of 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 Meinhold, 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. 53.
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 eatable, 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 would 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 congeners 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 Athapascan 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 Athapascan, 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:

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
  b & a & c \\
  b' & a' & c'
\end{array} \]

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 can not 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.

¹Paul, 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, under-
takes 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 gen-
eration 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 informa-
tion 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 condi-
tions, entirely beyond our reach. It is, however, quite possible for
the ethnographer to obtain a theoretical knowledge of native lan-
guages 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 naïve 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 ethno-
logical 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 forma-
tive expression, the contrast is striking. When we say The eye is the organ of sight, the Indian may not be able to form the expres-
sion 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 con-
ceived 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 fellow-
man, is not in the habit of discussing abstract ideas. His interests 
center around the occupations of his daily life; and where philo-
sophic 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, how-
ever, 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 reli-
gious activities may have been performed before the reason for per-
forming them had become a subject of thought, they attained at an
eyear 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 explana-
tions 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, what-
ever the history of their earlier development may have been, develop
at present in each individual and in the whole people entirely sub-con-
sciously, and nevertheless are most potent in the formation of our opin-
ions 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 advance-ment 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 four groups are: That in the first, sentences are expressed solely by the 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 in 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; -[g]aluar[pog] he does so—but; -ner[poq] do you think he—; -a, 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-igi-lo-d'ep-dâlet he began to put it down somewhere inside (t, he; yuk to begin; igi 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-petla-tsiwa I make mats (petla-il mat); or the Pawnee ta-t-t'ka'wit I dig dirt (ta- indic-
A more thorough knowledge of the structure of many American languages shows that the general designation of all these languages as polysynthetic and incorporating is not tenable. We have in America 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 languages treated here, the Chinook may be given as an example of lack 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 Athapaskan 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 elements. 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 themselves 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 denominating 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
closing the glottis and nares, or by closing the posterior part of the mouth with the base of the tongue. The release at the point of articulation lets out the small amount of strongly compressed air, and the subsequent opening of glottis and nares or base of tongue produces a break in the continuity of sound.

We find also with particular frequency the occurrence of a number of lingual stops corresponding more or less strictly to our $k$ sounds which, however, are more finely differentiated than our $k$ sounds. Thus the velar $k$, which is so characteristic of Semitic languages, occurs with great frequency in America. On the other hand, the labio-dental $f$ seems to be rather rare, and where a similar sound occurs it is often the bilabial sound.

The same may be said of the $r$, which on the whole is a rare sound in American languages, and the trill of which is almost always so weak that it merges into the $d, n, l$, or $y$, as the case may be.

On the whole, the system of consonants of American languages is well developed, particularly owing to the occurrence of the three stresses to which I referred before, instead of the two with which we are more familiar. In some groups of languages we have also a quite distinct set of stops accompanied by full breathing, which correspond to the English surds. Furthermore, a peculiar break, produced by closing the vocal chords, occurs quite commonly, not only in connection with sonants, but also following or preceding vowels or affricative consonants. This intonation is sometimes quite audible, and sometimes merely a break or hiatus in the continuity of pronunciation. Sometimes it seems related to the pronunciation of a voiced consonant in which the voicing is preceded by a closure of the vocal chords. In other cases it seems related to the production of the great stress of articulation to which I referred before. For instance, in a strong $t$ the tongue may be pressed so firmly against the palate that all the articulating organs, including the vocal chords, take part in the tension, and that the sudden expulsion of the air is accompanied also by a sudden relaxation of the vocal chords, so that for this reason the strong, exploded sound appears to be accompanied by an intonation of the vocal chords.

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

On the other hand, there are languages which are exceedingly deficient 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 can not 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 o 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\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 $wā'dekwō$. If, however, another vowel follows, the $u$ which is not articulated appears as a $w$, as in the form $wā'dekwu$.

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 $q$ distinctly, while the women always transform these sounds into $m$, $n$, $n̂$, and $n̂̂$. 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 $e$. In Pawnee, on the other hand, the combination $tr$ is always transformed into an $h$; $b$ following an $i$ is generally
changed into a $w$; $rp$ 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 infixing 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. Waiilaptuan (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 Chitimácha).
52. Chitimache (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 Athapascan, 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 Athapascan 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 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 Athapascan 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.

1The 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, 173–212. 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-Athapascan 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 Athapascan 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

---

\(^1\) Publications treating this division of the Athapascan 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 Athapascons 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

---

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.
2 The Morphology of the Hupa Language, idem, iii.
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 distinguished from that sound when the attention is directed toward its sonancy which begins in \( d \) at the moment of release. On first acquaintance with the language the sonant has been written as \( t \) by all who have attempted its notation. After more practice it may be distinguished 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 \( w ^ { l} \). There remain two sounds, one \( (k) \) that has the sonancy closely following the release, and one \( (k) \) accompanied 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 \( (s) \) 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>Sonant</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>Surd</td>
<td>( - )</td>
<td>( - )</td>
<td>( - )</td>
<td>( q, gy )</td>
<td>( d )</td>
<td>( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>( (s) )</td>
<td>( q )</td>
<td>( k, ky )</td>
<td>( t )</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

\[ \text{§2} \]

\[ 1 \text{Compare Hupa \textit{teitsewen} he carried, and \textit{menilce} you finished, with Kato \textit{teitseg} and \textit{benulke}.} \]
the open position maintained in breathing to the position required for
the vowel, and is written \( h \). It is rather stronger than English \( h \).
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 (\( x \)) im-
parts 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 vibra-
tion. 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 \( r \) in its place and manner of forma-
tion, 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 corre-
sponding sonant in Hupa. It does occur in Navaho; as, for example, in
the proper pronunciation of hogani 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 \( w \); but it is a surd, not a sonant.
When this sound is initial (\( hw \)), it appears to begin without rounding
of the lips, sounding much like English \( wh \) in who. When final (\( w \)),
the sound makes much less impression on the ear. It is to be distin-
guished from \( x \) by its lack of roughness, and from both \( x \) and \( h \) by the
rounding of the lips. It differs from a bilabial \( f \) in that it is accompa-
nied by a narrowing of the mouth-passage in the palatal position.\(^1\)
Another spirant (\( l \)) 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 \( l \), 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 affractivce \( L \) is formed. Both of
these sounds, but especially the latter, impress the ear of one unac-
customed to them as combinations of \( t \) or \( k \) and \( l \). The spirant \( s \) in
the alveolar position is frequent in Hupa, and does not differ espe-

\(^1\)This sound has for its equivalent in other dialects \( c \) (sh). Cf. Hupa hoga sun and hoge i, ne, with Kato ca and ci.
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, hw, w, 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 tcw. 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, tow, dj, L</td>
<td>ts, dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></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>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior Palatal</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ y, \, \bar{i}, \, \bar{i}, \, \bar{e}, \, e, \, a, \, \bar{u}, \, o, \, \bar{o}, \, \bar{u}, \, w \]
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 Athapascan dialects; $xw$ is due to the change of $\ddot{o}$ 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 $g$. 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

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1 The 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 $n$.

$tcūhwilikmneen$ he nearly caught me (for $tcūhwilkitneen$)

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

$yaikkimin$ they intended to catch (for $yaikkilmin$)

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

$yawin\tilde{e}n$ he picked up a stone (but $yawillai$ he picked up several stones)

$t$ before $l$ becomes $l$.

$niwilkililte$ it will be foggy (for $niwilkililte$)

$\tilde{n}$ before $t$ or $d$ becomes $n$.

$neiLin$ I am looking at it (but $neiLinte$ I am going to look at it)

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

$yawin\tilde{e}n$ he picked it up (but $yawimmas$ he rolled over)

(2) Progressive.

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

$tcūkqallit$ as he walked along (for $tcūkqalhit$)

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

$twawi\tilde{n}as$ he scraped bark off (but $weivas$ I scraped bark off)

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 ($\tilde{n}$) 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:

- tceilwäl he is always lying down
- tcuwseswal he remained lying down
- tcissilwaL he is lying down
- tcilloiš he tied it
- tcimmitic he is breaking it off
- tcinnesten he lay down
- tcittesyai he went
- tcuhqal 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 $\tilde{n}$. 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 $\tilde{n}$ elsewhere. A modification of the character of the sound, not in the place of its formation, is found in the case of $l$ and $L$. 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, $l$, $L$, and $\dot{L}$. The first ($l$) is found in forms expressing customary and negative future action; the second ($\dot{l}$) is employed with the forms of the present and imperative; and the third ($L$) 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
*â*, and of *e* to *ê*. The stronger vowels, *a* and *e*, occur with *n*; and *â* and *
ê*, the weaker ones, with *ñ*. The threefold consonant-change, *l, l*,
and *L*, has *e* before *L*, and *ê* before *l* and *L*. Other changes take place in
cases where there are now no final consonants. These are *ñ* to *ê*, *au* to
*a*, and *a* to *a*.1 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.

1The pairs *ñ, e, au, a*, are represented in Kato and other Eel river dialects by *c̃, ē*, and *ag, ā*.
§ 10. Denominator 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 -kyo and -ite. 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, monteltan 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 -tō, which means to insert or exsert an object into a tubular

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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,
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 wōtaε. Sometimes for their father hai yu wōtaε 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,

\[ \text{tce}ni\text{\textbar}ya'i \text{ he went out} \]
\[ \text{tce}nindeL \text{two went out} \]
\[ \text{te}y\text{yanindeL they went out} \]
\[ \text{tce}\text{tedeL one by one they went out} \]

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

\[ \text{yawin^an he picked up a stone} \]
\[ \text{yawillai he picked up stones} \]
\[ \text{yate^an he picked up a stone here and there} \]

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 _auwtinneen 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,

_teinni'nya_ he has just arrived
_teinni'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, _-e_ is suffixed. Things which are conjectured from circumstantial evidence, as the building of a fire from the remains of one, have _-xolan_ added to the verb:

_leyanillai_ they built a fire
_leyanillaxolan_ 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.

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Acts attempted, but not succeeded in, have xōw, 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 haided, and the adverb of place, dikhyūn, 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 yeū.

§ 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.  
   Lōmitta'xoi glades among people (the New River people)

2. -tau frequents. Used of plants or animals.  
   waslintau riffles he frequents (the crane)

3. -kyō large, an augmentative.  
   koskyō bulb large (Chlorogalum domeridanum, the soap-root)
4. -ite, -te small, the diminutive suffix.
   medilite canoe small (from medil canoe) 102.9
   djelote small storage-basket 158.13

5. -yainm small, young. Used of trees.
   niltakyain young black oaks (from niltak 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. -dini place.
   tsedia brush-place (a grave)

8. -ta' places.
   milla'kiinta its hands bases places (its wrists)

9. -kat on.
   miskat a landslide on (the name of a village)
   denokat 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, lumwvan snake river (an eel). If these compounds are introduced by a possessive prefix, the first noun qualifies the second: for example, kixxakkin its net pole.

(2) When the second of two nouns forming a compound has a possessive prefix, the first qualifies the second and is subordinate to it: for example, dinanmitcivin 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 yauhkal 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 missanmitcivin 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: muwalxwilvollen its children having (doe), miteljeedin 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:

naỳya it comes down (rain) 
nillìn it flows (a creek) 
nàndìl they come down (snow)

For the passive voice the following may be cited:

wiloiê it has been tied (a bundle) 
naxôwiloiê it is tied around him (a belt) 
lenâwilla they have been laid together (a fire) 
talkàiit 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:

nax-kekès-nadàwùl two its necks waving about (nax two: ke its; kès neck; waL to strike [a monster]) 
sa-zAxawù 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:

miLtcòLwùl with he chops (an axe) 
kiLnadil with them they travel (wolves)

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

nanatùâdìnì 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>kelisàn</td>
<td>kelisùn</td>
<td>virgin, maiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsûmmeslon</td>
<td>tsûmmeslon</td>
<td>a fully grown woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuxài</td>
<td>wuxài</td>
<td>a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hùittsoi</td>
<td>hùittsoi</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikkil</td>
<td>nikkil</td>
<td>your younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xòltistce</td>
<td>xòltistcei</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

§§ 23–25
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.

\[\text{millitde its smoke (from lit smoke)}\]
\[\text{nöliñke our pets (from lín a pet, a dog)}\]
\[\text{xōhwinne her song (from hwin, a song)}\]

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\(^{e}\) IN.
   \[\text{Lōhwànnme\(^{e}\) glade only in (a prominent hill)}\]
   \[\text{tseyeme\(^{e}\) in (under) a rock}\]

2. -diñ AT.
   \[\text{mìkkìndìñ its base at (the name of the place by the back of the house)}\]

3. -teñ TOWARD.
   \[\text{Lōhwànnkùttèñ glade only on toward}\]

4. -kai ALONG.
   \[\text{rottsełkài his forearm along}\]

5. -kùt ON.
   \[\text{Lōhwànnkùt glade only on}\]

§ 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, xōùtneen 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, mitLōwete 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, \textit{xana}sdiyade$^c$ \textit{if she comes back up} has, first an adverbial prefix \textit{xa}-, denoting that the motion is up the side of a hill; next is found the particle -\textit{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 -\textit{is}-, by the consonant it contains, shows that the act is thought of as progressive over the surface of the ground. The fact that \textit{s} following \textit{i} forms a syllable by itself, indicates that the act is thought of as performed by an adult Hupa, otherwise \textit{s} would have been joined to the preceding \textit{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 -\textit{di}-, of which \textit{d} seems to be the essential part, usually follows the iterative prefix -\textit{na}-, the two being equivalent, perhaps, to English \textit{back again}. The next syllable, -\textit{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 -\textit{deL}. Had the pace been more rapid, -\textit{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 -\textit{de}$^c$ 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
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.

   *ya*woii*ka* he was sitting 162.11 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b; § 54; *ya* to be in a position)
   *ya*woii*kan* he picked up a stone 342.1 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b; § 54; *kan* to transport several round things)
   *ya*woii*kas* he threw up 96.3 (definite, class II, conjugation 1 b; § 64; *kas* to throw)
   *ya*woii*ken* he carried it (*ken* to carry)

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

   *ya*na*kisdimmi*lei* 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)
   *ya*na*skil* 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.

- *yenavityai* he went into (a house) 98.15
- *yenawilmen* he made it swim into (a river from the ocean) 266.2
- *yeintúcime* you must step into (a canoe) 209.2 (*tal* to step)
- *yeteeilhus* he threw into (a basket) 288.7

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

- *wakinnillitzolun* 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.

- *wowaildu* he handed it to him 181.13 (*xó* him)
- *waímml* 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.

- *lenaislói* he tied together 210.5
- *lenanillai* he built a fire
- *lenanílden* 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.

- *menaisdiyai* he climbed (a tree) 103.12
- *menemen* he landed him (against the shore) 162.9
- *meítтан* he stuck to it 202.3
- *mowitzvaL* 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.

- *metisiyen* she stands in (the body of her husband) 195.11

9. *na*—(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.

- *náilits* it is running about 294.4 (*its* to run)
- *náwimme* he swam
- *náiiuyállu* I paint (my body) 247.12

¹The 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.

naíňwút it dropped down 115.14
nanawityai 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
nanúwilxút it was hung for a door 171.1

12. nò- 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.

nòyanindeL they sat down 280.5
nònaanwé you must put it down 210.7 (awo to handle round objects
noiniynanne 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.

xaísái she brought up 98.16
xawilái she dug it out 242.5
xawilgót he jumped out (of the smoke-hole) 329.13

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

réeíyôl he blows away 296.15
xénaalkís she pushed it away 185.3.

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

xotdáikas he threw down (from a tree) 138.8
xotdàñxen they floated down 216.5

16. xòte- 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.

xòteísyai he met him 105.14
xòteyàisdeL they met them 110.8.

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

sauñwéxan he put it into her mouth 278.10
sa’willái 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.  
*danīnsta* be seated (on a chair) 107.12  
*daunxus* 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.  
*denadeiñawmil* I put in the fire 247.9  
*dedúwimmeL* he threw into the fire 165.10

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

21. **dū-** signifies off, away from.  
*dūmínxuts* 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.  
*tanaístan* he took it out of the water 325.4  
*taweset\*a a mountain will project into the water 255.2  
*taidinnuñ* let us drink water 179.3

23. **ta-** (2) is used with verbs meaning to desert, to leave a place permanently.  
*tasyahrún* one ought to go away 215.8 (ya to go)

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

25. **tsiň-** means away from in expressions of fleeing.  
*tsintetesdildeL* we ran away 198.10

26. **tee-** 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).  
*teenamiz* throw them out (of the house) 301.13  
*teeniñ\*an he took out (from his quiver) 119.15  
*tečiñ\*at he jumped out (of ambush) 106.2  
*tečwilinduñ* where it flows out 175.10

27. **ke-** seems to refer to motion or position against or along a vertical surface.  
*keisyañ* he climbed up 137.17  
*kenanin\*a 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{wūn-} \((\text{\textit{wa} + n ?})\) 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{wūnna}sya he started to make 319.3
    \item \textit{wūnna}dite they will hunt 311.14
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{nayas}ōtelxe\$ they tracked him 170.3
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{xanetete} I am going to look for it 336.10
\end{itemize}

31. \textit{a-} is used to introduce verbs of \textit{saying}, \textit{thinking}, \textit{doing}, and \textit{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\'lence} you must do it 100.18
\end{itemize}

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

1. \textit{na-}, 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{menani}t\textit{twit} he pushed it back 163.1
    \item \textit{nana}t\textit{twi\textit{n}} he used to carry it back 237.8
    \item \textit{nanōdiya} let it come back 233.5
    \item \textit{anate}c\textit{illa}u he did it again 106.8
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{xaate}c\textit{illa}u he did the same thing 211.1
    \item \textit{xadiyate} it will do that 254.10
    \item \textit{xai\textit{l}le} do that 165.19
    \item \textit{xate}c\textit{ityau} 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 te-, 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\(^1\) 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.

\[\text{yetcilida} \text{ he is carrying a large object}\]
\[\text{yeyilida} \text{ he (not an adult Hupa) is carrying a large object}\]

§ 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.\(^2\) 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.

\[\text{naki\(\text{nyu}\)n} \text{ eat again (without mentioning what is to be eaten)} 153.9\]
\[\text{yaki\(\text{n}\)w\(\text{w}\)n} \text{ carry it} 105.18\]
\[\text{yek\(\text{y}\)u\(\text{w}\)vestce} \text{ 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 te-. 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 (te) which almost certainly corresponds to this is regularly used when the object has not been mentioned or is unknown.
2. \textit{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.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{natelōs} she dragged it back 190.1
\item \textit{te-tuvven} it grew 96.3
\item \textit{te-tivetcova} she buried in several places 192.12
\item \textit{te-tetedeL} they went out one by one 138.5
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{dewōdīwul} he threw him into the fire
\end{itemize}

4. \textit{ō-} a verbal prefix, the meaning of which has not been ascertained.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{dōtoōwilan} she will leave (\textit{dō} not; \textit{tē} deictic; \textit{ō-} first modal; \textit{-w-} second modal; \textit{lan} stem)
\end{itemize}

5. \textit{-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 \textit{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 \textit{i}. Its use marks the act or condition as customary or habitual, or at least as occurring more than once.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tevexauw} he is accustomed to catch with a net (\textit{tē} deictic; \textit{-e} customary; \textit{auw} stem)
\item \textit{tevexait} he is accustomed to buy (\textit{tē} deictic; \textit{ō-} first modal; \textit{-e} customary; \textit{-xait} to buy, customary tense)
\end{itemize}

6. In the same group stand all pronominal objects.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{te(ū)hurōw(i)lxul(i)lte} she will ask me for it (\textit{tē} deictic; \textit{wē} me; \textit{ō-} first modal; \textit{-w-} second modal; \textit{-x-} third modal; \textit{xul} to ask, definite tense; \textit{-l} continuously; \textit{-te} future; the letters in parentheses represent glides)
\item \textit{tanaixōsdōwe} it cut him all to pieces (\textit{ta-} adverbial prefix of unknown significance; \textit{na-} iterative; \textit{-i} deictic; \textit{-xō} him; \textit{-s-} second modal; \textit{dō} to cut; \textit{-ei} emphatic)
\end{itemize}

7. \textit{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
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 \( wiñyal \) come on and \( wiñxa \) 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: \( ya-, ye-, xa-, su-, du-, de-d-, du- \).

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 \( wiñyal \) (above) compare \( niñyai \) 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: \( wa-, te-, me-, na-\ (3), nö-, -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,

\[ wawín\añ \] he took a stone out of a hole (but \( waisyai \) he came up a hill)\(^1\)

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.

\(^1\)In one of the Eel river dialects the bringing home of a deer is narrated as follows: \( yìgíngin \) he started carrying; \( yítesgin \) he carried along; \( yíningin \) he arrived carrying. Here we have \( y \) (corresponding to Hupa \( w \)), \( s \), and \( n \) 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 \( w \) or \(-ūw\), 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, \( hwe\), 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 \(-ū\) or \(-iū\). 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 cannot unite with it. The sign seems to be dropped before \( l \) and \( l \) 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, \( niū\). In nearly all cases, in the second person plural \( ō\) is found as the vowel of the inflected syllable. This \( ō\) is strongly aspirated. The cases in which \( ō\) is not found seem to be due to contraction, which always results in an aspirated vowel. An \( ō\) of similar quality and with an aspiration occurs in the pronoun for the second person plural, \( nōhin\).

§ 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 adverbial 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 \( tcitte\) \( L\) he stepped along with \( tcitte\) \( L\) 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 *kewintan* it stuck fast (said of a bird alighting on pitch) and *kewitan* 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 *l* 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.
§ 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.

\[ \text{wilweL tsisdaux until night he stayed} \]
\[ \text{nai\textdoublespace}x\textdoublespace te he ran around (until morning)} \]

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.

\[ \text{teiwcaLwinte they always dance} \]

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.

\[ \text{awptinneen I used to do that} \]
\[ \text{wessilyöneen you used to like (him)} \]

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.

\[ \text{melùwte I am going to watch it} \]
\[ \text{dedùwillate he will put it into the fire} \]

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.

\[ \text{teisdyannette she may live to be old} \]

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

\[ \text{dùwilletel a party is coming to kill} \]
\[ \text{mînesgitterel it will be afraid 295.7} \]

§ 39
Certain suffixes are temporal, but also have a modal force.

6. -ei. In myths and tales the definite past occurs very frequently with an ending -ei, 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.

yawitennei 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.

yaxwilxail going along they track him
tćehte they will call (continually)
tćwittel he was bringing
kyuwinguiL you ate along

§ 41. Modal Suffixes

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

yairkimmin that they might catch it

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

ōltaine dry them
yeintūtne you must step in

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

dōneyahwūn I can not stay
tasyahwūn one ought to go away

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

yawunxütssillen he nearly flew

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

*dōtōwōndelentenewan* one can hardly look at

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

*adende* if he sings

*axōlade* if it happens

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

*teissewindede* if he kills

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

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

*neōwesgittse* I feel afraid

*adentsū* he heard it say

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

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

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

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

§ 43. **Conjunctual Suffixes**

A few suffixes are conjunctual. 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.  
\[yexōnānhit\] when they ran in  
\[toēinsithit\] when he woke up

21. **-mil.** This suffix has nearly or quite the same force as **-hit.**  
\[yītsīn ee Tâmil\] 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.  
\[kiŋyūntsit\] 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  
\[toōyūnilhe\] even if he eat it

24. **-ka. -äk.** These suffixes signify like, in the manner of.  
\[aŋenka\] the way they do  
\[nesedaiwik\] 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 i; 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 i, 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 -n̄, 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 -īn; the impotential, customary, and present indefinite and unexcepted forms of the imperative, in -ūw; and the third person imperative, in -e.

-wen, -wīn, -wīw, -we (3d imp.) to carry on the back
-ten, -tīn, -tīw, -te (1st and 3d imp.) to lie down

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

-len, -līn, -lū, -le to become, to be, to be transformed
-lau, -la, -lū, -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.

-sən, -sən̄, -səw to transport round objects
-an, -ān, -auw to run, to jump (with plural subject only)

§§ 46, 47
-yan, -yûŋ, -yauw to eat
-xan, -xûŋ, -xauw to move in a basket or other vessel any liquid or smally divided substance, to catch with a net
-tan, -tûŋ, tûw to handle or move a long object
-tan, -tûŋ, -tûw to split
-wen, -wûŋ, -we to kill
-ten, tûŋ, tûw to move or to carry in any way a person or animal
-teven, -tewûŋ, -tewe to make, to arrange, to grow, to become
-yai, -ya, -yauw to go, to come, to travel about (1st and 3d imp. in -ya)
-lai, -la, lûw to move or transfer a number of objects
-lai, -la, lûw to travel by canoe, to manage a canoe
-hwai, -hwa, hwauw to walk, to go, to come (imp. has -hwa)

The following have the definite tenses with -L, the customary impo-
tential with -l, and the present indefinite and imperative with -l: 1—
-waL, -wûl, -wuL to strike, to throw, to scatter
-weL, -wil, -wil relating to the passing of night
-meL, -mil, -mil to strike, to throw, to drop
-deL, -dîl, -dîl to go, to come, to travel (plural only)
-deL, -dîl, -dîl to strike
-taL, -tûl, -tûl to step, to kick, to do anything with the foot
-tseL, -tseL, -tseL to pound, as with a hammer or maul

§48. Roots with Two Forms

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

First Type, -an, -âûŋ

-yan, -yûŋ to live, to pass through life
-yan, -yûŋ to spy upon, to watch, to observe with suspicion
-wan, -wûŋ to sleep
-lan, -lûŋ to quit, to leave, to desist
-lan, -lûŋ to be born
-nan, -nûŋ to drink
-xan, -xûŋ to be sweet or pleasant to the taste
-tan, -tûŋ to eat (3d person singular only)
-tan, -tûŋ relating to any wax or waxlike substance
-tsan, -tsûŋ to find, to see
-tevan, -tevûŋ relating to the eating of a meal in company
-kan, -kûŋ 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, -iū

-en, -iū to look
-en, -iū to do, to act, to deport one’s self
-yen, -yiū to stand on one’s feet
-len, -līū to flow, to run (said of any liquid)
-men, -miū to fill up, to make full
-huēn, -huīū to melt
-sen, -siū to think, to know (1st and 2d persons only)
-den, -diū to travel in company
-den, -diū to be light, to blaze
-ten, -tīū to do, to perform an act
-tōuēn, -tōuīū to smell, to stink, to defecate
-tōuēn, -tōuīū to want food or sexual gratification, to desire

Third Type, -ai, -a

-ēai (impoten. and past), -ēa to be in position
-ēyai (impoten.), -yā to move about, to undertake
-ēwai (impoten.), -wā to go, to go about (3d person only)
-ēdai (impoten. and past def.), -dā to sit, to stay, to remain, to fish
-tōwai (impoten. and past def.), -tōwā to handle or move many small pieces, to dig, to bury, to paw the ground
-kāi (impoten. and cust.), -kā to get up from a reclining or sitting position

Fourth Type, -au, -a

-ēau, -ēa to sing
-ēyau, -yā to do, to follow a line of action, to be in a plight
-ēdau, -dā to melt away, to disappear
-ētāu, -tā to hover, to settle, to fly around

Fifth Type, -ū, -e

-ēlū, -ēle to make an attack, to form a war-party
-ēlū, -ēle to dive, to swim under water
-ēlū, -ēle to handle or to do anything with a semi-liquid, dough-like substance
-ēnū, -ēne to do, to happen, to behave in a certain way
-ēxū, -ēxe to finish, to track, to overtake
-ēdjeū, -ēdje to fly in a flock
-ēlū, -ēle to sing in a ceremony
-ētsū, -ētse to squirm, to writhe, to roll, to tumble
-ētōuīū, -ētōuē to cry, to weep

1Originally -ag-ā’, and -eg-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
-xait, -xai to buy
-teat, -tea to be sick, to become ill
-kait, -kai to cause to project, to push, to pole a canoe, to shoot, to fall forward from weakness (i. e., to starve)
-kyot, -kyō to flee, to run away
-tsut, -tsa to sit down

Seventh Type, -l, -l

-il, -il to swim, to dive (plural only)
-yōl, -yōl to blow with the breath
-wal, -wal to shake a stick, to dance
-lal, -lal to dream, to sleep
-nel, -nel to play
-nōl, -nōl to blaze
-hwal, -hwal to fish for with a hook, to catch with a hook
-hwil, -hwil to call by name, to name
-xal, -xal to dawn
-dil, -dil to ring, to give a metallic response to a blow
-tsel, -tset to be or to become warm
-kil, -kil to split with the hands
-qōl, -qōl to crawl, to creep

Eighth Type, -ts, -s

-mats, -mas to roll, to coil
-xuts, -xūs to pass through the air, to fly, to fall, to throw
-tats, -tas to cut a gash, to slit up, to cut open, to dress eels

Ninth type, -tc, -w

-ate, -auw to move in an undulating line
-qōtc, -qōw to throw, like a spear
-qūtc, qōw to run like a wolf

§ 49. Roots with One Form

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

-eL to have position (plural only)
-iuw to drop
-its to shoot an arrow
-its to wander about
-ūt to move flat flexible objects
-ya to stand on one's feet (plural only)
-ye to dance
-yeu to rest
-yeu to rub, to knead
-yits to entangle
-yö to like
-yöw to flow, to scatter
-yöt to chase, to bark after
-waw to talk, to make a noise (plural only)
-was to shave off
-wis to twist, to rotate
-wite to rock sidewise
-le to feel with the hands
-lel to carry more than one animal or child in the hands
-lel to bother
-lit to burn
-lite to urinate
-lik to relate, to tell something
-lois to tie, to wrap around
-lös to drag, to pull along
-luy to watch, to stand guard over
-lit 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
-müt 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)
-naw to hear
-hwe to dig
-xa to have position (said of water or a liquid)
-xut to hang
-xüt to tear down
-xüts to bite, to chew
-sit to wake
-dae to be poor in flesh
-dae to carry, to move (said of a person or animal)
-dai to bloom
-dik to peck
-dits to twist into a rope
-dö to cut, to slash
-dö to dodge, to draw back
-djin to mind, to be bothered by something
-te to look for, to search after
-te to carry around
-te to remain in a recumbent position
-tetc to lie down (plural only)
-tits to use a cane
-tōe referring to the movement or position of water
-tōt to drink
-tū to beg
-tūw to split
-tūk to count
-te to have some particular form, appearance, or nature
-tik 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
-tsai to be or to make dry
-tsas to swing a stick about, to whip
-tse to open or shut a sliding door
-tseg to stay, to live (plural only)
-tsis to be hanging
-tsis to find, to know
-tsit to know a person or some fact or legend
-tsit to fall, to sink
-tsit to soak acorn-meal
-tsit to pull out a knot
-tsit to wait
-tce to blow (said of the wind)
-toit to die
-tecît to strip off, to take bark from a tree
-tecwît to push, to pull off leaves, to shoot, to rub one’s self
-tecwog to sweep
-tecwuw to smell of
-git to be afraid of, to be frightened
-git to travel in company
-kas to throw
-ke to creak
-kis to put one’s hand on, to stab, to spear
-kit to catch with the hands, to take away
-kit to hang, to spread, to settle (said of fog)
-kit to feed, to give food to any one
-kûte to make the stroke or throw in playing shinny
-kyas to wear a dress
-kyas to perceive by any of the senses
-kyas to break, to cause to break
-kyoes to handle or to move anything that is flat and flexible
-qal to walk (3d person only)
-qōt to push a pointed instrument into a yielding mass, to stick, to poke
-qōt to dodge, to tumble, to flounder about helplessly
§ 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 tcittehtits 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:

-əan, -əun, -əuw round objects
-əut flat and flexible
-wen, -war, -wū fire
-lai, -la, -lūw several of any kind
-lel several children or animals
-lū, -Le dough
-xan, -xūn, -xauw liquid
-du a person or animal
-tan, -tūn, -tūw a long object
-tan, -tūn, -tūw person, animal, or animal product
-tan, tūn wax or waxlike
-tcwai the soil
-kyōs, 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
## Analysis of Verbal Forms

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- 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 216.18.
- They stand in water 310.4.
- He came out again 102.13.
- He used to come 306.7.
- He was walking along, he saw 185.13.
- 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 leave it 247.3.
- They left food 110.9.
- They took away 171.14.
- One could see 242.13.
- We will look at 216.8.
- 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 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 dōxolín, 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

**teexauw** HE IS CATCHING

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. <em>iũwxaun</em></td>
<td><em>itdeexauw</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. <em>inxaun</em></td>
<td><em>ō'xauw</em></td>
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<td>3. <em>teexauw</em></td>
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</table>

#### § 54. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1B

**yamas** HE IS ROLLING OVER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>yauxmas</em></td>
<td><em>yadimmas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>yαmmas</em></td>
<td><em>y἞'mas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>yamas</em></td>
<td><em>yayamas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yammas</em></td>
<td><em>yayamas</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CUSTOMARY</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>yauximas</em></td>
<td><em>yadimmas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>yαmmas</em></td>
<td><em>yداولmas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>yαmmas</em></td>
<td><em>yayαmmas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yαmmas</em></td>
<td><em>yayαmmas</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITE</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>yammas</em></td>
<td><em>yawdidimmas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>yawimmas</em></td>
<td><em>yawo'mas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>yawimmas</em></td>
<td><em>yawawimmas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yawimmas</em></td>
<td><em>yawawimmas</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 55. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1C

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

naiti he is charring

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. naiti</td>
<td>naviwiltit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nanlitt</td>
<td>naviwinitit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. navinitit</td>
<td>naviwininitit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naivinitit</td>
<td>naviwininitit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 56. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1D

kitiis he cuts open

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kyuvitius</td>
<td>kitiditius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kitius</td>
<td>kyiitius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kitiitius</td>
<td>yaikitius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yikitiitius</td>
<td>yaikitius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. kyotius</td>
<td>yakotius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yikyotius</td>
<td>yaikyotius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kekitius, etc.</td>
<td>kekitiditius, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kekitius</td>
<td>kekitiditius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kekitius</td>
<td>kekitiditius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kekitius</td>
<td>kekitiditius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yikekitius</td>
<td>yakekitius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 57. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1E

tiowai he is buying

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. oowai</td>
<td>oodexai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. oowai</td>
<td>oowai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. oowai</td>
<td>oowai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yowai</td>
<td>yowai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yowai</td>
<td>yowai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. oowmait</td>
<td>oildexait, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 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

§ 59. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2, WITH A CHANGED ROOT
tceniñya HE IS COMING OUT

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

§ 61. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3B
tcittetaL HE IS STEPPING ALONG
§ 62. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 4

\[ nə'ə \] HE HAS IT

|         | Singular                     | Plural                  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1. nəuə̞nə̞a</td>
<td>nəda'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. nənə̞nə̞a</td>
<td>nə'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. nə'ə̞a</td>
<td>nəya'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. nəia'ə̞a</td>
<td>nəyaia'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>3. nətəloə̞kə̞a</td>
<td>nəyatəloə̞kə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. nəyaə̞kə̞a</td>
<td>nəyaiaə̞kə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customary</td>
<td>1. nəiə̞nə̞kə̞a</td>
<td>nəiə̞təda'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. nənə̞kə̞a</td>
<td>nəo'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. nəya'ə̞a</td>
<td>nəyaia'ə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. nəyaia'ə̞a</td>
<td>nəyaiaia'ə̞a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

§ 63. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1A

\[ yəτcildə̞a̞ \] HE IS CARRYING IN A LARGE OBJECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1. yeiə̞wə̞də̞</td>
<td>yeidildə̞a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yeiə̞də̞</td>
<td>yeidlə̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeyalə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yeuyildə̞</td>
<td>yeuyildə̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>3. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yeuyildə̞</td>
<td>yeuyildə̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customary</td>
<td>1. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yeuyildə̞</td>
<td>yeuyildə̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>1. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yeτcildə̞</td>
<td>yeualə̞da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ ^1 \]It 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

**ya'ilivul** HE THREW INTO THE AIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Indefinite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ya'ilyivul</td>
<td>yadilivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yailivul</td>
<td>yailivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yailivul</td>
<td>yayailivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yailivul</td>
<td>yailivul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaitcolivul</td>
<td>yayaitcolivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaiolivul</td>
<td>yaiolivul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yaiuvul</td>
<td>yaidilivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yailivul</td>
<td>yaolivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yailivul</td>
<td>yayailivul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yailivul</td>
<td>yaiolivul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yaiwcaL</td>
<td>yavidiLivaL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yailwaL</td>
<td>yavoliwaL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaiwivaL</td>
<td>yayaivivaL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaiwivaL</td>
<td>yaiwivaL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 65. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 2

**melLxe** HE IS FINISHING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Indefinite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. muiLxe</td>
<td>medilLxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. miLxe</td>
<td>melLxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. meLxe</td>
<td>mayailLxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. miLxe</td>
<td>meyailLxe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. meitoLxe</td>
<td>meyaLxolxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. meyoLxe</td>
<td>meyayolxe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. metuLxu</td>
<td>meitdilxu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. meLxu</td>
<td>melxu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. meLxu</td>
<td>mayailxu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. meLxu</td>
<td>meyailxu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 66. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3A

The indefinite tenses do not differ from Conjugation 1.

naï̂sx̂ût HE IS TEARING DOWN

§ 67. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3B

tciissełwiin HE IS KILLING

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 4

naîltsûn HE IS FINDING
§ 69. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 1

**yadeqot** HE IS DODGING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yauwdeqot</td>
<td>yadukqot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yindeqot</td>
<td>ya‘deqot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yadeqot</td>
<td>yayadeqot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yadukqőt</td>
<td>yayadukqot</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yatcődeqőt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaodeqot</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yaínūrdeqőt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yaíndeqőt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yairqőt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaśtqőt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. yauwdeqőt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yandeqőt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yawitqőt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yatqőt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 70. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 2

**naniteau** HE IS BRINGING IT BACK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nauvde'auw</td>
<td>nanejde'auw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nandeqau</td>
<td>naye'eqau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naniteauu</td>
<td>nayainiteauu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nainiteauu</td>
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<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nanūde'auw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nainīteauu</td>
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</table>

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. nanejwde'auw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. naneindeqauu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naniteauu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naineiteauu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 71. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 3

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

naísdeqóts HE IS TUMBLING ABOUT

§ 72. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 1

naiiyéuw HE RESTS
§ 73. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 3

nadilin HE IS WATCHING FOR IT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nadūwin̂</td>
<td>naditdilin̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nadilin̂</td>
<td>nadol̂lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nadilin̂</td>
<td>nayadilin̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naidilin̂</td>
<td>nayaidilin̂</td>
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</table>

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nadol̂lin</td>
<td>nayadol̂lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naidol̂lin</td>
<td>nayaidol̂lin</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nadeiluwen</td>
<td>nadeitdilen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nadeilen</td>
<td>nadol̂len</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nadeilen</td>
<td>nayadeilen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naiđeilen</td>
<td>nayaideilen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nadūvesiin</td>
<td>nadūvesdilin̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nadūvesilin̂</td>
<td>nadūvesol̂lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nadūvesiin</td>
<td>nayadūvesiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. naidūvesiin</td>
<td>nayaidūvesiin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### § 74. OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

**yahwiLtuw** HE IS PICKING ME UP

#### Present Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject:</th>
<th>Second person singular (object)</th>
<th>Third person singular (object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>yànnihtáw</td>
<td>yaxótiláw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yahwiLtuw</td>
<td>yànnihtáw</td>
<td>yaxótiláw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yahwiLtuw</td>
<td>yànnihtáw</td>
<td>yaxótiláw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yahwiLtuw</td>
<td></td>
<td>yaxótiláw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>yaxótiláw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yahwiLtuw</td>
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<td>yaxótiláw</td>
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<tr>
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#### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject:</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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#### Customary

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#### Definite

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<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>yenncíltíí</td>
<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. yahwiLtíí</td>
<td>yenncíltíí</td>
<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yahwiLtíí</td>
<td>yenncíltíí</td>
<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. yahwiLtíí</td>
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<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>yenncíltíí</td>
<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
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<tr>
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<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
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<tr>
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<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
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<td>yazwiLtíí</td>
</tr>
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</table>
**OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION—Continued.**

*yah\text{-}w\text{-}ll\text{-}w* 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>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
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<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
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<tr>
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<td>yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}zo\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural ...</td>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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**Imperative**

<table>
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<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
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<td>3a. yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
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<td>yaya\text{-}zo\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}w</td>
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<td>yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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</table>

**Customary**

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Singular...</td>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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<td>———</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yun\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural ...</td>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}w</td>
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</tbody>
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**Definite**

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular...</td>
<td>1. ———</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}w\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}w\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
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<td>3. yun\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
<td>yun\text{-}no\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
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<td>3a. yai\text{-}yn\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
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<td>yaya\text{-}w\text{-}ll\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
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<td>2. yun\text{-}no\text{-}h\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
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<td>yaya\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}d\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}l\text{-}a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past definite has -l\text{-}ai for its root.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——10

§ 74
§ 75. PASSIVE VOICE

*yaxowiltin* 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.</td>
<td>dōxōliŋ yahweildittuw</td>
<td>dōxōliŋ yunnōhitlwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>yunneldittuw</td>
<td>yunnōhitlwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>yaxoildittuw</td>
<td>yaxoīhitlwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.</td>
<td>yulldittuw</td>
<td>yayatluw</td>
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<table>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3a.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.</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. *n*- used mostly of inherent qualities, such as dimensions.

   nūwnes I am tall  
   nūwhtel I am broad  
   nūwhevn I am good  
   nūwdaś I am heavy  
   nūwkyō I am large

2. *I*- used for the more accidental qualities, such as color, and condition of flesh.

   lūwhkai I am white  
   lūwsō I am fat  
   lūwhwcin I am dirty  
   lūwhwin I am large

§§ 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 dadinnes the longest
- hai dadititsit the shortest
- hai dadillůkkau the fattest
- hai dadikkyaō the largest, etc.

§ 78. Conjugation of Adjectives

**nitdas IT IS HEAVY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>nūrdas</em></td>
<td><em>nitditdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>nindas</em></td>
<td><em>nō'das</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tcindas</em></td>
<td><em>yaũndas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>nitdas</em></td>
<td><em>yanitdas</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>iũrdas</em></td>
<td><em>itditdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>indas</em></td>
<td><em>o'das</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>tcōdas</em></td>
<td><em>yačōdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>yōdas</em></td>
<td><em>yayōdas</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>eĩũrdas</em></td>
<td><em>eĩtditdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>eĩndas</em></td>
<td><em>eō'das</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>teĩtidas</em></td>
<td><em>yaĩtidas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>eĩtidas</em></td>
<td><em>yaẽtidas</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>wũrdas</em> (or <em>redas</em>)</td>
<td><em>witditdas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>windas</em></td>
<td><em>wo'das</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>teũwindas</em></td>
<td><em>yawindaš</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. <em>windas</em></td>
<td><em>yandas</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).
The pronoun for the first person singular is *hwe*, which serves for both subject and object. All other Athapaskan languages have a word phonetically related to this. In Tolowa the word is *ci*; in Carrier, *sō*; and in Navaho, *ci*. 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 *hwe* and *nehe*, longer forms (*hween* and *neheen*) often occur. These seem to be formed by the addition of the particle *eň*, which points to a person, contrasting him with another.

The second person singular is *niň*, 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 *xōn* occurs. This appears to be *xō-*, the incorporated and prefixed form, and *eň* 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, *hwe* and *niň* are represented by *hwe* 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 *xō* prefixed when an adult Hupa is referred to, but *m-* (receiving the same treatment as *hwe* 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 *a* 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, haided,* 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 *haidyō.* Still more remote is *yōu,* 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'tin all
- a'time all people
- a'tinwëante everything
- a'tinkëante every kind
- a'tindë every place
- xodaidehe anything
- dûnhwee nobody
- dûnhwëe somebody
- dîhwëe something
- dîhwëe nothing
- dûnLûnhwûn several people
- dûnLûnhwû 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 (mînLûn) means ENOUGH 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 laëitdikkîn, 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, -ni or -ne, meaning people. Compare laë and Lûwân, nax and nânîn, tak and takûn, dînk and dînkîn, and tcwû and tcwûlan, 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, yǐ-, which may after all be connected with the pronoun yǒ. The final elements are:

- núk south or up stream
- deŋ north or down stream
- dàk east or up a hill

-tsiŋ west or down a hill
-maŋ 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:

- diŋ and -teŋ (place)
- dāŋ and -diŋ (time)

- ka and -xō, -âx (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
-eŋ in
-êdin without, lacking
-an out of
-û under, near
-ye at the foot of
-winna around, encircling
-wûn toward or from
-lan with the help of
-laiŋ on top
-l with
-na after
-nat in the presence of

- nat around
- xa after
-wûts beside
-ti among
-tis over
-tâk between
-ka, -kai along
-teîn toward
-teînâ in front of
-ka, -kai after, following
-kya away from
-kut on

§ 86. Conjunctions

The conjunctions in Hupa seem to be made from demonstratives, or adverbs derived from demonstratives. They usually end with the syllable -ûn. For examples compare the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haiûn} & \\
\text{haiyã} & \quad \text{haiyãdîtûn} \\
\text{haiyãûn} & \quad \text{haiyadete} \\
\text{haiyamî} & \\
\text{haiyamîûn} & \text{and then}
\end{align*}
\]

§§ 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 adverbal 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
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 milimil or milmil in Hupa, and in related dialects bulbül. 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, kyuvindil it rang, the root of which, -dil, no doubt represents the sound of striking metals. Another verb closely resembling this is kyūwiṅket, 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, dil dūwenne (dil it sounded) is said of an arrow striking the sky; dil dūwenne (dol it sounded), of a ball of wood striking a wall of obsidian; and ka ka dūwenne (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 Me'dildiñ Poor Man

Me'dildiñ 1 dedin 2 teittelctwene 3 haiûn 4 kitêtêkin 5 nikkyao 6
Medildiñ poor he grew.

he had. And

And

And

And

At once

Large

spoon

takeimmil 8 haiûn 4

And

she used to

make soup.

mil 13 yaaqot 13

with

he used to

poke up,

that

one.

she used to

then

make soup.

And

Mil

15 yaauxauw 16 haiûn 4

then

he used to

dip it up.

And

Aïwe 17 xôwûn 18

away

from him

he cut a hole

through.

And,

"Let me dip

it," he thought.

Laaiûx 9 xô-xo 23 waniqôts 21
tcînenên 25 hai 26 xôkitêtêkin Laaiûx 9

And

in vain

it ran through.

He looked at

the

his spoon. At once

1 me'dildiñ: CAUSE; -diñ locative suffix, PLACE OF OR PLACE AT (§§ 21, 84).
2 dedin poor, not having possessions.
3 teî- sign of 3d per. sing. (§ 33); -te- prefix, distributive as regards time or place (§ 34); -l, 3d modal in verbs, mostly transitives (§ 37); -twene verbal root, TO MAKE, TO DO, TO GROW; class II, con. 3, 3d per. sing.
4 hai- probably the article; -âl termination common to temporal adverbs and conjunctions.
5 -âl- possessive prefix used of animals (§ 80); -l horn, the spoon was of horn.
6 dik- one of the prefixes of adjectives (§ 76); -kyo root of adjective large; compare to'êkkyuñ (note 125).
7 teî- l, see note 3; -an verbal root meaning to HAVE POSITION, hence the notion of possession.
8 -tw-, prefix employed of soup-making, drinking, probably connected with to WATER (§ 31); -ke- prefix, weak in form and of little force in meaning, it is connected with verbs requiring repeated motions for a single act (§ 34); -l sign of customary tense (§ 34); -nil 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 la-, 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 xô- possessive prefix of 3d per. sing. or pl., employed only of adult Hupa; see also note 5.
12 -mi- pronominal prefix of 3d per. sing. when adult Hupa are not meant; -l post-position with.
13 yaa- 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 ya-: -qôl a verbal root used of pushing something into a yielding mass; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.
14 hai- the article; -yo a demonstrative used of the more remote.
15 -mi- probably the same as in note 12, above; it is often used of time.
16 ya-, -a see note 13; -xawg 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 xô- pronominal prefix of 3d per.; -wâl post-position used of motion toward or away from, according to the context.
19 wa- prefix meaning through (§ 31); -kiu- 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning (§ 34); -niu- 2d modal of completed action (§ 36); -lats verbal root to cut; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.
20 hai- the article; -ya- with hai- it forms an adverb there; -l perhaps the post-position (see note 12).
21 ya- see note 13; -âl sign of 1st per. sing.; class II, con. 1, pres. indef., 1st per. sing.
22 te- deictic 3d per. sing.; -e- 3d modal indicating progressive action; -ne verbal root, TO THINK; irregular verb, past def., 3d per. sing.
23 xô- indicates that whatever was attempted failed; it is to be construed with yaauxauw (see note 16).
24 wa-, -niñ see note 19; -qôts verbal root.
25 te- deictic 3d per. sing.; -et- contraction of -niñwi -l of which -niñ- is a 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning and -et- has e, 2d modal of inceptive action, and l, 3d modal of transitive force; -en verbal root meaning to LOOK; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.
yoneyiduka back of the fire up.

mil from

xeekittseL he threw it away.

Laaiux at once

innaaidukkai he got up. At once

Laaiux

mitai outside

teeniinyai he went out.

haiin hai then

xotaa his father that

haiyo one

xolduwenne said of him.

yeu then

na teeniinyai

munkutnikkyao mukutnikkyao.

wun wood

xoiiyi then

way across

he has gone out.

Mukutnikkyao.

And about it his mind

naay studied

hai xoolitcdeenne that

taists he had said of him. 

Muhaxa

tecttiesyai after

Laaiun

After it

wood

xoolitellit with

xolnunillit him

yisxunhit then

xoldu adenne the next day in the morning he said, "Well

Wai with

min winyar me

hai daiditdint for it come along." The (explanation was there it always came out.

Then

mishitais the space in front of the house; muk is probably the possessive prefix; compare mitsitidsa (see note 31).

te- prefix meaning out of; yai verbal root to go, used only in singular; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

-te father, not used without a possessive prefix.

-xin indirect object 3d per. sing.; 
-xe verbal root to say, to sing, to make a noise; irreg. past def., 3a per. sing.

-yi adverb, probably from a demonstrative stem, employed of the most remote.

wakunlake; nikkya compare note 6. This is the name given to Trinity Summit, a mountain of 6,500 feet elevation east of Hupa valley.

waa post-position which does not have a pronominal prefix for 3d per. sing., except when an adult Hupa is referred to.

kyu heart of vitals, the organ of cognition.

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.

-a prefix found with verbs of thinking, saying, and doing.

tait- probably connected with ba- of talkyaga; 
-to brush, small shreubs.

mduk- pronominal prefix of which only m- is constant, the remainder of the syllable depending on the sound which follows; 
-xa post-position, after.

teit- deictic, 3d per. sing.; 
-tc- distributive prefix; 
-x- 2d modal of durative action; 
-yai to go; class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

-li verbal root to burn, in an intransitive sense only; class I, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

-mo- prefix indicating the coming to a stop or end; 
-nil- for 

-ni-, class I, con. 2, past def., 3a per. sing.

yiska- apparently a verb, of which 
-xi- deictic 3d per. sing. (not an adult Hupa); 
-xa- 2d modal, and 
-xa- the root; compare yiskaun day; 
-ki conjunctural suffix when.

-xa seems to terminate a discussion and attract attention to some proposition. It is also used to give assent to a proposition.

huy- pronominal prefix of 1st per. sing.; 
-a post-position meaning in the interest of, for the benefit of.

-ve- prefix found in a few presents where the inception of the act is in the mind of the speaker (compare § 28); 
-lih sign of 2d per. sing.; 
-y- verbal root to go; 
-z suffix indicating the continuation of the act over space; class I, con. 1, imp. 2d per. sing.

daaidittah, 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 mystery. The first syllable, dai- or daid-, is apparently the element which gives the indefiniteness to interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

-te- the prefix mentioned in teeniinyai (see note 30), but here it is used of coming out of the surronding forest into a glade; 
-aug verbal root connected with -at undulating movement, as of a herd.
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HAI YEAUI NAM, "You show them in.

HAI XOTIIN ATCTCITDENSE, 68 XI E HWA MII WINYAL XATEHE, 54 XOSOLWE, 52

the his brother the held, "Well me for it come along." "Well let it kill then, him

HAI DILHOD, 53 MII E, 54 NESKIIU NAX TAK ILTCU, 55 KIXAN, 56

the something. You it is first two three together stand

MITTCIK YELIANE, 58 HAIU TCTITSEDEL, 59 MUNKTITMUKKAO, 63 XASDEL, 69

between you must then they started. Munktitnikkayo they went up.

LOMATKUTEFIN, 61 TCEINDEL, 62 HAIYA MIKKYAQOTSE, 63 NALAUW, 64

Lomatkutefin they came on.

HAI LOKUT, 65 HAIU N XOTILITITDENSE, MI DUKKYUIN, 66 MINNA, 67

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

SINDAII, 68 WHE YEU KAI WUNNAIWedate, 69 HAIU YAIOLTEWEN, 79

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

XOKYATECIIN, 71 TELATE, 72 XOKUT DANAKINDIYAN, 73 HAIU TAK TECSELWEN, 74

From him they ran, on him they ran. Then three he killed.

68 ATCTCITDENSE the form used in speaking to children or non-Hupa adults. Compare xotiliditdence (see note 58), which is the form ordinarily employed in speaking to adults.

69 xa-probably the same as xa discussed in note 45; x- is unknown; -he is used of concessions and negations which are sweeping.

70 x- the object; -a- prefix found in this verb only; -a- regularly indicates 3d per. of imp.; -I- 3d modal; -ae verbal root to kill (this form of it occurs in pres. indef. and imp.), compare -wen in tceselwen (see note 71).

71 x- probably connected with the demonstrative stem de; -hov suffix often employed to give indefiniteness. This word is often used to avoid a word of ill omen.

72 -en is employed to point a contrast.

73 s- it has a reciprocal force; -tel post-position, toward.

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

75 -vit- pronominal prefix; -vit- post-position between.

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

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

78 xa- prefix up, here up a hillside; the deictic [TOL-, is not used after xa]; class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

79 L0 monosyllabic noun grass, leaf; -ma- probably border; -de- diminutive suffix; -KAT- upon; -leI- locative suffix toward.

80 Compare tceiyai (see note 30), the singular. This is the dual.

81 milk- possessive prefix; -lka- antlers; -qotte sharp, pointed (?).

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

83 L0- Grass; -ket on.

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

85 -min- pronominal prefix; -na post-position around, about.

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

87 -min- prefix used of pursuit or attempted action; -ae 2d modal of inceptive force; -e- sign of 1st per. sing., found only in the definite tenses; -da- verbal root to sit; -e- suffix used to express the future.

88 yai- sign of plural, employed of animals, etc. (for adult Hupa -ya- is used); -se- object; -se- verbal root to smell, it has L preceding it when the verb is intransitive, but does not have it when it is intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.

89 x- pronominal prefix; -yai- post-position away from; -leI- locative suffix.

90 x-e 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.

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

92 (tce- sign of 3d per., a variant for tce- and tce- found in teiselwen, teiselwen (below); -se-, -se- is the prefix mentioned in note 68; -se- 2d modal, is dropped before L3d modal; -wen verbal root to kill; class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.)
mikkyagōttse haiûn Lenaiyanillai 75 haiya xökût yalweL 76 haiûn
elks. Then they built a fire. There on them it became Then
xôtîn axōltceitdenne dikkûn teîn 77 doû dôxôwil 78 xa-e naidîl. 79
his brother he said to him, "Here they say it is no one spends Come let us go
menesgit 80 hai dikkûn nehelweLte 81 haiûn dûntûnhwûdîn 82
I am afraid." "The here we will spend the night." Then several times
axōltceitdenne yûðînhit 83 xôtîn teâwîntewû 84 axōltceinne 85 mil
he said it to him. Finally on his account he cried. He kept telling him with
naïidîl haiûn kût wilweL xôtesdûhyen 86 haiûn kittewestee 87
"Let us Then already it was night. It grew dark. Then the wind blew.
Finally he said to him, "Well, firewood gather. Already you have decided,
hwelweLte 90 haiûn kût leyakilla 91 Lenayanillai xôhwôw 92
'I will spend Then already they gathered it. They built a fire. Some way
akÎtuwenne 93 xôwinît 94 haiyahitdjit haiyô adenne xa-e naidîl dau 95
it sounded. It thunders. And then that one said, "Well, let us go "No," home."
handbook

and immediately it lit. Then again it sounded still closer. And then for him his mind was sorry. He said to him, "Two the first between you must run in.

hai ñuñ kiye anakitdenne 99 xódjóx 100 xündin haiyahidjit xówuñ between he it

That one lit. Immediately it began to eat hai mikiyqaótse laaíux vinnelyan 107 haiyó nóltoñ laaíux yiykúwiñyán 106

Then in vain at it he shot. Finally all the clks. Really it ate them up. And then at once in vain

xaiñeñ 108 yixóltsan 109 xókúttein yaltóñ laaíux hai neskin

it embraced. On them it jumped. Really the first

minnaiktdelai 110 haiñuñ xoñ uúkkút danadúwíñal 111 yúidiñhit a'tin

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

Note the omission of the prefix a- when the object stands directly before a verb of saying or thinking.

97 añ- the form a- takes when followed by nì-: nìl- indirect object of 2d per. sing. Compare -añL- in anakitdenne (below). These indirect objects are really adverbial phrases containing a post-position rendered in full by you.

98 dò- negative prefix; -auk- pronominal prefix; -kòi- post-position after; -na- prefix over the surface of the ground; -s- 2d modal; -ñá- sign of 2d per. sing.; -a- verbal root to have in one's possession. The literal meaning of this phrase is said to be, you did not carry after it in your hand.

99 -na- iterative prefix. Compare akitdenne (see note 93), employed of the first occurrence.

100 xó- probably for xo'tc right, exact, tc having become dj because of their change from final to initial position.

101 xó- possessive prefix; -dje mind.

102 -dje verbal root to waste away.

103 -ó- prefix denoting a position of rest on the surface of the ground; -nìñ- 2d modal required by -ñó-; -xóts verbal root to pass through the air.

104 -yín- verbal root to jump, to alight. As usual with Hupa verbs, the root defines the kind of act without reference to the fact of its beginning or ending, which is expressed by prefixes. Class IV con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

105 -ó- prefix of unknown meaning; -an verbal root to run, used of dual and plural only; compare yeílíñan (p. 155); class I, con. I, past def., 3d per. dual.

106 yi- deictic of the third person when not a Hupa adult; -kyñ- 1st modal prefix used when the object is not known or not definitely named; -yan verbal root to eat; class I, con. I, past def., 3a per. sing.

107 -net- contraction for -núxíís-, of which the prefix evidently has reference to the completion of the act; class II, con. I, past def., 3a per. sing.

108 -ox- prefix indicating pursuit or search (the form xai- is due to the subject not being an adult Hupa); feñ- probably a contraction for -ëtúlu; -an verbal root to look; class I, con. I, past def., 3a per. sing.

109 -xó- object; -l- 3d modal; -tsan verbal root to see, to find; class II, con. 4, past, 3a per. sing.

110 min- pronominal prefix; -nai- post-position around; -bèi verbal root apparently connected with âa hand. It was explained that the wings had teeth on them; these the bird drove into the tree with great force.

111 -do- prefix position higher than the earth; -nàdu- indicating a position perpendicular as regards some plane; -a- verbal root to have position; -l suffix denoting repeated acts.

112 ste- prefix OUT OF; -kíõ prefix used of acts completed, the means being exhausted; -its verbal root to shoot; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

113 nìl- possessive prefix; -xóñlánwe the quiver of fisher-skin; -na- prefix over the surface of the ground; -we verbal root to carry.

95 kút dañ xoñ ñnitdenne 97 naidil domúkkainasín 98 he said, "already some in vain I said to you, 'Let us go home.' You did not want to.'
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hvůwůlwůl 114 haiyal xōwaLwal 115 yūdīnhi t xōLukai 116 tesyaye 117
throw to me. And he threw it to him. Finally dawn came
xōa'tiandi yūdīnhi t naxait 118 nāt ses nōndīyan 119 haiyahitdij
here everywhere. At last two only arrows were left. And then
missa'kiṅits 120 haiyahitdij nāltsit 121 tsisselwen haiyal teca'indeL
he shot it in his mouth. And then he killed it. They came out.

natesdel kūt tsisselwen haiya medildiṅ nāindeL a'tīṅka'unte 122
They started. Already he killed it. There Medildiṅ they arrived. All kinds
ada 123 têtesean 124 haiūn la tōwinya 125 yaxolteidenne medil
for he came to own. Then once the river was high. They said to him, "Canoe

taintu 126 hai dōhexōtcoyawenne 127 xo' wūnnayaie'sdel 128
take out of the water. The he did not do it. In vain they tried.

dōhētaya'īstan 129 haiya xanaide'sL haiūn Lūwūnma 130 tece'īnyai
They did not take it out. There they came up. Then alone he went out.

hai medil xa'stan taikyu 131 wittsita' 132 datewintan haiy'ūka
The canoe he brought up. Sweat-house its roof he put it on. This way

kitteseōx anuweste 132
smart his nature was.

114 hōn- indirect object; -waL- from the prefix -wa- (used of handing an object to) and L 3d modal, a becomes ā 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 nō- indirect object; -IL, -wIL would be expected; -wal another form of the root in hvůwůlwůl; class II, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.
116 -s- see note 88 above; -L, prefix found with many adjectives; -kai root of adjective white. The "Dawn maiden" is meant by xōLukai.
117 -yel suffix giving emphasis to verb indicating the accomplishment of acts which are gradual, or which require several attempts.
118 -aig- two; -aig- limiting suffix only.
119 -aL- 3d modal; -yau verbal root used of the position of certain objects, such as baskets, etc.
120 mis- possessive prefix; -sot- mouth.
121 mis- prefix down; -s- 3d modal; -isī verbal root to fall.
122 a'tīn- aL-; -ka- suffix with adjectives and adverbs, kind, way; -te verbal root to appear, to have a certain nature.
123 aot- reflexive pronoun; a post-position fon. Compare hōn (see note 46).
124 Compare te'ld'aua, note 7, p. 153.
125 nō- the more common word for water in Athapaskan dialects (in Hupa it is found in compounds and is applied to the ocean); -kyāl adjectival root to become large.
126 -a- prefix out of the water; -in- sign of 2d per. sing.; -taw- verbal root employed of long objects only; this form is confined to the indefinite tenses; class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.
127 oō- negative prefix; -he adds emphasis to the negation (see note 51, p. 155); -xō- not know deictic; -ne verbal root to do a specified act; irreg. past def., 3d per. sing.
128 -o'wt- see note 35.
129 -taw verbal root, another form of -taw (see note 126).
130 Lō- probably from Lō' one.
131 mis- possessive prefix; -sot- roof (').
132 -wes- see note 87; -de (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 southeastern 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></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>
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<td>Dentals</td>
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<td>Sibilants</td>
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<td>Affricatives, s series</td>
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<td>Affricatives, c series</td>
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<td>Anterior palatals</td>
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<td>Palatals</td>
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<td>Velars</td>
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</table>

Vowels: ā (or ō), u (or o), A, a (ā under the accent), ĭ (or ĭ), ĕ (or ē).

Many of these also occur in Haida, to the account of which language the student is referred; but the l and ā 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; l, 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, d[, tc, and tc], we find here s, s[, c (pronounced like English sh), d[, tc, tc], dz, ts, and ts]. The y is not pronounced so far back as Haida y, but, on the other hand, there is a sonant (y), 1 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 d[ occasionally, though I am unable to lay down a rule for the alteration, especially since it occurs in words otherwise identical, as wuckik'iyé'nn or wudjkik'iyé'nn brothers to one another. Another tendency is for a final surd to change to the corresponding sonant when a vowel is suffixed, as—

\[
\begin{align*}
  qawá'q & \text{ eye} \quad & \text{duqawá'ge} & \text{his eye} \\
yugo'qtc & \text{the trap} \quad & \text{yugo'qadjayu} & \text{the trap it was} \\
yék & \text{spiritual helper} \quad & \text{duyé'gí} & \text{his spiritual helper} \\
\text{Lēlatc} & \text{gadu'tidjá'ge} & \text{nothing to kill with} & \text{(instead of Lēlatc gadu'tidjá'ge)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 wugó'x to get to a certain place by canoe and wugóxó'nn he had formerly come ashore there; kuná'k did, kunugún while doing. In duq'lua' his mouth (from q!a mouth), at uuxa' 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!nuyi' grizzly-bear fort, instead of Xuts!nuyi'; dutwu' his mind, instead of dutuyi'; and we might add dugá'wu his drum (from gao drum). Sometimes, though not invariably, wu is

1 See Phonetics of Tsimshian.
used after a, especially when a is accented: as, angā'wu chief, qokʷgwanā'wu if there were going to be death, ducaxā'wu his hair. A similar phenomenon exists in Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Dakota.

The strengthening of u, as in duyā'gu his canoe (from yākʷu canoe) and daq ā'lunago'qoawe when salmon were running up (from ā'lunagoqʷ), 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 postpositions 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,

\[ qagə'n-q.'os \text{ sun-feet (}=\text{sun-beams}) \]
\[ teq.'-k.'udə's \text{ red-snapper coat} \]
\[ wəl-s.'āx" \text{ root-hat} \]

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,

\[ qadji'n \text{ a human hand} \]
\[ qawā'q \text{ a human eye} \]
\[ qagūk' \text{ a human ear} \]
\[ qaql'a's \text{ a human foot} \]
\[ tančə' \text{ a sea-lion's head} \]
\[ gowakū'q'.a \text{ a deer's mouth} \]

Nouns consisting of a theme and post-positions occur; as,

\[ cī-t!'-ku' \text{ (cī- behind-on) Sitka.} \]

(See § 23, nos. 24, 29.)

More common are nouns containing a possessive element (\( -y't \) or \( -i' \)) (see § 10):

\[ gîts!'o \text{ qa'd'ni' sky people} \]
\[ xāt \text{ qa'd'ni' salmon people} \]
\[ yao tey't' \text{ herring rock} \]
\[ s'átəc q'.ən' \text{ Moss Town} \]
\[ tān q'.adadjə'y'i' \text{ sea-lion bristles} \]
Here may belong—

*Kiks'ádi* people of the island  
*an-gá'-wo* town’s man (=chief)

Kiks (a Tlingit clan)

Other compounds are:

*Go'na-na* foreign tribe (the inland Athapascan)  
*ts'é-té-t* another night (=morning)

*Déká'-na* far-out tribe (the Haida)

Nouns formed from clauses also occur:

wu-c-tu-cá'-yú a married couple. (*See wu-* [§ 15.4]; c-reflexive [§ 11];

tá probably = *da* [§ 14.4]; ca to marry; *yú* [§ 20.2])

*yu-t'ág!á'-ye-t' mortar (yu- that [§ 12]; *t'ág!á* to pound; -ye [§ 20.2];

-t purposive suffix [§ 20.1])

tó-w-x-si-yé*t whistle (tó into; *ux* to blow; si [?]; *ye* [§ 20.2]; -t [§ 20.1])

*Yák'w-kalasegA'k* canoe-resting-place (a place name) (yák*w* canoe; 

*ka-,* *la-,* se- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.4, 1]; *ga* stem [?])

*Kat-naq-tim*, white-rock-on-top-of-another (Ring island) (?)

*Yúq'-a-kA'na'-yadugu' point he threw something across (yú-

-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; *guq to throw*)

*yu-Ac-q'-wu-wu'-at* the thing that helped him (yu-

-demonstrative; *Ac* personal pronoun of third person; *gu* for; *wu-* verbal prefix; *su* stem; -wu infinitive or possessive suffix)

*Cé'nya-lA'x moldy-corner (of salmon), (a personal name) (cé'nya corner; kA*wu* probably diminutive suffix; LÁx moldy)

Adjectives, except numerals, follow the noun qualified.

§ 7. Intensive Suffix

When special attention is to be paid to anything, an intensive suffix, 

-te, is employed. Thus *Léngi'tte* is the intensive form of *Léngi't people;*

*Kiksádi'te,* the emphatic form of the name of the clan *Kiksá'di;*

*qawáq'éte,* the emphatic form of *qawáq* eyes; *áhán'nte,* the emphatic form of *áhán* (we); and *léla'te* never, the emphatic form of the negative particle *lé* not.

§ 8. Diminutive Suffix

Smallness is indicated by suffixing -k!o or -k!u; as,

*vi'te'!k!o* little frog (from *vi'te! frog)

*ák!u* little lake (from *á lake)

*vi'te'!k!o* a small boy (this always takes the diminutive)

*duyá'tk!u* her little child

§§ 7, 8
This suffix is used much with terms of relationship, sometimes probably in an endearing sense: as,

- *cxank’i*“ grandchild
- *sik’i*“ daughter
- *t’iik’i*“ grandparent
- *këtik’i*“ nephew or niece
- *lak’i*“ 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’i*; as,

- *Eingi’i’t* man or men
- *Eingi’i’tq!* many men together
- *ta* stone
- *teq’!* stones lying in a heap
- *q’iit’* island
- *q’iit’q!* islands
- *hit* house
- *hit’q!* houses
- *gux* slave
- *guxq!* 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 *yuyal’i lanq’! 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:

- *duk’i’k* his uncle, *duk’i’has* his uncles
- *dua’t* his aunt, *dua’t has* his aunts

*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 *yen*, often in conjunction with the collective suffix *q!’: as,

- *duk’i’ni* his brother-in-law
- *duk’i’nigen* his brothers-in-law
- *kik!’ younger brother
- *wuckik’!igen* brothers to each other (*wu* § 15.4; c- § 11)
- *duca’t* his wife
- *duca’tq’!yen* 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 -yi after the vowels a, i, e, t, e, and sometimes after a; -i after consonants; and -wu and -wo after u or o and occasionally after a. Examples are—

*ya̱o te'yî herring's rock*  
*xi̱txelay'î little frog's song*

The possessive pronouns are—

*ax* my  
*i* thy  
*du* his  
*ac* his own

Examples—

*ax'i̱c my father*  
*duc̱a'yt his paddle*  
*hasduc̱a'yî their anchor*

The demonstrative *a* may sometimes replace the forms of the third person; as, *uc̱a'yî his head.*

It seems possible that the suffix -i (-u, -yi, -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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>2d per. sing.</th>
<th>3d per. sing.</th>
<th>1st per. pl.</th>
<th>2d per. pl.</th>
<th>3d per. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x, xa</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td><em>ac</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>du</em></td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>du</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ac</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ac</em></td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>wu</em></td>
<td><em>ac</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ac</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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,

\[ \text{At xawal } I \text{ eat something} \]
\[ \text{At xaweq } I \text{ laugh} \]

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:

\[ xate q'axawes\text{'in } I \text{ questioned him (xaw I, independent; -tc intensive suffix [§ 7]; q'A mouth [§ 14.1]; xaw I, subjective, wa- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; -si' in stem)} \]
\[ hu xate q'axawes\text{'in he questioned me (hu independent pronoun; xate emphatic form of objective)} \]
\[ iq'axawes\text{'in } I \text{ questioned thee (i thee; q'A mouth; xaw I)} \]
\[ wate te xat q'axawes\text{'in thou questionedst me (wate tc emphatic form of independent pronoun; xat me; q'a-i contracted to q'e mouth thou)} \]
\[ whante q'atucwes\text{'in we questioned him (whante tc emphatic form of independent pronoun; tu we, subjective)} \]
\[ wahto hayenwes\text{'in thou questionedst us (ha us)} \]
\[ whante yiq'atucwes\text{'in we questioned you (yi you; q'A mouth; tu we, subjective)} \]
\[ xagax I \text{ am crying} \]
\[ wha'ntu qag tu' sati' we are crying (tu we; sa- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be) \]
\[ ye yaraqeq she said thus (ye adverbial, thus; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; qeq to say) \]
\[ ye yidroqua I said thus (x 1; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]) \]
\[ ixasit\text{'in I saw thee (i thee; xaw I; si- prefix [§ 18.1]; tin to see)} \]
\[ yixasit\text{'in I saw you (yi you) \]
\[ yoxasit\text{'in I saw him (x- I; the use of ou here is not explained)} \]
\[ xatyasit\text{'in ye saw me (xat me; yi ye) \]
\[ hayasit\text{'in ye saw us (ha us) \]
\[ hasyasit\text{'in ye saw them (has them)} \]

\( \text{Gaya' kade' has ana amaw they heard it on Gaya'} (kade' on; has they; a- indefinite pronoun referring to ci song; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; ax to hear) \]

\( \text{§11} \)
The pronoun is contracted with a few verbal prefixes. The \( a \) combines with the terminal vowel of preceding elements, as in \( xat q!eiDu!s!tn \) thou questionest me (\( q!a-\)i = \( q!e \) mouth thou; \( xa \) and the prefix \( wa- \) form \( roa \), although \( roa \) 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 \( qua \) (for \( guwa \)); with the second person to \( gu \) (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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( he'Un\)} & : \text{this person} & \text{\( he'do \)} & : \text{this place here} \\
\text{\( yahngt \)} & : \text{this place, this person} & \text{\( yu'Un\)} & : \text{the person} & \text{\( y\) do \( i'c \) \( a'n\)} & : \text{there is thy father's town} \\
\text{\( w\)t'\)} & : \text{that person} & \text{\( ayu', \) \( w\)e'\)} & : \text{when, that being done}
\end{align*}
\]

Some of them are also employed with post-positions; as, \( h\at \) 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'ɑ MOUTH OF LIPS.

qeq'èdè ayu' ye'q'ayaga toward morning she spoke thus (ayu' indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ye' thus; q'ɑ mouth; qa- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qa to say)
yuw'nas! ada'x q'aodîsa' he blew upon the raft (yu demonstrative; xu'nas! raft; a indefinite pronoun; da'x on; q'ɑ mouth; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dî- verbal prefix [§ 18.3]; sa to blow)

2. tu MIND.

xtoaw'e tuvulîtsî'n therefore (the Kîksa'dî) are brave (tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; li- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; tsin strong)
xaw woa'sa tuvunú'k he felt very sad (xaw very; woa'sa how; tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; nuk sad)

3. in POINT.

dɑq ɑ'lunago'goaw'e when they were running ashore in a crowd (dɑq ashore; ɑ demonstrative; in point, i. e. crowd; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; go'goaw'e they run)
4. da- is employed sometimes with words meaning to say or tell, when it seems to indicate an indirect object.

dukâ'niyên ye daya'duga, his brothers-in-law spoke to him thus (da- his; kâ'niyên brothers-in-law; ye thus; da- indirect object; ya- [§ 15.3]; da- [§ 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.

qot cu'waqix they had been all killed off
yuâ'de'x-tâk* cu'naxî'xâwe when these two years were over (ya-these; dêx two; tâk* year; cu- totally; nu- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; xîx to finish; âwe when)
axodê qâqî' cu'naxî't he was leading all these men among them (a indefinite pronoun; xo'de among; ya demonstrative; qa man; cu- totally; nu- at the same time when [§ 15.3]; gu- to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])

ye yên has'du cuq! â'wadjâ thus there them all he told (ye thus; yên there; has'du them; cu- totally; qa!a with mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; dje to tell)

Kîksâ'dî qot cu'waqix the Kîksâ'dî were all lost (qot wholly; cu- totally; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; xîx to finish)

This prefix appears to be used also as a post position.

axcu'dî yaqo'x come over to me (ax me; cu! entirely; -dî to; ya-verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; gux to go by water)

2. ka- indicates causation, and performs the functions of a causative auxiliary.

ax dâq qoka'odzhâ' she caused a hole to be in it by digging (ax literally, from it; dâq shoreward, or into the earth; go- indefinite verbal prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- causative; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dzi- verbal prefix [§ 18.6]; ha stem)

has'dudaka'q! kâôdu'iyâ na yên a large fort was caused to be lowered down on them (has'du them; daka'q! out on; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; Li- verbal prefix [§ 18.5]; nu fort; Lên large)

yîlâtsqo'te yînâskaq'o'kote k'dosînêx when did your cheek-flesh cause a man to be saved? (yîlâtsqo'te when; yi your; wac cheek: kq'o'kote flesh, with intensive suffix; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; sî- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; nêx to save)

§ 15
At k'otiga they caused (the canoe) to be loaded up (at indefinite object [things]; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; ū- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; go to load)

ad' ak'wana doxangā'wu then he caused his clothes-man to go out (a demonstrative; dē to; a indefinite pronoun; ka- to cause; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; na to send; do his; xan clothes; qu man; -wu possessive [see § 10])

3. ya- seems to indicate the continuation of an action or state.

yīya'xtc are you hearing it? (yī ye; ya- verbal prefix; ax to hear; -tc emphatic suffix)

KiksAdVtc a'xtc! has ayāhē'n therefore the KiksA'di claim the frog (a indefinite pronoun; teu adverb; a indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xxtc! frog; has they; a indefinite pronoun; ya- verbal prefix; hēn stem)

yuyanagu'tt when (he was) traveling (yu demonstrative; ga-, na- [§ 17.4, 5], verbal prefixes; gu to go; -t 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.

Cī't!ka'dē ān has wuqo'x they went with him to Baranoff island (Cī Baranoff island; t! behind; ka on; dē to; ā demonstrative; -n with; has they; wu- prefix; gox to go by canoe)

yel'ayu xixtc! q'ace'y! wudu'dziku that is how the frog's song came to be known (ye- adverb; a- indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xixtc! frog; q'ā mouth; ci song; -yi' possessive [§ 10]; wu- du- dzi- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.6]; ku to know)

wucl't'n at wudu'dzi'k! peace was made between them (wu- verbal prefix; c- reflexive [§ 11]; tīn with; [wucl't'n together]; at indefinite object; wu- du- ū- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.5]; k!e to be good)

The last of these examples shows a curious use of wu- before the reflexive prefix c-, 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 as 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.

was-te' at guyone'ti whatever is going to happen (was-te' whatever; at indefinite object; gu- future; gona stem; -ti suffix [§ 20.2]) an guyagat' 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'qde ye guxdu'sni' yuh'it daidedi' they were going to take up the house-timbers (de now; da'qde up to; ye thus; gu- future; x- to become; du- s- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; ni to take; yu demonstrative; hit house; daidedi' timbers)

hut a guxlaye'x gone't ganayi' the opposite side (clan) was going to build a house (hut house; a indefinite pronoun; gu- future; x- to become; tu- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; yex to build [x possibly a suffix])

ya'doqioa guxdu'ta'ge they were going to make a hole in this one's mouth (ya demonstrative; do- his; gu- a mouth [see § 3]; ga- future; x- to become; tu- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; yex to build [x possibly a suffix])

More often the future occurs in conjunction with an indefinite prefix qo or k. 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 guwa in the first person, we find qwa; instead of gu- in, in the second person, ge. It would also seem that contractions of q and g to q, and q and g to g, take place in the first and second persons plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future tense of the verb ait to do</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. yeqqwasgi't</td>
<td>ye'qaxutsugit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. yeqge'sgit</td>
<td>ye'qaxugisgit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. yeqgrda'sgit</td>
<td>has qo a ye'sqegasgit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future tense of the verb geq: to throw down</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. xuct ye'nde gqwa'q'</td>
<td>uhact ye'nde gaqwayegq'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. vaet ye'nde queqeg'q'</td>
<td>yihact ye'nde gaqwayegq'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. huct ye'nde sqqwa'q'</td>
<td>hastc ye'nde sqqwayegq'</td>
<td></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 gāx to cry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. ke kʷ iwágā'x</td>
<td>(náh' n) ke gax gaxtū'sati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. (wáte') ke kʷ gegā'x</td>
<td>(yíhá'n) ke gax garyisati'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. (hu) ke kʷ iwágā'x</td>
<td>ke has gax ga'x sati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. qo-, kʷ-, is used when the event recorded happened at a time or place that is ill defined.

Lēl lēl'! qa a'ti qosti' there were no white men's things in those days (lēl not; lēl' white; qa man; a'ti their things; qo- s- verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; ti to be)

yuqo'ltūk' those who used to leave the others behind (yu demonstrative; qo- ti- verbal prefixes [§ 18.4]; L'il stem; -k' suffix [§ 20.3])

kʷ duck' yte they always laughed at him (kʷ- du- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3]; cuq to laugh; -te always [§ 19.1])

gusu' yēn yuq xeltegi where is it that they never broke it off (gusu' where; yēn there; yu- demonstrative; q'- verbal prefix; xelte stem; gi probably should be k" [§ 20.3])

a'kʷ jōdi'x a sign or parable (at something; kʷ- prefix; qe probably stem; -x suffix [§ 19.4])

Lēl su qosti' there was no rain (lēl 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'qʷgwaliq when will he break it off? (a indefinite pronoun; q'- indefinite prefix; q(u)- future prefix; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; biq'! 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.

tsešk'lu x v'nasti you can become an owl (tsešk'lu owl; -x verbal affix; i thou; na- s- verbal prefixes [§ 17.5; § 18.1]; ti stem)
q’anackite’x siti he had become poor (q’anackiti poor; -x transitive affix; si- verbal prefix [$18.1]; ti to be)
duwrong’éx siti it had come to belong to his friends (du his; xen friend; -q’e collective suffix [$9]; -x transitive affix; si- verbal prefix [$18.1]; ti to be)
te’a ān go’a qa’yaq’q!uwanx siti but yet they became men such as one can trade with (te’a yet; ān with them; go’a however; ga men; ya- verbal prefix [$15.3]; qaq’uwan such as one can trade with [?]; -x [as before]; si- verbal prefix [$18.1]; ti to be)
gux tusí’t we will make it become cooked (gu- future sign; -x transitive affix; tu we; siti to cook)
ay’ de yeq’gax du’q’! T’á’q! dentán they were going to invite the T’á’q!dentán (a indefinite pronoun; yi-de post-position [de to]; ye adverbial prefix; q’- indefinite prefix [$15.6]; ga- future prefix [$15.5]; -x transitive affix; du- verbal prefix [$17.3]; ig. 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:

lét wuxasaq’ok yündat’!’te I can not swim (lét not; wu- verbal prefix [$15.4]; wa I; sa- verbal prefix [$18.1]; gok can; yändat’!’te to swim)

§ 17. SECOND MODAL PREFIXES

1. dji- quickly.

h’a’sdu dát xā dji’a’digut enemies came upon them quickly; (h’a’sdu them; dát upon; xā enemies; dji- quickly; u- verbal prefix [§17.2]; dè- inchoative [§18.3]; gu to go; -t suffix [§20.1])

ad’é dák wu’dji’x’x he ran down to it (a- indefinite pronoun; dè to; dák down or out; wu- verbal prefix [§15.4]; dji- quickly; xi’x to get)

yux has dji’udeát’t they started to rush out (yux out; has they; dji- quickly; u-de- [§17.2; §18.3]; át to go)

lét! ts!utá’t ayu’ at nate’ has dji’usíha one morning they started out quickly to hunt along shore (lét! ts!utá’t[see p. 200, note 11]; a-yu indefinite demonstrative pronoun; at indefinite object; nate’ to hunt [i]; has they; dji- u-sí verbal prefixes [§17.2; §18.1]; ha to start)

hasdúták’!u adjí’t has adjí’watán they gave their sister to him quickly; (hasdu their; ták’!u sister; adjí(- indefinite pronoun with intensive suffix; -t to; has they; a- demonstrative; dji-va- [$18.2]; tan to give)

§§ 16, 17
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.

*yén ugo\'xte he always came there (yén there; u- prefix; **gox to go** by canoe; -tc always [§ 19.1])

Lég! **ts\'ut\'at ān ke udzīgī\'t dutu\'nį** one morning he awoke with his dream (**Lég!** one; **ts\'ut\'at** morning [see p. 200, note 11]; ān with it; ke up; u- prefix; dzi- prefix [§ 18.6]; gi\'t to awake; **du** his; **tc\'un** dream; -i possessive suffix)

**Lax** q!ūn **hās uxe** many nights they stayed out (**Lax** very; q!ūn many (nights); hās they; u- prefix; xe to camp)

**ayu** hās aosīti\'n there they saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; o- verbal prefix; si- indicative prefix [§ 18.1]; tīn to see)

**Le dutu\'tx got kaoduk!vįt** it all got out of his head (**Le** out; **du** his; tū into; -t at; -x from; got all; ka- causative [§ 15.2]; o- verbal prefix; **du**- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; kį\'t 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\'tx got kaoduk!vįt** it got all out of his head (see above no. 2, ex. 5)

**ck\'le Á\'gitahkan yū\'yaodudzīqa** “get up!” they said to him (**ck\'le** up; Á\'gitahkan get [?] yū- demonstrative; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; o-**du**-dzi- [§ 17.2; § 18.6]; qa to say)

**aŋgēdįl** hās *gā**dus**tīn when they saw them already inside (a- indefinite pronoun; gē inside; dį to; hās they; ya- when [§ 17.4]; **du-s**- [§ 18.1]; tīn to see)

**koducį** **duīgā** they hunted for him (ko- [§ 15.6]; **du**-; ēi to hunt; **du** he; ī euphonic [?]; qa for)

**lel** wuduskų they knew not (**lel** not; **wu**- [§ 15.4]; **du**-; s- [§ 18.1]; ku to know)

**ts\'ut\'at hīn **wā\'tdį** akaye\'k wudū\'waax atxe\'tc the next morning (it) was to be heard at the mouth of the creek (**ts\'ut\'at** see p. 200, note 11); hīn water; wāt mouth; dį to; a- indefinite pronoun; *kayēk* at; **wu**- [§ 15.4]; **du**-; **wa**- [§ 18.2]; ax to hear; *at* indefinite object; *xe* to go on; -tc always [§ 19.1]
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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 aqa or aqaawets'a as soon as, immediately upon.

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.
has they; na-; qox to go by canoe; a’ra-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; yu- demonstrative; hunxo’ elder brother; a indefinite pronoun; qa- mouth [§ 14.1]; ya- [§ 15.3]; qa to say)

lėq! k’ud’a’s! astú’x nagu’tte ya ḥ’a’sd’u yagats’a’q yū’awe ke ick!e’nte having gotten inside of his red-snapper coat, when he was pursuing them, that is the way he jumped (lėq! red snapper; k’ud’a’se’ coat; a- indefinite pronominal prefix; tux inside; na-; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; -tc always [§ 19.1]; ya [?]; ḥ’a’sd’u them; ya- [§ 15.3]; ga- [§ 17.4]; tsāq to pursue; yū- demonstrative; awe indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ke up; i[?] e- reflexive; k’en to jump; -tc always [§ 19.1])

naxā’c qa’xtusit’ having cut it, we will cook it (na-; xāc to cut; qa- future prefix [§ 15.5]; -x transitional affix [§ 15.7]; tu we; sit to cook)

xāt gā’nau’di na’ats’te yuxū’ts! qoa’ni the bear people, when they go hunting, always go after salmon (xāt salmon; ga- [§ 17.4]; na-; at to go; -t part. suffix [§ 20.2]; na-; at to go; -tc intensive suffix; yu- demonstrative; xūts! bear; qoa’ni people; -ti possessive)

tc’lakʷ yānagu’tiawe qox akū’dadjite after it had walked a long time, it would stop suddenly (tc’lakʷ a long time; ya- [§ 15.3]; na-; gu to go; -t purpose; -i suffix [§ 20.2]; awe when; qox completely; a- indefinite pronoun; ku- future prefix [§ 15.5]; da- [i]; djī stem; -tc always [§ 19.1])

§ 18. THIRD MODAL PREFIXES

1. s- or s̓- 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’lakʷ al’ti’n̓i a’ya aosisi’n̓ looking for a while, he saw her (tc’lakʷ a long time; a- indefinite pronoun; l̓- [§ 18.4]; tīn to see; -i [§ 20.2]; a’ya indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si-; tīn to see)

dutuwu’signu she felt happy (du her; tu- mind; wu- [§ 15.4]; si-; gu to go [?])

daqane’x wusite! quarrelsone he was (daqane quarrelsone; -x [§ 15.7]; wu- [§ 15.4]; te, stem)

lel ye awusku’w duy̓it sati’y̓i he did not know it was his son (lel not; ye thus; a- indefinite pronoun; wu- [§ 15.4]; s- ku to know; du his; yit son; sa-; ti to be; y̓i participial suffix [§ 20.2])

A’teqet dusgo’qte what they throw it with (du- [§ 17.3]; s-; goq to throw; -tc always [§ 19.1])
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's!i asiyu' lēq! tāt yū'awasa it was a whole month
which he thought a night (dis month; kawuki's!i whole; asi
particle; yu demonstrative; lēq! one; tāt night; yū demonstra-
strative; a- indefinite pronoun; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2];
sa to say [=think])
xate yetsi'net la asiyu' it was the mother of the bears (xate this;
la mother)
xate te asiyu' it was a stone

2. wa- indicating completed action.

ts!utā't aynu' dāk has uwaqo'x in the morning; at that time out
they got (u- [§ 17.2]; wa-; qox stem)
at'ā'x has uwaxe' behind them they camped
has Cq!at goan ca'oduwaixē they conquered the Stikine Indians
(Cq!at Stikine; goan people; ca- [?]; o- [§. 17.2]; du- [§ 17.3])
gul lax lēq! dis hasduka' cuwaixē probably entirely one month
on them passed (cu-[§ 15.1])
ale', xāt w'wa ha mother, I am hungry (ū- wa- verbal prefixes
[§ 17.2]; ha stem)

3. di- denotes the beginning of an action.

adA'xawe xā djiudigu't after that to war they started (xā war;
dji-u-[§ 17.1, 2])
qeqe'de gonaha' le vū'yaq!a'oditan toward morning the woman
began to change her manner of talking (cu- completely
[§ 15.1]; ya [?]; q!a- mouth; o- [§ 17.2]; tan stem)
acē'nya wudilā'x it had begun to mold at the corner (a- indefi-
nite pronoun; cē'nya corner of; wu-[§ 15.4])
wuckA't caoditē' they started to rush around (wu-[§ 15.4]; c-
reflexive prefix; kat post-position; ca- reflexive [?]; o- di-
verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; te stem)
yuxā'nas! adA'x qaodisa' he began blowing on the raft (yu-
demonstrative; xā'nas! raft; q!a- mouth [§ 14.1]; o- [§ 17.2])
kaoditA'q! it began to be hot weather (ka- o- di- verbal prefixes
[§ 15.2; § 17.2]; t!aq! stem)

to start to go to a certain place is expressed by means of
an adverb.

go'na yēggywaqagqunt 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. \textit{li-} or \textit{li'-} indicates repetition of an action or a plurality of objects acted upon.

\begin{align*}
\text{yax has ayax'olidjaq} & \text{ yutā'n thus they killed off the sea-lions (a- indefinite pronoun; ay- [§ 15.3]; o- [§ 17.2]; djæq to kill; yu- demonstrative; tän sea-lion)} \\
\text{ayn' aoliça'c then he let it float along (ayn' there; a- indefinite prefix; o- li- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; xac stem)} \\
\text{xæc qumagw' } & \text{ asiyu' aca'otlik it was full of eyes (xæc this; qa- man; wage' eye; asiyu' [§ 18.1]; a- demonstrative; ca- = cu- [§ 15.1]; o- [§ 17.2]; hik stem)} \\
\text{än qadji'n aoliçe'k} & \text{ he shook hands with those things in his hands (än with it; qadji'n man's hand; a- indefinite pronoun; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2])} \\
\text{xâ'yï yâkq'! ayax' aoliça'!'nuq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (xâ enemy; -yï possessive suffix; yâk w canoe; -q w collective; â'yax like that; a indefinite pronoun; o- li- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; q!an stem; -q! suffix [§ 19.5])}
\end{align*}

5. \textit{i-} or \textit{li-} is used in contradistinction to the above when the action takes place once, or is thought of at one particular moment.

\begin{align*}
\text{aositi'n cäwa't yuadig'qa cwe'liçac (when he was going around the lake), he saw one woman floating there (a- indefinite pronoun; o-si-[§ 17.2]; tän to see; cäwa't woman; yuadig'qa there; c- reflexive; cw- [§ 15.4]; xac to float)} \\
\text{dek'na hî'nî qo'a wužâ'k far out its water, however, boiled (dek'na far out; hîn water; -i possessive suffix; qo'a however; wu- li- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4]; ūk stem)} \\
\text{yën caožitzï's there he stopped}
\end{align*}

6. \textit{dzï-} conveys the idea of the attainment of a state not hitherto enjoyed, and is best translated by the words to come to be.

\begin{align*}
\text{ayx'axwe duyx'tq'i qodzïti' this is why his children came to be born (a- that; yax like; axwe it is; du- his; yat child; -q'I collective; qo- indefinite [§ 15.6]; ti to be)} \\
\text{ckä a'odzi'ku' yuxx't qod'nîte wusne'xe afterward he came to know that the salmon people had saved him; a- indefinite pronoun; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; ku to know; yu- demonstrative; xax salmon; qoan people; -tc intensive; wu- [§ 15.4; § 18.1])} \\
\text{tcu tcâ'k'a lingq'tt tin ka'odjîte yuq'q a long time ago there came to be copper among the Indians (lingq'tt Indians; tin with; ka-o- [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; yu- demonstrative; ēq copper)} \\
\text{wâ'sa iyax'odudziq'a', axyq't? what did they come to say to you, my son? (wâ'sa what; i you; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; o-du- [§ 17.2.3]; qa to say; ax my; yît son)}
\end{align*}
7. *ci*- expresses desire or wish, and may be used equally well as a stem.

\[ \text{dusi'} \ qok'i't! \ ak\^\text{w}cita' n \] his daughter liked to pick berries *(du- his; qok'i't! berries; a- indefinite pronoun; k\^\text{w}- [§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 -te, -nute, -n, -x, and perhaps -q! and s!.

1. *-te* indicates invariability in the action, and may best be translated by *always*. It is perhaps identical with the intensive suffix (§ 7).

\[ \text{duw}\^\text{a}qde \ yagaec'i'te} \] her eyes to he always pointed
\[ \text{ts'lu} \ yen \ ugo'xte} \] again there he always went by canoe
\[ gaga' n \ Kan'e'sdica \ cak'i'nanax \ ke \ xixte} \] the sun always rises over the brow of Cross Mountain *(gaga' n sun; cak'i'nanax over the head of; ke up)*
\[ gandawe' \ uta'i'te \ dud'a'q!anax} \] towards the fire he always sleeps with his back *(g\^\text{an} what burns; t\^\text{a} to sleep; du- his)*

2. *-nute* marks what is habitual or customary.

\[ hu \ qo' a \ ts'\!\!\^\text{as} \ xuk \ alii'q!anute} \] she, however, only dry wood would get *(ts'\!\!\^\text{as} only; xuk dry wood; liqi! to fetch)*
\[ duq'i'ntenute \] they would throw off their coats
\[ la\!\!\^\text{enute} \ duq'i'ekte\!\!\^\text{tu} \] she was in the habit of bathing her child *(a = a indefinite pronoun; cute stem; du- possessive; yet child; -k\^\text{u} diminutive)*
\[ ux \ uduleu'qnutc} \] they would laugh at him *(u- du- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2, 3; § 18.4]; cuq to laugh)*
\[ ldak\!\!\^\text{at} \ la'dawe \ atlo'qt\!\!\^\text{inute} \] all kinds of things he would shoot *(ldak\!\!\^\text{at} all; la- thing; a-we indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; tloqt! stem)*
\[ a't!aq!anute} \] he would pound

3. *-n* (after consonants -\^\text{in} or -\^\text{on}). 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 dulnig'l'n ye goyanaqe'tce when a person is through with a story, he always says this (lā'gu story; yēn there; yax thus; du- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.4]; nō[k] to say); ye thus; go- ya-na- [§ 15.6, 3; § 17.5]; qa to say; -tc [§ 19.1])

Wa'nin e ṣ u ṣ i ṣ a'e edge turned up, he floated (wa'nin edge; in [?]; c- reflexive prefix; wu- lī- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5]; xac stem)

duq'le'nax ci tc!a yūt q!anaxe'ntc duq' yeq gaga,l'tin when his spirits came to him, blood would flow out of his mouth (du- his; q!a mouth; -nax from; ci blood; tc!a that; yūt out of it; q!a mouth; nax- [§ 17.5]; c- [?]; xen stem; -tc always [§ 19.1]; duhis; yeq spirit; ga [?]; ga- [§ 17.4]; at to go [pl.]; -in suffix)

Ituwl' q!wan cat'ic'q Nixå' nēl gu'nîn be courageous when Nixå' comes in (i- thy; tu mind; -wu possessive suffix; q!wan exhortative [§ 22.3]; ctc- reflexive; t!ic' stem [?]; nēl into house; gut to go; -n -tc suffixes [§ 20.2])

tcay'le dāq gac'tc acgadjå'qēn when it almost killed him, he would run up (tcay'le almost; dāq up; ga- verbal prefix; ctc 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; -ēn verbal suffix)

tān a aka'wati anax gaduski'lt hu anax yēn wuqoxo'n he pounded out a figure of a sea-lion, so that people would know he had come ashore there (tān sea-lion; a indefinite pronoun; ka-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]; gox to go by canoe)

Has agae'l'n when they marry (a- qa- verbal prefixes)
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.

Ida’at yêtx ducâ’q! people from all places tried to marry her (Ida’at all, everywhere; yêtx from into; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; ca stem)

cak’ax ke djit’niyeq! you can not see anything (tin to see; ¿ye 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)

Aya’xawé aosª’ne aei’u ganaltá’dicix lit! tu’di ac wuge’q! as he had told him to do when he ran into the fire with him he threw him into the basket (Aya’xawe as; a indefinite pronoun; o-si [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ac him, reflexive; -n with; gan fire; altá into [?]; di to start to; cix to run; lit! basket; tu’di into; ac he; wu- [§ 15.4]; gê to throw)

xa’yi yâkq!”aya’x a’oliq!’nq! 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.

Atxawé’ goši’xsi’ from there he listened (go- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; t- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; ax stem)

Agá’ keqgeti’s! wch’wa’lx you will look out for the green fern-roots (agá’ for that; ke particle; q- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ge = qu- future prefix and personal pronoun [§ 15.5]; ti to be; we- demonstrative; k’wa’lx fern-roots)

Hás goti’s! they were looking for him (go- 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’tke ade’ gokâ’waqa duïga’ qage’x dusgâ’ndayu his uncle sent some one after him to burn [his body] (du his; kâk uncle; -te intensive [§ 7]; ade’ to it; go- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- wa-verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; qa to say; du he; iqa’ for; du-s- [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; gan fire, to burn; -d for -t before vowel; -ayu demonstrative)

qâ nas’di k’tide’n yén wudu’dzinî Atü’t qonga’dnayu and they put on good clothing because they wanted to die wearing it (qâ man; na- verbal prefix [§ 17.5]; at to go [pl.]; -t verbal
suffix; [§ 20.2]; k'îdé'n good; yèn there; wu- du- dzi- [§ 15.4; § 17.3; § 18.6]; atû't into it; qonga [uncertain]; na to die; -t purpose; ayu demonstrative)
duîgâ' at nagasû't something to help him (duîgâ' for him; at indefinite; na-[?] ga- verbal prefixes [§ 17.4]; su to help; -t purpose)

adâ's x a w a x ò x ò c eî'n k c a n g a l n í'gît then he invited him to tell him (something he did not know) (adâ's after it; âc- he; -n with; c- reflexive; kanga [ ? compare qonga second example; b- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; wîk stem; -t purpose)

ak'tu'q!ayu ye'-yati qâ akadê' wugv'at qa' nga a man stopping at Auk went to (the lake) to get wood (ak'tu', Auk; -q! at; ayu demonstratives; yê- adverb, thus; ya- [§ 15.3]; ti to be; qâ man; -kade' on; wu- [§ 15.4]; gu- to go; -t purpose; gan wood, fire; ga for).

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 something of its original function.

2. -i, -o after consonants; yî-, -wu after vowels. The subordination 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 participle or infinitive.

yuqî' go'a kâ'deg!kaâ'x daqt wudjîxî'xi the man who jumped out from (the raft was very much ashamed) (yu demonstrative; qa man; go'a however; hâ'deg!kaâ'x from on it; daqt out; wudjî- [§ 15.4; § 17.1]; xîx to jump or move quickly)
dudjî'q! ye yutî'yi s'taq gatô' akê' ase'watî he set up a bone trap he had (du he; dîjîq! to; ye thus; yu- demonstrative; ti to be; s'taq bone; gatô' trap; a- indefinite pronoun; ke up; a indefinite pronoun; se- verbal prefix; wud[î] to set up)

hade' wat at ci'yi' this! those who can sing (ci to sing)
lel ye wua'xte yuca'wâta âtaqy' axa' yudjê'nuwu she never got full eating sheep-fat (lel not; ye thus; ax to eat; yu- indefinite pronoun; cû'wat woman; a indefinite pronoun; at things; xa to eat; -yi suffix; axa' fat; yu- demonstrative; djê'nuwu mountain sheep)
wucâcâ'yi' married to each other (that is, married couple)
aya'xte yanaqû'dûayu aosîti'n while he was going around it, he saw (a- it; ya'xte around; ya-na- [§ 15.3; § 17.5]; -ayu demonstrative)
3. -kⁿ. A verb is frequently changed into a noun by taking a suffix -kⁿ, and this is also usually indicated by the demonstrative prefix; but it would seem, from the manner in which it is used with certain verbs, especially with the verb to call or name (sa), that it should be regarded as a perfect participial suffix as much as a noun-forming suffix.

yínwya'ats'ngite your well speaking of them (yín you [pl.]; yu- demonstrative; q!a mouth; tan stem; -te intensive; -gi- stands here for kⁿ)
yé'duwasakʷu their names being these (ye thus; du- wa- verbal prefixes; sa stem)
tīl yudjísita'nkʷu waves rise up on it; or waves, the rising up of them upon it (tīl wave; yu- demonstrative; dji- si- prefixes; tan stem)
yé'yuwawgutkʷu that was why he had traveled that way; or, more strictly, thus the traveling of him (yé thus; yu- demonstrative; wa- verbal prefix; gw un stem)
yíkəʷ'-at-xac'hʷu the one having split tongues for you (yí- you; ka post-position; at thing; xac stem)
yuq'ayats'nakʷu the one that could talk (yu- demonstrative; q!a mouth; ya- verbal prefix; tan stem)
yuq'owyalis!ć'lkʷu when he was playing with the children, he would hurt them; or, the hurt he would do to them (yu- demonstrative; go- ya- li- verbal prefixes; sić stem)
yu'ayaliq!kʷu he would break the knife he got hold of (yu- demonstrative; a- indefinite; ya- verbal prefix; liq un stem)
lax yala'qkʷu he was a very great eater; or, the great eater that he was (lax very; ya- verbal prefix; laq stem)
duná' at li'te!lqʷkʷu he was a dirty little fellow; or, the dirty little fellow that he was (duná [?] at thing; li- verbal prefix; tle!q stem)
ada' yuq'adulú'stkʷu about it they were all talking; or, the talking that went on about it (a- indefinite; da post-position; yu- demonstrative; q!a mouth; du- li- verbal prefixes; at stem)
té!a škaní?k té!ułe' ayé'x yu'yatikʷu whatever he told them took place (téc!a whatever; té!ule' then; ayé'x like it; yu- demonstrative; ya- prefix [§ 15.3])
qaye' qokʷqwané'xe té!ule' yułhaníkkʷu ayé'x yu'yatikʷu when a
person was going to get well, he told them, and so it was (qa person; go- [§15.6]; nēx to be well; for the rest see last example). The end of this sentence might be rendered as was the TELLING OF THIS BY HIM, so was the FACT
dā'sa qa'xudjā'q qōn yu'aka'yani'kkʷ what they were going to kill was what they got (dā'sa what; qa- future [§15.5]; -x transitional [§15.7]; du- verbal prefix [§17.3]; djāq to kill; qōn [?]; yu- demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; ka- ya- verbal prefixes [§15.2, 3]; nik stem)

4. -ya. Another suffix similar to this is -ya, which is perhaps identical with the continuous ya- 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:
yax gātē yuy!ās ade' uduwaq!ā'siya far is the distance which the cascade comes down (yax like; gātē far; yu- demonstrative; q!ās cascade; ade' to it; u- du- wa-[§ 17.2, 3; § 18.2])
telu ade' xaq!ā'ya avel aya'x got cu'wawix just the way they were sleeping they were destroyed (telu just; ade' at it; xaqʷ to sleep; aya'x like it; got completely; cu-[§15.1])

dudī'txawé yīdadunā'ya from him they knew how to fix [a trap]
(du him; -dij intensive [§ 7]; t to; x from; avel demonstrative; yīdadunā'ya they learned to fix)
ade' has kaq'olīt'nutcya ade' akoāliqē's! he put them in the place where they were in the habit of hooking fish (ade' at it; has they; kā to cause [?]; q!āt to catch [?]; -nutc habitually
[§ 19.2]; a- indefinite prefix; ka- o- lî-[§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.4])
ātē'xya aosiku' when she slept, he knew (a- indefinite prefix; te to sleep; -x -ya suffixes [§ 19.4]; a- indefinite prefix; o- si- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ku to know)

kaodūl'āq! a'zo yūdī'ya' it was hot weather from where he started
(ka- o- dl- verbal prefixes [§15.2; § 17.2; § 18.3]; tlaq! stem; a- indefinite prefix; xō among; yu to go; -t purpose [§20.1])

lēl has ā'wusku ade' yuyane'gīya they did not know what to make
of it (lēl not; a- indefinite pronoun; tuw- s- [§ 15.4; § 18.1]; ade' at it; yu- demonstrative; ya- verbal prefix [§15.3]; nek to say)

has ā'wawus! 'gudā'x so yē'dadunā'taya' they inquired, "From where do they get this?" (gu where; dāx from; sa interrogative particle; ye adverb; do- du-na- verbal prefixes [§14.4; §17.3,5]; at to go [pl.])

§ 20
# Analysis of Verbal Forms

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gu-x</td>
<td>du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(at)</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>u-du</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>dji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qïa</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>te</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>nik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(qot)</td>
<td>cu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- It had begun to be moldy.
- He said to her.
- He got down to it quickly.
- He was seen.
- He came to know it.
- Being saved.
- They came to say to you (came to = dzï).
- He went out and spoke.
- It got completely out of his head.
- They had started.
- It caused to be saved.
- Having been named.
- He was always floating himself about.
- Being (his son).
- We will cook it.
- When it is going to be cut.
- They moved things out.
- He sent some one (out) to speak.
- It came to be.
- He was telling (them).
- They were all lost.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tu</th>
<th>wu</th>
<th>li</th>
<th>tsin</th>
<th>He is very strong in mind (i.e., brave).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>qo-gu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>zac</td>
<td>He spit on it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>He was going to cut off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>He fasted on it (an island).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>When he cut it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>u-du</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa-na</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>yi-ya</td>
<td>He having lived for (more than a hundred years).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>When he was dying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>They started to go down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They hunted for her for an indefinite time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>When they go after salmon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>When they would come in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>It would always burn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They saved you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>goq</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>When it got.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>cu-ku</td>
<td>trax</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>It always heard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>na-pu</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>Go with me (dé imperative particle).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>They rushed (to the door) in a body (tu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>They kicked into it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ku-gu</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(Something) to help him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>They have cured us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>You are dying (of cold).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>You put (or laid) down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>We will be warm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>You are having.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>You are saying to me.</td>
</tr>
</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 ti to BE, xix to GET, or nuk^a 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—

\[
\text{yih\text{"a}n ke gax gaxy\text{"isat}\text{\"i} you (pl.) WILL CRY, where gax is the regular stem of the verb meaning TO CRY, and ti, the stem of the verb TO BE, taking the future, pronominal, and all other prefixes. Similar to this is k\text{"an}t has \text{uwanu\text{"a} they BECAME ANGRY, where k\text{"an} signifies ANGER, and nuk\text{"a} TO BECOME. Of this same type is qot cu\text{\"waxix they WERE ALL DESTROYED, although it is uncertain whether qot is ever employed as a regular stem in the place of xix.}
\]

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\text{" 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.

\[
iya\text{"xtc agi\text{" do you hear it?
\]

\[
\text{\text{"ah\text{"n agi\text{" yek\text{" at tu\text{"x\text{"ck\text{" tca k\text{"cta qoan q\text{"ec\text{"n\text{" are we the ones splitting land-otter (tongues) to see people? (\text{"ah\text{"n we; yek\text{" the ones; at indefinite object, namely, tongues; tu we; xac split; -k\text{" suffix [§ 20.3]; tca thus; k\text{"cta land-otter; qoan people; q\text{"ec\text{"n\text{" to see [uncertain analysis])}
\]

\[
xat y\text{" siti\text{"n agi\text{" do you see me? (xat me; y\text{" you; si- prefix [§ 18.1]; t\text{"n to see)
\]

2. d\text{" following the verb indicates the imperative.

\[
\text{Adj\text{"t gut d\text{" come up to me! (ax me; -dj intensive [§ 7]; -t to; gu to come; -t purpose [§ 20.1])}
\]

\[
\text{\text{"anax asaqo\text{"x d\text{" go with it around it! (a indefinite pronoun; nax around; a indefinite pronoun; sa- prefix; gox to go by canoe)
\]

\[
\text{g\text{"anga naa\text{"t d\text{" for firewood go! (gan firewood; ga for; na- prefix [§ 17.5]; at to go)
\]

§§ 21, 22
3. **q!wan** expresses a mild imperative and resembles our own **pray**, or **SUPPOSE**.

\[dëkì' q!wan dajo'cì'q out, pray, run to him! (dëkì' out; da- to [§ 14.4]; qì- [?]; cìq to run)\]

\[hìŋq! q!wan yen xat cat into the water, pray, then put me! (hìŋ water; q! at; yen then; xat me; cat put)\]

\[itwuwu' q!wan cat!lì'q! Nixa' nìël gu'tnì be courageous when Nixà' comes in (see § 19.3; i you; tu mind; -wu possessive; cat- reflexive; tì'q!, stem [?]; nìël into the house; gu to go; -t -n -ì suffixes [§ 20.1; § 19.3; § 20.2])\]

4. **l** expresses the negation. Generally this element appears combined with the connective **le then**. The emphatic negative is **lìl**, apparently a doubled negation.

\[lìl kìŋqì'q ya axhìli'ì never tell about my house (lìl never; kì=ka [?]; nìk to tell; -ìq suffix; ya about; ax my; hìt house; -ì possessive)\]

\[lìl lax ye xat kuya'ndìqìq never let me burn up! (lax very; ye thus; xat I; ku future; gàn to burn; -te always; -ìq a suffix)\]

In negative questions the negation is contracted with the interrogative particle.

\[Lè'qìl xat wunêku? am I not sick? (Lè adverb; qì interrogative particle; l not (with Lè); xat I; wu- verbal prefix; nèkù sick)\]

5. **gul** expresses probability, and is generally initial.

\[gul lax Lèq! dìs hasdûka' cuwaxì'x very probably they passed all of one month (lax very; Lèq! one; dìs moon; hasdûka' on them; cu- entirely[§ 15.1]; wa- verbal prefix[§ 18.2]; xìx stem)\]

\[gul de djînka'ì ayu' q!aowaxe for probably ten days he went [without food] (de already; djînkat ten; ayu' demonstrative; q!a mouth [§ 14.1]; o- wa- prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; xe stem)\]

### § 23. Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs are difficult to distinguish from post-positions, but the following may be mentioned as of constant occurrence:

1. **dàk** outward, out to sea
2. **daq** shoreward
3. **ke** upward
4. **de** now, right away, already
5. **ye** thus or as follows
6. **yèx** or **yax** like
7. **nìël** into the house
8. **yu** or **yux** out of doors
9. **yen** there
10. **deki'** far outward
11. **iṣki'** down below, specifically southward
12. **yìk** inside
Bearing a closer resemblance to post-positions are:

13. t or dê to  
14. n with  
15. x from  
16. q! at  
17. yî down in  
18. yî’nadê down toward  
19. yes for  
20. gox back to, backward  
21. xan to a person  
22. tu into  
23. tâ’yi under  
24. t!a behind  
25. dAx from  
26. da around  
27. xo among  
28. kî toward  
29. ka on  
30. qa for  
31. qa! for  
32. gê inside of  
33. ilt with  
34. hâ’yî down underneath  
35. qîës for  
36. gayî down in front of  
37. wat at the mouth of  
38. tâk in the middle of  
39. nax through, on account of, in association with  
40. gân outside of  
41. date’n 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,

\[\text{hît}’tq!î tûx yu’wagut yucâ’wat adjâq g dAx the woman went through the houses after she had killed it (hît house; -q!î collective; tûx through; yu-va- verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.2]; g to go; -t [§ 20.1]; yu- demonstrative; câ’wat woman; a it; djâq to kill; dAx from)]

\[aqr!ît’s cangu’dé kAx a’oðïgêq! he put (his coat) on to go down into the midst of its tentacles (a-it; q!ît’s tentacles; can-tu’dé into the midst of; kAx adverbial; a- indefinite pronoun; o- dê- prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; geq! to do quickly)]

\[ayalan’è’slawe awa’n when he had sharpened the edges of it (a- indefinite pronoun; ya- la- verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.4]; nès! 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 dê; 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 xa 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'xayu or ada'xawe and then (compounded of a; dax from; a, and yu or we)
- atxawe' afterwards (from a; t to; x from; a; and we)
- ayaxawe on account of which (from a; yax like; a; and we)
- tc!u'le', evidently THEN, consists of two adverbial particles, tc!u and le!
- wanani'sawe by and by (probably compounded from some verb)
  - atcawe' contains the intensive suffix tc.

Subordinate clauses, when not turned into participles or infinitives, are connected to the principal verb by awe' 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
- axa' paddle
- ic father
- yakh canoe
- yak mussel
- yao herring
- yaytc sea-otter
- yèk supernatural helper
- yît son
- dâ'sla snare
- dis moon
- ta stone
- tan sea-lion
- tât night
- nu fort
- na't clothing
- nuk!u shells
- tcune't bow
- tsa seal
- tsësk!u owl
- s!äxu hat
- sît spruce
- cat wife
- can old person
Onomatopoetic words are surprisingly rare.

The following are the terms of blood-relationship:

- cay'na anchor
- ci blood
- ci song
- gaqa'n sun
- gote wolf
- qa man
- gahā'ku salmon-eggs
- gou people
- qa point
- qa'n fire
- qa'n fur-seal
- qa'ti island
- xa enemy

Terms of relationship through marriage are the following:

- xao log or dead tree
- xát root
- xōn friend
- xōx husband
- kūt fish-basket
- kā'nī brother-in-law
- kē'ladī sea-gull
- xā'na evening
- xūts! grizzly-bear
- xixte! frog
- hūn fresh water
- hīt house
- hu'nx elder brother

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.
§ 26. Verbal Stems

One or two nominal stems, such as *sa* name, *tēn* dream, and *̄ak̑l* 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
- *s!u* to cut off
- *na* to do
- *nī* to put
- *xe* to stay, remain
- *gu* to go (one person)
- *at* to go (pl.)
- *dja* to tell, explain
- *tī* 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
- *k’ē* to be good
- *dji* to have
- *qe* to sit
- *nēx* to save
- *nāk* to tell
- *yex* to make
- *xōx* to invite
- *tan* to put
- *nukʷ* to become
- *djaq* to kill
- *tīn* to see
- *gas!* to strike
- *gēn* to look at, examine
- *xōx* to get
- *gan* to burn
- *git* to do
- *na* to die
- *ka* to be lazy
- *t!u* to slap
- *t!a* to be hot
- *cī* to hunt for
- *hik* to be full of
- *djiel* to set, place
- *tsin* to be strong
- *qiq!* to throw
- *gōw* to go by canoe
- *xōx* to dance
- *cat* to take, seize
- *gac* to drift
- *xōt!* to sharpen
- *āx* to hear
- *hēn* to stand
- *xēq!* to sleep or to go to sleep
- *s!it* to cover
- *tīt* to drift
- *gāx* to cry
- *k!ān* to hate
- *ts!aq* to smoke
- *āk* to boil
- *t!ak* to shoot
- *t!aq!* to pound
- *wūs!* to ask
- *xin* to fly into
- *k!āk!* to cut
- *q!akʷ* to forget
- *q!ak* to swim
- *āk* to weave
- *tsīs* 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.
§ 27. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns with which they occur. The cardinal numbers are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lēq!} & \text{ one} \\
\text{dēx} & \text{ two} \\
\text{natsl} & \text{ three} \\
\text{daq!ān} & \text{ four} \\
\text{kēdjin} & \text{ five} \\
\text{lēducu} & \text{ six} \\
\text{daxaducu} & \text{ seven}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{na'ts!kuducu'}\text{ eight} \]
\[\text{gucā'k}\text{ nine} \]
\[\text{djīnkāt}\text{ ten} \]
\[\text{djīnkāt qa lēq! eleven} \]
\[\text{lēqa twenty} \]
\[\text{natsgų djīnkat thirty} \]
\[\text{kēdjin qa one hundred} \]

\(Kēdjin\) is formed from \text{ke up} and \text{djīn hand}; \text{djīnkāt} contains the suffix \text{kat across or upon} and \text{djīn hand}; \text{lēqa} is from \text{lēq! one} and \text{qa man}.

When human beings are referred to, slaves usually excepted, the numeral takes the post-position \text{nāx}.

\[\text{nās!qināx qa three men} \]
\[\text{lēducūnāx dukē'lk!i has his six nephews} \]
\[\text{dēx gux two slaves} \]

The numeral \text{one}, however, is sometimes unchanged.

\[\text{yu lēq! yatī'yiga wuckik!iyē'n bring one of the brothers} \]
\[\text{lēq! atī'yia bring one man} \]

\text{nāx} is also used to form distributive numerals.

Ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of a final -\text{a}.

\[\text{daxa' the second} \]
\[\text{natsgia' the third} \]

\text{The first} is expressed by \text{cuq!wā'nax}.

Numeral adverbs are formed by suffixing -\text{dahēn}.

\[\text{daxdahē'n yē'yanaqa when he said thus twice} \]
\[\text{daxdahē'na gu'dawe after she had been twice} \]

§ 28. Interrogative Pronouns

The chief interrogative pronouns, also used as relatives, are \text{adū'sa who}, \text{dā'sa what}, and \text{wā'sa what or how}. The final syllable \text{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 \text{sī} or \text{Astī} referred to in § 18.1. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

\[\text{§§ 27, 28}\]
adū'sa wul!i'q! who broke it off?
adū'sgī qasī' gaca' I wonder who will marry my daughter
dā'saya ye dį'wani what has done this?
dasayū', aie' what is that, mother?
̓ha dā'tin sa what with? (that is, what can you do?)
wasa'yu hadī' ye'doqa what to us do they say thus?
te'ule' lēl wudusku' wā'sa waniye' then they did not know what
had been done
wā'sa iya'odudziqa' axyi't what did they say to you, my son?

With these should be connected gu'sū WHERE.

gusū' yen yuqoxe'tcqi where is, then, the breaking off of it?
gusū' tūwunu'guyī' where is it that he had felt bad?
gudā'xqā'x sāyu' u'wadji lēl 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.
Qaq!atcguk

(Told by interpreter, Don Cameron, at Sitka, January, 1901)

Citl'kau'ayu¹ ye'yati² w'u'ckik!ye'n³ ye'duwasak⁴ hunxö⁵ a⁶ At Sitka it was that there were brothers named thus the eldest that is Qaq!atcguk.⁷ Al!un'ayu⁸ has ak!e'ita'n.⁹ Lēq!¹⁰ ts'ut'ayu¹¹ Qaq!atcguk. Hunting it was they liked. One morning it was on that q'at'q'i xodë'¹² dæk¹³ has uwaqo'x.¹⁴ Lēq at udja'q.x.¹⁵ Ts'u! islands to among out they went by canoe. Not things he ever killed. Again yen uqo'xte.¹⁶ Ts'u dæk uwaqo'x.¹⁷ Ada'xayu¹⁸ yuq!un'¹⁹ xo'dē there he always came in by canoe. Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to among wuduwasa'.²⁰ "Hu at naqo'xte'iya²¹ aya'.²² Citl'k!A'L²² i'sa²³ his name was called. "He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices after gnū'x."²⁴ Dāq has naqo'x²⁵ a'ayu²⁶ yuhunxō'a²⁶ ye'q!ayaqa:²⁷ lest he Shoreward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:

¹ Citl'kau' (Sitka) compounded of Ci the native name of Baranoff Island, the post-position /a BEHIND or BACK OF, and the post-position ka ON; q! locative post-position AT; ayu compounded of ye the demonstrative and probably a definite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.
² ye an adversative particle referring to brothers, which may here be translated AS FOLLOWS, although it sometimes refers to what precedes; ye-continuous prefix § 15.3; ti stem of the verb to BE.
³ uwa- § 15.4; c- the reflexive prefix § 11; kik! YOUNGER BROTHER; -ye'n suffix which seems to take the place of has to indicate plurality.
⁴ ye as follows; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa- TO NAME OR CALL; -ke noun-forming or perfect participial suffix § 20.3.
⁵ hunx ELLER BROTHER; ò probably possessive; kik! YOUNGER BROTHER.
⁶ a stands for ye'duwasak.
⁷ Object of ye'duwasak.
⁸ a- indefinite pronoun indicating the things hunted for; L!ùn HUNTING FOR, employed as a post-position; ayu (see note 1).
⁹ hes personal pronoun subject third person plural; a-object referring to a L!ùn'; ks- indefinite prefix; ci-desire § 18.7; tan to FUR, verb-stem of many uses.
¹⁰ Lēq! ONE, numeral modifying ts'ut'ayu. Very often the noun modified is omitted in connections like this.
¹¹ ts'ut'ayu AGAIN; litl NIGHT; ayu demonstrative. The meaning seems to be, ANOTHER NIGHT BEING PAST.
¹² qīt! Island; q! plural; zo AMONG; dē motion to.
¹³ Adverb; SEAWARD or TO AN OPEN PLACE.
¹⁴ u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; qox TO GO BY CANOE.
¹⁵ u- § 17.2; qāj TO KILL; -x distributive suffix § 19.4.
¹⁶ u- § 17.2; qox TO GO BY CANOE; -c!e intensive suffix § 7.
¹⁷ a- indefinite pronoun; -dag FROM; ayu demonstrative.
¹⁸ yu- demonstrative; q!un FUR-SEAL.
¹⁹ wa- § 15.4; da- § 17.5; wa- § 18.2; sa TO NAME, TO CALL, ALSO VOICE.
²⁰ na- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; qox TO GO BY CANOE; -c!e intensive suffix § 7; -i participial suffix; -ye noun-forming suffix § 20.2, 4.
²¹ a indefinite pronoun, and ye demonstrative.
²² c- reflexive § 11; h- frequentative § 18.4; k!IL! TO BE QUIET.
²³ i- THY; sa VOICE (see note 19).
²⁴ ya- subordinating prefix § 17.4; āz TO BEAR.
²⁵ a and ayu.
²⁶ yu- demonstrative; hunx! ELDER BROTHER; a indefinite pronoun.
²⁷ ye- AS FOLLOWS; q!a MOUTH; pa- § 15.3; qa stem.
"Làkù ax'á', yàndunu'k'u." 28 Lê klànt 29 has uwanu'k'u. 30 Caqahá'dì 31 "Quick paddles it has become windy." Then angry they became. The bowman yákà 32 awago'qì 33 duax'a'ylì. 34 Łdaka't ye's 35 wudzigí't. 36 Adå'axyu 17 into the pushed his paddle. All did the same. And then cana 37 has wu'dìsí't. 38 Yà'nýàkì 18 qo'a Lê wu'lixäc. 39 Deki'dì 40 heads they covered. The canoe, however, then drifted. Outward Łedueü 41 ya'kaye qa tät 11 has wu'lixäc. 30 Yadjì'nkät-qa-dex 42 six days and nights they drifted. The twelfth day ak'a'tayu 43 ke a'odzigít 44 yên yu'liítik 45 yùyàk'ì 18 Aosì'tì' 46 on that up he woke there the drifting against the canoe. He saw the shore q'lä'tik'a'q! 47 òslùyn 48 tân, tsu, q'ilùn, yàx'te! qa tän-q'adazä'yla! 49 on the island it was sea-lions, hair-fur, seals, sea-otters, and sea-bristles.

Łdaka't ada' 50 aolita'qì! 51 yu'q!a't!däq! 52 Has at kà'wadjél. 53 All around it drifted the island around on. They things got up. Łeği! tàkì 54 nyc's 55 wuti'. 56 Ka'ndaklé'tì! 57 yu'le'qì tákì 58 qa acuwn'. Wuteè'x 58 yuqi' teccstá't. 59 Łeği! tsültátì an 60 ke uzådzigì' 61 slept regularly the man to sleep himself. One morning with it up he woke dutœü'mì. 62 Yé'atœun 63 qoxì 64 aqà'qte. 65 Adå'axyu 17 Łeği! tsültátì 11 his dream. He dreamed thus back he always got. And then one morning

28 ya- § 15.3; n- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; du- § 17.3; nuku to BLOW.
29 k'ân ANCE; -ä attainment of a state § 20.1.
30 w- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; nuku to BECOME.
31 Perhaps containing ca HEAD, qa AGR.
32 yákì CANOE; t motion into.
33 a indefinite pronoun; wa- § 18.2; goq to PUSH.
34 du- his; aza' PADDLE; -yì POSSESSIVE suffix § 10.
35 yì refers to action preceding; -s probably stands for has THEY.
36 wu- § 15.4; džít- to COME to § 18.6; git to DO.
37 ca HEAD; -na probably AROUND, NEAR.
38 wu- § 15.4; džít- inchoative § 18.3; slút to COVER.
39 wu- § 15.4; l- frequentative § 18.4; poc to DRIFT.
40 džítí Distant; -è motion thither.
41 Łeği! one; sìx = one counted upon five.
42 ya- demonstrative; džìn HAND; -kát UPON or ACROSS, probably the two hands lying upon each other; qa AND; džít TWO.
43 Probably a indefinite pronoun; ka ON; t motion to; ayu demonstrative compound.
44 a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; džít- to COME to BE § 18.6; git.
45 yì demonstrative; l- frequentative § 18.4; lit to DRIFT ASHORE; -kà verbal noun § 20.3.
46 a- indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; -sí simple statement of an action § 18.1; tin to SEE.
47 qólt! ISLAND; ka ON! q' AT.
48 Probably a indefinite pronoun; si simple statement of fact (see note 46); ya demonstrative. 
49 qós probably MOUTH; -yì possessive suffix § 10.
50 a indefinite pronoun; da AROUND.
51 a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; l- frequentative § 18.4; laq! to DRIFT.
52 ya demonstrative; qatót ISLAND; da AROUND; q' AT.
53 ka- to CAUSE to DO § 15.2; wu- § 18.2; džít to ARISE.
54 Strictly WINTER.
55 a indefinite pronoun; yes ON ACCOUNT of, or ye' plus s for has THEY.
56 wu- § 15.4; tì to BE.
57 I am unable to analyze this word. ka may be the prefixed auxiliary.
58 wu- § 15.4; ta to SLEEP; -ä distributive § 19.4.
59 tsee- perhaps reflexive § 11; s- single statement of action § 18.1; ta to SLEEP; -t suffix indicating purpose § 20.1.
60 a indefinite pronoun; -ì WITH.
61 u- active prefix § 17.2; džít- to COME to BE § 18.6; git to DO.
62 du- his; tceùn DREAM; -ì possessive suffix after a consonant §§ 3, 10.
63 ye- demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; tceùn to DREAM.
64 qoz occurs both as adverb and as postposition.
65 a indefinite pronoun; góq to REACH; -ì intensive suffix § 7.
Thus they went to the canoe-resting-place, Adá'xayu yén has yá'watán.

And then they were heading. It was dark near it.

They went ashore from the top of it.

Where it gets. Very many they camped when they saw a sea-gull.

Mount they camped when they saw Mount plainly. "The mountain正义 towards there you are steering." And then it

They were going by; they named it canoe-resting-place.

He could not be ashore so they might come near it there had come by canoe.
Ada'xawe yaC'i't! kadê 98 has wuqo'x. Yâ'âni 99 gayâ'qadê 100
And then here to Sitka they came by canoe. This town
they came in front of
ywâ'sgaqo'xayu' 101 teân'guayî 102 duca't 103 gant agâ'x. Tcâlaye' su
when they were coming the old one his wife outside wept. At that very
canoe was going time
gaxe'ayu 104 aositi'n yu'âkâân egaya'de 105 yânaqo'x. Aositi'n
when she was she saw the canoe town to in front of was coming. She saw
crying
awu'age 107 xat-sâxu 108 Wudihân 109 de 110 wugu't. 111 Há 112
she had she saw the root-hat. She started up into the
town (she went). Here
has wuqo'x. Dutuwu 113 sig'yuca'wat-cân. 114 Duxô'x duxâ'q! 115
they came. Her mind was happy the old woman's. Her husband to her
dâq gu'dayu ldaka't at qadji'de 116 ye aosîni' 117 tân-q! adadzhâ'yi,
up came when all things to the men these he gave sea-lion bristles,
yâ'x'te dügü', q'lûn dügü'. Án qâdji'n 118 aolë'kâ 119 Dukâni-
sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. With these
men these things
yên 120 yê'dayadaquâ, 121 "deuclâ'ku 122 iitî'q! 123 yên yu-at-kâ'wati. 124
In-law they said thus to him, "Long since in your place
the feast has been given,
Yuyi's-qa 125 de 126 udu'waca." 127 Arë'ni 128 tuwunuku 129 awatë'. 130
The young woman is already married." It was much trouble she felt.

98 ya this, employed because the story was told in Sitka; de toward.
99 ya this; ân town; -i possessive suffix. The reason for the use of this suffix is not clear.
100 ga'ya post-position, in front of; -q probably indicates motion shoreward; de toward.
101 ya- §15.3; s for has they (?); ga-subordinating prefix § 17.4; go to go by canoe; -yayu demonstrative.
102 te'a'kâu old, old times, old things; -(a)yi possessive suffix referring to duca't.
103 du- his.
104 ga' to cry; -e particle § 20.2; -yayu demonstrative.
105 -i occurs a few times before post-positions beginning with g, such as ga and gé; pëya in front of;
de toward.
106 ya- §15.3; na- action done at the same time as another § 17.5.
107 a indefinite pronoun; wu- § 15.4; ak to weave, with terminal sound voiced before vowel; -e particle § 20.2.
108 xa't root; sâxu hat.
109 wo- § 15.4; di-inchoative § 18.3; hân to move. (?)
110 né into the house; de toward.
111 wo- § 15.4; gu to go; -e purposive suffix § 20.1.
112 he demonstrative; -e post-position.
113 du her; tu mind; un possessive suffix after u § 10.
114 yu demonstrative; c'wât woman; c'an old.
115 du he; -xan to the neighborhood of a person; -q! at.
116 qa man; -c voiced before vowel; emphatic suffix § 7; de toward.
117 See note 46; ni to give.
118 qa man; djin hand.
119 têke to shake.
120 du his; yên plural for terms of relationship (see note 3).
121 ye demonstrative; du sign of indirect object § 14.4; ya- § 15.3; du- § 17.3; qa to say.
122 de now; te'kâu a long time ago.
123 -tî; -q'! post-position.
124 ya demonstrative; at something; ka-cansative § 15.2; wa- § 18.2; ti to be.
125 ya demonstrative; yis young person; qa human being.
126 de now.
127 wa- § 17.2; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; ca to marry (=woman).
128 a indefinite pronoun; lën big.
129 tu mind; wo- § 15.4; nuku to become.
130 a indefinite pronoun; wa- § 18.2; ite to feel.
Brothers lived at Sitka of whom the eldest was named Qɑq’ɑtegů’k. They were fond of hunting. One morning they went out among the islands. He (that is Qɑq’ɑtegů’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 (Qɑq’ɑtegů’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 Verstovaia.” 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 Edgecumbe. When they got nearer it, they saw plainly that it was Mount Edgecumbe. “Straight for the mountain,” said Qɑq’ɑtegů’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 Skittagetan 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 Athapascan 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives</td>
<td>$dj$ $tc$ $tc!$ $-$ $-$ $-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>$d$ $t$ $t!$ $s$ $n$ $-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>$g$ $k$ $k!$ $x$ $\tilde{n}$ $y$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td>$q$ $q$ $q!$ $x$ $-$ $h$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>$b$ $p$ $-$ $-$ $m$ $w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>$\ell$ $l$ $l!$ $l,l$ $-$</td>
</tr>
</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 $\ell$ is much like $dl$, and $l$ much like $tl$; 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 § 2.
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 \( g \) and \( x \) are articulated so feebly that it is best to represent them by independent signs, \( ^i \) and \( ^x \); 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 \( ù \) (or \( õ \)), \( u \) (or \( o \)), \( ì \) (or \( ë \)), \( ì \) (or \( ë \)), \( a \), and \( ì \). The sounds in the pairs \( ù \) and \( õ \), \( u \) and \( o \), \( ì \) and \( ë \), \( i \) 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 \( ì \) and \( ë \); 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 \( ã \). Sometimes \( ù \) is heard instead of \( ã \) (\( kìì'lu, kìì'lu \)); and sometimes the doubling of a sound gives the effect of \( ã \), as in Masset \( qā'ñ \), equivalent to \( qa'a'ñ \), and \( qā'ñan \), which is the same as \( gëë'ñan \). \( a \) following \( wa \), as in \( wa'lu \), resembles \( ã \); and \( ã \) is heard in a few exclamations, but it is not proper to the language. The semi-vowels, \( y \) and \( w \), are etymologically related to \( ì \) and \( ù \), 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
djà'ada & \text{ woman} \\
la l' kìì'ñà'guñ & wànsù'ga \text{ he told her the news, they say} \\
l' sù'us & \text{ he said} \\
gua & \text{ towards} \\
ta'ołañ & \text{ friends} \\
guí & \text{ toward} \\
l' gëë'lagàñ & \text{ he became} \\
lnàgà'i & \text{ the town}
\end{align*}
\]

A weak \( i \) may be followed by two vowels, as in \( gìì'o'gìì \) at the end. 

§ 2
§ 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 $t$, and those with other initial consonants. $l$, $r$, $l$, and $l!$ belong in part to the former group.

Only $s$ and $t$, and to a certain extent $l$, $r$, $l$, and $l!$ may form initial clusters, and the first two are found with considerable frequency in monosyllabic stem. In these clusters $s$ and $t$ are followed by other consonants; but $s$ is not followed by another $s$ or an affricative. Following are examples, taken from the Masset dialect:

- **stän** two 280.10
- **stlē** sick 300.28
- **sqat** to chop 275.10
- **sk'it**- to club
- **skl'ān** but 296.32
- **st'əan** ($st'wān$) one 275.7
- **sq'la'o** salmon-berry bush 319.23
- **sq'la'a'm** butterfly 296.26
- **sq'la** hand

Initial clusters with initial $l$, $r$, $l!$, or $l$ are not rare, but are formed probably in all cases by composition.

- **lnagai'** town 704.9 (from *na* to live)
- **yū'a'nda** a whole one 707.11; 419.15
- **l'ln'ala'nān** she cooked it 731.41 (*'al* to cook 295.7)
- **lnōt** 710.26
- **l'lgadānō'ndan** to split quickly 711.26
- **l'djūgia'ga'-i** standing 725.26
- **lsku'naga'nān** 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 $djx$. 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 $\varepsilon$ and $\tilde{z}$; and this shortening is also conspicuously noticeable among vowel-sounds, $a$ appearing as $\tilde{a}$, sta or sta as $st\prime$, while the $u$ and $a$ sounds generally, especially when terminal, are reduced to very light breathings. The vowel-combination $ai$ becomes almost $\varepsilon$. Sometimes, however, one vowel is changed into another, as in $s\tilde{i}n$ two (Masset $st\tilde{a}n$) or $u'ngu$ on top of (Masset $\tilde{v}'\tilde{n}gu$). In conformity with a euphonic tendency to be noted below, $\tilde{n}$, as in $\tilde{v}'s\tilde{i}n$, often changes to $n$ in Masset. Occasionally, too, whole syllables are dropped, and so we have $qaod$ for $qa'odi$; $tlal$ and $dal$ for $tlala'\tilde{n}$ and $dala'\tilde{n}$; $\tilde{v}'llad\tilde{e}$ for $\tilde{v}'llxag\tilde{u}dasgai$.

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 $\tilde{a}'d\tilde{j}gua$ over there in Masset becomes $\tilde{a}'d\tilde{j}gua$ in Skidegate, and $l'q\tilde{a}'gals$ he went out becomes $l\alpha q\tilde{a}'x\tilde{u}ls$. 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 Athapascan.

§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 $g$ of the connective particle $ga\text{-}i$ (see p. 262), the possessive suffix $-qa\tilde{u}$ (see §28.4), and the past-temporal suffixes before the quotative $wans\tilde{u}'ga$ (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 $i$, $\tilde{n}$, the $l$-sounds, and $s$ 

§§4, 5
contracted from $dji$. 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:

- $xa'gai$ the dog B 37.4
- $lua'i$ the canoe B 29.21
- $djä'gäñ$ his wife B 29.30
- $awu'n$ his mother B 7.1
- $goda'i$ the box B 71.32

$nä'nañ$ his grandmother B 59.14
$nä'ngai$ the play
$qlaä'gai$ the slumber
$a'sgai$ this thing B 33.28
'łe'gea'lgai$ 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:

- $la l! ñsdägi'gäñan$ they
- $l! a' sgadanì$ they landed
- $xed ñdjə'nì$ they were ashore

But—

- $gäi yu'än q琿djw'łagana$ a big
- reef stood out of the water
- $näñ z'łagidan$ one was chief

The final consonant of certain stems is sometimes $l$, sometimes $l$. Of these, $l$ usually appears before a vowel, $l$ before a consonant:

- $la stł l! stlès$ they went back
- $a'asiñ gut la qaxitgiä'lasi$ he
- for him
- $ran over this way upon it$

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 $lā'gə la te'ltlągeä'łgai ɾu$ when he got through breaking his paddles

$l$ is also sometimes introduced where it has no grammatical significance, and thus we find $yakulś'a$ in the middle instead of $yakuis'a$.

$n$ and $ñ$ seem to bear much the same relation to each other as do $l$ and $l$, only in this case $ñ$ is plainly the original sound. Thus the terminal phonetic combination -ñas often contracts to $ns$; for example, $nä'tgə hao la'oatügwänąñas$ his nephew sat around whittling or $nä'tgə hao la'oatügwänąns$. This phenomenon may be due as much to rapid pronunciation as to any other cause.

Before $s$ the terminal $ñ$ of the imperative future suffix disappears, as also from $gänə'ñ$ like before $xən$, as in $gänə'xən$; while in $gi'ngan$ to himself it appears to be inserted.

$s$ becomes $dji$ before most vowels; for example, $tūs$ sand, $tä'djəi$ the sand; $ə'джи$ this, $ə'sgai$ this thing; $hawa'n$ $däñ$ $xé'ñañσədja$ do you still live? and $gəm$ $gə$ $xən$ $də'ňə$ $təlañə$ $uñañənuş$
MAY WE NOT LEAVE WATER WITH YOU? (Masset)—have the same interrogative suffix -ādja, -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 -gañ; as, la qi'ńgañ he is looking, la qi'ńgañgañ 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'yañə ɪla ɪsda'śi, 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 wāl'gal potlatch and to potlatch, xial dance and to dance, na house and to live; while gīda chief's

§§ 6, 7
son, yā'na ū clouds, tā'ūa 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'gan
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.

§§ 10–12
§ 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 *daŋgidaLL'xasq'acanoebcing hauled seaward*, which is constituted as follows

First group: *da* by pulling.
Second group: *gi* canoe-shaped object.
Third group: *d̓al* to move.
Fourth group: \[ l̓x̓a \] toward something.

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 *g̓idjig̓il̓dalskit to place an animate object by causing it to become (one that) holds on with the hands:*

First complex, third group: *g̓idji* to hold with hands.
Second complex, third group: *gil* 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 tagiaga'įŋwa'nas he ate it as he stood around (La la objective and subjective pronouns; ta to eat; -giə to stand; -gaŋ continuative; -guaŋ about; -a8 participle)*
gi'tgalan əstiñ ə'siñ la qêñqa'la'oxañasl he also saw his two children sitting there (gi't child; -ga possessive suffix; -lañ plural suffix with terms of relationship; əstiñ two; ə'siñ also; la subjective pronoun; qêñ stem to see; qa to sit; -o suffixed auxiliary; xañ perhaps a form of gañ continuative [§ 24.1, p. 250]; -as participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

aga'ñ la xgalga'idadagan he went stealthily (aga'ñ reflexive; la subjective pronoun; xgal to hide; qa to go; -id inchoative; -agan past inexperienced)

la qa la qaga'tañagañ he went and looked at her (la objective pronoun; qa post-position at; la subjective pronoun; qa to go; qen to look; taña to go by sea [?]; -agan past inexperienced)

l' qâ'djî la qîñq!a'idadalasi he saw his head go by (l' possessive prefix 3d person singular; qâ'djî head; la subjective pronoun; qîñ [same as qêñ] to see; qa'i- classifier [§ 15.18, p. 232]; dju of that sort or kind; dal to go; -asi participle)

gam dalal'ñ l! qîñ,xîtux'ilq!a'ngasga they will not see you flying about all the time (gam negative particle; dalal'ñ object 2d person plural; l! subject 3d person plural; qîñ to see; xît to fly; xañ [?]; -gan continuative; ga [?]; -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 xutxeidanî he carried some on his back (la he; ga some; xut stem [?]; -id inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -i suffix [§ 25.6])

xañqagî x!na di la xunxidas lu I wish he would carry me on his back face up (xañ face; x!na I wish; di me; la he; xit to pick up; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254]; lu when)

1 See also § 17.1, p. 235. All references in §§ 14-27 refer to the Skidegate Texts, Bulletin 29, etc.
la la u'nsite=taias he came in with him and took him off from his back (la him; la he; un- with back; sI to place; te!a into; -y perfect [§ 23.7, p. 249]; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

2. te!it- by shooting or by hammering; also independent verb, to shoot.

l' gitgal a nu sti'uxan te!itgal'igadaagnaga'aga nu wansu'ga her sons knew well how to shoot stones by means of a stick (l' her; git child; -ga possessive [§ 28.1, p. 257]; -la nu pl.; sti'uxan both; te!it- by shooting; gaiia to know how to)

la te!itguego 'ndi qa'odihao after he had shot for a while (la he; qe stem; -gan connective; -di [§ 20.7, p. 241]; qa'odih connective after a while; hao general demonstrative)

la la te!it'gas he shot it (la it; la he; te!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! da'!slgawas they pushed him down (la him; l! they; l- [§ 15.20, p. 232] shaped like a human being; sI to put or place; gawa [?]; -s participle [§ 25.7])

gu la gan la da'!gilii she put it in for him (gu in; la him; gan for; la she; da- prefix; git [?]; -si participle [§ 25.7])

l' qe'u'ga la dasqi!a'!skitgoasi they put it in front of it (l' it; qe'u'ga in front of; la they [with -go § 20.1, p. 240]; da- prefix; sqi!a-[§ 15.11]; skit stem; -si participle)

la gut gia'gai la da'!il'nanana!koos he rubbed tallow on them (la them [with -go § 20.1]; gut upon; gia'gai the tallow; la he; da- prefix; qti!i [§ 15.18]; nan to rub; -la!i continuative [§ 24.1]; -s participle)

l! dadji!t!l!lai'yaqani they pushed down 45.15 (dji! stem; -l!al down; da to cause; -y perfect)

4. da!i- by pulling; also an independent verb(?). This is one of the most frequent instrumentals.

la da'na!i'ndji!li!xas he pulled [him] out head first 29.26 (la he; da!i- by pulling; andji erect; -li!xa toward; -s participle) 
gu'ista la da'!nanas he pulled him apart (gut together; sta from; la he; da!i- by pulling; da to cause; i=y perfect; -s participle) 
s!wan l' da'!nani!c!li!xas l!u when he pulled one out of the sea (Masset) 
s!wan one; l' he; da!i- by pulling; anci!i = andji erect; la perhaps l!xa toward; -s participle; l!u when) 
A'!na l' da'!nidan!i he pulled his property out (A'na his own; l' he; da!i- by pulling; -da to cause; -an past inexperienced; -i [§ 25.6, p. 253])

la da'nya'lias he pulled out (head) 10.4 (q!a-i- § 15.18)

la da'nya!qlastas he pulled out a long one 57.9 (sqi!a- § 15.11)
5. *dal-* BY MEANS OF A CURRENT OF WATER (dal rain).

\( v \) dál̄'las he floated (living one) down 97.19
nāl̄'gaa\'nda yú'alsa dál̄'galdal̄!saiaqan much seaweed came
drifting 33.22 (nāl̄'gaa\'nda seaweed; yú = yú'ان much; -dal̄a
pl. adj. [§ 39, p. 276]; dál- by means of a current; lgal
to turn; dā to cause [§ 18.2]; -l̄'a toward; -i perfect; -agān past
inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. *tla-* BY STAMPING OR TREADING UPON. Perhaps related to *sta*.
la l̄! tlašél̄'gaa\nān̄ they tickled her by treading 31.26 (la her; l̄! they;
tla- by treading; sēl to tickle; -gaa\nān̄ continuative
duplicated [§ 24.1; § 6])
ḡ̄la'i inagwai'gei la tlananā'nsi he stamped half of the alder to
pieces (gal alder; -a'i the; inagwai the half; gei into; la he;
tla- by treading; nan to roll about; -a'n continuative; -asi
participle)
\( v \) tla!ladā'ngasgas she washed it by treading upon it in the sea
(l̄̄' she; l̄!sadān [?]; ga to go [?]; -spa seaward; -s participle)
gei la tlananā'ngawasi they broke in pieces with their feet (gei
into [pieces]; la they [with -gaw]; tla- with feet; nan to grind;
-\( a'\)n continuative; -asi participle)

7. *stla-* BY KICKING; identical with the word for foot.
la la stla'sgīdas he kicked it (la it; la he; sgīd stem; -as participle)
la stla̲x̲a'ostq̲g̲ias̲i he kicked it into the water (la he; xao quickly;
stla stem; -gia suffix [?]; -si participle)
l̄'̃qa la la stlaqadāi'yaqan he kicked his own 89.33

8. *nana-* BY GRINDING, being the stem of the verb to GRIND.
agā'\n̄l̄ na nanha'\̄l̄wuwus he destroyed himself by grinding (agā'\n̄ himself; la he; hail̄ū to destroy; -s participle)

9. *skit-* BY CHOPPING OR BY CLUBBING.
la gei la skîtnana'\̄x̄idaias he began to chop them up (la it
[pieces]; gei into; la he; nana\n̄ stem; -xid inchoative; -i perfect;
-s participle)
la la skïña'ndi qa'od̄i after he had chopped it for a while (la it;
la he; skίd to chop; -an probably continuative; d̄i [§ 20.7]
qa'od̄i after a while)
na'wa\̂i la skîtnana'\̄ngawasi they clubbed the devil-fish (na'wa\̂
the devil-fish; la he [with -gaw § 20.1]; nana\n̄ stem; -asi
participle)
\( ḡ̄i \) la skïdju'usi he tried to club them (ḡ̄i to [post-position with
omitted object]; la he; skïd by clubbing; dju to try, to do
that sort of thing; -usi participle)
aḡ̄a\n̄ la skîtk̄ō'^tud̄as he let himself be clubbed to death 12.13
(aḡ̄a'\n̄ self; k̄ō'^t dead; d̄a to cause)
\( v \) skîtq̄ā'go\n̄nasi he went around while they were beating time 13.16
10. **skiū-** By means of the shoulder.  
\[ \text{Bureau's note: } \]skiū'\text{guxidas} he carried half of it off on his shoulder (\text{ga'\text{d}}\text{kux}d\text{is} he carried half of it; \text{ku} stem [?]; -\text{g}d\text{i} inchoative [§ 18.6]; -\text{s} participle)  
la skiū'sk\text{la}gī'\text{nwasi} he sat with it on his shoulder (skiū'- [§ 15.8]; gī' thing [?]; w = u to continue to be [§ 18.1]; -\text{s}i participle)  
la skiū'\text{d}j\text{ilsi} being on shoulder 37.32  

11. **sI'-** With the fingers, this being the word for hand.  
\[ \text{Bureau's note: } \]la ax'\text{nē} gei\text{'sta} gā'\text{ilga}n la sI'g\text{ista'ias} he pulled out a blood-clot from his eye with his fingers (\text{ax}'\text{nē} the eye; \text{ge} into; \text{sta} from; gā'\text{ilga}n blood-clot; gī- shape [§15.13]; \text{sta} to move from; -\text{s} participle)  
la sI'\text{s}l\text{a}'ya he moved the fire with his hands (sI' stem; ya [?])  

12. **gīn-** Cause in general, of which the special variety has just been given; possibly related to gū'na thing.  
\[ \text{Bureau's note: } \]gū'\text{hao} l' gū'\text{idja'}'n w\text{ansū'ga} that made him feel that way, they say (gū' that; hao way; is to be; -\text{a}n past inexperienced [§23.2]; w\text{ansū'ga} quotative)  
k\text{una}' sqao l' gū'\text{ilx}d\text{agas\text{la'ia}n w\text{ansū'ga}n} what he got in exchange for the whales made him rich (k\text{una}' the whales; sqao in exchange for; ilx\text{da} rich or a chief; geal to become [§ 18.10]; -\text{a}n past inexperienced [§23.2]; w\text{ansū'ga} quotative)  
\[ \text{Bureau's note: } \]l' gū'\text{nG}la'\text{dias he (accomplished something) by pretending to be asleep (q\text{a} to sleep; -\text{di} [§ 20.7]; -\text{s} participle) la l' gū'\text{nG'}\text{sugan all that time they made him speak (gusū to speak[from stem su]; -\text{a}n continuative; -an past inexperienced) gū'\text{nG'}\text{l}olul to cause to die 81.43 aq\text{a}'n gū'\text{nG'}\text{tela'ya}n . . . she made herself sick 73.34  

13. **ki'it-** By means of a stick (compare ki'tao spear).  
\[ \text{Bureau's note: } \]l' \text{ina}\text{gwa'}\text{i la ki}'\text{dja'x}d\text{a}'\text{n w\text{ansū'ga} he carried half of it off on a stick, they say (\text{ina}\text{gwa' i the half of it; }\text{dji} stem; -\text{g}d\text{i inchoative [§ 18.6]; -a}n past inexperienced; w\text{ansū'ga} quotative) la la ki}'\text{tg'a tate'as he threw it in with a stick (gā'\text{t}a to throw; -\text{la} inside; -s participle) la l' ki']\text{d}a'\text{wan they struck at him with a stick (Masset) (la him; l' they [with }\text{w} \text{§ 20.1]; -\text{a}n past inexperienced) la l' ki]'\text{ti'wan} they took it into the canoe with a stick (ki'[]- with stick; q\text{a}tat stem; -\text{la} into canoe; -\text{a}n past inexperienced) la lu'a-' \text{ki}'\text{dja'la'si} he pushed the canoe with a pole 41.3 (lu canoe; -\text{a} the; gī- flat object) ki]{g\text{a}'}\text{udj}d\text{wua'agan put out (a copper) with a stick 87.24 (q\text{a}'- round thing [§ 15.18, p. 232]}\]
14. *kīl* - or *kīl* - by means of the voice, for which word this is the stem.

*gai* la *gi* *kīlgadā’ū* . . . those shouted out to him (*gai* those; *gi* to; *gad* stem [?]; -*aṅ* past inexperienced)

*gia’gā’naī* *qā’dījī* *kīlgā’txālasi* the house-pole heads shouted (*gia’gā’naī* the house-pole [“standing thing”]; *qā’dījī* heads; *gāt* stem [?]; -*a[?]a* [?]; -*sī* participle)

*lā’u’i* *lā’ga* la *kīl’yōlqaiagān* he told him to use his wedge 33.13 (*lā’u’i* the wedge; *lā’ga* his [§ 28.1]; *gōlqa* to make; -*i* perfect; -*gaṅ* past inexperienced)

*lā* *kīlqā’d’wan* they told him to sit (*qālā* 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 (?).

*tēlwa’nwā’i* *gēi* *gā’n’lai* t’alā’n’ kwałtī’susqaduwasān* we will let the water run into the fire (*tēlwa’nwā’i* the fire; *gēi* into; *gā’n’lai* the water; t’alā’n’ we; *tgī* [§ 15.25]; *sta* to move from; -*saṅ* into fire; do to cause; -*aṅ* future)

*tēl’wā’i* kwałq’ā’l!xalā’ga’nāqān* the current flowed out quickly (*tēl’wā’i* the current; *qā* stem; -*l’xa* toward; -lā’gaṅ first or at once [§ 21.3]; -*gaṅ* past inexperienced)

*tēl’wā’i* kwałq’ā’mal’!xosā* the current made cracks by the rapidity of its flowing (*tēl’wā’i* the current; q’al’mal to crack; -*l’xa* toward; -*sī* participle)

*gaṅt* kwał’tec’te’avas water flowed down (gaṅt fresh water; -*s* participle)

*gaṅt* ko’a’t’l’mdaguaśi a stream flows narrow 8.10 (t’l’ams- narrow)

16. *klut* - with the lips, a nominal stem.

*l’ k!’utl’w’stala* he spits water upward (*lusta* stem [?]; -*la* upward) k’lutl’w’ldla to make noise with lips 91.37

*q’u'al* la k’lutnā’nāsī he wet the arrow-point with his lips (q’u’al arrow-point; *ndaṅ* stem; -*sī* participle)

17. *xāl* - by means of fire acting from without (compare *xai* sunshine).

*l’ xāltī’iqwēqasga* it will fall away under the sunshine (tāi- prone object [§ 15.3]; *gwe* stem [?]; *gā* to be [?]; -*saṅ* future)

*naṅ* xallā’a’s one of them was burned up (*naṅ* some one; *t’* [§ 15.20]; *lā* stem [?]; -*s* participle)

*l’ k’wai’i’gdlān* xal’lgaias his elder brothers were burned off (k’wai elder brother; *ga* possessive suffix; -lāṅ plural; *l*animate object [§ 15.20, p. 232]; *ga* to be [§ 18.5]; -*i* perfect; -*s* participle)
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xa'iy'a's lu l' xa'll!a!al!a'diaot!alg a'nas when the sun shone, the heat made it lengthen out (xai to shine; -as participle; lu when; -!al downward [?]; -gan continuative; -as participle) xa'lla'-ilaLasi destroyed by fire 37.13

xalg'a'muadaide's beginning to be shriveled up by fire 37.15 (lgam-

[§ 15.24])

18. gō- (Masset "o) BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING WITHIN THE BODY ITSELF.

q!al la'al k!a't!al!a q!āś gōxāgodīēs small persons with black skin held burning pitchwood (q!al skin; laal black; k!at short or small; -dala plural suffix for adjectives [§ 39]; q!āś pitchwood; -ra inanimate plural [§ 15.26]; go to be somewhere; -di determinate; -ēs participle)

gē'ista gōl!ā'muldaa'nas flames came out of it (gei into; sta from; lāumul stem [?]; da causative; -aūn continuative)

l' qā'li gut gōxā'plaqa'naši it passed quickly down, burning through the inside of him (qā'li inside; gut upon; xap quickly; la stem [?]; -gan continuative; -asi participle)

a'asīnū gōhā'âluīsī at once they were destroyed by burning (a'asīn at once; há'īlu to destroy; -ési participle); see also 37.8

19. xūt- or xā- BY THE WIND OF THE BREATH; also independent verb, TO BLOW.

l' xā's lsgasi it blew out strongly (-sga seaward; -si participle)

gam lgu sta xūtskītga'ngā'nsu no breeze will blow from anywhere 31.6 (gam negative; lgu where; sta from; skīt stem; -gan negative suffix [§ 25.3]; -gān continuative; -sga future)

la xūtskītca'usi he blew it in (skī[t] stem; tca'īnward; -si participle)

Gā'sqo ya ō xū'ē'sāiaian (they) were blown straight out to Gā'sqo (Masset) (Gā'sqo name of island; ya straight to [post-position]; ō [= hao] demonstrative; xū by wind; ē's stem; ēa to go; -ia perfect; -an past inexperienced)

20. g.1l- (Masset "1l) BY LEADING, PULLING, OR TOWING.

gwa'i ga la ga galgā'is lāsi something pulled him to the fishing-ground 29.23 (gwa'i the fishing-ground; ga to; ga something; gā'ī-floating [?]; sl stem; -si participle)

gwa'iai yado' lal la galgā'l'gāldaasi he pulled him around the island 29.21 (gwa'i island; oī the; yado' around; gā- [§15.17]; lgāl to move about [stem]; da to cause; -asi participle)

la ga gā'lt'a lāiaqang something drew it away (ga something; tlə- [§ 15.4]; la to separate part from whole; -i perfect; -agang past inexperienced)

§ 14
la l! qa’lqate’as they led her in (qa to go [sing.]; -tc!a inside; -s participle) 49.18

21. qeа- BY LOOKING. It is the stem of the verb to look.

gam il! qesae’lgaii don’t tickle us by looking at us (gam not; il! us; -e to tickle [stem]; -ga! negative suffix [§ 25.3])
tc!l! goya-i la qeа’q!a’-inda’idi qa’odi after he had looked at the rising sun B 29.9 (q!a’-i- rounded objects [§ 15.18]; -di to move; -i [§ 20]; qa’odi after)

22. qleit- WITH A KNIFE. It is the stem of the verb to cut.

l’ xa!l! l!a’ga qeitd’gai as its bow was carved (xa!l! bow or face; l!a’ga its; qeitda to be carved [stem] [?]; -a to be [§ 18.5]; -s participle)
l’ d!l! l!a’ga la qleitginga’was they cut his belly open (d!l! belly; l!a’ga his; la they [with -gaw § 20.1]; gin stem [?]; -as participle)
l’ qa’d!ji la qeit!l!yawa’i wansu’ga they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (qa’d!ji head; la they [with -gaw]; qleit[?]) with a knife; l to remove part from whole; -l into canoe; -a!n past inexperienced; wansu’ga quotative)
la la qeitxida’i . . . he started cutting it up, they say (qleit to cut up [stem]; -xid inchoative; -a!n past inexperienced)
l’ a’oga la gi qleitai’yaqan his mother cut off for him 7.2
l’ qleitq!a’-ilxida’-i !l! when he began to cut off (the round thing) 12.14

23. qlo- BY MEANS OF THE TEETH.

la ga qlo’t’dasis something held him tight in its mouth (qa something; -l shape [§ 15.20]; das stem [?]; -is participle)
x!a’ga!i hao qe!n!a!i qo!ganan!’gaii the dog was playing with [a stick] (x!a’ga!i the dog; hao that; qe!n!a!i in company with; qa shape [§ 15.17]; man!n!i to play [stem]; -agan!i [§ 23.2]; -i [§ 25.6])
x!d’qu qo!k!u!gaii they had halibut in their mouths (x!d’qu halibut; k!u!n short obj. [§ 15.15]; gat stem; xi [?]; -as participle)
k!u!ngia qo!q!ei!laii the piece of whale bitten off (Masset) (kun whale; gia piece of; qle shape [§ 15.18]; l to remove; ai the) x!d’ l’ qo!k!otu’lgau’wa!n wansu’ga they say the dogs killed them with their teeth 81.42

24. xa- BY GRASPING WITH THE HANDS.

au!n? gi la xaqal!xagil’gaiia!si he brought it to his mother (au mother; -u!n!i his own [§ 28.3]; -i; -a!n!i his own [?]; -l!xa toward; -g!l!i shoreward; -ga!n continuative; -asi participle)
k!u!qaidjao x!d’gaii!as sledge-hammers held in their hands (k!u!qaidjao perhaps = qa!ai-dju roundish); gin stem [?]; -as participle)

[1] [Compare § 15.26, p. 234. Perhaps all these forms belong to the classifier xa. — Ed.]
A xagudjä'ñasi he threw them around (gudjän analysis uncertain; -asi participle)
la gi la xäl'slitclas he handed in to him 55.7 (sl stem; tc' into)

25. xän- 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.
lkiä'guí l' dja'qa la sta xänîgûldas his wife turned her face away from him toward the door (lkiä outside; guí toward; dja' wife; -qa possessive; sta from; lgul stem to TURN ABOUT; da to cause; -s participle)
l'a sta la xänîga'ogäñas she turned around from him (sta from; gao stem; -gän continuative; -as participle)
gam lâ'qa xänîgäñas she did not look in the face as though anything had happened (gam not; -ga possessive; gän stem [perhaps properly gän TO LOOK]; -gän 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.
l'a gu la ldlas'he laid his hands on them (l'lur them; gu at or there; dal stem; -as participle)
di la lsl let me go (di me; la imperative particle; sl stem)
guda'ñ la lnanä'ñasi he rubbed the medicine on himself (gud upon; -añ himself; nan stem to RUB; -añ continuative; -asi participle)
l'a lxä'gilai l'u when she made a noise at the door (by touching it) (xägil [or xegil] stem to MAKE A NOISE; -ai demonstrative or article turning clause into a noun; l'u when)

27. lu- BY CANOE. It is also the word for CANOE.
xaldä'ndjä'ñai le'il silgiä'ñ luqä'idësi the five slaves started back by canoe (xaldän [or xa'ldän] slave; -djä plural of human beings [§29.2]; -ai demonstrative; le'il five; silgiä'ñ back [adverb]; qä to go; -aði inchoative; -esi participle)
nan gä'nsta la luqä'lixes he came to one by canoe (nan one [indefinite person]; gä'nsta to [probably compound post-position of gän for and sta from]; qä to go; -l'xa toward; -s participle)
l'a da'nat la luqä'itxìtyiäñgai l'u when he started to go home with him (da'nat in company with; qä to go; -it inchoative; -xit seems to be inchoative used again, -it with qä having become so common as to have become stereotyped; -gian [?]; gai demonstrative; l'u when); see also 7.9

28. xi- WITH THE ARMS (from xi arm, wing).
l'a xislgilä'i l'u when he waved his arms toward the town (sl stem; gil shoreward; -ai demonstrative; l'u when)

§ 14
29. *sqōt-* with the arms. It is also the word for armpit.
   \[la\] sqōtxaqā'ā'naqānì he had under arms 69.13
   \[la\] gi sqō'tgādāgān (he) took him by the arm 65.12
   \[la\] spotskidā'naũ wansū'ga it is said he clapped with the hands
   29.22
   \[l!\] sqotxe'gams they beat drums 89.41

30. *kiū-* by tying.
   kiūqā-iyadaũnasì fastened stones by tying (to it) 71.6 (qā-i-
   rounded object [§ 15.18])
   kiūtēlisxiāwaqānì (it) was tied (to the doorway) 67.1 (tēlis-
   cubic object [§ 15.2])

§ 15. Second Group: Classifying Nominal Prefixes

Following is a list of the more important of these, with examples:

1. *tci-* classifies such objects as full sacks and bags, pillows, etc.
   \[la'gi\] la tci'slsqā'ias she brought the full sack out to him (gi to;
   \[la\] it [sack]; \[la\] she; tci- classifier; sl stem; -sqā seaward; -i
   perfect; -s participle)
   \[ga\] k'ēl'djī tcitēlda' some people with big bellies (ga some [people];
   k'ēl'djī bellies; qēlda' big)
   \[la\] gi ga'n'djilgāgāi la kiūtēlisgīde'sì he tied a dancing blanket to
   him (gi to; gāndjilgāi dancing blanket; gāi demonstrative;
   kiū- tying; sgīd stem; -esi participle)

2. *tci'm-* cubic objects, such as boxes.
   \[la'ia\] l! tci'misxida's they picked up a whole box of cranberries
   (la'ia cranberries; xid to pick up; -as participle)
   qayū'da tci'misxid'īl five boxes of berries and grease (qayū'da boxes
   containing a mixture of grease and berries; le'īl five)
   nūdā'nu at sqā'na wa'ga sqā'godai tcil'sgodīgaŋgi'nì masks and
   whistles were always in the secret-society box (nūdā'nu to imi-
   tate; -unoun-forming suffix [§26.1]; at with; sqā'na supernatural
   objects, and thus secret-society whistles; wa THAT; ga IN; sqā-
   sacred; goda box; ai the; go stem TO LIE; -di determinate suf-
   fix; -gaŋ continuative [?]; -gin usitative; -i perfect)
   \[la\] tcil'slsqas he brought out a box 55.23

3. *tai-* applied generally to objects lying on or close to the ground,
   but also to clubs, etc., grasped in the hand.
   \[l!\] taislllgā'gas they all went to bed (sl stem: -lga all; -ga
   auxiliary to be; -s participle); see also 67.15
   gū'gus t'agane' t'agodīies lo! a house (shape) lay there (gū'gus
   what! t'agane' behold! go stem TO LIE; -di determinate suf-
   fix; -es participle); see also 65.28

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1 See also § 17.2.
gi'a'sqalà'n taistà'nsì'uxa eight storehouses (gi'a'sqalà'n storehouses; sta'nsì'uxa eight)

na'ñ qataidà'las one (wave) came moving toward him (na'ñ one, a; qa [?]; dal to move; -as participle)

ū'ir òl slà'naqì'ì la tā'iqì'n he held a club on the left side (ū'ir òl club; slà'na left; gi at, in; gi'n stem [?])

4. t'å- flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled.

tcā'lya lā la tlalgé'ls he put a ground squirrel about her as a blanket (tcā'lya ground squirrel; lgūl to go around [stem]; -s participle)

gi'tå'ìn lā la ltlalgúldayà'n wansù'ga she had put it on her son as a blanket, they say (gi't son; -gà'ñ own; l- with hands; lgūl to go around; da to cause; -y perfect; -à'n past experienced; wansù'ga quotative)

5. t'lao- objects shaped like spoons and feathers (tlagù'n feather)

agà'ìn lā tl'ta'ouqè'ëldas he puts himself (into the water) as an evergreen needle (shape indicated) (agà'ìn himself; a stem [?]; -geil to become [§18.10]; -da to cause [§18.2]; -s participle)

la'ga lā sqast'ål'olasi he bit off his tongue (-ga possessive; sqas [?]; la stem; -sì participle)

gut lā la dā!l'a'onna'nà's he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (gut upon; dā- outward motion; nana'n stem; -as participle)

sla'gwal tlaoqó'na a big spoon (sla'gwal spoon; qó'na big)

gà-it'la'ogìñdà'las feathers floating about (ga-i floating)

la tl'a'ostas he took out a feather 55.25

la dàñtla'osdaiyasi— man he pulled out the feather 55.26, 31 (dàñ- by pulling)

tl'a'odju it is a feather 55.26

Skìà'mskun-tl'ao'djūgins hawk with feather sticking out of water 41.31 (skìà'mskun hawk; dju to be; -gin afloat)

6. t'åm- certain slender objects.

tl'åmdjiwasì it was slender (djiw=dju sort, kind [§39]; -asì participle)

wa'ga tI'mgìtdìasì it became smaller there (wa demonstrative; -ga at; git stem [?]; -dìdeterminate suffix; -sì participle)

lù tl'åmdjù a narrow canoe 7.7

koà'tI'mndagàsì flowing narrow 8.10 (koà- by a current)

l'tamxìe'nì!txa'sì he came to a narrow one 73.38

7. sta- ring-shaped objects, like finger-rings, bracelets, barrel-hoops.

lnàga'i gu'tqà stale'ùlasi a village of five curving rows (lnà=lnà town; gà'ñ demonstrative; gut together; -ga in, at; leil five; -asì participle)

l' dastà'sgidàsì he pushed a curved (bow) against it 79.7

§ 15
staga'ote!ayasî they came in and sat down in circular lines (qao
stem; -təla motion into; -y perfect; -si participle)
qwê'stal qa'tśa'sgî't!al'gans a rainbow moved up and down (qwê
stal rainbow; qa't with rapidity; sgî=sgî't stem; -t!ał motion
down from above; -gAN = -gAn continuative; -s participle)
ga stagî'dañas something ring-shaped 9.1

8. sk!a- small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects.
gi'na sk!a'dala some cylindrical objects (stones) (gi'na thing; dala
plural with adjectives [§ 39])
sqod'â'n ge'ista qê'gu sk!asda'yas he had pulled a basket out from
under his armpit (sqoda armpit; -â'n his own [§ 28.3]; gei into;
sta from; qê'gu basket; sda=sta stem; -y perfect; -s participle)
si'wai wa'dâ'nat gw'tgu la daskla'xunâ'ñasi he was rolling the lake
together with it (siw=su lake; ai demonstrative; wa it; dâ'nat
together with; gw toward; gu toward [with motion]; da-
motion outward; xun stem [?]; -an continuative; -asi participle)
na'n sk!a'djuwawag'as the one that had a knot-hole (shape) in it
(riâ'n the one; dju it is of that sort; -ga to be; -s participle)
l'gudja'-i la ga skla'xunâ'ñalasi mats rolled toward him S9.11

9. sku- round objects, like marbles, berries, eggs, and potatoes.
asî dq'xi' skadâ'nsî the waterdrops falling from this were round
(asî this; dq'xi' [?]; dâ=âla plural with adjectives; dan
stem; -si participle)
la la gaska'xîdas he picked it (cranberry) up with it (spoon) (qa-
[?]; xid stem; -as participle)

10. sg!a- (Masset s'a-) strings, ropes, hairs, etc.
dâ'gil sq'aun'nal three strings (dâ'gil strings; lu'nal three)
wa'luxan ga qalsgâ'stalâ'ya'n wansû'ga something pulled all of
them up (wa it; lu when; xan just so; ga something indefi-
nite; gal- by pulling; sta stem; -la suffix meaning up; -y perfect;
-â'n past inexperienced; wansû'ga quotative)
"âl s'â'sgu ALL NIGHT, night being spoken of metaphorically (Masset
("âl night; sg! it is all [?]"

11. sq!a- long objects, like sticks and paddles.
sqlagîlâ'ñas extending out in lines (from the island) (gil seaward
[?]; -â'n continuative; -as participle)
â'la'i sq!a!lâ'al ten paddles (âl paddle; ai demonstrative; la'al ten)
lqea'ma qâ'dî! sq!asti'n two kelp-heads 53.24 (lqea'na kelp; qâ'dî!
heads; stîn two)
sqla'xî!sqâqai sqlast'â'nse'sqa'sî four lines of people danced
toward the beach (xîn stem; -sga toward beach; gai the;
sta'nsîn four; -sga toward beach; -sî participle)

§ 15
when he pulled (it) out 77.43 (daŋ- by pulling)
dasqäl'sqidaŋ push on the long one 55.18 (da- by pushing)
sqä'bagwa-i squlatu'ał' ten deadfalls 61.3
sqä'na ṭqa'na sqastì'n two dorsal fins 89.3
ki'tawe sqialsta'n two spears (Masset) (ki'tao spear; e=aĩ demonstrative; sta'n two [Masset dialect])

See also
sqlä'ño pole 41.1
sqlaqowa'i stringers 89.12

12. sL!- indicates the shape assumed by objects lying in a heap, such as driftwood, pieces of dry halibut, a cord of wood.
tcål'anuui sl!qä'wasǐ the fire lay there (tcännu fire; ai demonstrative; qä'w=go to lie; -si participle)

13. gĩ- materials such as blankets, shawls, tablecloths, mats, thin sails. It is sometimes used for canoes, instead of qa-.
mat qä'li la qĩga!xä'sgas he brought the insides of a mountain-goat (mat mountain-sheep; qä'li insides; qa stem; -l!xa toward; -sga seaward; -s participle)
qä'ilgaŋ la sl!qistu'yas he pulled out a blood-clot with his fingernails (qä'ilgaŋ blood-clot [from qai blood]; sl! with fingers; sta stem; -y perfect; -as participle)
qwē'gal gia'at qistĩ'n two sky blankets (qwē'gal sky; gia'at blankets; stĩ'n two)

14. gu- flat but broad and thick objects.
Sk'i'na qasqa la la q!ogusqidaŋ . . . he emptied all from his mouth at the head of Skeena, they say (making a lake) (Sk'i'na Skeena; qas contraction of qä'dji head; -ga at; qlo- with teeth [§14.23]; skid stem; -an past inexperienced)
Qi'ŋi lanä'ga xě'igw anŋō' qä!l guqja'ogidás it must have been in front of Qi'ŋi's town that a reef came up (Qi'ŋi [name]; lanä' town; -ga possessive; xět down in front of; gu there; anŋō' it must have been; qä!l reef; djau=dju it was of that sort; gid stem; -as participle)
l' qulasaŋ'ũ wansū'ga he went off in the shape of a flounder, they say (la stem; -sga toward the sea; aŋ past inexperienced)

§ 15
xä'gu la dāŋgūga'lxœ'si he pulled the halibut out on the surface
(xä'gu halibut; dāñ- by pulling [§14.4]; ga stem; -l!xa to-
ward; -si participle)
la dāŋgūlgaldə'asi he pulled (a cloud) around it 41.40
la dāŋgūłståleilas he pulled out five (boxes) in succession 55.24
15. k!u- short objects. Posts, nails, and some short loops are so
denominated.
sta la k!ü'gwete'asi he (a short bird) came in from it (sta from;
gwē stem; -te!a motion into; -si participle)
la dāñk!ü'stäsgoā'ñañاغани he pulled (the spear) out for good
69.9 (dāñ- by pulling; sta stem; -sгоān for good)
la l'golgak!uslo'yañ wansū'ga it is said he made (gambling sticks)
53.1
gi'na k!ü'gūnəsi something he held in hand 73.40
15a. k!A- small objects.
k!ü'da k!A'tdjü!xaga'-i a small beak came out 53.28 (-l!xa
towards)
qe'iqao k!A'tdjü! a small basket (qe'iqao basket; k!A- classifier; djü. it was of that sort)
16. x!A- small objects. Used like the above.
qa x!A'tdjü! some small (olachen) (qa some; djü they were of that
sort)
nañ lyał x!A'tdjü! a small dark person (nañ a; lyał dark or black;
djü it was of that sort)
s'ən x!A'tdjü! a small killer-whale (Masset) (s'ən killer-whale; djü. it was of that sort)
17. qa- (Masset 'a-) flat objects, such as boards, doors, pictures,
looking-glasses, dishes, lakes, canoes.
lna!gə!i ga!lə'lda!ya'ganini there were five towns (lna-łana town;
gai the; la'ił five; -də causative; -ya perfect; -gan past inex-
perienced; -i perfect)
q!ada!xui! aq!a'ñ la gasla!sga'yas he turned himself in his canoe
(indicated by its shape) toward the mainland (q!ada toward sea
[mainland being considered outward]; xui toward; aq!a'ñ him-
self [§ 28.3]; sl stem; -sga seaward; -ya perfect; -s participle)
l'ya la gagal!xu'sga!s he brought out a dish of cranberries (l'ya
cranberries; ga stem; -l!xa toward; -sga toward open place)
gū'gus t!aganə! ga'godies lo! a level (pond) lay there (gū'gus what!
t!aganə! behold! go stem to lie; -di determinate suffix [§20.7])
lū gasla!nə'si!ñ one canoe 10.9
sga'ola'i gare'il five clam-shells 55.11
lα'nə əas!əo'nsi!ñ one town (Masset) (lα'nə town; əo'nsi!ñ one)
18. **q!ai-** (Masset *q!e*) roundish objects, such as rolls of dry-goods, lumps of bacon, and pieces of whale-meat.

*q!a' l'a q!a'iqodii*es a roundish reef (*q!a' l'a reef; *go* stem **to lie**; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; -es participle); see also 77.45

*qi'yawai l'a da'nuq!a'ii'istas* he pulled out the fish-trap (*qi'gaw = qi'qao fish-trap; *ai* the; *da'n* - by pulling; *usta* stem [*?*]; -si participle)

*sta si'na'n la q!a'd'islas* he snuffed from the (round basket) (sta from; si'na'n snuffing; sl stem; -asi participle)

*ge'i'sta l'a *gi la l'! q!a'ista* they gave him a round thing out of it (gei into; sta from; *gi* to; sta stem; -s participle)

*k!tq!a'idigwagagan* (they) put down (a copper plate) 87.24 (kit- with a point)

*la qea'q!a'-idâ'ldi 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' qâ'd'ji ga q!oql'a'-isgidagAn by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (qâ's head; qlo- by biting; sgid contact)

We find also

*l' q!a'-islgias* they put down (the drum) 14.3

*l' qâ'd'ji ga q!oql'a'-isgidagAn by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (qâ's head; qlo- by biting; sgid contact)

19. **q!o!l-** 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!a'n djidja'i wa'gut q!olxâ'was* here was a hemlock with a clump of branches sticking out all over it (*a'lgan* here; q!a'n hemlock; djidja'i the branches; wa it; gut upon; xâw=xao stem; -as participle)

*k!a'ldâ q!olqus'la* clump of branches; fall down! (k!a'ldâ clump of branches; *gue* stem; *la* imperative)

*k!nxan qa la dqagl'bskides* he shoved in a bunch of moss to stop up the hole (k!nxan moss; *qa* in; *da* - by pushing; *skid* stem) sin q!oldjâ'gan a bunch of gambling-stick wood 55.2

20. **l-** animate things, such as human beings, animals, fish, insects.

*l' lxiendâ'las* he was running along (xien probably means quickly)
la L!A sīla'īga Ḳgodia'sī he, however, was lying down in the baby's place (indicated by shape) (L!A however; sīla'ī the place; ga in; go to lie; -dī determinate; -aši participle)

īā' xođa'a Ṭdjī'l!xas a grebe came out of the water (īā' xođada grebe; ṭdjī stem; -l!xa toward; -s participle)

lā'gūi aga'ūn la Ḳslgīa'las he (a fish) turned himself toward him (gūi toward [with motion]; aga'ūn himself; sl stem; -gīal toward shut-in place; -as participle)

la q!a-itt'elas he cut up (a whale) 51.7 (q!a-itt- by cutting)

lā dāñlsta'yağani he pulled out (a bear) 95.14 (dāñ- by pulling; sta to move away)

lā L'slč'elas he brought in (a bird) 27.31 (-tc! into)

lā lā L'inā'gas he put a living one down 13.1

L'xida to take (a child) 27.17

l'squgeiišs 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.

ya'gutsi la gīxa'ūn lūdjūdā'asi he placed them standing in line in the middle of the canoe (ya'gū = ya'ku middle; l euphonic; -sī participle; gīxa'ūn standing; djū it was of that sort; -dā causative [§18.2]; -aši participle)

ku'n'gado lādā'L!xas (a canoe full of men) is coming around the point (kun point; gado around; dāl 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'tgi la la dāll!skīdo'sī he flattened it together (gut together; gi to; dā- by pushing; skīd stem; -aši participle)

qa tī'djai L!'gōşgā' certain flat rocks lying out from (the woods) (ga certain; tūd = tūs rocks; aī the; go to lie; -sqū seaward)

L!le'īl five (plugs of tobacco) (le'īl five)

ya'mdji l!djiwogAngā go to the flint which sticks out thin! (ya'mdji flint; djiwo = djū it is of that sort; gAn=gAn continuative; -gū to be [§18.5])

23. lya- 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'dji la qīlga'las he broke off the ends of some cedar-limbs (l! some; lā'dji limbs; ġi- [?]; l stem to touch)

§ 15
23. "Igai'ngawus" he put up (a stone wall) ("ngaw perhaps contains go to lie; -us participle)
24. "IgAm"- large roundish or cubic objects.
25. "IgI"- large cylindrical objects, like logs, steam-boilers, smoke-stacks, rolls of bedding, many objects flowing in a stream, also driftwood sometimes, and large fence-rails.
26. "xa"- many inanimate small objects.
27. "SLAp"- 
28. "t!Ap"- 
§ 15
29. **k'Am**—small (cf. no. 15a, p. 231).

Lū k'Am'dala small canoes (lū canoe; dala plural with adjectives)

tl'a'gas k'Am'dala small flakes of snow 31.28

30. **gām**—

ga qāl'aga gā'mogodies a large open space in the woods (ga some [indef. pl.]; qāl'aga open place or swamp; go to lie; -di determinate; -es participle)

31. **L'Apa**—

la L'Apa'djilaxadas he let a small part (of the surface of the moon) be seen (djilaxa [?]; -da causative; -s participle)

32. **slām**—

qāl'ājai l' xē'lA qe'ista sgēt slā'mdįgolā'ndalasi the gum hung out from his mouth red (qāl) = qās gum; aį the; xē'lA mouth; gei into; sta from; sgēt red; dį̣j probably = dju it is of that sort; golā'ndal analysis uncertain; -asi participle)

33. **tc'i**—the insides of such objects as sea-eggs.

34. **st'au**—dumb-bell shaped objects, such as the liver of a dog-fish.

35. **sk'Apa**—applied to such an object as the curled tail of a dog.

sk'A'ndala crooked wedges 33.13

36. **sk'īēt**—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 gī-) refers to any object floating upon the water, gai being the stem of the verb to float.

Na-gī'ī'ī ga la gā'isltgeilgias he stopped at House-fishing-ground (floating there upon the water) 29.8 (Na house; gī fishingleground; ga in; sl stem; -gĭ̱̣ to come to be [§18.10]: gī completion of action; ga to be; -s participle)
2. **gān**- applied when a number of people are doing a thing en masse.

*la sta l! ga'ndaxi'dilasi* they all started away from her (*sta* from; *da* = *dāl* to go [pl]; *-xit* inchoative [§18.6]; *-djil* truly)

*la sta l! ga'nīlga'labanas* they went home from him (*sta* from; *lgal* to go indirectly; *-ān* continuative; *-as* participle)

*la qa'nsta ganda'll!xagitsi* they came to him together (*qa'nsta* to [= *gān* for and *sta* from = coming for a purpose]; *dāl* to go [pl]; *-l!xa toward; -gil landward; *-si* participle)

*lgū'nul gandax'ī'dan* three came along 107.20

*V* gānā'lgō qa'odihao 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'ndaxitqū'wān vānsū'ga* it is said, they led him home 81.39 (*gal*—by leading).—Ed.]

3. **xāo**- (Masset *xō-*) to do a thing quickly.

*la at gut la da'oxaoastas* they seized each other quickly (at with; *gut* each other; *dao-* to go and get [prefixed]; *sta* stem)

*la qa ga nā'ūxxaolga'νanasi* it quickly ground off his skin (*ga* to; *ga* something; *nān* = *nan* to grind [§14.8]; *l* stem [?]; *-ga'nut* continuative; *-as* participle)

*V* dā'tala'n sta'n l' dōx̌'stas'āiaian her two brothers ran down to take her (Masset) (dā'ta younger brother; *-la'n* plural; *sta'n* two; *dō* to go and get; *sta* stem; *-s'a* seaward; *-i* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. **ta**- expresses the use of a transitive verb without object.

*taqo'gāna'n wānsū'ga* they say few were left 11.8

*taqla'āla's* she cut up 49.1

*taqo'lkjuusas* he spread out in morning 53.4

*taskidā'ūgas* they plundered 105.4

§ 17
§ 18. Stems in Terminal Position, First Group

Most of these verbal stems take a terminal position:

1. *ū* to sit or continue to be.
2. *da* to cause.
3. *dal* to move along while something else is taking place.
4. *sīn* to wish.
5. *ga* to be.
6. *xīt* (Masset *-īd*) to begin
7. *xAl* or *xAl* (Masset *At* or *Al*) to tell.
8. *qa* (Masset *'a*) to go.
9. *gaya* (Masset *'aya*) to know how to do a thing.
10. *geīl* or *geal* (Masset *'el* or *'el*) to become.
11. *xaṇ* to think or guess.

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with nouns:

\[ \text{gan} \, \text{xēl'auas} \] there lay a water-hole. (\text{gan} fresh water; \text{xēl} a water-hole; \text{u} to lie or sit [no. 1]; -as participle)

\[ \text{lī līgā'was} \] they put stones into the fire. (\text{līgā} stones; \text{u} auxiliary [no. 1]; -as participle)

\[ \text{la gā'l'das} \] he stayed all night. (\text{la} he; \text{gāl} night; \text{da} [no. 2])

\[ \text{la la sū'udas} \] he said to him 27.2 (\text{sū} to say, intransitive)

\[ \text{l' tcā'aldas} \] he had a war-spear. (\text{l' tcā'āl} war-spear; -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -s participle)

\[ \text{dān gu l madō'dasğa} \] I will put mountain-goats upon you. (\text{dān} you; \text{gu} there; \text{l} I; \text{mad}=\text{mat} mountain-goats; \text{ā} [?] -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -sga future)

\[ \text{naṇ tī'e'djī līgā'gas} \] the one who was half rock. 8.9 (\text{naṇ} one; \text{tī'e'djī} half; \text{līgā} stone)

\[ \text{V nā't'ga gaxā'gas} \] his nephew was a child. (\text{nā't} nephew; -ga possessive [§ 28]; \text{gaxā} child; -ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)

\[ \text{lā'ga xalagā'gan} \] his (implement) was copper. (\text{gā} possessive; \text{xal} copper; -gā to be [no. 5]; -agan past inexperienced)

\[ \text{la gi yā'na'ngeilgōas} \] it became foggy upon them. (\text{la} them [with suffix -go]; \text{gi} at or upon; \text{yā'naṇ} clouds or fog; -geīl to become [no. 10]; -as participle)

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with other verb-stems:

\[ \text{l' qā'lo-ū qa'ōdī} \] after he had sat there for a while. (\text{qā'lo} to sit; \text{u} auxiliary [no. 1]; \text{qa'ōdī} after a while)

\[ \text{la qōyā'das} \] he caused it to be dear. (=he valued it) (\text{qōyā} dear; -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -s participle)

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\[ \text{1 Qāxa appears to have been originally a verb meaning to be weak} \] (see § 19.1), but here it is made a verb over again just as if it were a noun.
L dā'yi'ndal qa'odī after he had gone along hunting for a while (dā'yi'n hunting; dal to go [no. 3]; qa'odī after a while)
dān gī l! gi'dayə'ansīŋga they wish to give you much food (da'n you; gī to; gidā to give food to any one; yu'an much;
-sīn auxiliary [no. 4]; -gā perhaps this should be -ga future)
I'a'oga l' tā'gas his mother ate it 27.2S (ao mother; -ga possessive; tā to eat; ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)
la la qā'li'axałgosal they told him to come out to them (la they [with suffix -qo]; qā to go; -l!xa toward; -val auxiliary [no. 7])
na'ů qeda'ngäsi one went to look (na'ũ one; qea stem to look; -aũ
continued; -ga auxiliary [no. 8]; -si participle)
na'ů gaxa's nā'ñagayageišls the child came to know how to play
(na'ũ the [with suffix -s]; gaxa child; -s participle; nāna = nan stem; -gaya to know how to [no. 9]; -geil to come to [no. 10];
-s participle)
qońi lā'ũqāq'estā'nsañi'elšs their months became eight, or eight
months passed over them (Masset) (qoń moon; aĩ the; lā'ũ
their [singular form covering plural]=la+aũa their own; qʰe-classifier [§ 15.18]; stā'nsaña = stā'nsañaxa eight; ĭ probably
euphonic; -ći auxiliary [no. 10]; -s participle)
hayi'i'axan tāqa xi'li'xə'ŋgua I think he has danced long enough
(Masset) (hayi'ũ instead of [dancing longer]; xan so, thus;
tāqa enough [2]; xial to dance; -xaũ 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'ũ lgaxaq'iltga you tire me with your handling (dī me;
dala'ũ you [pl.]; l- by handling [§ 14.26]; gaxa together means
weak; -gil to become [§ 18.10]; -qa 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' stl'xaqiala'ũ wansũ'ga he became angry with him, they
say (gan with [3]; stl' angry or sick; gi'ël to become [§ 18.10];
-aũ past inexperienced; wansũ'ga quotative)
la'gi l' lgoa'xaq'ils he became afraid of him (gi of; lgoa stem to
fear; -gil auxiliary; -s participle)

§ 19
He made her so ashamed by his words that she died (k'il- by words [§ 14.14]; geida perhaps means it is that way, but with -xa it signifies to become ashamed; k'ótu to be destroyed; -añ past inexperienced)
gam i! qê'zayاغnas they did not find him (qam not; qê perhaps is qe'a to see, but with -xa it means to find; -gañ negation)

2. -güñ, -gìn, or -ín motion by sea; also an independent stem.1
l' qa'idángínas it went of itself by sea (qa to go; -id inchoative [§18.6]; -añ continuative [?]; -as participle)
qaññqañ qañdí after it had gone along on the ocean for a while (qañ to go; qañdí after a while)
l' xa'oíns he was fishing 29.7 (xao to fish; -s participle)
l' sa'oíns he went out hunting by sea (saí to hunt; -s participle)

3. -göñ (Masset -öñ) conveys the idea of random progress on foot, and is used only after the verb stems qañ and is.
l' dji'ldgoqay'ndi after he had danced around for a while (l' they [with suffix -gñ]; dji' stem to dance; qa to go; -göñ=-göñ suffix; -di determinate suffix)
l' qañ'goñganí he wandered around (qañ to go; -gan past inexperienced; -i perfect)
lá qañqañ'goñañas he saw walking about 12.2
lá qañqañ qañdí after he had walked about 67.33

4. -gia is also used principally after qañ, 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 la qagiax'ñ qañdí after he had gone along upon the trail for a while (gut upon; qa stem to go; -ganí continuative; qa'odí after a while)
qa la qañ'giaga'nisí he was going thither (qa to; qañ stem to go; -ganí past experienced; -i perfect [§ 25.6])
lá'qañ nañ qañ'giagañañas one came to him upon the trail (qa to; nañ one; qañ stem to go; -ganí continuative; -as participle)

5. -qöôl or -qöôl to do secretly; also independent verb stem.
Sawali'xa l' qínq'o'ltadiës Sawali'xa looked at him unobserved (Sawali'xa man's name; qañ stem to look; -ta perhaps for; -da auxiliary; -di determinate suffix; -es participle)
lá l' sü'daqoldaian he whispered to her secretly (sü stem to say; -da to cause; -da to cause [used twice]; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -an past inexperienced)

1[Nos. 2-4 might be classed with the locative suffixes described in § 22. — Ed.]
§ 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 -*o*) Plurality. Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows *la*, the personal pronoun of the third person singular.

\[ qan \text{ la } la \text{ djilā' } \text{dagoas they had her as bait for it (}qan\text{ for; }la \text{ they [with -}go\text{]; }djilā \text{ bait; -da to cause; -as participle)} \]

\[ sta \text{ l'la luqā' } \text{lagoast they went away (}sta\text{ from; }l'la \text{ they; }lu- \text{ by canoe [§ 14.27]; }qā \text{ to go; -i} \text{ inchoative [§ 18.6]; -asi participle)} \]

\[ l' nā'xaygā'nyoga'ngā they fly about (l' they [with -}go\text{]; nā'xa to fly [pl.]; -gaḥ continuative; -gaḥ probably continuative also, the suffix being doubled; -ga auxiliary) \]

\[ la \text{ qla'oslogagawan . . . they came and sat down by the fire (}la \text{ they [with }gaw=\text{go]; qla to sit; -o probably auxiliary; }slo \text{ stem [?]; -ga auxiliary [?]; -an past inexperienced)} \]

\[ la \text{ sta } la \text{ luqā'-} \text{lagoas they left him by canoe 59.3} \]

\[ l' \text{ gē'tagatgawa'-i } lū \text{ when they had gone 59.4} \]

\[ la \text{ lanadāge'ilgā'vagan they had a town 103.11} \]

2. **-lqa** (Skidegate dialect) indicates that all of the objects or persons just mentioned are included in the action.

\[ l' \text{ ga'olūllogagawas they all got up (}l' \text{ they [with }gaw=\text{go]} \]

\[ la'qiaqā \text{ qī'nagai qa'illogagas all his property was lost (}qī\text{ property; -}qā \text{ possessive; qī'}nā \text{ things; }qai \text{ the; qa'il stem; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)} \]

\[ la \text{ sta } la \text{ luqā'-} \text{lagoas they left him by canoe 59.3} \]

\[ l' \text{ gē'tagatgawa'-i } lū \text{ when they had gone 59.4} \]

3. **-odjū** Masset equivalent of the above.

\[ *ala'nsu*^*odjawani* it was all cooked (*alān to cook; *sū appears to be the principal stem; *odjaw=*odju all; -an past inexperienced; -i perfect) \]

\[ *la\text{ l'v'sdals}^*odjawan all went down to it (}la \text{ to; }s\text{[?]; }dal \text{ to go; }s\text{[?]; }^*odjaw=*odju all; -an past inexperienced) \]

\[ l' \text{ l'ladā}^*odjawan all went down to it (l'ladā [?]; *odjaw=*odju all; -an past inexperienced) \]

\[ lū'gūe \text{ 'nā } l' \text{ v'sda}^*odjawan he took all into the canoe (lū canoe; }gu \text{ there; }\overset{\overset{?}{c}}{e} \text{ into; }\overset{\overset{?}{c}}{nā} \text{ his own; }\overset{\overset{?}{s}}{da} \text{ stem; }^*\text{odjaw}=^*\text{odju all; -an past inexperienced} \]

4. **-ski** applied to an action that fails of accomplishment, or perhaps to one that nearly succeeds.

§ 20
k!i'wa'i gei l' xa'ptagoaskiä'si she almost went flying through the doorway (k!i'w = k!i'w doorway; ai the; gei into; xa'p probably means quickly; tagoa [?]; -äsi participle)
la dä'yuńskiä'gadjüńya'n he hunted for it in vain (dä'yuń to hunt; rest uncertain)
gei l! dayi'ńskiya'i lü when they found nothing there by hunting (gei into; dayi'ń to hunt; -y perfect; ai the; lü when) gadö' l getškia'n I could in no way get them (gadö' around [always used with this stem]; l 1; get stem; -än [?])

5. -goañ. A frequentative best translated by the English word ABOUT.

l' xet'i't tc!i'nlgoañəs he went about hunting birds (xet'i't birds; tc!i'n to shoot or hunt; l perhaps euphonic; -ga to go; -s participle). See also 27.27

l' gä'yuńgoañəs it was floating about (gä'y = gai- floating; -i'n on water; -as participle)

gö nga'n da'ńat la na'uygoañ qa'odi after he had lived along with his father for a while (gö'n man's father; -gañ his own; da'ńat in company with; na to live; ü auxiliary; -goañ along or about; qa'odi after a while)

la la 'na-ńgoañ qa'odi after he had remained with his wife for a while (än'na to marry; -ü auxiliary; qa'odi after a while)

6. -gĩ the completion of action; also, sometimes, continuation, in which case it probably means continuation to the end.

la geîlyïdaga'i lü when she had finished (geîl to become; -da auxiliary; gaî the; lü when)

la suqî'qai lü when he was through talking (su to talk; qai the)

la qîńqi'qvasi they looked at it for some time (la they [with -qw = -go]; qî'n stem to look; -asi participle)

xao gũ tadjugî'qanən the raven always sat upon it (xao [?]; gũ at or upon; ta probably a classifier; dũ stem [?]; -goañ continuative; -an past inexperienced)

7. -di 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 lẽal k!A'tala q!as gõxä'godiës some small black-skinned persons held burning pitchwood then (q!al skins; lẽal black; k!at short or small; -tala plural with adjectives [§39]; q!as pitchwood; go- burning; xa inanimate pl.; -go to be somewhere; -ës participle)

la lińä'ñdíqandi xan at the moment when she was striving to disentangle it (li- with the hands [?]; ñän probably stem; -di seems to be determinative suffix used twice; -gan continuative; xan 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)
'I' gaxā'di at the time when he was a boy (gaxā boy)
This suffix is used very often before qa'odi.
I'südi qa'odi after he had cried 7.7

8. -ni or -ul to do a thing early in the morning.
Q'ana's' u t'a'ga l q'a'o-ulas I sit early in the morning at the
mouth of Q'ana's' u river (Q'ana's' u river name; t'a mouth of;
-ga at; I l; q'a to sit; -o auxiliary; -as participle)
ga'a'n u ge'itulas (the weather) becomes like this early in the
morning (ga'a'n u like; geit stem it was so; -as participle)
yā'na'na ta'iqi'nulias'I lu when it was cloudy (or foggy) early in
the morning (yā'na'na clouds or fog; t'ai to lie [close to water];
gi'n on water; ai the; lu when)
'I' la'ufiya it is fine weather so early this morning (la'ufi
like; geita' stem it was so; -as participle)
gana'h ge'itulas (the weather) becomes like this early in
the morning (gaha'fi like; geit stem it was so; -as participle)
y'afnA'h ta'iginulia'i lu when it was cloudy (or foggy)
early in the morning (ydanA'h river name; tai
mouth of; gu to sit; -o auxiliary; -as participle)
I'd'uliga it is fine weather so early this
morning (Id'uliga good, fine)
NAnk'ilAs li'na' he who was going to become NAnk'IlAs, or
the potential NAnk'IlAs (NAn one; kil- voice; sl stem; -as
participle [all meaning one-whose-voice-is-obeyed]; ai the)

§ 20
a'hao qait lïna'i hao ñda'n wansu'ga those were the future (or potential) trees, they say (a this; hao general demonstrative; qait trees; lïna'i the potential; hao general demonstrative; ñda to be; -an past inexperienced; wansu'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. yu' BIG.

la gã'na yu' andayagan he had it very thick 33.9 (gã'na thick; -da to cause [§18.2]; -y perfect [§23.2]; -agan past inexperienced [§23.2])

la'gan sk!älyu'ana it was very crowded for her (gan for; sk!ül a crowd; -an past participle [§25.7])

l' lâi l! daoyu'ânas they came near him on the opposite shore in a very great crowd (lâi abreast of on shore; da to go to get)

l' goanyu'ânan they were very many (l' they [sing. used for pl.]; goan many; -an past inexperienced [§23.2])

2. dji' REAL.

gã'lya-geildji'gai łu when it became quite dark (gã'l night, dark; -ga [?]; geil to become; gai the; łu when)

gi la gwaodjili'gasi he really did not care for (it) (gi for; gwao stem not to care for; -ga auxiliary [§18.5])

di sk!islâjîli'ga I am truly full (di I; sk!isl to be full [perhaps compounded of sk!i and SL]; -ga auxiliary to be)

la'gi la dayi'nskidji'gas he was absolutely unable to find him (gi to or for; dayi'n to find; -ski in vain [§20.4]; -ga auxiliary to be [§18.5]; -s participle)

3. Lâ'gaŋ THE FIRST.

nâŋ la geiljî'gala'gañas he finished a certain one first 33.2 (nâŋ one; geil to become; -gi completed action [§20.6]; -ga auxiliary [§18.5]; -as participle)

gi la kia'gânlâgaŋagan he asked for him first 33.26 (kia stem; -gaŋ continuative [§24.1]; -agan past inexperienced [§23.2])

1. gô'da (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 tâ'gagotslas the ones he ate last (la [?]; ga the ones; tâ stem to eat; -ga auxiliary to be [?]; -got last; SL stem; -as participle)
5. *sgoan* forever, or for a long time. This is derived from the same stem as *sgoa’nsūn* one, *sgu’naxan* only.

*ga’igu* hao *te’ī*ageils*sgoān* *waṃsū’ga* he came to have a place there forever, they say (gai the or that; *gu* there; hao general demonstrative; *te’ā* a place; ge’il to come to; -aṅ past inexperienced; *waṃsū’ga* quotative)

*lā’ga* la *da’ūda’ostasqo’o*nañasi he pulled his [spear] out for good (-ga possessive; daṅ- by pulling; dao to go and get; sta to move from a place; -aṅ continuative [§24.1]). See also 69.9

The numerals from two up are suffixed to take the place of ordinals, numerals, and numeral adverbs.

*la* gōtśia’te’asta’nsaṅari *lu* after he had swallowed four times, or the fourth time (gōtśia stem [?]; -te’ai motion into [§22.1]; -sta’nsaṅ four; -ai the; *lu* when)

*atha’o* la *la* te’i’gā’stiaṅaṅn... he shot him twice with it (at with; hao general demonstrative; te’i- by shooting [§14.2]; *ga* stem; -stiaṅ = stīṅ two; -aṅ past inexperienced [§23.2])

*gutje’s*ta *la* la *daṅdįstāle’īlas* he pulled apart five times (gut together; geī into; sta from; daṅ- by pulling [§14.4]; dįsta stem [?]; -le’il five; -as participle)

§ 22. Fourth Group: Locative Suffixes

1. *-te’ai* or *-te’ī* indicates motion or action into something, especially a house.

*kli’alu* au’n *gi* *la* k’tū’slte’is* he brought a cormorant in to his mother 27.27 (kli’alu cormorant; au mother; -uṅ his own; *gi* to; k’tū- classifier [§15.15]; sl stem; -s participle [§25.7])

*da’tel’h* la *l’slte’las* he brought in a wren 27.31 (da’tel’h wren; l- classifier [§15.20]; sl stem; -s participle)

*l’* qate’a’yas he came in (ga stem; -ya perfect; -s participle)

*ga’gei* la *gî’ntcayas* he looked into some houses (ga some; geī into; qîn stem; -y perfect [§23.7]; -s participle)

2. *-gua* direction of action out of something, especially a house.

*la* la *da’o’xaostagua’qawaṅ* *waṃsū’ga* they ran out of the house to him quickly, they say (la they [with suffix -gow = -go]; dao to go to get; xao- quickly [§17.3]; sta stem; -aṅ past inexperienced; *waṃsū’ga* quotative)

*la* *gi* *la* qî’ngua’gast she looked out at him (gi at; qîn stem; -ga auxiliary; -si participle)

*l’* Anda’jīgoaγai *lu* when he put his head out (Andji erect; gai the; *lu* when)

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1 See also §19.2-4.
k!iwat'i ga la gi'a'xagoasi he stood at the door outside (k!iwn = k!iun door; ai the; ga at; gi'a stem; -xa suffix of unknown significance; -goa out; -st participle)

3. -xul or -xual (Masset -gut or -gual) has a meaning similar to the above, but in this case actual motion out is always meant.

la qaxu'la'n Wansu'ga he went out, they say 29.38 (ga stem; -an past inexperienced; Wansu'ga quotative)

sludj'a'gadA'nai v'sin da'nat la q'a'xuls he also went out with the woodpecker 29.46 (sludj'a'gada'n woodpecker; ai the; v'sin also; da'nat with; qa stem; -s participle)

l' lā'lga qaxu'las'i her husband went out (lāl husband; -ga possessive §28; ga stem; -asî participle)

l' qā'gualan he went out of doors (Masset) (ga stem; -an past inexperienced)

qam haw'dan l' qagulā'a'nān he did not go out quickly (Masset) (qam not; haw'dan quickly; ā' carries accent; -uñ negative)

4. -t!Al or t!Al motion downward.

tci'wai u'ngei kīt!Apha'ot!Alsî it stuck into the floor-planks from above (tcîw = tcu plank; ai the; un on top of; gei into; kīt- by a stick §14.13; tApha'o stem ?; -st participle)

lnaga'i dala'ūga la kītugu't!Aldaasa'n I will tip over your town (lna = lana town; gai the; dala'ū you [pl.]; -ga possessive; la I; kīt- with a stick; gū stem; -da to cause; -asān future §23.5)

silgu'i ga'n la gaxia't!alaga'n he descended to his home (sil back; gu'i toward [with motion]; ga'n his own §28; gaxia' stem ?; -aga'n past inexperienced §23.2)

§22
24.1; -da to cause [§ 18.6])
l! dad'jil!alda'i'yaqani they pushed (it) down 45.15

7. -l motion upward.
l' qa'ilidi qa'odi after he had gone up for a while (qa stem; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; qa'odi after a while)
l' k!utlû'stalâ he spits water upward (k!ut- with the lips [§ 14.16]; tu- probably a classifier; stâ stem; -la up)
la qa'itlisi he went up to the house (na house; gai the; qa to; qâ stem; -sî participle)
l' da'nandjîlas he pulled it up out of the water (da'n- by pulling; andjî erect; -s participle)
l! qî'ûgalasi they went up to see 12.4

8. -sga (Masset s'â) motion toward an open place, particularly toward the open sea, toward the fire.
q!adaxuâl la sa'ana q'la'usga come down toward the sea and sit idle 29.4 (q!adâ seaward; -xua toward [without motion]; la imperative particle; sa'ana idle; q'la to sit; -u auxiliary)
tâ'djîlsgas the wind blew out of the inlet (tâdji wind; l [?])
l' xâ'gatssga she stretched her arm seaward to grasp (something) 31.22 (xâ- by grasping; gat stem; -s participle)
lâ'la'n da'înat qî'îwûsga sit down by the fire with your husband (lâl husband; -a'n own; da'înat with; qî'â stem; -o auxiliary [§ 18.1])

9. -qîl or -qial motion toward a shut-in place.
l' qa'islgâls it came in and floated (gai- floating; sl stem; -s participle)
l' qâriagîla'n wansû'ga she started into the woods (qa stem; xia perhaps=tit to start; -a'n past inexperienced; wansû'ga quotative)
l' qôdâ'lyiala'n wansû'ga she moved farther inland, in a sitting posture (qodâ buttocks; l [?]; -a'n past inexperienced; wan-sû'ga quotative)
gwa'iyê 'a l' i'â'qagal'awan they went up to the island (Masset) (gwai island; yê=ai the; 'a to; l' they [with suffix -aw=-o]; tu- by canoe [§ 14.27]; qa stem; -gal landward; -an past inexperienced)
lâ sqû'gagatgilâs he swam ashore 12.11

10. -lu.xa (Masset -lu) toward anything.
l' stil'lxâqai lu when he came back toward (it) (stîl stem; gai the; lu when)
lâ luqâ'lxagoas they approached by canoe 39.5

§ 22
la gu la qa'oil!xayañ wansū'ga it came and got on it, they say (gu on; qa' stem to sit; -o auxiliary; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -aŋ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
la daña'ndjil!cas he pulled it out head first 29.26 (daŋ- by pulling [§ 14.4]; ndjil! erect; -s participle)
au'n ꞝ la xayał!aq'ilaŋasi he brought it up to his mother (Mas-set) (au'n = ao mother + -aŋ his own; ꞝ to; xa- inanimate objects [§ 15.26]; qa stem; -gil shoreward; -gaŋ continuative [§ 24.1])
(l') gu-isll!xa's he came floating 7.8

11. -giə OR -gi materialize
l' ga'ogias it vanished under water (gao stem; -s participle)
lua'i dagu'l ꞝ gatgia' ꞝ (the arrow) fell into the water at the side of the canoe (lu canoe; aĩ the; dagu'l side; ꞝ ꞝ at; gat stem; -s ꞝ participle)
wa'gei la gi'h'algiasì they poured it into (the ocean) (wa it [ocean]; ꞝ ꞝ into; la they [singular used for plural]; gi̊̃hal [?]; -s ꞝ participle)
la la xi'dagias he let him down into the sea (xi'da stem; -s participle)

12. -L INTO A CANOE.
gu'gei la qa'l'gasì he got into his canoe (gu there; ꞝ ꞝ into; qa stem; -ga auxiliary; -s ꞝ participle)
la gu'gei la l'si'gwas they got into the canoe with him (gu there; ꞝ ꞝ into; la they [with -gu = -go]; is stem; -s participle)
la la gi'tgaLdayagan he got him into the canoe (giť stem; -ga auxiliary [?]; da to cause; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -agan past inordinate)
la la qa'l'dagwas they took her aboard 41.8

Syntactic Treatment of the Verbal Theme (§§ 23-26)

§ 23. Temporal Suffixes

1. -gaŋ, sometimes -Aŋ, indicates past events which the speaker has himself experienced.
la l! te!nlgoā' ngan they began shooting at them (that is, us) (la them [singular form used for plural]; te!nl stem; l probably euphonic; -goā' about)
la naŋ si'ldagan I borrowed one (la 1; naŋ one; si' stem; -da auxiliary)
l!a la te!nlgoaŋxīd<an they started shooting at them (l!a them; te!nl stem; l euphonic; -goāŋ about [§ 20.5]; -xīd inchoative [§ 18.6])
Before I jumped into the stern (dā'ñuxa stern; aga'īn reflexive; l I; skia'ga stem [?]; -l aboard [§ 22.12])

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 105–109, Bulletin 29.

2. -agAn (Masset -an or -gan) past events known to the speaker only by report.

vä'ída'ga la gi'a-inxayagAn his wife left something for him (djà wife; -ga possessive; gi'a-inxa [?]; -i perfect [§ 23.7])

la vä'su'wagan she spoke to him (sàw = su to speak)

la la i'nagealagAn he married her (i'na stem; -geal to come to [§ 18.10])

na'n  ámba' hao sqá'badax'idagan a man began to set deadfalls 95.1 (na'n a; ámba' man; sqá'ba deadfall; -da to make; -x'id to begin)

Lu'e' te'iasta'nsaân the canoe had four men (Masset) (lu canoe; e' the; te'i! people in canoe; sta'nsaân four)

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 33–35, Bulletin 29.

Before wansú'ga, the quotative in the Skidegate dialect, this suffix takes the form -a'n.

A'ňga la sqotskídá'ňa'n wansú'ga he struck his canoe with his hands, they say 29.22 (A'ňga his own; sqot with arms [§14.29]; skid contact; -a'n continuative; wansú'ga quotative)

gí'tga'ńg an la gagoyú'ňa'n wansú'ga he was calling for his son, they say (gí't son; -ga'n his own [§ 28.3]; gan for; gago [?]; -i perfect; -a'n continuative; wansú'ga quotative)

la e'sí'n ga'idá'ân wansú'ga he also started off, they say (e'sí'n also; ga stem; -id inchoative [§ 18.6]; wansú'ga quotative)

la la gá'gandaqagan wansú'ga she saved him, they say (gá'gan to save; -da to cause [§ 18.2]; wansú'ga quotative)

3. -gin events that occur or occurred habitually, and usually those which the speaker himself has experienced or is experiencing.

â'thao gan "Dâ'gal" hán l! sú'gáŋgáŋgin therefore they were not in the habit of saying "to-morrow" 35.4 (â'thao therefore; gan not; dâ'gal to-morrow; hán like it; sú stem; -ga'n negation [§ 25.3]; -ga'n continuative)

gága'nhao la wâ'gá'ngángí'ní that is the reason why I do so (gága'nhao that is why [ = gaga'n+hao]; la 1; wâ stem to do; -ga'n continuative; -gin = -gin usitative; -i perfect [§ 25.6])

'â'ní ni wa'ä'ti l wîlgi'ní I used to drink the water that was in it (Masset) (â'ní water; e' the; wa it; a in; t'ísí was; l I; nil stem to drink; -i perfect [§ 25.6])

ga di Voa'gagí'ní I used to be afraid of it (Masset) (ga something indefinite; di 1; Voa stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5]; -i perfect)

§ 23
4. -sga simple futurity.

\[\text{sga'na-qeda's da'\text{"u}ga qea'xolgilg\text{"a}'nsga}\]

the supernatural beings will not become tired of looking at you. (\[\text{sga'na supernatural; qeda's probably those that are so born [from qe to be born, -da auxiliary, -s participle; da'\text{"u} you; qa at; qea by looking; xol stem; -gil probably -gil to become; -g\text{"a}'\text{"a}n = -ga\text{"a}n continuative}\]

d\(i\) gi si\'na'gasga no one is going to touch me. (\[d\(i\) me; gi to; si\'na stem; -ga auxiliary [\(\$ 18.5\)]\]

d\(a\)\(n\) l q\(i\)\'nq\(a\)'n\(s\)g\(a\) I shall see you sometimes. (\[d\(a\)\(n\) you; l I; q\(i\)\'n stem; -g\(a\)n continuative\]

5. -(u)s\(a\)\(n\) 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).—Ed.]

\[\text{lwa'i da'\text{"u} la si'ldadaasa\text{"u}}\]

I will let you have the canoe. (\[lu canoe; ai the; da'\text{"u} you; l\(a\) I; silda stem [?]; -da auxiliary\]

d\(j\)\(a\) g\(a\)\(n\) da da'\(o\)g\(a\)sa\(n\) you shall go and get your wife. (\[d\(j\)\(a\) wife; -\(g\)\(a\)\(n\) your own; da\(\text{"u}\) you; da\(o\) stem; -ga auxiliary\]

\[l' s\(g\)\(a\)\'l\(g\)at\(g\)a\(s\)a\(n\) he will conceal you. (\[s\(g\)\(a\)l 1st verbal stem to conceal; -\(g\)\(a\)t 2d verbal stem it was like that; -ga auxiliary\]

g\(\text{\(u\)su} l! \(\text{\(u\)}\)\(\text{\(L\)}\)\(\text{\(u\)}\)\(\text{\(g\)\(i\)\(d\)\(a\)\(s\)\(h\)\(i\)\(\text{\(s\)}}\)

what will the chiefs eat? (\[g\(\text{\(u\)su what?} l! indefinite demonstrative; \(\text{\(i\)}\(\text{\(L\)}\)\(\text{\(u\)}\)\(\text{\(g\)\(i\)\(d\)\(a\)\(s\)\(h\)}\)\(i\)\(\text{\(s\)}}\)\) chief; tu stem to eat\]

6. -qasa\(n\), -qasas, immediate or imminent future occurrence; evidently compounded from the above.

\[a'da'l\(a\) d\(i\) l! t\(a\)'\(n\)sanq\(a\)\(s\)a\(n\) they will come to get me to-morrow. (\[a'da'l to-morrow; d\(i\) me; t\(a\)'\(n\)san to come by sea\]

g\(i\)\(t\) g\(u\)'\(r\)\(a\)'\(n\)q\(a\)\(s\)a\(n\) her child was about to come. (\[g\(i\)\(t\) child; g\(u\) stem; -\(L\)\(a\) toward [\(\$ 22.10\)]; -\(a\)\(n\) [?]\]

\[n\(a\)\(n\) y\(a\)'\(e\)\(t\)\(s\) \(\text{\(u\)}\(d\)'\(a\)'\(n\)\(t\) \(\text{\(t\)}\(n\)l\(a\)'\(n\)q\(a\)'\(s\)a\(n\)\(q\)\(u\)a the princess is going to bring plenty of food. (\[Masset\) (\[n\(a\)\(n\) the [becomes definite with suffix -s]; y\(a\)'\(e\)\(t\) chief's child; -s participle; \(u\) general demonstrative; da'\(n\)at with; \(i\)\(n\) stem; -\(L\)\(a\) toward; -xa\(n\) continuative; -\(g\)\(u\)a declarative\]

\[l! l\(a\)g\(a\)'\(n\)q\(a\)'\(s\)a\(n\)s\(a\)\(n\) they were about to make a feast. (\[lag\(a\)n to make a feast; -\(a\)\(n\) continuative; -qasas imminent future followed by participle\]

7. -\(i\), in intervocalic position \(y\), perfect time.

\[l\(g\)\(i\)\(t\)\(g\)u'\(n\) awa'\(n\) \(g\)\(i\) la \(t\)l\(e\)l\(e\)l\(e\)l\(a\)'\(y\)\(a\)\(n\) wans\(u\)'\(g\)a he had brought in a goose to his mother, they say (\[l\(g\)\(i\)\(t\)\(g\)u'\(n\) goose; aw = ao? mother; -\(a\)\(n\) his own; gi to; l- classifier [\(\$ 15.20\)]; sl stem; -le\(a\) motion into [\(\$ 22.1\)]; -\(a\)\(n\) past inexperienced; wans\(u\)'\(g\)a quotative\]

\[\$ 23\]
dagal'ga i'si'n l' xet'il te'il'ngoañgayas next day he had again gone out shooting birds (dagal the next day; e the; -ga on; i'si'n again; xet'il birds; te'il to shoot; l eupthonic [?]; -goañ about [§ 20.5]; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)

la sudä'yanan i'la i'sda'si he did differently from the way he had said (he would do) (su stem to say; dä to cause; -ayan past inexperienced; -i perfect; ila' differently; is stem; -da auxiliary; -si participle)

gañä'xan la sü'dayaganun so he had said (gañä'xan so [from gañä'ñ like; xan just]; sü to say; -du auxiliary; -ayan past inexperienced; -i perfect)

§ 24. Semi-Temporal Suffixes:

Suffixes related to temporal suffixes, but defining the nature or time of the action more minutely.

1. -gañ, -añ, or -iñ. The common continuative or perhaps rather habitual suffix, similar to the English form of the verb ending in -ing.

au'n gi la xagal! xaq'lygañasi he was bringing up things to his mother (au'n = ao mother + añ his own; gi to; xa- by grasping [§ 14.24]; ga stem; -l!xa toward [§ 22.10]; -gil shore-ward [§ 22.9]; -si participle)

gi'na at la na'ñgañas he was playing with something (gi'na some- thing; at with; nañ stem to play; -as participle)

gi'ta'ñ la gago'yä'ñañ wansu'ga he called for his son, they say (git son; gañ his own; gago'y=gago'e stem [?]; -añ past inex-perienced [§ 23.2]; wansu'ga quotative)

Sometimes this suffix takes the form -xañ or xan.

qa q!a'oxañas the ones sitting there (qa the ones [indefinite]; q!a stem to sit; -o auxiliary [§ 18.1]; -as participle)

l! naxa'ndi qa'odí after they had lived there for a while (na stem to live; -di determinate suffix; qa'odí after a while)

l! taixá'ndi qa'odí after they had remained in bed for a while (lai stem to lie; -di determinate [§ 20.7]; qa'odí 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. ë or la indicating the imperative; placed before or after the verb.

dë la q!ösI let go of me with your mouth (dë me; la imperative; q!ö- with mouth; sl stem)

§§ 24, 25
stí’lda la let us go back (stíl stem; -da auxiliary; la imperative)        
haí lyğ̱’nai dí qa’nst a la k’ndíw now, cousin, be my herald (haí      
now; lyğ̱n male cousin on father’s side; aí the; dí me; qa’nst a      
for; la imperative; k’ndí stem; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2]) 
gin tí’él s’ún’nan t te!á’anu e’an ista’ní get only wet things for      
firewood (Masset) (gin things; tí’él wet; s’un only; -an just;      
te!á’anu wood; e’an for; ista stem [?]; -an continuative) 

With the auxiliary ga to go, however, instead of l, -la is suffixed      
to the verb. 

han a l’ su’dاغala go and speak to it like this (han like; a this;      
su’ stem; -da auxiliary; -ga auxiliary) 
te!á’anu da’огala go and get firewood (te!á’anu wood; dao      
stem to go and get; -ga auxiliary) 

li’ki’a’qua na’galdji’ла go and sit toward the door (li’kía side      
toward door; qa’ toward; na’gal [?]; -djí it is of that sort;      
-ga auxiliary) 

lqet dal’a’ni tciag’dagala go to the place where you are      
going to settle (lqet where; dal’a’ni you [pl.]; teia stem to      
have a place; -qán continuative; -sa=san infallible future      
[§ 23.5]; ga to; ís stem; -go plural [?]; -ga auxiliary) 

2. -dja’n (Masset -te’inn) is employed to indicate what is usually      
denominated the first person imperative, both singular and      
plural, let me, let us. 

ha’l’a t’ala’ni te’la’anugadadjan’ni come and let us make a fire      
(ha’l’a come! t’ala’ni we; te’la’anu fire; -ga -da auxiliaries      
[§ 18.5, 2]) 
ha’l’a d’a’ni gi l’qin’ngat’djan’ni come and let me adorn you      
29.2 (ha’l’a come! d’a’ni you; gi to or for; l’l; gi’-agent in general      
[§ 14.12];      
gat stem) 

ha’l’a t’ala’ni ga’lqg’á’nl’ndjan’ni let us go over to look (ha’l’a      
come!      
t’ala’ni we; ga’lqg’á’nl’ni [?]) 
t’al qasá’te’in let us go away (Masset) (t’al we; qa stem to go;      
-sa probably infallible future [§ 23.5]) 

3. qañ (Masset e’an) negation, always preceded by the negative      
particle gam. 

gam gi’na gut l qealga’ñgan I saw nothing upon it (gam not; gi’na      
thing; gut upon; l’l; qe a stem to see; l euphonic or possibly      
up; -gan past inexperienced) 

sgaq’na-qeda’s gam la gut qaqidqag’añgansga the supernatural      
beings will never know it (sgaq’na qeda’s supernatural beings      
[see § 23.4]; gam not; gut upon; qaqda [?]; -gan =-gañ      
continuative [§ 24.1]; -sga future [§ 23.4])

§ 25
... gam la sū'udagañasi (he) had not told him 27.6 (sū to say; -da auxiliary; -si participle)
gam l' 'āndañ'ainānā he did not feel it (Masset) (gam not; 'āndañ stem [?]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -i perfect [§ 25.6])
gam la ya l! gī'āda'nagañan they did not give him food (Masset) (gam not; ga indefinite things [food]; gīda stem to give food; -gañ 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.

djā kī'iñasi gasti'ñiao dāñ qea'gā ìsū'udjañ say, chief, what has happened to your brother-in-law? (djā say! kī'iñasi chief [whose voice is obeyed]; gasti'ñ what? ñiao general demonstrative; dāñ your; qea brother-in-law; -gā possessive; ìs stem; ì'udja =udja interrogative suffix; -añ (continuative)
axada'i gua ga galt'alsgō'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]; t'la- classifier [§ 15.4]; l stem; -sgō seaward [§ 22.8])
gasti'ñlao la dāñ ìsta-udjañ why did you tease her? (gasti'ñlao why? dāñ you; ìsta continuative)
gasti'ñlao l la dāñ qō'yadaljūudjīañ why do you love it so much? (gasti'ñlao why? l [?]; dāñ you; qō'ya stem to love; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2]; l'djū [?]; -udjī interrogative; -n continuative)

Gua (Masset gu) or the pronoun may, however, be employed independently.

dā gua skiā'ñadi are you awake? (dā you; skiā'na stem [?]; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7])
gam gua qleigā'ñañ gam dalañ u'nsañatgañ don't you know any stories? (gam not; qleigā'ñañ stories; gam for [always precedes u'nsañat]; dalañ you (pl.); u'nsañat stem to know; -gañ continuative)

dāñ gu lañ l! t'ñ'etudjañ were you married? (Masset) (dāñ you; l! they [used in lieu of passive]; tñ to marry; ñet principal stem)
dā gu səl'gu ti'a-udja did you kill a land-otter? (Masset) (dā you; səl'gu land-otter; ti'a stem to kill)
gī'stō ë'dījīñ who are you? (gī'stō who? ë'dījī stem to be)
gasi'ñlao dāñ ë'djīñ what is the matter with you? (gasi'ñlao what? dāñ you; ë'djī stem to be; -ñ continuative)
gū'su l! t'ñ'eñágidas tō'asañ what will the chiefs eat? (gū'su what? l! indefinite demonstrative; tñ'eñágidas chiefs; tō stem to eat; -asañ future infallible occurrence and continuative)
5. -gua suffixed in the Masset dialect to declarative sentences in direct discourse.

\[ \text{gam tao tla'la'n da'aA'ŋganga'ngua we have no food (gam not; tao food; tla'la'n we; da'a stem to have; -A'n negation; -gA'n continuative)} \]

\[ \text{di q!o'lū } \text{An, } \text{ld'jīn'gua I have fresh water (di me; q!o'lū probably means near by; -An fresh water; l'djī to be; -ū continuative)} \]

\[ \text{lu } \text{di } \text{An qū'!l!ad'sīyangngua a canoe came out for me (Masset) (rū canoe; } \text{di me; } \text{An for; qū stem to go; -l!a toward [§ 22.10]; -sī = sā seaward [§ 22.8]; -gA'n continuative)} \]

\[ \text{di } \text{An l! } \text{A'nīn'gīnīngua they used to call me (di me; } \text{An for; } \text{A'nīn stem [?]; -gīn usitative [§ 23.3]; -i perfect)} \]

\[ \text{na'n v'!l!adas } \text{A'ngīnī } ]tā'n'ganga'ngua the chief's blood is salt 22.14 (na'n with following -s definite article; } \text{A-i blood; tā'n seawater)} \]

6. -i 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.

\[ \text{l' gīdate!ia'i lu la'gi la } ]sda'gō'wagānī when she brought food, they gave them to her (gīda to bring food to give to people; te'!i into [§ 22.1]; -ai the; lu when; gī to; la they [with suffix -gaw = -go]; -gA'n past inexperienced)} \]

\[ \text{k!iā'ūl!ao lu'a'i A'ńga la } ]golga'yagānī all that time he worked upon his canoe (k!iā'ūl!ao all that time [ = k!iāl + the general demonstrative hao]; ]u canoe; a'i the; A'ńga his own; l- with hands [§ 14.26]; golga to make; -ya perfect [§ 23.7]) \]

\[ \text{gaga'nhao la vā'ga'ñgīnī that is the reason why I do it (gaga'nhao that is the reason [ = } ]gaga'n + hao]; ]a I; vā' stem to do; -gA'n continuative; -gīn usitative [§ 23.3]) \]

\[ \text{gam } ]a l qa'\text{A'nīngīnīngua I did not go thither (Masset) (gam not; } ]a to; l I; qa stem to go; -A'n negation; -gīn usitative; -gua declarative)} \]

Possibly the i after -s is the same in meaning; but I doubt whether it had the same origin.

\[ \text{lnaga'i gu l! q!o'dalsī they were in a starving condition at the town (lnaga'i the town; gu at; q!o- mouth [§ 14.23])} \]

\[ \text{la } ]a'ńgasi he dreamed (ga'n stem to dream; -ga auxiliary) \]

\[ \text{la'ga hā'ilūsī his (food) was gone (lā his; -ga possessive; hā'ilū gone or destroyed; -asi participle)} \]

§ 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 te't'gas he shot it
la la q'añ'gadas he dried it
nañ sgo'd'na l' qe't'ñas he saw one
Lgañ'xetygu là'ñas the Pebble-town people
nañ-lgañ'xetygu là'na a Pebble-town person
nañ la'ootawas one who was whittling, or the whittler
nañ sqadjá'sas the future brave man
nañ sqadjá'sa a future brave man
nañ gaxañ'gas the child, or one who was a child

In the Masset dialect it generally concludes a subordinate clause.

V t'lagid'čils lu Nastó' gu aq'le'dadjan when he became a chief, his mother was drowned at Nasto (t'lagid chief; čl to become [§ 18.10]; -s participate; lu when; Nastó' name of an island; gu at; aq'le'dadj [?]; -an past inexperienced)

§ 26. Unclassified Suffixes

1. -u is suffixed to descriptive terms to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles.

nįdja'ñu mask (for derivation compare la at l' nį'dja'ñañ ṡansu'ga he made an image of it, they say)
sla'ndañ'nu that with which the hands are washed (=soap) (sla- with hands [§ 14.11]; nañ to play with or wash)
q'aiq'itäqañ'nu round thing shaken (=rattle) (qa'i round-shaped object [§ 15.18]; xit to shake; qañ continually)

2. -ält 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.

gañañu hao la sϋ'ulda'łyjañ he spoke like that (as if speaking to a slave) (gaña'ñ like; hao that; sũ stem to speak; dəl [?]; -gañ continuative)
ha'oskt'iën dañ gia'ga qa'qana'ldas and yet yours will be safe (ha'oskt'iën and yet [=-hao+connective sk'tiën]; dañ your; gia thing, or property; -ga possessive; qa'qana stem to be safe; -da auxiliary; -s participle)

§ 26
dã̄n go' ŋa A'ldjiwai your slave-father (dã̄n your; go' ŋa man's father; -ga possessive; djiw = dju he is of that sort; aĩ the)
dã̄n nã'tga A'ldjiwai your slave-nephew (dã̄n your; nãt nephew; -ga possessive; A'ldjiwai [as above])

3. -aanĩ astonishment or wonder.

gam gua la geĩ gi'na k!udji's l! qi'ngā' nãaanĩ I wonder that they do not see the object sticking into him (gam not; gua interrogative; geĩ into; gi'na something; k!u- classifier [§ 15.15]; dju it was of that sort; -s participle; gi' n stem to see; -gān continuative)
gisĩ'sdo hao l! waga'anĩ I wonder whence the people came who did this (gisĩ'sdo whence [contains sta from and o general demonstrative]; hao general demonstrative; wa stem to do; -ga auxiliary)

4. -algiĩ appears to be identical in meaning with the above.
a'sa'ga ēstĩ l! qa'gaalgiĩ I wonder if I slept here (a'sa this place; -ga in; ēstĩ also; l! I [literally they], often used for first person singular or plural; qa'ga stem to sleep)
wã lgu gi'na ge'ida l tagasā'algiĩ 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 -qasa about to [§ 23.6])
st!ao hao gawaalgiĩ I wonder if you have become witches (st!ao witches; hao those; gawa stem)

5. da'ogo 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 lä'sta ʔdji输了 at ʔa'staia da'ogo īsqwā' ŋxaĩ probably it is because she has been doing the same thing again (n-n-n exclamation; hit!aga' then; lä'sta [?]; ʔdji wins it is [including stem, continuative, and participle]; at with; īs stem; -gwaũ moving about [§ 20.5]; -xaĩ continuative [§ 24.1])
hadjadi'a gasti'nlao di taigā'sa da'ogo alas! I wonder what is going to become of me (hadjadi'a alas! gasi'nlao what! di me; taigā'sa contains the infallible future [§ 23.5])
l' i'ndaxuai go̤t gídji'gida da'ogo la ʔdL'nilgal!xas lo! when he pulled him out of the water, he only held together by the joints (i'ndaxuai the joints; go̤t together; gídji 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)

§ 26
I'lin Iqей Jc."wa'igai gao da'ogo the eldest son that I bore is as if he were non-existent (I'lin male person; I; qe to bear; k'wai elder son; gai the; gao to be wanting or gone)

Lqет dā dā'ga da'ogo la 'sdaaŋ if you own a bow, take it along (Lqет bow; dā you; dā'ga to own; la imperative; 'sdaaŋ stem and continual suffix)

Ki'lsaī ha'la dā is da'ogo qaL chief, if it is you, get into the canoe (Ki'lsaī the chief; ha'la come! dā you; is it is; qaL stem to go; -l aboard [§ 22.12])

Gas'i'nL!ao qa qē'gasa da'ogo I wonder how things are going to be (Gas'i'nL!ao how; qa things [indefinite]; qē probably for qēt stem to be like; -gasa = gasa imminent future)

Tak!'unga ha'la dā is da'ogo di gu qā'!xa grandchild, if it is you, come to me (Tak!'uŋa grandchild; -qa possessive; ha'la come! dā you; is it is; di me; gu at or there; qā to go; -l!xa toward)

L' Lga da'ogo gut agaL' la kut'da'ldias becoming a weasel, he climbed up (Lga weasel; gut upon; agaL' reflexive; kut- probably an instrumental prefix; -l- classifier [§ 15.20]; da stem [?]; -l up [§ 22.7]; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; -as participle)

di djā'ga Ḭnagai qē gudā'na da'ogo l tia'gas l qū'ngo look at the man I killed who wanted to marry my wife! (di my; djā wife; -ga possessive; ᬺnagai to marry; gai[?] the; qē to or for; gudā'na to think or want; l l; tia to kill; -ga auxiliary; -s participle; l imperative; qū'ng stem to look; -go plural)

§ 27. Personal Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>dī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>thee</td>
<td>dāŋ</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>naŋ</td>
<td>him, her, it (indef.)</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>talaŋ</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>iL'i'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (plural)</td>
<td>daləŋ</td>
<td>you (plural)</td>
<td>daləŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<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 dāŋ 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Skidegate</th>
<th>Masset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to die</td>
<td>k'otla</td>
<td>gao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to become</td>
<td>geal, gil</td>
<td>q'ai'xa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to want</td>
<td>stal</td>
<td>i'dji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to fear</td>
<td>lgoa</td>
<td>qaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to know</td>
<td>w'nsat</td>
<td>gata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent, gone</td>
<td>gao</td>
<td>gut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

$v' dj'a'q a$ q'$a'q a da' si his wife dried it 288.12 $d (dj a$ wife)

di' go'nga di' gi g'inge'idlan my father put paint on me 290.8 ($d$ my; go'nah father of male; di' me; gi' on; g'in- to cause [§ 14.12])

Wà'n'agàn gi'tqa hao i'dj'a'gàn that one was the son of Wà'n'agàn B 87.17

Qà'í-qon's qù'dj'à'n$à ì'lgas gi'd$à i'na'c'lan Qà'í-qon's daughter married ì'lgas' son (Masset) 394.10 (qù'djàn daughter; g'i'it son; i'na to marry; -$ìl 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 -$ì$.


44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——17  § 28
dā gua gatagā'‑i nā'ga' isdai'ya ū? did you eat my food? B 45.4 (dā thou; gua question; ga- something; ta to eat; -ga-i it)
luā'‑i lā'ga' sta'gasī his canoe was full 288.10
gā'odjiwa‑i lā'ga'! ski'dān̓ asī they beat his drum B 13.16
la'gudjē l dist' di'na i'sdi take my mat from me! (Masset) 753.29
(lagus mat; l imperative; di' me; st' from; di'na my)
l' kie' ādō' lā' ūnā! guqlaqwa' ūnā they thought about its name (Masset) 741.19 (kie' name; ādō about; gut mind)
tc'i'dalān̓ a'‑i ilsin' i'la'na l' qū'qodjuwe ... that he also take all our arrows (Masset) 660.19 (tc'i'dalān̓ arrow; ādōja all)
lqagā'‑i xa'da‑i dā' ūnā hī'luguwā ūn your town people are destroyed (Masset) 740.22 (lāna town; xa'da people; hī'l to destroy)
tc'i'dalān̓ a'‑i lā' ūnā āqgā l l'qal'late'lsōnū I shall swim for their arrows (Masset) 663.3 (tc'i'dalān̓ arrow)

In some cases the pronoun precedes the noun.
l! stā'sil lā' ūna l! qē' ūnga' ūnān they saw their footprints (Masset) 281.13 (stā'sil footprint)

(c) Terms expressing parts of the body do not take the suffix -qa; 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' kāl' da la'ga' la qalai'yāqgan he sharpened its bill for it B 59.25
l' lēxadj̓ la'ga' the crown of his head B 13.4
l' qā'dji qeiq' qal'‑i ləxq̓ da'‑i lū when he cut its head off B 12.14
(qās head; qēi with knife [§14.22]; -qid to begin)
l' slla'‑i lū lāl qū'ūnān her husband saw her hands (Masset) 430.24
(slla hand; lāl husband; qūān to see)

2. -e. A weak vocalic suffix is used with terms expressing parts of the body. Words ending in a vowel, n, ū, l, do not take this suffix, while others seem to transform the surd terminal into a sonant; s becomes dj̓ before it. The same forms are used in Masset with terms of relationship.

(a) Words ending in vowels, n, ū, or l.
qā'dē xie' the eagle's wing (Masset) 771.2
l'lladas āai the chief's blood (Masset) 779.14
l' qo'ūn his legs (Masset) 332.38
l' sll'ik' wūn her finger nails (Masset) 507.8
l' tc'iūn āt'ada between his teeth (Masset) 331.19
l' xe'el its neck part B 79.37
l' xaũ his face B 10.4
tc'i'na'‑i qal the salmon skin B 13.5

§ 28
di q'ida l i'nañ marry my daughter! (Masset) 514.8
l' nän l' sudai'an said his grandmother to him (Masset) 670.4

(b) Words ending in consonants other than n, ù, l.

l' k!u'gi ya opposite its heart (Masset) 294.25
di k!qog' my heart (Masset) 298.24
dañ q'adi'ji thy head (Masset) 301.5
l' k!o'ta its beak (Masset) 498.4
l' k!u'da its beak B 59.25
l' qâ'dji his head 12.14
l' skû'dji its bones B 8.13

3. -gia means originally property, but in Masset is now sometimes used as equivalent of qa.

V oñ gia gi'naga-i hi'lawan his father's property was destroyed 689.18
xânsû'lot gia lu'e sea-anemone's canoe (xânsû'lot sea-anemone; lu canoe)
da'ñqia lnaga'i xada'i your town-people (lnaga'i the town; xada'i people)
nañ t'liñas gia tā'wē the man's food (nañ t'liñas the man; tao food)

Sometimes it appears instead of di'na, signifying my, mine; as—
dal'ñ llanogi's lû l gia'gaina na-i ñ isdâ'lgala'wan dal'añ wa'-
luwan a after you have eaten let all go up to my house
 gia'gaina na-i at tclâ'nu yû'ân la'ola make a big fire in my house
 gia'gaina ñadô' llao l' ñ'zgaga'ñ 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.

djâ'gaina gi xagwa'-i la žqua'sî he carried the halibut toward the woods to his wife 288.12 (djâ wife; gi to; xagu halibut; l- with hands [§14.26])

gi'qasñ u'siñ l qîngâ'nsqa I shall see my son also 291.1 (git child; u'siñ also; l I; -sga future)
a-wñ at la kiî'nañas he asked his mother 289.9 (as mother; at with; kiî'n to question)
klô'lañ yû la dâñgi'stâlia'-i she had it even with her knees 291.7 (lû even; dâñ- by pulling [§14.4]; gi- flat thing; sta- to move away from; -l up)

§ 28
xanau'nu l lisku'nagul clean your eyes (Masset) 649.23 (xanu face, eye; l imperative; L- by touching [§ 14.26])

(b) Separable possession is expressed by the pronoun A'ñga (Masset A'ñg'a).

 tua'-i di'i'na A'ñga la spotskidâ'ñai he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4
q'I A'ñnat A'ñga la gaxuñ'lañ wansu'ga he went out with his skin 289.7

'a'ñ'le' ai gi'wé A'ñ'á' Ia sqotskidd'he he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4
q'I A'ñnat A'ñga la gaxuñ'lañ wansu'ga he went out with his skin 289.7

§ 29. Plurality and Distribution

**Plural Suffixes with Nouns**

1. -lañ is used principally with terms of relationship. It is also contained in the pronouns t!aIa'ñ we, daIa'ñ ye.

qâ'galan uncles B 27.13 (qâ'[ga] uncle)
nâ'ylalan nephews B 63.24 (nâ'[ga] nephew)
sqâ'ñgalan aunts (sqâ'[ga] aunt)
yâ'galan parents B 45.31
a'oygalan parents B 59.1
k!wai'galan elder brothers B 37.10

2. -djît occurs with some words indicating human beings.

'i'liña a male human being
ia'n'djîdai male human beings
xa'ldañ slave
xalda'n'djîdai slaves
gît a servant or low caste person
gî'djîdai low caste persons

The Distributive Suffix

3. -xa is used after numerals, connectives, and nouns.

stî'ña two apiece (stîñ two)
le'ila five apiece (le'il five)
gadî'xa round about (gadî' around)
dî'ixa in the neighborhood of (dî'n near)
tcaq'xa' around under the ocean-water (tcaq'a'n the ocean-water)

lk!i'ixa about in the woods (lk'i'e'n woods)
l' stlexqia'lagañ 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:

- *ā'di'jua* over here (near by)
- *wā'di'jua* over there (at some distance)
- *ā'gusa* here
- *wā'gusa* there
- *ā'si, aldji', aisi'* this thing

Interrogative pronouns are all built upon three stems by means of suffixes. These stems are *gī* or *gīs* where?, *gū* what? and *gasi'ū* why? or how is it? and the two former may be related to the connectives *gī* and *gū* (§ 31). *Who?* appears to be formed by adding the connectives *stA* and *hao* to *gī*, making *gī'stō* (literally FROM WHERE ARE YOU?).

Other variant interrogative pronouns are built upon the stems in a similar manner: *gī'sgēt, gisī'slahao, gī'īgan, where; gū'su, gū'sgiao, what?; gasi'ūnō, gasi'ūnhaao, gasi'nuliao, why or how?* *Gūs* is often duplicated into *gū'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 *ū* in conjunction with *gu* (*ugu*) 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'ithao for that reason
- at'ygu' as soon as
- at'a'nhao as soon as
- a'xana near
- A'la because, for
- alu therefore
- aldji'alu therefore
- uied now
- uiedhao now
- u'ngu on top of
- u'ngut on top of (motion thither)
- v'naat at the same time as
- v'sgien and (connects nouns)
- ya straight opposite
- hao that (very general meaning)
- ha'ohao for that reason
- dj'i'ngi alongside
- dj'i'gigu' behind
- da to (Masset dialect)
- dagu'llu alongside of
- da'xnat with (close company)
- dj'i'tgi back toward the woods
- ta'qi' opposite
- t'a'qa on account of
- t'la'qga while
- tl'etsi'a towing or dragging
- sa above, up
- su'yqa among
- si'a'gei above
- si'a'iga after
- sta from, after
- sk'tiu'xan although
- g'a'wan without
- gai the or that
- ga'ista after that, from that place
- ga'nui' like
- ga'nui'xan as soon as
- gi' (Masset ga) to or for
- gia'ogi at the end or edge of
- gi'en and (usually when)
- gu at, there
- gua toward

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A large number of these, it will be seen, are compounded from the simpler connectives, for example:

- a'tha'o (at + hao)
- atgu'lũ (at + gu + lũ)
- atla'nhao (at + the adverb xan + hao)
- A'la (A+l+a in place of a verb or clause)
- A'lũ' (A+l+hao)
- Aldji'alũ (Aldji't his + A+l+hao)
- ui'i'dhao (uiid + hao)
- ha'ohao (hao + hao)
- dl'gyi (dl'da + gi)
- si'agei (sa + gei)

Still other connectives are evidently compounded, although one of the elements may be rarely or not at all used alone. Thus:

- ḏ'xA'na contains the demonstrative a and the adverb xan
- u'n'gu is evidently compounded of a connective un, not used independently, and gu
- u'n'gut is compounded of un and gut
- inaat contains at
- ȗ'sqiën contains qiën
- dji'nũği contains gi
- dji'gigui contains giũ and probably gi
- da'u'ilũ contains lũ
- da'♀nαt contains at
- tl'a'gi contains gi and probably a non-independent connective tl'a
- tl'qα contains qa and t'lα
- tl'α'uqa contains qa
- t'l'e'slä contains sta
- sũ'uga contains qa
- sk'i'a'xan contains xan
- gia'ogi contains gi
- kw'uṅaslä contains sta and probably qa and kun point
- kwa'gi contains gi
- k!ia'oqa contains qa
- gã'atqa contains qa
- gã'ai'gei contains gei
- qa'nstä contains gαn and sta
- q!il'qa contains qa
- q!leũ'gi contains gi
- qleũ'xa contains the distributive suffix xa
- xe'daxua, xe'tgu, and xe'tgi contain gua, gu, and gi, respectively, with a connective xe't
Lā'gu contains gu and a connective Lā
Lā'guda contains Lā and gut
Lā'xa contains Lā and xa
Ld'xan contains xan and perhaps Lā and gi

Still another non-independent connective seems to be used with the reflexive suffix in q!e'nañ 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 ga and gei or gi respectively, with gu; and gut is perhaps from gu and at, or else the suffix indicating motion (see below). Qā'lī insides, and xēlī 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'ñ is perhaps simply the continuous 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>sū</th>
<th>qān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uiedade</td>
<td>sīa</td>
<td>ĝe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un</td>
<td>ĝā</td>
<td>q'ōdī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ĝu</td>
<td>q'tōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hao</td>
<td>ĝi</td>
<td>q'eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dżin or dżi</td>
<td>gięn</td>
<td>xēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>ĝā</td>
<td>ĭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dżit</td>
<td>k'īia</td>
<td>ĭga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla</td>
<td>ĝa</td>
<td>ĭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūlāl</td>
<td>ĝāt</td>
<td>ĭ prêt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>ĝadō'</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-t is suffixed to connectives to indicate motion of an object in the situation specified by the connective.

sī'geit la xēltgal das he flew about above (sīge above; -it in that place; xēt to fly; lgal moving about; -da to cause)
gam l' nā'dalañ da īst'ñ l! dō'zānγañan l' k'olā'lan sīle't ā after he died, they did not call his nephews (Masset) (gam not; nāda nephew; -lāñ plural; da [?]; īst'ñ also; dō to go and get; -zānγ negation; -gan continuous; -an past inexperienced; k'olāl stem to die; -an past inexperienced; sīle after; ā stands for dō'zānγañan)
l! xel'it l! īstèdanè they put these before them (xet before; īste stem [?]; -id inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced; ī perfect)
z'ntē dżinę't alongside of the stream (they went) (Masset) (z'añlγ fresh water or stream; ĭ the; dżin 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:

- 'i'si'n (Masset i'si'n) again, also
- ila' differently
- yen truly
- ye'nl'ien very much
- hawî'dan quickly
- hayi'n instead
- han (Masset hin) like, as follows
- halgunan closer
- hitlaq'ân (Masset hitlaq'ân) then
- hi'na'n only
- dî'da landward
- q!â'da seaward
- sa up, above
- si'na'n sniffing
- gu'a (interrogation)
- gain not
- xan (Masset han) still, yet
- xanguia'n answering, in reply
- lan complete, ended
- la (imperative adverb)
- l'n an 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'l'ana'nan really
- ha'oxan still
- de'ixan carefully
- ku'nxan still more
- kia'xan outside
- lqua'nia'nan aimlessly, traveling at random

Many ideas expressed in English by adverbs are rendered in Haida by a noun, or its equivalent, and connective:

- qa'gui northward or to the north
- djaxui' seaward, toward the mouth of the inlet
- qalgui' up-inletward, or toward the head of the inlet
- tadjgua' toward the rear of the house
- kia'gua toward the door of the house
- sqõl'sgi to the right
- slaugi to the left or leftward
§ 33. Interjections

The following is a list of interjections, or words of interjectional nature:

a-i ah! or oh my!
āya no!
ā’digua just hear! (an angry exclamation used by old people)
añá yes!
ī don’t!
ī (disgust) dirty! etc.
it-te’i indeed! or is that so? or why! don’t you know?
wa or lengthened into wā-ū-ū pretty, nice!
yû’ya a feminine exclamation of terror
yûλa’daλ an exclamation used by the Ninstints people when they
hear news, regardless of its quality
hai now!
hawi’it quick!
hā’maya horrors! (a very strong expression)
hadjada’a alas!
ha’kü now!
hal’a come! The Ninstints sometimes use(li)n instead of this.
hāk or lengthened into hūk’uk’uk’uk’uk look out! also the cry raised
when rushing on an enemy. It always indicates danger.
djā say! well!
t!aganē’ lo! surprising!
qā’o ano or qō’ano no!
qū’gus t!aganē’ wonderful! or surprising!
k’wai pray! wait! hold on!
q!a pretty or nice (a Kaigani exclamation particularly)
q!ā’la ḫdjā’xan an obsolete expression, used only by chiefs, and
indicative of intense anger
ñnā here! say!
lan or ha’oslan enough! stop! (identical with the adverb lan)
l!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.

wagūñāxan la ìsda’yagan nān djā’adas a she did it that way,
the woman (did it that way) (wagūñāxan that way [=wa +
gaña’n+xan]; ìsda stem; -ya perfect; -agan past inexperienced; nān the [with -s]; djā’da woman; a for ìsda’yagan)
l' qá'idagan tadá'oagai s'ilga a she started off, while those who were after salmon were away (she started) (qá to go; -id inchoative; -gan past inexperienced; tadá'oagai they were after salmon; s'ilga while [literally, in the place]; a for qá'idagan)

l' qal'xa'yagan tá'ñai djín'nyi a she came out of the woods, near the sea-water (she came out) (ga stem; -lxá toward; -ya perfect; -agan past inexperienced; tá'ñai the sea; djín near; gi at; a for qal'xa'yagan)

la qan l! á'xanagi'álagani la lgá da'oagai a they came near her, those that came after her (came near her) (gan for; á'xana stem to come near; -giidl to come to be; -agan past inexperienced; -i perfect; lgá after; dao to come to get; gai the or those; a for á'xanagi'álagani)

Occasionally a is omitted.

giën la qá'ilqá'isgilasi sín lgui lá'na e'síñ and he threw it up hard into the air, the sun also (giën and; gáit hard or quickly; gi'isi-classifier; s-git stem; -l up; -asi participle; sín sun; lgui indeed; lá'na that one; e'síñ also)

gu'iluhao l! lagá'yuñ wansi'ga qá'laí lá'alge'ilsi lu at that time they went off in a crowd, at the end of ten days (literally, nights) (gu'iluhao at that time; lagá stem [l]; -ya perfect; -ãun continuative; wansi'ga quotative; gi'l night; ai the; lá'al ten; ge'il to become; -si participle; lu 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 dán l qí'unga I cease to see thee 31.5 (lan to stop; dán thee; l I; qíin to see; -ga declarative or auxiliary [?])

la l'siñ la'ga-qá'gas he, too, went to him (i'siñ too; qa to; qá stem to go; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)

dalá'n l'a l! tal'gyi lá'gasga you, however, will be better than the others (dalá'n you [pl.]; l'a however; tal'gyi more than; lá good; -ga auxiliary; -sกา 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-

§ 34
tives depend upon one noun, they are apt to occur in an order exactly the reverse of that observed in English:

\[gō'djai\ tīl̂ \v v\th̃\d\j\n\] the wolf, wet, small (the small wet wolf)

\[gi'na\ gō'lgal\ sɔl̃\p\d\j\n\] 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:

\[l'\ lta'xui\ x̂\w\d\j\i\ l'\ ti\q\an\ la\ \q\an\ gūd'\h\n\] his friends (that) a grizzly bear killed him thought about him (his friends thought a grizzly bear had killed him) (\(lt\a'xui\) friends or clansmen; \(x\w\d\j\i\) grizzly bear; \(t\i\a\) stem to kill; \(-\a\q\an\) past inexperienced; \(\q\an\) for [here about]; \(gūd'\h\n\) stem to think; \(-\q\an\) past inexperienced)

In the Masset dialect the subordinate clause usually ends in -s (§ 25.7) and is followed by \(gi\̂n\), \(lu\), or some other connective. This is also found in the Skidegate dialect; but more often the subordinate clause ends in \(g\a\i\). Masset sentences are usually introduced by \(wa'gi\̂n\); and Skidegate sentences, by \(gi\̂n\h\a\o\), \(wa'gi\̂n\h\a\o\), \(lu\̂h\a\o\), 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
following vowel; (6) a consonant, vowel, and consonant; (7) two consonants, a vowel, and a consonant; (8) stems of two syllables.

1. ɨ to remain in one place or to sit
2. l to touch
3. wa to do or make
   dju to be of a certain sort or kind
   dao to go and get
ta to eat
tai to lie
tia to kill (one person)
su to say
gao to be absent or wanting
gia to stand
gu to come
kwa to strike
kiiu to tie
kwiwi to mention
xia to follow
xiao to hang up
go to lie
go(xa) to burn
gi to go (one person)
qê to give birth
qîa to sit (usually followed by auxiliary ɨ)
qîa to sleep
qîa to laugh
qîol to hide or secrete from the eyes
xao to fish
lî 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
   stiê to be sick, angry, sad
   lgi to swim
   lxu to creep
   lida to kill (many people)
   tta to spit

6. nan to grind or rub
   nial or nîl to drink
   giîn to go by sea
   kiân to ask
   kin to make a noise, as a bird
   kîl to be extinguished
   xîl to howl
   xî to fly
   xîl to pick up
   qât to run, to act quickly
   qêîl to become
   qêl to be like
   xut to drink
   xool to steam
   xon falling of a heavy object, like a tree
   sil to borrow
   liîn to start anything
   liîl to surround

7. stil to return
   skît to move so as to result in contact
   skît to club
   skin to wake up
   sqail to weep
   sgot to hide
   igal and lyîl to move around

8. âba to chew up food, for a child
   idî or lîs to be
   hailu to destroy
   djapât to sink suddenly
daga to own
   giî to seize
   gisu to wipe
   kîtoîl to be dead
   gâxa to be weak
   golga to make
   gaido to go to war
   lînô to swear

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Adjectives may always be used as verb-stems and so belong to this category. The following are the principal:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{āda} different
  \item \textit{yaku} middle
  \item \textit{yū'ān} big (incorporated \textit{yū})
  \item \textit{tadjū} half
  \item \textit{tīlē} wet
  \item \textit{sqēt} red
  \item \textit{nao} many
  \item \textit{gāda} white
  \item \textit{gōt} last; also a noun meaning buttocks
  \item \textit{goan} much
  \item \textit{gō'na} great, mighty
  \item \textit{lā} good
  \item \textit{lgal} black
  \item \textit{gō'tgal} blue
\end{itemize}

Nouns like the following may also be used as the stems of verbs:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yū'ān} clouds
  \item \textit{te!ā'ano} fire or firewood
  \item \textit{na} house
  \item \textit{gūda} chief’s son
  \item \textit{tā'na} sea-water
\end{itemize}

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).

\section*{§ 37. Numerals}

The numeral system has become decimal since the advent of the whites, and the word \textit{hundred} has replaced the original expression that covered that figure; but the old blanket-count ran as follows:

\begin{align*}
  1 & \textit{sgoā'nsīn} \\
  2 & \textit{stīn} \\
  3 & \textit{lgu'nul} \\
  4 & \textit{sta'nsīn} \\
  5 & \textit{Lē'il} \\
  6 & \textit{LgA'nul} \\
  7 & \textit{djiquagā} \\
  8 & \textit{sta'nsā'nx} \\
  9 & \textit{LaAti' ĕgigsoansī' ūgo} \\
 10 & \textit{Lā'Al} \\
 11 & \textit{Lā'Al wai'gī sgoa'nsīn} \\
 12 & \textit{Lā'Al wai'gī stīn} \\
 20 & \textit{La'quat sgoa'nsīn} \\
 30 & \textit{La'quat sgoansī' ūgo wai'gī Lā'Al} \\
 40 & \textit{La'quat stīn} \\
 50 & \textit{La'quat stīn wai'gī Lā'Al} \\
 60 & \textit{La'quat lgu'nul} \\
100 & \textit{La'quat Lē'īl} \\
200 & \textit{La'quat Lā'Al} \\
300 & \textit{La'quat Lā'Al wai'gī La'quat Lē'īl} \\
400 & \textit{La'quat Lā'alē stīn} \\
1000 & \textit{La'quat Lā'alē Lē'īl} \\
2000 & \textit{La'quat Lā'alē Lā'Al} \\
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 but slightly from those of one syllable, I have given them before other two-syllable stems:

1. ao mother  
2. āl paddle  
3. tcūa place  
   tcū cedar  
   sū lake  
   na house  
   gwai island  
   kīu trail  
4. xāi sunshine  
5. qāi blood  
   qa uncle  
   qā harpoon  
   qāa north  
   kūa salmon eggs  
   xao juice  
6. Lāu canoe  
   lai cranberries  
   stūa foot  
7. stūao wizard  
   skū back  
8. Līa land  
9. īga rock  
5. īd'na sea-water  
7. sqot armpit  
   lgān male cousin  
8. sgā'na supernatural being  
9. kla'-ida tray  
10. kla'-ilda star  
11. qī'na something  
12. kī'ga meat, flesh  
13. kī'uda beak  
14. qō'da buttocks  
15. qō'da box  
16. qā'dī head  
17. qā'la or qāl reef  
18. qō'na father-in-law and son-in-law  
19. xa'ida human beings  
20. lgā'na town  
21. xadji middle of top of head
iqea'ma kelp; also tall rough
grass along shore
kí'la language
kí'la color
kí'la'lu cormorant
kí'la'nu a crazy person
qí'ya' the sea
qí'ya' smoke
qí'yu a white variety of
rock
qí'ya' bag
qí'ya' water basket or bucket
qí'na's comrade (in address)
qí'na'ndal a mass of trees
fallen in one place
lá'la'na house-screens

Some of these last are undoubtedly compound. Thus qí'yu a white variety of
rock
qí'ya' bag
qí'ya' water basket or bucket
qí'na's comrade (in address)
qí'na'ndal a mass of trees
fallen in one place
lá'la'na house-screens

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 investiga-
tion. Such are the following:

teín salmon (general term)
tal loon
telín beaver
tílín robin
tái silver-salmon
si'ga snake
tan black-bear
st!ao screech-owl
§ 38
sqao grouse and big variety of clam
gōt eagle
sqol porpoise
qai sea-lion
sq内科 gull
qū sea-otter
saut land-otter
xa dog
nao devil-fish
xā'gu halibut
kīu clam
xot raven
kūl sculpin
Lgə头发-seal
dīl devil-fish.
qə'ya saw-bill
dgol sea-otter
Lga weasel
dgu land-otter
x₀ ya weasel
k!a'ga'ın mouse
lk'tia saw-bill
kun whale
lqo heron

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:

ya'nidja'n spider
dīgə'tlaxaun fly; also snipe
djīqul-a'oga shrew (probably literally, FERN-MOTHER)
djī'da'n humpback-salmon
dogā'tlxaga'na chicken-hawk
tā'ñūa steelhead-salmon
tā'gun spring-salmon
taxe't small salmon found on the Queen Charlotte islands
tā'lat trout
tā'lat-gā'dala swallow
tialgun swan
sixnasid'alga'na small bird
statsku'n fish-hawk
stāqā'djita' brant
skā'qū dog-salmon
skā'zia'o swamp-robin
sqal'm star-fish
sl!ā'djaqada'n red-headed woodpecker
kalgai'aga'n butterfly, grasshopper
kūndaga'na (Masset slaq'a'm) sand-flea
d!āldjida crow
qadji'ānq!algə'ksle green-headed duck
qōtqada'alam' bat
qotgalū' sparrow
q'a'isqut butter-ball
q'ōyā'ın mouse
iγitgu'n goose
lk!i'ě'nq!ōstan frog (lk!i'ě'n forest; q!ōsta'n crab)
tālat-gā'dala fast trout

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Another set of names appears to be onomatopoetic either in fact or in idea:

- **hí'xodada or ía'xodada**: grebe
- **wít salmon-berry bird**
- **má'ìmátemi'gí**: dragon-fly
- **djúdja'ít**: small hawk
- **djúdjiyá'gó**: small bird
- **te'ãdíla song-sparrow**
- **da'ãtí** wren

I know of but two story-names of animals, **k!uí'xuqínagúts marten** (instead of **k!uí'xu**), and **sqó'lgínagúts porpoise** (instead of **sqo**); but it is possible that the same suffixes may have occurred after other animal-names as well. **qï'na** means something, and **qít** son; but whether those are the words included in the suffix is uncertain.

Several animal-names are almost identical with those found in Tlingit:

- **te'ãdíga** skate
- **te'ísígy** moose
- **te'ólgy** ground-squirrel
- **nû'gadje** fox
- **ná'sq** wolverene
- **k!uí'xu marten**

**Lyó heron**, and **k!ága'n** (Keene's) **mouse**, also resemble the Tlingit terms; and the Tlingit word for **raven**, **yël**, 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:

- **yápge't or yá'ẽ't**: chief's son
- **hágyágé'djí**: iron

**Nû'gadje fox** is also found in Tsimshian, and the following names are also from that language:

- **a'ôd** porcupine
- **mat** mountain-goat

Names of implements and various utensils are formed from verbs by means of a noun-forming suffix o (u):

- **sgunxola'ó** perfume (from **sgun**, skún to smell)
- **sl'lanã'nu** soap (from **sl'la** hand; **nã'ñ** to play)
- **nîdja'nu** mask (from **nîdja'ñ** to imitate)
- **kit'ao** spear handle (from **kit** to spear)

§ 38
Of a similar character are the following, although their derivation is not clear:

- daqu'nla'o matches
- kîtsgalâ'ñòo poker
- xâlqadja'o tin pan
- q!aixîtqâgâ'ñòo rattle

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:

- Dji'îndjaos a man named Devil-club (dji'îndjao devil-club)
- Gao qons the name of an inlet (gao qon mighty inlet)
- Q!îâats name for the Kaigani country (q!îât narrow strait)
- Gu'îqas a man named Abalone (gu'ilga abalone)
- Na'îki'îlslas the Person-who-accomplished-things-by-his-word; that is, the Creator, Raven (na'î kî'îsla a person who accomplishes things by his word)
- Qai âl la'nas a family called the people of Qai (Qai âl la'na a man of the town of Qai)
- Na'î-stî'ns The-one-who-is-(equal-to)-two (na'î one person; stî' two)
- Na qîâ'las a family called Clay-house People (na qîâ'la a clayey house)
- Tcâ'n la'nas Mud-town

This, however, is not essential to the formation of proper names, as the following examples will show:

- Xö'ya ga'nöa Raven creek
- Qu'îtyaoqao Inlet-from-which-the-trees-have-been-swept-away (a camp between Kaisun and Tec'a'tat)
- Tdji'în xa'idagai Far People (the Kwakiutl)
- Gidâ'înstá From-his-daughter (name of a chief)
- Tec'ânu aî qîola'î Master-of-the-Fire (name of a chief)
- Sgå'na yû'an Great Supernatural Power (name of a chief)
- Qêna-qwa'îst Floating-heavily-in-his-canoe (name of a chief)

The following nouns are nothing more than verb-stems:

- wâ'lgal potlatch
- stîë sickness
- qûsû speech
- kî'îda dead body
- xîâî dancer
- ɂê' 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'îda person.
§ 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 -da 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>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>ìs, dal, or isdal</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qìao</td>
<td>L!ū</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xìt</td>
<td>ña(lįa)</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìa</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 -dal and -da. These may be plural equivalents of the stem dju.

- da is sometimes used instead of the preceding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yu'nda</td>
<td>big things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji'nda</td>
<td>long things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- qe'qu yu'dalá big buckets (yû'án big)
- ña xₖ'adala small children (xₖ'tdju small thing) (Masset)

$\text{§39}$
HAIDA TEXT (SKIDEGATE DIALECT)

A RAID ON THE BELLA COOLA BY THE PEOPLE OF NINSTINTS AND KAISUN

Qa'isun gu Ga'nxet xa'idagai1 Lū gasta'n'sīn 2 gu gada'n 3
Kaisun at Ninstints people canoes four at in company
with themselves

L! qa'idoxalgAfi Lū'xl.xagan. 4 Gi'e'nha'o 6 Lū gasta'n'sīn gu
they to ask to go to fight came by canoe. And then canoes four at

ta'ogān 7 L! i'djinī. 8 Ga'iluha'o 9 L! Lūda'ogān 10 sta Lilgi'nī 11
together they went. At that time they went across after Bentinek arm

gi'e'nha'o gu'l'sxua 13 ta'odjigai 14 Lū'xa 15
into they went in by canoe. And then during the night

L! Lūsdal'tcIigioni. Gi'e'nha'o sl'i'n 16 ga ga naxandā'yagan 17
they went in canoes. And then the inlet in some had been camping

xa'gūста 18 L! te'tlxidāni. 19 Gi'hao 20 Amai'kuns k'o'dageidān. 21
from in front them started to fire on. Right there Amiskuns was killed,

Gayns i'sīn L! te'tl'tl'dagan. 22 Qōya' i'sīn L! te'tl'tl'dagan.
Floating too they wounded. Beloved too they wounded.

La'hao 20 L! sūga sqā'djīgan. Ga'igu 21 ga sīn L!
He them among was a brave man. There some two they

1 Gā'nxet 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. -gai is the connective.

2 qa'- prefix indicating shape; sta'n'sīn four.

3 gado' around + the possessive suffix -ān (§ 28.4) (literally, around themselves).

4 qa'idō to go to war; sa'l the auxiliary to ask (§ 18.7); -gān the continuative suffix (§ 24.1).

5 Lū canoe, and so motion by canoe; is stem of verb to be; -l'm motion toward any object mentioned (§ 22.10); -gān suffix indicating past event experienced by the person speaking (§ 23.1).

6 gi'en and + hao.

7 -gān is the suffix denoting intimate possession (§ 28.4).

8 Although the story-teller himself went along, he speaks of his party in the third person throughout the narrative. -ān is the same suffix as -gān, spoken of above (§ 23.1). The -ī is a suffix of doubtful significance, probably giving a very vague impression of the completion of an action (§ 25.6).

9 gai + li + hao.

10 Lū'-by canoe; da'o stem; -gān past-temporal suffix experienced (§ 23.1); -i see note 8.

11 Līgī'mt is applied to interior Indians generally by the Bella Bella at the mouth of Bentinek arm and Dean canal.

12 Lū'-by canoe; is stem; dāl several going; de'l motion into a shut-in place, such as a harbor or inlet (§ 22.1); -gān temporal suffix (§ 23.1).

13 gi'l night; tsa (guo) toward, without motion, and thus derivatively (§ 31).

14 tsa'odjī port; gai the of that.

15 Lū in the neighborhood of or opposite something on shore; -sa distributive suffix (§ 29.3).

16 Lū'lxā 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.

17 nū to live, temporarily or permanently; -sa'n = -gān the continuative suffix (§ 24.1); -sa auxiliary indicating cause (§ 18.2); -ta perfect time (§ 23.7); -gān past-experienced-temporal suffix (§ 23.1).

18 sa at or there; ma from (§ 31).

19 te' to shoot with guns; -tāl the inchoative auxiliary (§ 18.6); -ān the past-experienced-temporal suffix, which drops g after d; -i as above.

20 ka'nu'cu dead body; -pei't to be in that condition; -an temporal suffix.
xalda’ngatd’gani.22 Ga’ista23 l! Lü’i’sdaxtqoa’gan.24 Gién L!
enslaved. After that they started out. And them
ku’ngasta25 ga qalita’gangan26 ga xütu’gti’gan27 ga’atsgan.28
before those started first some coming sailing went out to.
Djiqwa’i29 sq’la’stín30 wa gu31 q’ada’ogangan.32 Sta lu’a’i q’al
Guns two it at was the noise of. Afterward canoe
xüti’ginda’gani33 gién ga djü’ada stín xalda’ngadayangan.34
driven by and some women two were enslaved.
Gién ga’ista35 l! Lü’i’sLx’á’gan36 gién wa gu tag’di’djigaidi37
And they came and it at persons captured
at lga sq’u’ngi38 aga’i n! x’a’nal’a’gin’gi.39 xan39 l! q’ol’ga nañ
with land close to them- they rejoiced that having while they near a
kundjü’gan40 gado’ ga xütu’gdi’ji-L’xagai41 l!A gei qe’xagai42 Lu
point was around some came sailing them (into) saw when
q’alILA’gani.43 Gién’nhao go’L’aga44 l! daot’I’a’gani.45 Gién’nhao
jumped off. And then after [them] they landed. And then
aga’i n! l’qöl’ga’gi46 q’o’dh’ha40 l! qat’I’a’gani.47 Gién’nhao gi’yawai48
self I prepared after a while I got off. And then the sea
La’xa nañ lxiëndr’si39 l! xütxi’dan.50 Lk’lu’xet51 l! l xüti’g’ndal
near one was running I started to pursue. About in the him I chased about
woods.

22 t-ita- 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 spoken of in close connection (§ 39).
23 gién the + stA, both being connectives.
24 L-IG-) CANOE; stA stem; -da contraction of -dal (§ 14.5); zlt to BEGIN to (§ 18.6); -goa MOTION OUT OF
DOORS (§ 22.2).
25 Probably means literally FROM IN A POINT (kun POINT; ga’i n! stA FROM).
26 ga to go; -lt (probably originally contracted from lit) to START (§ 18.6); -qaga first, first time (§ 21.3).
27 t-ita- instrumental prefix meaning with the WIND (§ 14.19); -qini stem; -qiI on the sea (§ 19.2).
28 gai floating; -aga MOTION SEAWARD (§ 22.8).
29 gí’tu’ + gai, the q being dropped after u.
30 sq’la- classifier indicating objects like sticks (§ 15.11).
31 ona demonstrative pronoun + gu at.
32 ga probably auxiliary meaning TO BE.
33 zlt- WITH THE WIND (§ 14.10); -gIu DRIFTING ON THE SEA; -dal, auxiliary indicating motion (§ 14.5).
34 xalda’ngatd’gani; -ya perfect time (§ 23.7).
35 gai probably from gaq for + stA FROM, the idea being motion from a certain place with a definite object in view, and thus to something else.
36 L-IG- ) CANOE; stA stem; -Lxa MOTION TOWARD; -gara temporal suffix.
37 ta- a noun-forming prefix; gi’dji stem of verb to SEIZE.
38 gi the connective meaning TO OR FOR.
39 aga’i the reflexive pronoun; l! pronoun for subject; zañal to REJOICE; -qini on the sea; -gara = -gara
the continuative; -di suffix indicating that the action is held suspended in certain additional possibility pending certain further developments; zañ the adverb still or yet.
40 kun POINT; diñ sort of thing; -gara past-experienced-temporal suffix.
41 gi plural indefinite pronoun; zlt- MOTION BY MEANS OF THE WIND; gi’dji to SEIZE OF CARRY ALONG,
SEIZED; -Lxa- MOTION TOWARD; gai the or those.
42 qe’x to see; gai connective turning the verb into an infinitive.
43 -làñ MOTION DOWNWARD; -gara temporal suffix.
44 zlt I is evidently from go’du or qo’ posteriors, and secondarily afterward; -tqaga is the same as -tqa.
45 dañ probably the stem to GO and GET; -làñ MOTION DOWNWARD, out of the canoe.
46 aga’i the reflexive pronoun; l subject pronoun of the first person singular; l to accomplish by touching with the hands; go’qaga stem of verb meaning to MAKE; -qini upon the ocean; ga’odh’ha the connective before which a verb loses its temporal suffix, and which is itself divided into combinations of qa’odi + go’.
47 qa singular stem meaning to GO; -làñ MOTION DOWNWARD.
48 go’qao sea + (q)gai the connective.
49 L- shape of a human being; dal auxiliary; -sI the infinitive suffix.
50 zlt. This stem is perhaps identical with the stem meaning to FLY, and so indicates rapid motion; -qini
to BEGIN to do a thing; -sn the past-experienced-temporal suffix.
51 Lk’lu’xet woods; -za distributive suffix; -t motion in that place.
Gien l' qa'dji' da'nat l' after a while the sea into he jumped. And his hair with his a'xinai la' sta la ga'lg'gan. Gien qa'da l' te'il'xaga'n yellow cedar him from I took. And toward he came up the sea
gien di xaniga 59 la lq'algida'n'gan. Gi'en' hao di ga la and my face he held up his hands at. And then me to he Lgiglg'gan. Di gan l' a'xanaga'lgai lU i'siin l' ga'lgig'gan swam shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he dove
gien qa'da l' Ldji'l'xaga'n 61 gi'en la gi'65 te'ldjux'idan. Gi'en l' and seaward he came to the surface and him at I began to shoot. And he Lgiglg'gan gi'en ma ni stala' xa'ngi 67 aga'U la gidjigig'il'dai'sk'dan. swam landward and a cliff on the face himself he held tight against.
Ga'igu y'siin la la te'lg'giastia'ngai 69 lu 69 lan la la ge'ildagani. There too him I shot twice when ended him I caused to become.
Gi'en' hao sta'la'i xa'ngi qa't 71 giaga'na'gan 72 gut la qaxia'lg'gan. And then the cliff on the face tree was standing upon he climbed up.
Gi'en l' qa'dji' stala'i sta djina'gan. 74 Kla'a'xan 75 wa'gU 76 la And its top the cliff from was some distance. But still toward it he t'askitgaoga'ndi 77 qa'di' stala'i xa'ngi aga'U la gidjigig'il'dalgaski'dan. bent it after the cliff on the himself he got hold of.
Gi'en gu ga xe'lg'gan 79 gei la qate'lg'gan. 80 Gam sta L'gut 81 xo'tgi82 And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward

52 qa'odihao ga'wavai gei la ga'tgigan.53 Gi'en l' qa'dji' da'nat l' while a yellow cedar him from I took.
50 a'xinai la' sta la ga'lg'gan.57 Gi'en qa'da l' te'il'xaga'n yellow cedar him from I took.
49 xanaga 60 la lq'algida'n'gan. Gi'en' hao di ga la and my face he held up his hands at.
46 di gan l' a'xanaga'lgai 62 lu 62 i'siin l' ga'lgig'gan swam shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he dove.
41 Ldji'l'xaga'n 61 gi'en la gi'65 te'ldjux'idan. Gi'en l' and seaward he came to the surface and him at I began to shoot. And he
40 Lgiglg'gan gi'en ma ni stala' xa'ngi 67 aga'U la gidjigig'il'dai'sk'dan. swam landward and a cliff on the face himself he held tight against.
39 t'askitgaoga'ndi 77 qa'odih stala'i xa'ngi aga'U la gidjigig'il'dalgaski'dan. bent it after the cliff on the himself he got hold of.
38 xe'lg'gan 79 gei la qate'lg'gan. 80 Gam sta L'gut 81 xo'tgi82 And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward.
at si'gi^83 qal'a'li'naí 84 gaoga'ñganí. 85 Ga xa'nhao 86 l' klotumü 87
or upward (he) could go
was wanting. In right he would die

Gien'na ho ga'ista l! lünsdaxi'da'ní. lü'ha'o l! tc'a'anugadaga'ní. 89
And then from that they started by canoe. When they had a
fire

Gien gut at l! dä'yu'nixidan. Gien ga'ista l! lünsdaxidai lü'ha'o 90
and each to they started to give to eat. And from that they started by

Gien qu'a'da l! ga'ilg'iñä 99 qa'odi nañ r'ilä 109
made fall by shooting. And seaward they lay after a while a man

Gandjilg'a'gida 104 l'! i'nligia qa'll'da 102 lü da'nügida'l! l'xasgagän, 103
dancing-blanket
cedar-bark rings
canoe

nañ dj'a'da i'sin l' go'läga qa'll'xasgagän 104 gi'en l'! ga' 105
a woman "also" him after came
and to us

Gien Ldo'gwañ gi'ga l'a ga k'ilgülgan. 107
came out. And Ldögwañ therein them to talked.
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 seek people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and
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 Ldō'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. Ldō'gwañ refused and started away from them. Then they fled away in terror. Their ammunition 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.
TSIMSHIAN

BY

FRANZ BOAS
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§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

The Tsimshian (Chimmesyan) 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 Nisqa7, which is spoken on Nass river, and the G'itkcan (Gytkshan), 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 writer1 and by Count von der Schulenburg.2 I have also briefly discussed the dialect of Nass river,3 and have published a collection of texts4 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.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

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, 877-889).
2 Dr. A. C. Graf von der Schulenburg, Die Sprache der Zimshian-Indianer (Brunswick, 1894).
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, 1895, 583-586; 1896 586-591).
5 Eine Sonnensage der Tsimshian, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, 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 fortis of these continued sounds are analogous to the Kwakiutl $\,^v\!\!y, \,^v\!\!w, \,^v\!\!m, \,^v\!\!n$, and $\,^v\!\!l$. 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 $l$ 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 $\iota$ of other Pacific Coast languages agrees its prevalent $n$ 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 $\iota$.

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 North-west Coast languages, with which it has in common the strong tendency to a weakening of vowels. The Tsimshian dialect has no clear \( a \), but all its \( a \)'s are intermediate between \( a \) and \( \tilde{a} \). Only after \( w \) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{Short} & u & o & \partial & a & e & \hat{i} & \hat{i} \\
\text{Long} & - & - & - & - & - \\
\text{With parasitic vowel} & - & - & - & - & - & - & - & \hat{i} & \hat{i} \\
\end{array}
\]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Affricatives</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>( b ) ( p ) ( p' )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>( d ) ( t ) ( t' ) ( dz ) ( ts ) ( ts' )</td>
<td>( z ) ( s ) ( c )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>( g' ) ( k' ) ( k'' )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle palatal</td>
<td>( g ) ( k ) ( k' )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>( g ) ( q ) ( q' ) ( y ) ( r )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral, voiced continued</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| L | L |
| --- |
| h |
| semi-vowels | y hw |

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.

\[ ^1 \text{Notwithstanding its defects, I have adhered for the Nass dialect to the spelling used in previous publications.} \]
§ 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, -lthw'gy', ppt, qsl, xtg', and many others.

Examples are:

\[ a'qil'wa\text{det} \text{they reached} 111.1^1 \]
\[ d'd'ik'sk'ul \text{came} 35.1 \]
\[ xsk'âh' \text{eagle} 178.10 \]

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.

\[ g'at \text{man} \]
\[ gw'al\text{u dry} \]
\[ ne-bê'p \text{uncle} \]
\[ n-tsê'âts \text{grandmother} \]

\[ g'a'dem 90.6 \]
\[ gw'âl'w'qa 176.2 \]
\[ dëp-bë'ebë \text{my uncles} 157.9 \]
\[ tsê'èdzê \text{my grandmother} 157.10 \]

It seems that single surd stops do not occur in intervocalic position. A number of apparent exceptions, like k'ôpe- 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 \( y \).

\[ " \quad x' \text{changes into} \quad y, \quad ã. \]

\[ " \quad x' \text{changes into} \quad g. \quad \text{This last change is not quite regular.} \]

\[ ãx' \text{to throw} \]
\[ hvîl'a'x' \text{to know} \]
\[ hâx' \text{to use} \]
\[ x'bersâ'x' \text{afraid} \]
\[ k'saç \text{to go out} \]
\[ y'â'bâx' \text{to eat} \]

\[ ã'ý'n \text{you throw} 139.3 \]
\[ hvîl'a'y'í \text{I know} \]
\[ hâ'yu'em \text{use of—55.3} \]
\[ x'bersâ'w'é \text{I am afraid} \]
\[ k'sa'wun \text{I go out!} 171.4 \]
\[ y'â'â'y'an \text{to feed} \]

In a few cases \( l \) is assimilated by preceding \( n \).

\[ an-hvi'În \text{instead of} \quad an-hvi'âl \quad 40.6, \quad 7 \]

§ 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 \( ã \) do not occur. The vowels \( o \ ã \), and \( e \ ê \) appear decidedly as variants of \( u ù \) and \( i ï \) respectively, their timbre being modified by adjoining consonants.


§§ 3, 4
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>Stops</th>
<th>Affricatives</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Sord</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k*</td>
<td>k'!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lateral, continued, voiced

" " fortis

" " voiceless, posterior

Breathing

Semi-vowels

" fortis

y, vo

y!, wo

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:

*wáll house   g*ad people

Before g and k, terminal sonants become surds:

wi-ts!em-lá°pge great cave ES 96.30
nE-qá°ltga° his hat ES 90.1

Before t and vowels, the sound remains a sonant:

g*á°be ... to draw water ... ES 96.10
há°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
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 \( i \) or \( e \), by \( ë \); but I hear distinctly \( r \). Thus, in place of Bishop Ridley's \( nяyу \) (I), I hear \( n!e'rьu \); instead of \( guэl \), \( ge'rel \); instead of \( shtgу \), \( sger \). In the Nass dialect, \( e \) or \( ë \) takes the place of this sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( sger )</td>
<td>( sq^i )</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n!e'ren )</td>
<td>( nёën )</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ge'rel )</td>
<td>( g'ёёl )</td>
<td>to pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( sёёl )</td>
<td>( sёёl )</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k!e'rel )</td>
<td>( kёёl )</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ge'relax )</td>
<td>( kёёl'dax )</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ge'reths )</td>
<td>( g'ёёts )</td>
<td>to reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( qёё'reng'axs )</td>
<td>( qёё'нг'тас )</td>
<td>to crush with foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( e'renx )</td>
<td>( еñз )</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( e'reml )</td>
<td>( еml )</td>
<td>bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( э'ла )</td>
<td>( èлз )</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sound has, however, a close affinity to \( u \), before which it tends to disappear.

\( pliэ'r \) to tell; \( pliэ'u \) I tell.

It is suggestive that many \( u\)-sounds of Tsimshian are \( ë \) or \( é \) 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>( dёls )</td>
<td>( dёels )</td>
<td>to live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t!ёос )</td>
<td>( tёёs )</td>
<td>to push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( дё́ла )</td>
<td>( dёёлëx )</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( вёës )</td>
<td>( вёёs )</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ин'отк )</td>
<td>( иёётэ )</td>
<td>to have around neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( дёёлк )</td>
<td>( дёёлз )</td>
<td>cedar-bark basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( хёёрк )</td>
<td>( хёёз )</td>
<td>to call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( лю'онти )</td>
<td>( лёнтэ )</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( лю'альг'ат )</td>
<td>( лёёэлг'эт )</td>
<td>feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( сёёнс )</td>
<td>( сёёз )</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( лёт )</td>
<td>( лэт )</td>
<td>wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( гуэ'пёэл )</td>
<td>( кэёлв'эл )</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>yaax</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'er</td>
<td>ts'sax</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>lax</td>
<td>trout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'lär</td>
<td>ts'sax</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzär</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>plä'r</td>
<td>pleydx</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xär</td>
<td>xlux</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 gan\(r\)a'n trees; but it disappears invariably when the word is pronounced slowly, and \(g\) takes its place.

The sounds \(x\) and \(z\) 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>wila'i</td>
<td>hwulax</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoi</td>
<td>hax</td>
<td>to use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gai</td>
<td>qä'ix</td>
<td>wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>wax</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>du'ola</td>
<td>de'lax</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'rla</td>
<td>elax</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nul'ola</td>
<td>nulax</td>
<td>jejune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaina</td>
<td>gënax</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qö'ep'la</td>
<td>qö'ep'laax</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nöo</td>
<td>nax</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'öö</td>
<td>d'ax</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\)
Here belong also—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mē</td>
<td>māx</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bū⁰</td>
<td>bōx</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocalic changes, besides those referred to before in connection with the sound ŭ, 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>ēhō</td>
<td>to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gild-haul'li</td>
<td>g'ild'li'x</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'itud'li'k</td>
<td>g'itux'tk</td>
<td>some time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'em-gu'us</td>
<td>t'em-ge's</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mad'ulkst (mâl'kst)</td>
<td>mēl'kst</td>
<td>crab-apple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian āu is replaced in Nass by āō.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yā'uxk</td>
<td>yā'owk²</td>
<td>to eat, singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā'uk</td>
<td>yā'ōk ⁰</td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'al'watsx</td>
<td>q'al'otsx</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>wā'pēx</td>
<td>ēpēx</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another very frequent change is that from ā following w to i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wā'lp</td>
<td>hōv'ilp</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāl</td>
<td>hōv'il</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā'tk</td>
<td>hōv'itk ⁰</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'wōw'n</td>
<td>ts'wō'ntn</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lgwā'lksēlk</td>
<td>lgwā'w’ilksilk ²</td>
<td>prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wās</td>
<td>(hai)wō'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>hōv'āc</td>
<td>to paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wān</td>
<td>hōv'an</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'yıts</td>
<td>hōts</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā'yıths⁰</td>
<td>hōths ⁰</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'n'a</td>
<td>gēnx</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqā'yıks</td>
<td>sqēlsk ⁰</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'ıla'g'ıxs</td>
<td>ma'lg'ıx</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ıas</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ıe'yan</td>
<td>miyā'n</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ıal</td>
<td>māl</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan-sp'ıu</td>
<td>gan-sma</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 Athapaskan 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 (§§ 7-67)**

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 -en. Since a number of particles have the same ending -em (haldem- no. 77; pelem- no. 80; belxsem- no. 81; mesem- no. 83; nöön- no. 96; tsąam- no. 9; tselem- no. 7; xęźýım- no. 126; legem- no. 5; and the monosyllabic particles am- no. 130; ham- no. 156; t'em- no. 140; t'em- no. 13; ts'em- no. 152; k'sem- no. 146; q'am- no. 118; xleım- 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 -en.

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 adverbal. 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,

\[ qali-a'k's \text{ river} (qali- \text{ up river}; ak's \text{ water}) \]

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-i'â*' to go up, singular 142.8
   - *bax-gâ'dâ'en* to finish taking up 209.2
   - *bax-sg'â* trail leads upward (literally, to lie up)
   - *bax-dâ'q* to take up several 208.8

We find also—
   - *bax-i'â*' L ak's water rises (literally, goes up)

Tsimshian:

| *bax-wa'lxs* to go up hill |
| *bax-ge'â'en* to haul up |

2. *iaga*- down along the ground (Tsimshian: *y!aga*-).
   - *iaga-sg'â* trail leads downward (literally, to lie downward)
   - *iaga-i'â* to go down 137.5
   - *iaga-sa'k'shâ* to go down (plural) 29.9

Tsimshian:

| *y!aga-gâ'â* to go down to —— |
| *y!aga-dâ'x* to take down |

3. *mEn*- up through the air (Tsimshian: *man*-).
   - *mEn-g'dâ'skâ* to look up 214.2
   - *mEn-dâ'ult* he went up through the air 95.4
   - *mEn-g'ibâ'yuk* to fly up 126.9
   - *mEn-dâ'â* to go up, plural 42.8
   - *lô-mEn-hwan* to sit in something high up, plural 34.1 (*lô* in; *hwan* to sit, plural)
   - *mEn-dâ'x* to be piled up; (to lie up, plural) 164.13
   - *mEn-gâ'dâ* to finish taking up 95.10

§ 8
Tsimshian:

| man-łā' to go up ZE\(^1\) 790\(^{185}\) |
| dī-man-hō'ksq to go up with some one |
| mela-man-wāl'rs both go up |
| man-łī' plume (literally, upward feather) |

4. \textit{d'Ep-} down through the air (Tsimshian: \textit{tgi-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{d'Ep-īɛ̄} to go down (from a tree) 9.14
\item \textit{d'Ep-hē'tk}\(^u\) to stand downward, a tree inclines downward 201.8
\item dē-gulik'\-'s-\textit{d'Ep-ma}'qs to throw one's self down also (dē also; gulik'\-'s self [obj.]; mags to throw)
\item lō-\textit{d'Ep-gal} to drop down inside (lō in; gal to drop) 181.13
\item lō-\textit{d'Ep-dā'ul lōqs the sun sets}
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

| tgi-nē'otsq to look down |
| lu-tgi-lō' to stretch down in something |
| tgi-iā' to go straight down through the air |

5. \textit{leq'em-}, \textit{lōgōm-} into, from the top (Tsimshian: \textit{lōgōm-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item lōgōm-ba'x to go aboard (literally, to run into [canoe]) 111.11
\item \textit{leq'em-ga'\-'ten} to finish (putting) into 215.12
\item lōgōm-ō'x the to throw into from the top |
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

| sa-lōgōm-gōs to jump into (canoe) suddenly |
| lōgōm-hā' to run in |
| lōgōm-t!ā' to sit on edge of water |

6. \textit{tuks-} out of, from top (Tsimshian: \textit{uks-}, \textit{t'uks-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tuks-lō'ō} to stretch down out of canoe 181.3
\item \textit{tuks-īu'ɛ̄} to go out of (here, to boil over) 132.5
\item \textit{tuks-ba'x} to run out of dish (over the rim)
\item \textit{tuks-ō'x} to throw (meat out of skin of game 150.12
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

| uks-halhōlt they are full all the way out |
| uks-dō'g to take out of (bucket) |
| adat uks-sa'k'!a n-ts!a'\-'tqa\(^o\) then he stretched out his face |

7. \textit{ts'ElEm-} into, from the side (Tsimshian: \textit{ts'!ElEm-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ts'ElEm-ba'x} to run in 204.9
\item \textit{ts'ElEm-hē'tk}\(^u\) to rush in (literally, to place one's self into) 209.11
\item \textit{ts'ElEm-a'q̌ľ}\(^u\) to get into 129.12
\item \textit{ts'ElEm-dē-ba'x} to run in with something 140.15
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

| ts'\!ElEm-\-'ri-ha'utg to cry into (house) |
| ts'!\!ElEm-t!ā'è\|^o\! to put into |

\(^{1}\) References preceded by ZE refer to the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908.
8. *k'si-* out of, from the side (Tsimshian: *kSE*).

- *k'si-gó'u* to take out 129.12
- *k'si-g'o'ls* to cut out 121.6
- *k'si-hä'tl'w* to rush out (literally, to place one's self outside) 30.7

Tsimshian:

- *kSE-l'o'o* to shove out
- *kSE-huí'tk* to call out
- *sém-kSE-yadz* to cut right out ZE 784
- *kSE-gwa'ntg* to rise (sun), (literally, to touch out)

9. *tsagam-* from on the water toward the shore (Tsimshian: *dzagam-*).

- *tsagam-ha'k's* to scold from the water toward the shore 16.4
- *tsagam-hó'n* to escape to the shore 51.14
- *tsagam-dé-g'íbá'yuk* to fly ashore with it (dé- with) 178.12
- *t lép-tsagam-g'áwé-xl*t he himself dragged it ashore (t he; lep-
  - self [subj.]; g'áwé-xl*t to drag; -t it) 175.14
- *tsagam-g'é'n* to give food shoreward 175.3

Tsimshian:

- *dzagam-dá'ul* to go ashore
- *dzagam-bu-yílyá'ltg* to return to the shore, plural

10. *uks-* from the land to a place on the water (Tsimshian: *uks-*,
  *t'uks*).

- *uks-i'z* to go out to a place on the water near the shore 150.14
- *uks-a'qLh'w* to reach a point out on the water 74.13
- *dé-uks-ba'x*t he also ran down to the beach 104.13

Sometimes this prefix is used apparently in place of *iaga-* (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-hé'othk* to stand near the water
- *uks-ha'n* to say turned seaward
- *uks-dá'ul* to go out to sea

In Tsimshian this prefix occurs also with nouns:

- *uks-a'pda-q'amé'otg* one canoe after another being out seaward
- *wagáit-uks-G'idEgané'cidzet* the Tlingit way out at sea

11. *qaldix-* to the woods in rear of the houses; corresponding nouns,
  *gilé'lirc*; *qaq'álí'n* 65.13 (Tsimshian: *qaldik-*; correspond-
  ing noun, *gil-havélí*).

- *qaldix-i'z* to go back into the woods 8.4
- *qaldix-ma'ga* to put behind the houses into the woods 65.13
Tsimshian:

| qaldik-sge'r to lie aside |
| qaldik-ia'° 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-hē'x to send out of woods 213.13
- na-de-iä to go out of woods with something 214.8

Tsimshian:

| na-göl to run out of woods, plural |
| na-bā° to run out of woods, singular |

13. **t'Ēm-** from rear to middle of house (Tsimshian: *t'ēm-*)

- t'em-ia'° to go to the middle of the house 130.12
- t'em-d'äl to put into the middle of the house 193.14
- t'em-q'ia'q'l to drag into the middle of the house 62.11

Tsimshian:

| t'em-stū°rl to accompany to the fire |
| t'em-di-ia'° to go also to the fire |

14. **asē-** from the middle to the front of the house (Tsimshian: *asdi-*)

- asē-ia'° to throw from the middle of the house to the door

Tsimshian:

| asdi-gā° to take back from fire |

The same prefix is used in Tsimshian to express the idea of mistake:

| asdi-ho' to make a mistake in speaking |

Tsimshian synonyms of *t'ēm-* (no. 13) and *asdi-* (no. 14) are—

15. **lagauk-** from the side of the house to the fire

- lagauk-ia'° to go to the fire
- lagauk-hū'q't to call to fire

16. **ts'ēk-al-** from the fire to the side of the house.

- ts'ēk-al-mo'g to put away from fire

17. **gali-** up river; corresponding noun, *magān* 117.6 (Tsimshian: *q'al-*)

- lō-qali-sq'i (trail) lies up in the river 146.10
- qali-iē to go up river 117.6

This prefix occurs with nominal significance in **gali-a'k-s** river (literally, up river water).

Tsimshian:

| wē-q'al-a'ks large river |
| lu-q'al-yi'tok to follow behind |

§8
18. **g'isi-** down river; corresponding noun, *sax* 23.6 (Tsimshian: 
*g'isi-;* corresponding noun, *ser*).

- **g'isi-ba'x** to run down river 18.11
- **g'isi-a'q** to arrive down river 23.6

*They float about down the river 16.10*

In one case it seems to mean **down at the bank of the river.**

- **g'isi-lō-wā'wōg** it was dug down in it down the river 197.8

**Tsimshian:**
- *stē-g'isi-iū* to continue to go down river
- *g'isi-ksiū* down Skeena river

19. **g'idi-** right there, just at the right place or in the right manner

(Tsimshian: **g'idi-**).

- **sem-g'idi-lō-hē'kh** exactly just there in it it stood 88.8
- **g'idi-qāk'š** just there he was dragged 51.5
- **g'idi-gō'u** to catch (literally, to take in the right manner) 147.8

**Tsimshian:**
- **g'idi-gō'** to catch ZE 787
- **g'idi-wāl** to stop
- **se-g'idi-hē'k** to stand still suddenly
- **g'idi-tā'ō** to stop ZE 788

20. **lig'i-** at some indefinite place, not in the right manner; i. e., almost (Tsimshian: **ligi-**).

- **lig'i-Ful-da** to sit about somewhere 54.10
- **lig'i-tsągam-de'lpk** it was a short distance to the shore somewhere 104.8
- **lig'i-mēmtē'kh** full in some place (i. e., almost full) 159.10

This particle is often used with numerals in the sense of **about:**

- **lig'i-teč'lp** about four 14.1

It is also used as a nominal prefix:

- **lig'i-laax-ts'ă'lı** somewhere on the edge 104.8
- **lig'i-ndd** somewhere 87.1
- **lig'i-hwī'lı** goods (i. e., being something) 164.8

**Tsimshian:**
- **ligi-ndē** somewhere ZE 782
- **ligi-gō'** something
- **ligi-la-nī' edz** to see bad luck coming
- **ligi-gō'n** any tree

A few others appear probably in pairs like the preceding, but only one of the pair has been recorded.

21. **spī-** out of water.

- **spī-ič** to go out of water 52.2
- **spī-gō'u** to take out of water

§ 8
22. wul'am- out of water (Tsimshian: wul'am-).
   Tsimshian:
   - wul'am-bax-dô'g to take up from water
   - wul'am-a'xy to get ashore
   - wul'am-iü'o to go ashore

§ 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-sq'î to lay across 40.12
   - lîp-tsaga-yôôkî to go across 40.13
   - tsaga-dé'ëntkî to lead across 79.11
   - tsaga-hö'ksaan to fasten across an opening 201.7
   - gun-tsaga-ië to order to go across 40.13

Tsimshian:
   - dzaga-iü'o to go across
   - dzaga-di-lü'o staying also across (a name).
   - q'ap-kî-a-dzaga-alu-bâ'o to run really very openly across ZE 786\(^{151}\)

24. qalk'si- through a hole (Tsimshian: galksE-).
   - qalk'si-yôơ'xkî to go through 149.12
   - qalk'si-g'âdaskî to look through 127.8
   - qalk'si-lîbâ'guk to fly through, plural 14.9
   - lô-qalk'si-ha'qu'ôar to squeeze through inside 149.15

This prefix occurs also before nouns:
   - qalk'si-nô'o a hole through 11.9
   - qalk'si-sq'ë'çekî through the darkness

Tsimshian:
   - galksE-nô'ôtsq to look through
   - galksE-k'î'ôts'ël to poke through
   - galksE-a'xlî to get through (literally, to finish through)

25. grîme- probably far into, way in (Tsimshian: gamî-).
   - grîme-ië to walk to the rear of the house, through the space between people sitting on the sides 132.14, 189.13
   - grîme-ga'ts to pour through a pipe, along the bottom of a canoe
   - grîme-yôơ'xkî to go through a pipe 183.1

Tsimshian:
   - lu-gamî-tî'ô it goes way in

26. lôgôl- under (corresponding noun, lâx).
   - lôgôl-dEp-d'a, to sit under (a tree) 8.4

44S77—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——20
27. *lukL*- under (Tsimshian: *lukli-*).

*lukL-g\'ıbā'yuk* to fly under

Tsimshian:

| lukli-\də\d\'uL to go under |

28. *lē-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*-\textit{on}, and *q\'an* over.)

*lē-gan-\d̩\'aL* to throw over

*lē-gan-\d\'aL\'aL\'asku* to look over

Tsimshian:

| l\'i-q\'an-b\"el to be spread over |
| l\'i-q\'an-suL to swing over |
| sa-q\'an-t\'aL\'o to put over |

29. *lō*- in; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts\'em*- inside;

independent noun, *ts\'avu* (Tsimshian: *lu*-; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts\'em*- inside).

*lō-\d\'aL* to be in

*dē-lō-d\'aL\'iL gol\'oLt* he also speaks in his mind (i. e., he thinks)

49.14

*lō-d\'ep-i\'ax\'iaL\'aL* to hang down inside 65.10 (*d\'ep*- down [no. 4])

*lō-sqa-ma\'aL\'aL\'aL* to put in sideways 150.3 (*sqa*- sideways [no. 36])

*lō-wusEn-mêL\'tk\"u* it is full inside all along 29.10 (*wusEn*- along [no. 51])

*hasp\'a-lō-yo\'L\'aL\'aL\'aL* to go in the same road 202.15 (*hasp\'aL*; *hasb*- upside down [no. 74])

*lē-lō-d\'ep-yu\'L\'aL* to move on the surface in something downward 104.11 (*lē*- on [no. 30]; *d\'ep*- down [no. 4])

This prefix occurs in a few fixed compositions:

*lō-\d\'al\'tk\"u* to return

*lō-\d\'al\'tk\"u* to meet

It occurs also in a few cases as a nominal prefix:

*lō-ts\'avu* inside 102.10

*lō-k\'s-g\'eL\'\'o\'it* in the lowest one 53.11 (*k\'s*- extreme [no. 143])

*lō-k\'s-g\'eL\'\'eL\'\'ks* at the extreme outside 219.1

*lō-ləp\'aL\'aL* deep inside 197.8

*lō-\d\'eL\'uk* in the middle 184.13

Tsimshian:

| lu-\d\'aL\'aL\'aL\'aL* to sit in |
| sa-lu-hald\'em-b\"al\'o suddenly to rise in something |
| lu-\d\'aL\'\'o\'iL\'o\' to stretch down in |
| lagax-lu-d\"al\'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!u-*; the corresponding noun has the prefix *lax-*; independent noun, *lax'o'*).

- *lē-d'a'* to sit on 202.4
- *lē-men-pu'lth'w* to rise up to the top of (see no. 3)
- *lē-id'a'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-q'ō'oks to drift suddenly on something (see no. 98) |
| l!i-bë'ts'ën to put on |
| sem-l'i-tālb to cover well (see no. 168) |
| l!i-se-gu'lg to make fire on something (see no. 164) |
| ha-l'i-q'ō'ot to think (see no. 160) |

31. **tgo-** around (Tsimshian: *tgu-*).

- *lō-tgo-ba'x* to run around inside 77.11
- *k'wa'tś'ik's-tgo-ma'gə* to turn over and over much 52.10 (see no. 176)
- *tgo-yəlth'w* to turn around 47.9
- *k'ul-tgo-ləx-lə'bh'ən* to roll about around inside to and fro 13.14 (*k'ul-*, about [no. 33]; *lō-*, inside [no. 29]; *tgo-*, around; *lax-*, to and fro [no. 38])

Tsimshian:

| k'ul-tgu-nē'otsg to look around (see no. 33) |
| tgu-wə'n to sit around, plural |
| tgu-iə' to go around |
| tgu-də'p to measure around ZE 784° |

32. **k'utgo-** around; corresponding noun, *dax'-* circumference.

- *sū-k'utgo-də'ul* to go suddenly around (the trunk of a tree) 211.9
- *k'utgo-təlth'w* 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-lē-lə'oth'w* he puts about on it 218.7
- *q'asba-k'uL-hənd'rəx* he paddled about astray 17.2
- *k'uL-liw-lə'ak* to scatter about

Tsimshian:

| alu-k'uL-ia'lo to go about plainly ZE 783° |
| k'uL-ya'ha'oksg to carry bucket about (see no. 159) |
| k'uL-da'msax to be downcast here and there (i. e., always) |

34. **k'ilaq'əl-** round on the outside.

- *k'ilaq'əl-ma'n* to rub over the outside 103.12
- *k'ilaq'al-a'xks'əx'w* scabby all around

§ 9
35. **tq' al-** against (Tsimshian: *txal-*)

- **tq' al-gwalk** to dry against (i.e., so that it can not come off) 104.2
- **tq' al-d' at** to put against (i.e., on) face 195.12
- **tq' al-du'k** to tie on 68.12

This prefix is often used to express the idea of **meeting**:

- **tq' al-hwa** to meet and find 31.6
- **hwagait-lö-tq' al-gó'usk** to reach up to inside against (i.e., meeting) (hwagait- up to [no. 71]; lö- in [no. 29])
- **tq' al-qó'ô** to go to meet (to go against) 158.11

Sometimes it expresses the idea of **with**:

- **tq' al-a'k's** to drink something with water 21.9
- **tq' al-hu'ksaan** to place with something 36.8

In still other cases it signifies **forever**, in so far as the object remains fastened against something:

- **lö-tq' al-gvé'átk** to be lost forever in something (lö- in; *tq' al-* against 166.1)

It also may express the idea for a **purpose**:

- **tq' al-á'm** good for a purpose 80.14
- **seep-tq' al-séep' en** to like much for a purpose 45.1
- **tq' al-we'lemk** female servant

**Tsimshian:**

- **sa-txal-g' á'sg** to float suddenly against (i.e., so that it reaches)
- **txal-hô'ltg** full all over
- **txal-a'xlq** to arrive at

36. **sqa-** across the way (Tsimshian: *sqa-*)

- **sqa-d'a** to be in the way 183.10
- **lö-sqa-hél'ten** to place inside in the way 129.10
- **sqa-sg'î'** to lie across 148.11

**Tsimshian:**

- **lũ-sqa-yedz** to strike in and across the face
- **lep-sqa-dálk** (he) himself ties across (see no. 129)
- **sqa-g'í'oqtg** to swell lying across
- **sqa-bá'ô** to run across (i.e., to assist)
- **sqa-na'k** some time (literally, across long) ZE 791
- **sã-bó'** a few

37. **gilwul-** past, beyond (Tsimshian: *gilwul-*)

- **gilwul-dám** to hold beyond a certain point 61.8

**Tsimshian:**

- **g'ilwul-bá'ô** to run past
- **gilwul-ax'á'xlq** to get ahead
- **l!'-q!'-an-g' ilwul-dú'ólak** not to be able to pass over (see no. 28)
38. \( \text{lax-} \) to and fro, at both ends (Tsimshian: \( \text{lagax-} \)).

(a) to and fro:
\[ \text{lax-ba'x to run to and fro} \]

(b) at both ends, on both sides:
\[ \text{lax-g'irg'a'lk} \] carved at both ends
\[ \text{lax-lo-td'o'xk} \] to move in it on both sides 34.4
\[ \text{lax-\( \ell \)k} \] to watch both ends 136.10
\[ \text{lax-\( \text{a}\)d'g'\( \text{r}\)k to talk both ways (i. e., to interpret)} \]
\[ \text{lax-hwâ'neml} \] seated on both sides (two wives of the same man) 194.7

This prefix occurs also with nouns:
\[ \text{Lax-wâse, Wâs (a monster) at each end 106.14} \]
\[ \text{Lax-mâk'sh} \] white at each end (name of a man)

Tsimshian:
\[ \text{lagax-bu-dâ'\( \text{r}\) to put in on both sides} \]
\[ \text{lagax-ne-stâ'\( \text{r}\) both sides} \]

39. \( \text{sa-} \) off (Tsimshian: \( \text{sa-} \)).

\[ \text{sa-\( \text{b}\)c' to throw off 145.2} \]
\[ \text{sa-\( \text{b}\)esb\( \text{e}'s\) to tear off 25.4} \]
\[ \text{sa-hë'\( \text{tk}\) to stand off 137.9} \]
\[ \text{sa-\( \text{t}\)d'\( \text{q}\) to scratch off} \]
\[ \text{sa-uks-ts'ens-x'k\( \text{r}\)'x\( \text{k}\) to escape going off, leaving out to sea} \]
\[ \text{(uks- toward water [no. 10]; ts'ens- leaving [no. 104])} \]

Tsimshian:
\[ \text{sa-gâ'\( \text{r}\) to take off} \]
\[ \text{sa-ts'\( \text{r}\)\( \text{d}\)\( \text{s}\) to pull off} \]

40. \( \text{gis-} \) away to another place.

\[ \text{gis-d'a' (plural gis-hwâ'n) to transplant (d'a [plural hwan] to sit)} \]
\[ \text{gis-\( \text{i}\)ë' to move away to another place} \]
\[ \text{gë's-hë'\( \text{tk}\)sen! move away to another place!} \]

41. \( \text{wud'\( \text{e}\)n-} \) away forward (Tsimshian: \( \text{wud'\( \text{e}\)n-} \)).

\[ \text{wud'\( \text{e}\)n-\( \text{d}\)ë' to step forward} \]
\[ \text{wud'\( \text{e}\)n-\( \text{k}\)sla'qs to kick away} \]

Tsimshian:
\[ \text{wud'\( \text{e}\)n-gwa'\( \text{r}\) away here along the middle} \]

42. \( \text{lûks-} \) along a valley (Tsimshian).

\[ \text{lûks-g'irg'a'\( \text{r}\)\( \text{s}\)nit down along the river} \]

43. \( \text{wîl-} \) away, probably in some special direction (Tsimshian: \( \text{awul-} \)).

\[ \text{wîl-gô' to take away} \]

Tsimshian:
\[ \text{awul-ma'g to put aside, to sidetrack} \]
44. *hagun-* toward, near; corresponding noun, *awa'* (Tsimshian: *gun-*; corresponding noun, *awa'o*).

*hagun-ic'i* to go toward 129.14
*aql-hagun-yõ'xh* unable to get near 201.6 (see no. 137)
*hagun-õ'xh* to stand near 125.4
*hagun-õ'xh* a short distance near by 147.5

**Tsimshian:**

| *gun-ic'i* to go toward |
| *gun-ãõ* to go toward something |
| *gun-ic'i* to sit near |

45. *hêla-* near by.

*hêla-ã'a* to sit near by

46. *lôsa-* in front.

*lôsa-ic'i* to walk in front of
*lôsa-ã'a* to sit in front of

47. *txas-* along the surface of a long thing (Tsimshian: *txas-*).

*txas-ic'i* to walk on a long thing
*txas-õ'xh* to wrap up a long thing
*txas-õ'a'ts* to chop along a long thing

**Tsimshian:**

| *lu-txas-sqex'r* to put in edgewise |
| *sa-lu-txas-õ'o't* to shove in suddenly edgewise |
| *txas-kõ'xh* through the year ZE 792 |

48. *hadîx-* lengthwise along the middle line (Tsimshian: *hat!Ek-*).

*hadîx-yõ'õ'ts* to cut (a salmon) lengthwise 55.3

**Tsimshian:**

| *lu-hat!Ek-õ'o't* to push in endwise |

49. *stEx-* lengthwise, on either side of middle line.

*stEx-õ'ol* one side lengthwise is black

**Tsimshian:**

| *stEx-õ'ol qõ'nex lax-tsõ'õ'l ak's* the trail lies along (the water) on the beach-side; *(sq*i* to lie; *qõ'nex* trail; *lax-* on [no. 151]; *tsõ'õ'l* beach; *ak's* water) |

50. *hal-* along the edge, edgewise (Tsimshian: *hal-*).

(a) Along the edge:

*Kul-hal-ic'i* to walk about along the edge (of the water) 122.4
*dêt-hal-dõ'g*t he held it also along the edge (of the fire) 47.8 *(dét* also [no. 167]; *t* he [subj.]; *dõq* to place; *-t* it)

Not quite clear is the following:

*q'am-tõ-hal-t*õ'tõ*õ'det* they only twisted off (their necks) inside along the edge 115.5 *(q'am-* only [no. 118]; *tõ-* in [no. 29]; *-det* they)
(b) Edgewise:

hal-g'-ul't'en to put (the paddle into the water) edgewise

Tsimshian:

| k'al-ul hal-ha't'g to stand about alongside of ZE 796^297 |
| hal-k'!a'n to go along beach in canoe |
| hal-gwa'lo' along here |

51. wusEn- along the inside (Tsimshian: wusEn-).

wusen-ha'k'wil' to rush along inside (the canoe) 57.5
lō-wusen-mō'tlk'm full along inside (the canoe) 29.10
wusen-bis'pē's to tear lengthwise (to split) 99.13 (or wuden-
see no. 41)
wusen-y's'id'its to chop lengthwise (into wedges) 148.4

Tsimshian:

| lax-wusen-iō on the flat top of a mountain (literally, on along |
going) |

52. witsEn-, hūts'En- along through the middle (Tsimshian: wuts'/En-).

wits'En-iō' to go back through the house 125.3
hūts'En-d'āl to put from fire back to the rear of the house 207.2

Tsimshian:

| wuts'/En-iō' to go along through the house |

53. xLēp- at end (Tsimshian: xlep-).

xLēp-gu'x to hit at end 88.11
xLēp-lō'st̂ol'tsk' to black at the ends 31.5

Tsimshian:

| xlep-hō'k'sen to put on at end |
| sem-xlep-ts'uwa'n the very end of the top |

54. xtsē- in the middle of a long thing (Tsimshian: xts'/E-).

xtsē-iā'ts to chop across the middle 133.9
su-xtsē-q'ō'ts to cut quickly across the middle 100.6

Tsimshian:

| xts'/E-gai' to bite through in the middle |

55. k̄Lē- all over (Tsimshian: k̄li-).

k̄Lē-hasha'ts to bite all over 84.15
k̄Lē-bis'pē's to tear to pieces 71.6
k̄Lē-iā'ts to hit all over 58.2

Tsimshian:

| k̄li-iō'm laxha' going across the sky ZE 783^50 |
| k̄li-gaigai' to bite all over |
| k̄li-gal'gō'l split all over |

§ 9
56. **xLEm-** around an obstacle, making a curve around something (Tsimshian: xLEm-).

- **xlem iō'** to go overland, cutting off a point
- **xlem-ma'ga'l** to put a rope over something
- **xlem-hē'tsl** to send around something
- **xlem-da'ga** to choke some one, hang some one

Here belongs also—

- **xlem-galga's'ēt** to kneel down

This prefix occurs also with nouns.

- **xlem-qē'nex** trail going around in a circle

Tsimshian:

- **xlem-īā'ok** to embrace
- **xlem-dā'kt** to tie around

57. **k'ēdō-** sideways.

- **k'ēdō-g'a'sk** to look sideways

58. **k'ēāL-** aside.

- **q'ām-k'ēāL-lō'ōt** she only pushes aside 191.11
- **k'ēāL-hē'tgun qē'semq** labret standing on one side 191.13

59. **qana-** inclined against (Tsimshian)

- **qana-tō'o** to sit leaning against something
- **qana-hē'ōtq** to stand leaning against something
- **qana-ba'tsxg** to stand leaning against something

60. **maxlE-** through a narrow channel (Tsimshian).

- **maxlE-bō'o** to go through a channel
- **maxlE-ha'd'eks** to swim through a channel
- **maxlE-qā'l** a narrow channel
- **MaxlE-qā'lα** Metlakahtla, narrow channel of sea (compare G'it-qā'lα people of the sea)

61. **g'ik'si-** out of; undoubtedly a compound of k'si- out of (no. 8).

- **g'ik'si-hw'itk** to come out of 10.1

62. **lūila-** near the end; perhaps a compound of lō- in (no. 29), and

- **hēla-** near (no. 45).

- **lū'ilα-d'ē'links** cut off smooth at end (name of a dog), from d'ē'lin's smooth
- **lū'ilα-d'lg'ix** 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 wi-, 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!á' ready to stand up, singular |
| awus-wa'n ready to stand up, plural |
| awus-hëglk ready to move |

63a. **a-** easily (Tsimshian).

| a-sonä' ready tired |
| a-hë' easily hungry |
| a-bä'q' ask worried (literally, easily tasted) |

64. **ambEl-** in an unusual frame of mind. This prefix is not entirely free (Tsimshian: **p!El-**).

| ambEl-he' to say crying 220.5 |
| ambEl-a'dg'le to speak while angry, to talk behind one’s back |
| ambEl-ia'dalku to strike, break, in a state of anger |
| ambEl-qalä'q to play |

Tsimshian:

| p!El-ga-mi'olk to play with something |

65. **ank's-** opening up (Tsimshian: **aks-**).

| ank's-käl'qst to kick apart 134.3 |
| ank's-ka' to increase |
| ank's-t'emë' paint-pot |
| wi-anksi-sgan large rotten (open) tree 106.12 |

Tsimshian:

| sa-hagul-aks-iä' to open suddenly slowly (see no. 76) |
| aks-iä'qg to increase |
| aks-t!ä'qos to push open |
| se-aks-q!a'g to open up |

66. **agwi-** outside, beyond (Tsimshian: **agwi-**).

| agwi-tq'al-d'a' it is outside close against it |
| agwi-an-dä'w the outside |
| agwi-mä'l boat (literally, beyond a canoe) |
| agwi-heo'dä'ek'en great-grandchild (lit., beyond grandchild) |

Tsimshian:

| agwi-ba'tsg to stand outside |

§ 10
67. *alō-* (a- easily, lu- in?) plainly: alone (Tsimshian: *alu-*)

(a) Plainly, real:
- *alō-†a* there was plainly 106.13
- *alō-bā^n* run quickly! 93.4
- *seăm-k'°a-ale-bu'x* to run really exceedingly quick 107.10

As a nominal prefix we find it in—
*alō-g'i^g'a't* real persons (i.e., Indians) 170.13

Here belongs probably—
*seăm-alō-qol* to run quite suddenly, plural 141.8

(b) Alone; always with reduplication:
- *alō-hehë'tíw* to stand alone 44.15
- *alō-sisqī'ī* to lie alone
- *alō-d'Ed'ó* to sit alone

Tsimshian:

| *alu-k'ul-iā'^o* to go about plainly ZE 783° |
| *alu-†a'^o* to be in evidence |
| *alu-bā'^o* to run really |

68. *aLax-* in bad health (Tsimshian: *la-*)

*aLax-haq'ā'^òth*° having a crippled back

Tsimshian:

| *la-g'ā'tk* in bad health |

69. *aLda-* in the dark.

*aLda-wā'^e* to paddle in the night
*aLda-šō* to walk in the dark

70. *i-* with reduplication; action done while in motion.

- *i-g'íg'ëbā'yùk* flying while being moved
- *i-wa'ly'inë* I talk while moving, while at work
- *i-hahō'dik's* swimming while carrying

71. *hwagait-* completing a motion entirely (Tsimshian: *wagait-*).

This prefix belongs to the series *bagait-* (lebagait-) (no. 82), *sagait-* (no. 99), *spagait-* (no. 103), *q'amqait-* (no. 119).

*hwagait-galk'si-dā'^ul* to pass through entirely 143.14 (see no. 24)
*hwagait-sg'īl* to lie way over 134.3
*hwagait-mu'q* to put away

This is also a nominal prefix:

*hwagait-g'īl'ks* way off shore 146.14
*hwagait-gō'^st* over there 134.4

Tsimshian:

| *seăm-sa-wagait-uk's-dā'^ul* to go right out to sea very suddenly |
| *wagait-g'īl'ks* way off shore |

§ 10
72. *waLEn-* former.

- *waLEn-ga'n* an old (rotten) tree 25.4
- *waLEn-na'k'st* his former wife 135.14
- *waLEn-g'wa't* the people of former times 191.1
- *waLEn-wi-gësg'ot* the same size as before 23.4

73. *wi-* great, greatly; singular (Tsimshian: *wî-*). This prefix is commonly used as an attribute, but also as an adverb, expressing, however, rather a quality of the subject. See also *lgv-* no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

- *wi-se-më'l* to make burn much 89.8
- *wi-sa'gut* it splits much 148.8

It is also found in fixed combinations:

- *wi-yë'lkwa* to cry 90.3
- *wi-am-hë't* to shout 89.12. Here it is apparently connected with the adverbial -*em* (§ 22)

(b) Adjectival:

- *wi-g'wa'nt* big (awkward) man 196.9
- *wi-big'v'e'nsk* great grizzly bear 118.4
- *Wi-xbâ'la* Great West-wind (a name)

Tsimshian:

- (a) Adverbial:
  - *wi-hâ'utk* to cry
- (b) Adjectival:
  - *wi-gô'pe'a* great light ZE 785°
  - *wi-med'i ek* great grizzly bear
  - *g'ap-k'a-wi-naenô'g* really exceedingly great supernatural being (see nos. 117, 106)
  - *wi-sem'dàgit* great chief

73a. *wud'ax-* great, plural (Tsimshian: *wut'a-*).

- *wud'ax-qa-wë'n* large teeth 84.3
- *wud'ax-ax-qa-gô'ǜdet* great fools 33.10

74. *hasba-* upside down (Tsimshian: *hasba-*). This prefix is related to *g'asba-* no. 121.

- *haspa-bë's* to tear out so that it is upside down 127.13
- *sem-hasba-sq'v* to lay exactly face up 214.11
- *hasba'-sq'v* to lay upside down (a hat) 17.2

Peculiar is—

*hasba-tô-gô'łu* to go in the same trail 202.15

Tsimshian:

| *hasba-p'z'edral* to tear out so that it is upside down

§ 10
75. hats' Eks- terribly, causing feeling of uneasiness.
   hats' eks-hwi'Il to act so that people get afraid
   hats' eks-öly'ix to talk roughly

76. hagul- slowly (Tsimshian: hagul-).
   hagul-hwi'Il to do slowly 54.4
   hagul-gwel'otkwa to disappear slowly

Tsimshian:
   hagul-ha'to to run slowly ZE 786.24
   hagul-dzaga-ií'to to go slowly across Zl. 787.35
   hagul-kwa'da'xs to leave slowly
   hagul-ií'tox to go slowly

77. haldEm- (Tsimshian: haldEm-) occurs only with the verbs
   bar, plural qôl, TO RUN, with the meaning TO RISE 124.9, 114.7.
   In Tsimshian the same composition with bôo, plural qôl, TO RUN,
   occurs with the same meaning; but the prefix seems to be a
   little freer with the meaning RISING FROM THE GROUND.
   haldEm-ne'dz to look up

78. hî- to begin (Tsimshian: hî-).
   hê'-yuk to begin 138.14
   q'ai-hê-tê'de'dat they just began to shoot 20.4
   This prefix is much more common with nouns:
   hî-mesê'l'x beginning of day
   hê'-luk morning

Tsimshian:
   hî-se-t!a'tot it just began to be ZE 781.9
   hî-tse'ton just to enter
   hî-set'a-emt p'degant he began to break it down

79. hís- to do apparently, to pretend to (Tsimshian: sís-); always
   with medial suffix (see § 17.3-5).
   hís'-âk'skwa to pretend to drink 18.7
   hís-huwol'qs to pretend to sleep 219.10
   hís-huwol'ltlws to pretend to do 23.1
   hís-nô'ôtxwa to pretend to be dead 65.11
   hís-wóje'tlkwa to pretend to cry 217.10
   hís-l'ntk's to pretend to be angry
   hís-xda'ks to pretend to be hungry

Tsimshian:
   sîs-ku'tînu I pretend to be hungry
   sîs-ô'x to laugh (literally, to play with the mouth)
   sîs-yu-hu-kwa'da'ks to play having (i. e., with) a bow (see nos. 159, 160)
80. **pelEm**- to act as though one was performing an action (Tsimshian: **bEnEm**-).

- **pelEm-gō'** to act as though taking 33.8
- **pelEm-īl'** to go and turn back again at once
- **pelEm-q'āp** to act as though eating something

Tsimshian:

- **bEnEm-xāt'okh** to act as though vomiting
- **bEnEm-ūq'os** to act as though about to strike

81. **bElxEm**- in front of body, forward; similar in meaning to **xina**- no. 127 (Tsimshian: **xbEsEm**-).

- **t lō-belxem-qaq'd'q'ant** he opened it in front of his body 26.14

Tsimshian:

- **xbEsEm-sger** to lie prone ZE 789

82. **bagait**- just in the right place or manner (Tsimshian: **lEbagait**-). Compare **hwagait**- (no. 71), **sagait**- (no. 99), **spa-gait**- (no. 103), **q'amiento**- (no. 119).

- **bagait-kvod'st** it is cracked right in the middle
- **bagait-gō'** to hit just in the right place
- **q'am-bagait-bebesbat'skə** only to be lifted just in the right way

62.13

Like the other prefixes ending in -**gait**, this prefix is also nominal:

- **sem-bagait-šèluk** just right in the middle 73.4.

Tsimshian:

- **lEbagait-sqα-ba'tsg** to stand across just there ZE 793
- **lEbagait-dEt!ā'** sitting alone
- **lEbagait-bā'os** to be lost

83. **mEsEm**- separate.

- **mesem-̱wα'n** to sit separately
- **mesem-łō'** to walk separately

84. **ma**- like (Tsimshian: **mE**-).

- **ma-wałtsx** crazy (literally, like a land-otter)
- **ma-ō'l** having epileptic fits (literally, like a bear)

Tsimshian:

- **mE-wałtsł-a** crazy (literally, like a land-otter)

85. **wadi**- like (Tsimshian).

- **wadi-hats!i̱wɑ̌n** innumerable (literally, like fly-blows)
- **wadi-kse-łe'atx** like fluid slime
- **wadi-walb** like a house

86. **max**- only, entirely, all.

- **max-ḥānd'q** (they are) all women 184.5
- **max-žuxt** a woman having only sons; (they are) all men
- **max-hē'x̱** it is only fat 42.3

§ 10
87. $mEL(a)$- to each, distributive (Tsimshian: $mELa$-).

$mELa$-gulat three to each
$mELa$-k'$dl one man in each (corner) 33.12

Tsimshian:

| $mELa$-k'.erel one to each

88. $mELa$- both (Tsimshian).

$mELa$-men-walx both go up (see no. 3)
$mELa$-l'/d' to put on both (see no. 30)
$mELa$-hakheldem g'at both (villages had) many people

89. $sEN$- firmly (Tsimshian).

| $sEN$-nō to bait
| $sEN$-d'xs to hold fast
| $sEN$-wō'x to admonish

90. $dEX$, $dIX$- firmly; not free (Tsimshian: $dax$-).

$diX$-yu'k$u$ to hold fast

Tsimshian:

| $dax$-yō'gw to hold fast

91. $dE$, $dē$- with (Tsimshian: $dE$-).

$de$-d'a'ul to carry away (literally, to go away with)
$tsaun-de-g'ib'a'yuk to fly ashore with something 178.12

Tsimshian:

| $de$-bō'o to run away with
| $bar$-de-g'o'it'e'ks to come up with

| t de-ts'ont he entered with it

92. $dūla$- improperly.

$dūla$-alq'ix to talk improperly, to grumble
$dūla$-d'ā'del'gt to put mouth on one side
$dūla$-yel'etk$u$ to walk improperly, to wobble
$wō$-$dūla$-g'ad'k$u$ being a great improper man (i.e., cowardly) 195.3

93. $txa$- entirely, all (Tsimshian: $txa$-).

$txa$-q'oolsegat he carried all on his shoulder 116.4
$txa$-wō'ō to invite all 186.15
$txa$-tō-ts'ō'ōt to skin inside entirely 150.10
$txa$-belō'da it was all abalone 45.3

This prefix is contained also in—

| $txa$-thk$u$ all

Tsimshian:

| $txa$-ga'nty stiff (literally, woody) all over
| $txa$-wō'ontg to have teeth to the end (of life)
| $txa$-yō'g all slippery
| $txa$-t'ī-ga'vnat all fall on

§ 10
94. \textit{nā-} to complete an action (Tsimshian: \textit{na-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{nā-da'q} to strike with a hammer so that it breaks
\item \textit{nā-ha’ts} to bite through 127.8
\item \textit{na-č’e} to hit so that it breaks 48.8
\item \textit{na-qapgā’bet} they fastened it so that it staid 178.3
\item \textit{nā-čisilč’ēs} to knock with the hand 8.12
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{na-ga’alk} to punch through
\end{itemize}

95. \textit{na-} each other, one another (Tsimshian: \textit{na-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{k’ux-na-al’āq’i’exdet} they talked to each other for a while 19.8 (see no. 107)
\item \textit{na-xse’nqdet} they disbelieved each other 28.2
\item \textit{k’ux-na-qaq’i’det} they howled about to one another 96.4
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{bu-na-lā’ol} to put into each other
\end{itemize}

96. \textit{nō’om-} to desire. This may possibly be the verb \textit{nō’o} to die.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{nō’om-ič’} to desire to go
\item \textit{nō’om-a’k’s} to desire to drink 21.8
\end{itemize}

If this element is an adverbial form of \textit{nō’o}, it corresponds to

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{dzə’qem xst’ā’gənu} I am dead asleep
\end{itemize}

97. \textit{sEl-} fellow, companion (Tsimshian: \textit{sEl-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sīl-hāna’q} fellow-woman 208.12
\item \textit{sīl-q’aima’qsit} fellow-youths 195.13
\end{itemize}

This prefix is also used with verbs:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sīl-hw’d’n} to sit together
\item \textit{sīl-gas-ga’ō’t’en} to be of the same size 89.7
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ne’-sEL-wā’lt} his companions
\end{itemize}

98. \textit{sā-} suddenly (Tsimshian: \textit{sa-}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sā-hē’tk’n} to stand suddenly 99.14
\item \textit{sā-če’ssh’m} to stop crying suddenly 22.5
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sa-ha’u} to say suddenly
\item \textit{sa-l’ı’q’ā’ks} to float suddenly on something
\item \textit{sa-bu-hal’dem-bā’o} to arise suddenly on something
\item \textit{sa-bu-nā’ok} to lie on something suddenly
\end{itemize}

99. \textit{sagāit-} together (Tsimshian: \textit{sagāit-}) (see nos. 71, 82, 103, 119).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sagāit-da’k’l} to fasten together 68.10
\item \textit{sagāit-ič’} to go together 51.8
\item \textit{sagāit-wil’qat} to carry all together 70.10
\end{itemize}
Tsimshian:

| sagait-wo'n to sit together ZE 786¹¹³ |
| sagait-hö'tg to stand together |
| sagait-łu-əm'əm gəgə'əd they were all glad (literally, good in their hearts) |
| sagait-wa'lesəm we walk together |

100. *saq'ap*- without purpose (Tsimshian: *saq'ap*).

|$'ul-saq'ap-i'i to walk about without purpose 96.10 |
| *saq'ap-i'é* to sing without purpose |

Tsimshian:

|$'ul-saq'ap-i'i'o to go about without purpose ZE 796²³⁶ |

101. *sti*- new (Tsimshian: *stu*).

| sti-na'k'st his new wife 135.15 |
| sti-hş'il new |

Tsimshian:

| su-p'a's young, singular (literally, newly grown) |
| su-ma'xəs young, plural (literally, newly standing) |
| su-su'mi' fresh meat |
| su-se-n-dzo'q to make a new village (see no. 164) |

102. *six*-* steadily (Tsimshian: *sta*).

| šix'-g'ə'a to look steadily, to watch 156.1 |
| šix'-i'é to walk steadily |
| šix'-wā'x' to paddle steadily |

Tsimshian:

| stu-i'a'o'nə I walk steadily |
| stu-gi'i-ə'h'o to go down river steadily |

103. *spagait*- among (Tsimshian: *spagait*). This prefix belongs to the series *hwaqait*, *baqait*, *sagait*, *q'umqait* (nos. 71, 82, 99, 119); -spa seems to belong to *haspa-* inverted, *q'aspa-* astray, which have *spa* in common with *spagait*.

dō-lo-spagait-hōkskʷ also to be inside among 42.4

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

| spagait-gangə'n among trees 31.14 |
| spagait-q'ə'wεxλ in the darkness 11.9 |
| spagait-lōgə lō'leq [among] in a rotten corpse 217.9 |

Tsimshian:

| spagait-šq̓ə'tg in the darkness ZE 782³³ |
| spagait-q'ə't among people |
| spagait-gangə'n among trees |

104. *ts'Ens*- to desert, deserted (Tsimshian: *ts'Ens*).

| ts'ens-l'ək to desert by moving 159.15 |
| ts'ens-də'a'kʷ widow (literally, deserted by dying) |

§10
Tsimshian:

| ts’ens-lā’yik | to desert by moving |
| ts’ens-dźw’k | widow (literally, deserted by dying) |

105. **ts’Enl-** a short way (Tsimshian).

| ts’Enl-dźó’x | to move canoe back a short way |
| ts’Enl-iw’o | to go a short way off |

106. **k’ā-** to a higher degree, exceedingly (Tsimshian: **k’!a-**).

| sem-k’ā-ale-bu’x | to run really exceedingly fast 107.10 (see nos. 168, 67) |
| k’ā-wi-hē’ldeł dëlx | there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no 73; dëlx seal) |
| k’ā-wi-tē’sl hwilpt as mē’E his house is larger than mine (literally, his house is exceedingly large to me) (see no. 73; hwilpt house; as to; mē’E me) |
| k’ā-wi-tē’sl hwilpt (this) house is the largest |
| lgō-k’ā-wi-tē’st | he was a little larger 108.15 (see no. 135) |

Tsimshian:

| ḡ’ap-k’!a-dzaga-alu-bā’o | to run really very openly across ZE 786 
| ḡ’ap-k’!a-wi-naxnō’g | really a greater supernatural being |

107. **k’ux-** for a while (Tsimshian: **k’!a-**).

| k’ux-hā’ot | it stops for a while 218.3 |
| k’ux-hāxe’ | to use for a while 34.6 |
| k’ux-gun-g’a’u | to show for a while 26.6 (gun- to cause; g’a’u to see) |
| k’ux-na-al’d’g’ix | to talk to each other for a while 19.8 |
| k’ux-sa-që’t | to make a string for a while 117.6 |

Here belongs also—

| ḡ’ux ha’d’n | later on |

Tsimshian:

| ada’ k’u-t’a’ot | then he sat for a while 108. |

108. **grīn-** seems to occur only in **g’īn-hē’tku** to rise 151.14.

Tsimshian:

| ḡ’ina-hō’ty | to rise |

109. **g’ina-** (left) behind (Tsimshian **g’ina-**).

| ḡ’ina-hē’tku | to stand behind 141.2 |
| ḡ’īn-’a’k’ō | to be there, being left behind 67.2 |
| ḡ’ina-’d’a’ | to remain, being left behind 194.13 |
| k’ul-’g’ina’-d’y | to be (plural) about being left behind 70.8 (see no. 33) |
| lgō-’q’am-’g’ina’-d’a’ | only a little one was left 95.14 |

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—21 § 10
10. **k'ina-** to go to do something; the action to be done is expressed by a noun (Tsimshian).\(^1\)

- k'!ina-xsa'n to go to gamble
- k'!ina-d'd'sta to go across (to see)
- k'!ina-su-p'a's to go after a young girl

11. **g'ildep-** underneath (?), upside down (?)

- g'ildep-dal'bi k'skw\(^w\) to cling to the under side (of the canoe)
- k'u!l-g'ildep-qaw'a'li\(^w\) to drift about capsized, upside down

- g'ildep-qal'iks I turn dishes over upside down

12. **k'sax-** only, just (Tsimshian: **ksu-**, often with q'am- or am-only).

- k'sax-d'd'q just to take (i. e., without implements for taking)
- k'sax-k'u!l-daxq'\(^x\) they just lay about
- k'sax-g'ina\(^n\)ml tso'osk\(^*\)' hê'x\(^*\) he only gave a little fat (tsöösk\(^*\) little; hêx\(^*\) fat)

This may really belong to the particles given in §15.

- k'sax- is often used with nouns:
  - k'sax-ts'ep only bones
  - k'sax-Lgo-nsts'ë'ëts only the little grandmother

Tsimshian:

- q'am-ksa-twâlp\(^x\) only four
- q'am-ksa-k'ë'ël\(^*\) only one
- am-ksa hanâ'nga only the women
- k'sa-ë'ëget he just stood still

13. **k'opE-** 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'opE-aba'g'ash\(^w\) to be troubled a little
- k'opE-ama-g'adësem, look out a little well for her
- k'opE-lô-qab'u'x to splash in something a little

(b) Adjectival:

- k'opE-huwi'l\(^p\) little houses
- k'opE-tk'ë'lk\(^w\) children

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\(^1\) This particle is classed more properly with those given in §13.
Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

\[ k'\text{lab} - \text{si}'\text{epgenu} \]

I poor one am sick

(b) Adjectival:

\[ k'\text{lab} - \text{ga-gö'k} \]

little baskets

114. **gun**- to order, to cause (Tsimshian: **gun**-).

- **gun-ba'**\(l\) to cause to spread out 130.11
- **gun-gö'**\(u\) to cause to hit 53.8
- **gun-se-më'**\(l\) to order to make burn 91.14
- **gun-gë'**\(l\) to order to poke 91.6

Tsimshian:

- **gun-mö'**\(gan\) to ask to be taken aboard
- **gun-në'**\(o'\)\(dz\) to show (literally, to cause to see)

115. **gulik's**- backward; also reflexive object (Tsimshian: **g'ileeks**-).

- **gulik's-hë'k\(m\)** to rush back 210.4
- **gulik's-o'q\(k\)** to reach (arrive) coming back 76.10
- **gulik's-g'\(d\)'a'll\(m\)** to look back
- **dë-gulik's-d'\(e\)p-\(m\)\(q\)'s** to throw one's self also down (\(dë\) also; \(d'\)\(e\)p down) 42.13
- **gulik's-dza'k\(m\)**s to kill one's self
- **sem-gulik's-ë'\(t\)'k\(m\)** to repent (literally, to name one's self much) 52.3
- **gulik's-\(d\)'ë'thk\(m\)** pocket-knife (literally, covering itself)
- **anik's-të'la'gal\(k\)** looking-glass (contracted from **an-gulik's-të'la'gal\(k\)** what one's self in beholds)

Tsimshian:

- **g'ileeks-bä'**\(o\)** to run back ZE 788\(149\)
- **g'ileeks-gä'**\(o\)** to take back
- **g'ileeks-në'**\(o'\)\(dz\)** to look back
- **lep-g'ileeks-ö'ig\(ë\)** he threw himself down

116. **gulx**- continued motion (Tsimshian: **gugulx**- for all times).

- **gulx-\(t\)'ë's** 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-lgu'ksaan** to be really unable (to carry) 167.13
- **g'ap-\(d\)'e-dzæ'pt** really on his part he made 170.5
- **g'ap-hä'q'al** to urge really 43.13
- **g'ap-\(w\)'i-\(t\)'ë'st** it is really large 13.13
- **g'ap-gö'dë** I have taken it entirely
- **g'ap-yö'gewun** you must eat
- **g'ap-ö'lyq'ë** certainly, it is a bear

§ 10
Tsimshian:

| q'ap-ks-ts'aslps really to be called a tribe ZE 783⁴¹ |
| q'ap-k'l-a-wi-naxnō'q really a greater supernatural being (see nos. 16, 73) |
| q'ap-wul'am-bā'osg really to blow ashore (see no. 22) |
| q'ap-bx'tsg really to stand |

118. **q'am-** only, i. e., without result, to no purpose; compare k'sax- (no. 112) **only**, i. e., without doing anything else (Tsimshian: q'am-, am-).

(a) Adverbial:

| q'am-anā'q to agree without caring 18.13 |
| q'am-tsagam-sūdəl'ext he only fastened it ashore (without taking it up to the house to eat it) 178.3 |
| q'am-lūlā'exkʷt he only finished eating (but did not go) 107.10 |

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

| q'am-k'il only one 100.13 |
| q'am-gulā'n only three 113.1 |
| q'am-uləbō' only few 178.10 |

(c) Adnominal; refuse, useless:

| q'am-ia'ats chips |
| q'am-hvōl'p a miserable house |

Tsimshian:

| am-man-uul'cs he just went up (see no. 3) |

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

| q'am-k'sa-txālpx only four |
| q'am-k'il only one |

(c) Adnominal; useless:

| lgu-q'am-k'wad's an old little broken one |
| q'am-wəl'b old house |
| q'am-t!ö'ots charcoal |

119. **q'amgait-** already, just then (Tsimshian: amgait-). This prefix, which is related to the series in -gait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 103), appears also independently.

kʷet q'amgait-g'a'das Txā'msem T. had already seen it 17.12

| t q'amgait-hvōlā'xʷl sem'd'a'g'it the chief knew it already 220.1 |
| (hvōlā'xʷ to know; sem'd'a'g'it chief) |

q'amgait nūg'i ve'q̂t just then he did not sleep 37.1

| q'amgait q'a'mts'en dā'gōl . . . mēq'a'q̂st already he had secretly taken salmon berries 49.15 (q'a'mts'en secretly; dā'g to take; mēq'a'q̂st salmon berry) |

§ 10
Tsimshian:

| ada unqait-lā'ot then he was just there ZE 782^22

120. gané- always, permanently, without stopping. This prefix occurs commonly with hwil and adverbial ending -a in the sense of always 121.4, 15. Other compounds are—

- gané-me'ít it burns so that the fire can not be put out again
- gané-d'á' to sit down for good
- gané-t's'é'́n to have entered to stay
- gané-ul'g'íx to talk without stopping
- gané-qub'é'ít 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-hwil-hwil'akx'- to paddle about astray 17.2 (hwil- about [no. 33])
- q'asba-sa-hwil-i'́́- he went away astray 38.14 (sa- off [no. 39]; hwil- about [no. 33])

122. q'ai- still, just, near; also used as an independent adverb.

(a) Adverbial:

- q'ai-hwil'q't he was still asleep 127.5
- q'ai-hwil'ai-tsam-wil'k'et they moved still far away toward the shore (hwil'ai- [no. 71]; tsam- toward shore [no. 9])
- q'ai-lig'i-qesxal'wí just any time he stopped 91.5 (lig'i- any place or time [no. 20]; qesxal to stop speaking)

(b) Adnominal:

- q'ai-q'al'liL Lőqs just six months 29.5
- Lgo-q'ai-ts'osq'í'm wi-t'es just a little large 153.5 (Lgo- small [no. 135]; ts'osq- small; -m adjectival connective; wi- great [no. 73]; t'es large)

123. gal- too.

- gal-al'n too slow
- gal-d'él'lt too fast
- gal-lā'lík^ to too late

124. gal- without people, empty (Tsimshian: gal-).

- gal-hwil'l'p house without people in it
- gal-bé'ís space 81.6
- gal-ts'a'p town, tribe

This particle is also used with verbs:

- gal-d'á' to stay away from a town
- gal-dzo'q to camp away from a town

Tsimshian:

| gal-E'renx empty box
| gal-ts'a'p town

§ 10
125. **xpī-** partly.
   *xpī*-ma'k*'šā* partly white
   *xpī*-ts'emēl'w* partly beaver (name of a monster supposed to resemble a seal with beaver-tail)
   *xpī*-nā'ts partly coward (name of a man)

126. **xpīlyım-** forward (in time and space).
   *xpīlyım-g'u'a* to look forward

127. **xlna-** bending forward (Tsimshian: **xlna-**).
   *xlna-sg'íthā* to fall down forward
   *xlna-dó'k* to kneel down

Tsimshian:
   *xlna-ma'osq* to dive, plural (literally, to stand head foremost)
   *xlna-de-dā'ul* 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 **gulik'-s**- self as object [no. 115]).
   
   (a) Adverbial:
   *lep-g'ín-hē'tl* he himself arose 156.11
   *t lep-tsagam-q'ä'èq* he himself dragged it ashore 175.13
   *lep-gulik'-s-hålā'èthā* it itself acted by itself 61.3
   *lep-gulik'-s-hanwulā'k*'*nā'ê, I myself destroyed my own 220.5
   
   (b) Adnominal:
   *lep-nebē'pt* his own uncle

Tsimshian:

   (a) Adverbial:
   *lep-č'āq* he himself takes a name
   *lep-lqusge'ret* he himself is happy
   *dā t-lep-dō'get* he himself, on his part, took
   *ām-di-lep-nexnō'x*s*edet* that they themselves, on their part, are supernatural
   *lep-č'lêks-č'iget* he himself threw himself down

   (b) Adnominal:
   *lep-qarsā' (their) own canoes

130. **lEhEl preserve (Tsimshian: **lEhEl-**).
   *dē-lEhEl-hvílenestō* you also do against (some one) 65.14
   *lEhEl-hē'thā* to incite against
   *lEhEl-d'gy'ir* to talk with some one

Tsimshian:
   *lEhEl-dal* to fight against
   *lEhEl-wāl* enemy

§ 10
131. **lEq'ul-** for good (Tsimshian: **lEk'ul-** for good; see *ganē-
always, permanently [no. 120]).

- *lEq'ul-s'uns* to be entirely blind
- *lEq'ul-da'ul* to leave for good
- *lEq'ul-ts'i'en* to have entered to stay

Tsimshian:

| *lEk'ul-hw'da'as* to leave for good |

132. **lEq'èx-** partly, half.

- *lEq'èx-md'gal* to put away half
- *lEq'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-txa-lEkti-g'* to make quite different
- *lEks-d'al* island (literally, sitting by itself)

Tsimshian:

| *lEks-t!a'lo* island |
| *lEks-g'ig'a'd* kinds |

134. **lEm-** stopping a motion (Tsimshian: **lEm-**).

- *lEm-ba'x* to stop by running
- *lEm-qō'c* to offend
- *lEm-čtlk*c to interfere (literally, to stop by calling)

In Tsimshian this prefix does not seem to be free.

| *lEm-g'ipū'g* to fly against the wind |
| *lEm-bā'asq* 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'ōpe-* (Tsimshian: *k'ab-e-* [no. 113]),
which, in an attributive sense, is used only for the plural.

- **Lgō-a'Lgō'xt** he said with a low voice (perhaps better, the little
  one said) 54.12

The use of **Lgō-** as attributive is very common:

- *k'sae-Lgō-ts'ęp'su'p* only the little wren 126.5 (see no. 112)
- *Lgō-ts'ęp'ing'it* the little youngest one 185.14

Still more frequent is its use with adjectives:

- **Lgō-gwa' em Lgō-th'č'lk*a* the little poor little boy 139.7
- **Lgō-q'ai-ts'ōq'qim wi-tč'č's* only a little large (*q'ai-* just; *tsōsk-
  small; *wi-* great; *č'č's* large)
- **Lgō-dax-g'a't** a little strong

Tsimshian:

| *lgu-mwō* little slave ZE 789 |
| *lgu-q'am-kwa'as* 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-lō'x* alder-tree (serving for [the dyeing of] head rings of cedar-bark)
- *am-mā'l* cottonwood (serving for canoes)
- *am-hulát't* head-dress (serving for shaman’s dance)
- *am-sg'ín ł'st* pine-tree (serving for pitch)
- *am-yu'kt* used in potlatch

Tsimshian

| *am-mē'lk* | mask (serving for dance) |
| *am-qua'n* | cedar (serving for wood) |

This prefix is also used in some connections where the explanation here given does not seem satisfactory:

- *am-qua'n* a kind of salmon-trap
- *am-xū'ł* willow (*xū'ł* fruit of willow)
- *am-hā'ls* stump

In other cases it appears as a verbal prefix, the meaning of which is not known:

- *am-qā'łd* to remember
- *am-sg'ı to lie (on the beach?)
- *am-d'leq* to destroy in anger

137. *ax-* without (Tsimshian: *wa-*). 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-wunə'x* without food
- *ax-qagad'ı* foolish (literally, without minds)
- *ax-qad'ı dem g'ad't* foolish person
- *an-ax-kō'x* carelessness
- *ax-mō'k* unripe
- *ax-ya'n-d'x̂k* disgraceful
- *ax-dē-si-hulát't* never giving a dance (an opprobrious epithet)
- *ax-na-mu'x* without ear-ornaments (an opprobrious epithet)
- *ax-qč'ıts* without labret (a little girl)
- *ax-tqal-g'ad'ı* virgin (not against a man)
(b) Subordinate clauses:

$k'et\ g'd'al\ wun\xrightarrow{a}r\L a\ ax-g'e'betg'e$ then he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.3.4 ($k'et$ then; $-t$ he; $g'd'al$ to see; $-l$ connective [$§$ 23]; $wun\xrightarrow{a}r\L a$ past, nominal form; $ax-$ not; $g'e'p$ to eat something; $-t$ his; $-g'\L e$ absent [$§$ 20])

$n\L e\ t'an\ ax-hwiL\L a'g'in?$ who does not know thee ($n\L e$ who; $t'an$ he who; $ax-$ not; $hwiL\L a'x$ to know; $-n$ thee)

There is a second form, $aq$, the relation of which to $ax$ is difficult to understand. Apparently this form is $aq$ with connective $-L$ (see $§$ 23). It does not occur in subordinate clauses, and may perhaps be considered as a verb meaning IT IS NOTHING.

$nlk'\L e\ aqL\ hwiL\L t$ then he did nothing 68.6 (then nothing was his doing)

$nlk'\L e\ aqL\ g'e'ben$ then nothing is your food 157.11

$nlk'\L e\ aqL\g'e'xh\L a$s $Ts'ak\L r$ then $Ts'ak\L r$ was without (place to) go 126.7

$nlk'\L e\ aqL\hwiL'\L t$ 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—

$aq\ dEp-hw\L iL\L a'gut$ what can we do? 103.7 ($dEp$ we)

$aq\ n\ hwiL\ a\ dz\L a'bet$ I do not know how to make it

Only a few Tsimshian forms may be given here:

$\begin{align*}
wa-dL\L i\-lyu-x\L a\L a & \text{on their part without even a little foam} \\
(dL\L i & \text{on their part}; \ lyu-\text{little}; \ x\L a\L a \text{foam})
\end{align*}

$\text{wa-dza\L ga\L L a}\L a\L L a'p\L el$ without twinkling across

138. $hwiL\L n$- innermost part (Tsimshian: $wun\L n$-).

$hwiL\L n-g\L e's$ brain

$hwiL\L n-ham\L w\L l$ point of arrow

$hwiL\L n-ts'\L u\L w\L l$ heart of tree 148.8

Tsimshian:

$\text{| wun-g\L a'us$ brain}

139. $dE$- extreme, plural; see $k'\L s-$ singular (no. 143) (Tsimshian: $ta-$)

$de-lax\L d'\L t$ the highest ones

$de-l\L d'\L wir$ the lowest ones

$de-gal\L gal\L d'\L nt$ the last ones

Tsimshian:

$\text{| man-ta-g\L a'g\L a$ the first ones to come up (see no. 3)}

$\text{| ta-s\L o'g\L r'\L t$ 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'äm* sitting, and probably this is the meaning of this particle everywhere. (See § 33.)

*t'Em-ba'x* hip
*t'Em-qê's* head (*qê's* hair) 46.6
*t'Em-lâ'm* leg below knee
*t'Em-lâ'nix* neck
*t'Em-gâ'x* fathom, shoulder; and some other terms for parts of the body
*t'Em-lâ'n* steersman
*t'Em-tsâ'iqa* man in bow of canoe

Tsimshian:

| *lax-t'Em-ga'us* crown of head |
| *t'Em-lâ'n* steersman (*g'ilâ'n* stern) (See § 33)

141. *spE-* place where something belongs, where one lives (Tsimshian: *spE-*).

*spE-a'p* wasp-nest
*spE-t'xt* den of porcupine
*SpE-tl'k'lyan* ant-hill
*SpE-nernô'q* place of supernatural beings 32.11
*SpE-wa'llk* place of taboos 32.12
*spE-sô'nt* place where one lives in summer
*spE-kô'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-mêlik* crabapple-tree 17.11
*sgan-qala'mst* rose-bush
*sgan-lâ'ts* elderberry-bush
*sgan-dâ'p'rl* harpoon-shaft
*sgan-halô* mast

Tsimshian:

| *sgan-kli'nt* wooden quiver |
| *sgan-t'ôtsq* spear-shaft

143. *ks-* extreme, singular; see *de-*, plural (no. 139) (Tsimshian: *ks-*).

*ks-qalâ'n* the last 140.8
*d'ep-ks-gâq* down first 81.4
*tô-ks-gê'ô* in extreme outer side 219.1

Tsimshian:

| *ks-gâ'qa* first ZE 791²¹⁴

§ 11
144. **kšE-** fluid (Tsimshian: *kšE-*). This is evidently an abbreviated form of *als* water. (See § 33.)

- *kšE-tčtšk* fluid
- *kšE-mátdzik* milk (literally, breast fluid)

Tsimshian:

- *vadi-kšE-lē'ate* fluid-like slime (see no. 85)
- *kšE-ā'mks* clear water
- *kšE-gvo'dnuks* spring
- *kšE-sqanč'est* water of mountain

145. **kčE-** fresh (Tsimshian: *kšE-*).

- *kčE-cā'k* fresh olachen
- *kčE-smā'x* fresh meat

Tsimshian:

- *kšE-még'do'xs* fresh berries

146. **kšEm-** woman (Tsimshian: *kšEm-*).

- *kšem-nísqa'ā* a Nass woman
- *kšem-qa'k*l mouse woman 136.4
- *kšem-sawa'ī* Tongass woman
- *kšem-alō-g'ig'dī* Indian woman 207.12

Tsimshian:

- *kšem-wutsō'un* mouse woman
- *kšem-q'asqō's* crane woman

147. **gšit-** people, person (Tsimshian: *gšit-*). (See also § 33.)

- *Gšit-wēk'č'na* Awī'k'ënōx*, Rivers Inlet tribe
- *Gšit-gā'ns* Tongass
- *gšit-wēlth* warriors 113.13
- *Gšit-lux-dā'mek's* people of lake

148. **gwis-** blanket, garment (Tsimshian: *gus-*).

- *gwis-halai't* dancing blanket 71.5
- *gwis-qā'aq*t* raven blanket 39.8
- *wō-gwis-qanā't* large frog blanket 168.3
- *gwis-mā'k'sk* white blanket

Tsimshian:

- *gus-ya'ni* mink blanket
- *gus-belhā'tk* button blanket
- *gus-sqā'ō* mat coat (rain coat)

149. **qa-** seems to indicate location (Tsimshian: *gši-*).

- *qa-sū'x* place in front 61.4
- *qa-qala'n* place behind the houses 138.6
- *qa-γ'ā'n* place in front of house 138.13
- *qa-dō' the other side 211.10

The same prefix appears in certain plurals. These will be discussed in § 43.

§ 11
Tsimshian:

- **g'i-ts'ld'eg** bow of canoe
- **g'i-lā'n** stern of canoe
- **g'i-gā'ni** up river
- **g'ilhan'li** in the woods (with euphonic l [?])

150. **qaldEm-** receptacle (Tsimshian: **qaldEm-**).

- **qaldEm-halda'u-gr'it** box of a sorcerer

151. **lax-** surface of, top; corresponding to the adverbal prefix **lē-**

(Tsimshian: **lax-**).

- **lax-lō'ōp** surface of stone
- **lax-a'us** surface of sand
- **lax-o'** top
- **lax-ha'** sky (literally, upper side of air)

The names of some clans contain this element.

- **lax-skī'yēk** eagle clan (literally, on the eagle)
- **lax-k'ebo'** wolf clan (literally, on the wolf)

Names of islands and of the ocean are compounded with this prefix:

- **Lax-wa'gl** Dundas island
- **Lax-sē'ldu** ocean

152. **ts'Em-** inside; corresponding to the verbal prefixes **lō-**, **ts'elem-**,

leqem- (Tsimshian: **ts'Em-**).

- **ts'em-huc'ilp** inside of house
- **ts'em-dz'wi'dz'ik's** inside of ground
- **ts'em-lō'ōp** inside of stone

A considerable number of words require this prefix:

- **ts'em-ā'q** inside of mouth
- **ts'em-galā's** stomach
- **ts'em-an'ō'n** palm (literally, inside) of hand
- **ts'em-č'ē'n** valley

153. **ts'Em-** in the sky

(Tsimshian: **ts'Em-**).

- **ts'Em-lax-ha'** in the sky
- **ts'Em-ksā'o** inside of canoe
- **ts'Em-d's** inside of water
- **ts'Em-wū'lb** inside of house
- **ts'Em-ts'ā'ns** armpit
- **ts'Em-ne-ā'o** oven

§ 11
153. *ts'a-* inside. I found this prefix, which is evidently related to the last, only in *ts'a-hwil'ip* (Nass) and *ts!'u-wâlh* (Tsimshian) the INSIDE OF THE HOUSE, so designated in contrast to the outside; while *ts'ém-hwil'ip* (*ts!'em-wâlh*) appears in conjunction with the locative adverbial prefixes *lw-* , *ts'elém-* , etc.

154. *anō-* direction toward (Tsimshian: *nak-* or *na-*).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anō-g'\text{\textquoteright}elku} & \text{ south} \\
\text{anō-qal-ts'ā'p} & \text{ direction of the town} \\
\text{anō-\text{'em-gē's} head end} \\
\text{anō-lax-mō'ón} & \text{ direction of (on the) sea}
\end{align*}
\]

Tsimshian:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nak-} & \text{semiā'wunt or na-semiā'wunt left hand} \\
\text{nak-stā'} & \text{ one side} \\
\text{nak-txa-g'isi-hi-wā'qs east} & \text{ (literally, direction along down river at the same time rain) ZE 78599}
\end{align*}
\]

155. *ts'ilk's-* surrounding (Tsimshian: *t'Ek's-*).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ts'ilk's-naa'qs} & \text{ bracelet (literally, surrounding jade)} \\
\text{ts'ilk's-daō'} & \text{ finger-ring}
\end{align*}
\]

Tsimshian:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t'Ek's-nā'xs} & \text{ bracelet}
\end{align*}
\]

156. *ham-* nearness.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ham-ts'ēvi'n place near the top, 80.12}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an-xpedzā'x} & \text{ fear} \\
\text{an-lebā'ly} & \text{ hatred} \\
\text{an-se'ibensk} & \text{ love} \\
\text{an-lā'msk} & \text{ honor}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Local terms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an-la'k} & \text{ fireplace} \\
\text{an-sg'd'mlkh} & \text{ womb (literally, lying-in place)} \\
\text{an-tg'ō-lē'lbik'sk} & \text{ whirlpool (what around drifts) 104.12} \\
\text{an-sā'lep} & \text{ hole for steaming 55.4} \\
\text{an-Lō'uIkh} & \text{ nest (literally, place of young ones)} \\
\text{an-sg'īt} & \text{ grave (literally, where he lies) 218.5} \\
\text{an-qalā'q} & \text{ play-ground} \\
\text{an-dā'} & \text{ other side}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 12
Tsimshian:

| n-lak | fireplace |
| ts'emi-ne-ú oven | (literally, in-baking-place) |
| n-g'il-hau'li | a place in the woods |

(c) Result of an act, instrument, etc.

an-hēt | what he said 118.1
an-lē'pelsh | thread (for sewing)
an-dōy'in | garden

158. anda- receptacle, perhaps from an- no. 157 (Tsimshian: nta-).

anda-ha-sā'rs | "rattle-box" 124.12
ande-la'x | box of crabapples 192.4
anda-hawai'l | quiver (literally, arrow receptacle) 19.5
ande-t'ēle' | box of grease 192.3

Here belongs—

anda-xsu'n | gambling-sticks 28.11

Tsimshian:

| nta-ha-wulōwork-box |
| nta-hawa'quiver |

159. yu-κο one who has (Tsimshian: yu—γ).

yu-hawi'lpa | one who has a house
yu-nēqwā'olkl | one who has a father

Tsimshian:

| k'ud-yu-ha-αksg | carrying a bucket about |
| yu-sa'miγ | having meat |
| yahq'adγ | having manhood ZE 783

160. ha- instrument (Tsimshian: ha-).

ha-xda'l | bow (literally, shooting-instrument) 19.6
ha-a'k's | cup (literally, drinking-instrument)
ha-g'ōl | knife for splitting 96.12
ha-la'k | powder (literally, fire-instrument)
ha-sā'h | rattle 213.9

Tsimshian:

| ha-g'ōl | harpoon (literally, harpooning-instrument) |
| ha-na'kst | marriage present (literally, means of marrying) |

The compound prefix ha-lē- is particularly frequent:

ha-lē-d'a | chair (literally, instrument to sit on)
ha-lē-dā'lep | pile of wood to roast on 131.12
ha-lē-dzō'qšē | world (literally, means of camping on) 14.10

Tsimshian:

| ha-l'ti-dzō'g | world (literally, means of camping on) ZE 782
| ha-l'ti-gā'ad | to think (literally, means of minding on)

§ 12
The days of the week are nowadays designated by the same prefixes:

- *ha-łe-gan* means of dressing up (Sunday)
- *ha-łe-yę* day of paying out (Saturday)

161. **gan-** means of, cause of (Tsimshian: *gan-*)

- *gan-mał* means of saving
- *gan-deł* cause of life
- *gan-łe'nt* cause of anger
- *gan-łó-gō'baq* window (literally, cause of light inside)
- *gan-hőd'lix* carrying-strap, (literally, means of carrying)

Tsimshian:

- *gan-há'axg* difficulty
- *gan-p'ala'gy'g̓s̓g* ballast (literally, means of being heavy)

This prefix is identical with the particle *gan* therefore.

162. **gwix-** nomen actoris (Tsimshian: *huk-*)

- *gwix-ā'd* fisherman
- *wi-gwix-su-g'at* great murderer 23.5
- *gwix-wō'ó* hunter 108.4
- *gwix-ᵫ'ə muq'ask* cheater 52.12

Tsimshian:

- *huk-qalts'le* one who pours out, an auctioneer
- *huk-yé'lsk* one who drills

163. **an-** the one who ——; preceding transitive verb (Tsimshian: *ᵫ*). 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.

- *nē'En t'an-đé'dō'q̓l lāx* you are the one who caught the trout
- *k̓e k̓sał lgo-g'v'mx'dit, demt an-tś'elem-wō'ól nak'st* then his little sister went out, she who was to call in his wife 204.6
- *nūk'ē dá'ull k̓'āl g'at t'an-gō'ul lgo-td'ε'ł̓h̓m* then one man left, who took the child 205.6 (dā'ul to go out; g'v'mx'de sister; tś'elem- into; wō'ó to invite; nak's wife)
- *nūl'āl g'at t'an-gō'ul lgo-td'ε'ł̓h̓m* then one man took the child 205.6 (dā'ul to go out; g'v'mx'de sister; tś'elem- into; wō'ó to invite; nak's wife)
- *k̓e kwil soq'uit-hā'p'au t'an-₃̓l̓è-h'sg̓atst* then they rushed together who beat him all over 62.12 (soq'uit- together; hā'p'a to rush; ₃̓l̓è- all over; yats to strike)

Tsimshian:

- *n̓əl demt in-na'ksga lgu̲d̓'ł̓ges Gan̓ō* who is it who will marry the daughter of Gan̓ō?
- *t n̓ə'ryu demt in-na'ksga lgu̲d̓'ł̓ges* it is I who will marry your daughter
- *n̓ə'ni̲'s dep gwui t'in-sè-t'ā'os̓g̓u* these are the ones who began
- *ada n̓ə'ni̲' t'ın-łəb̓ə'olsetg̓ə* he was the one who paid it back

§ 12
§ 13. Particles Transforming Nouns into Verbs

164. \textit{SE}- to make something (Tsimshian: \textit{SE}-).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{SE-h\text{\`a}rd} to call (literally, to make name) 97.13
  \item \textit{SE-l\text{\`e}t} to make wedges 148.4
  \item \textit{SE-h\text{\`a}n} to catch salmon
  \item \textit{SE-l\text{\`e}mar} to make a song 77.9
  \item \textit{lep-SE-ne\text{\`{n}}ndo\text{\`{w}}} to make one’s self supernatural 152.6
  \item \textit{SE-b\text{\`e}la}\text{\`{d}} to make abalone shell 45.14
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{\`u}-\textit{SE-gud\text{\`{l}}} to make fire on
  \item \text{su-se-n-dz\text{\`o}g} to make a new village
  \item \textit{SE-m\text{\`a}w}s to cause to grow ZE 791\textsuperscript{299}
\end{itemize}

165. \textit{x-} to eat, consume (Tsimshian: \textit{x-}).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{x-h\text{\`a}n} to eat salmon 205.1
  \item \textit{ana\text{\`l}gwax} eating scabs 41.14
  \item \textit{ha-x-sm\text{\`a}w}s fork (literally, meat-eating instrument)
  \item \textit{ha-x-miy\text{\`a}n}s pipe (literally, smoke-eating instrument)
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{x-sts\text{\`a}l\text{\`{d}}}a to eat beaver
  \item \textit{x-g\text{\`u}d\text{\`{t}}k\text{\`{s}}\text{\`e}nu} I feel cold (literally, I consume cold)
  \item \textit{lu-x-dzi\text{\`{l}}\text{\`{u}}g} until morning (literally, in consume morning)
  \item \textit{x-sqan\text{\`e}\text{\`{t}}s}s to kill mountain goats (literally, to eat mountain)
  \item \textit{x-g\text{\`o\text{\`{p}}}lakem} we enjoy the light ZE 786\textsuperscript{27}
\end{itemize}

166. \textit{xS-} to say, to appear like (Tsimshian: \textit{xS-}).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xS-ne\text{\`u}\text{\`{d}}t\text{\`{k}}} to say FATHER
  \item \textit{xS-m\text{\`e}m\text{\`e}k} to say HIM
  \item \textit{xS-\text{\`a}n\text{\`{s}}k}s it sounds like leaves
  \item \textit{xS-m\text{\`a}k\text{\`{s}}k}s white (literally, it appears like snow)
  \item \textit{xS-gus\text{\`u}\text{\`{d}}\text{\`{o}}sk}s light blue (literally, it appears like a bluejay)
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{w\text{\`a}-xS-n\text{\`a}l\text{\`d}} it sounds loud·like a drum
  \item \textit{w\text{\`a}-xS-su\text{\`u}d\text{\`{n}}s\text{\`e}g} it sounds loud like curing disease
  \item \textit{\text{\`a}p-xS-ts\text{\`a}l\text{\`{d}}ps} to be called a tribe ZE 783\textsuperscript{11}
\end{itemize}

§ 14. Transitive Pronominal Subject

The transitive subjective pronouns are in both dialects:

\begin{align*}
  n & \quad \text{I} & m & \quad \text{SEM} \quad \text{ye} \\
  d\text{\`e}p & \quad \text{we} & i & \quad \text{he,} \\
  m & \quad \text{thou} & j & \quad \text{they}
\end{align*}

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. de- with, also, on (his) part (Tsimshian: di-).

de-t-gwam-g'imp on her part, she ordered (her) to eat it 155.11
de-uks-ba'xt he, on his part, ran out to the sea 104.13
de-gulik's-dl-ep-ma'qst he also threw himself down 42.13
de-t-gout he, on his part, took it 14.8
nig'i-n dem de-g'ipt not I shall, on my part, eat it
dë nig'i di-dek'ut she, on her part, had no bag 206.9, 10 (dë-di on her part; nig'i not; dek'a bag)
nig'i-n dë-g'dat I have not seen him

Tsimshian:

| t'ëm-di-yiil'a he went to the fire, on his part |
| dët-lep-dóqst he, on his part, took it himself |
| ada q'ik dit q'am-ga'tyte hanā'xt and also he, on his part, blessed (q'am-ga't) 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-ab'a'g'askut he was much troubled 80.1
sem-hasa-sg'è' to lay really upside down 214.11
sem-hō'm a'lg'iyenë I speak the truth
yagai-sem-k'ā-wi-hēlt, however, exceedingly very many 158.11
sem-t-lo-gā'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-dë-lgō-w'ilk'sillu also, on his part, a very prince (hux also; dë on his part; lgo- little)

wē-sem-ga'n the great very tree (i. e., cedar) 147.9
sem-ts'è'win the very top 80.4

sem-q'ai-tseletso'osk' just very small 171.8

sem-q'am-k'āl really only one 145.13
Tsimshian:

| sem-lu-dẕga ̱ḏt very downcast (literally, very dead in heart) |
| sem-lu-x̱ḏḏx̱st to weep bitterly |
| ada semt tgu-ɗ̱ḏpt then he measured exactly around it ZE 784° |
| ne-sem-se'relg exactly the middle |

169. hux also, again (Tsimshian: gik).

hux ɗ̱ḏiḵsḵ sl yu'ksa evening came again 142.8 (ɗ̱ḏiḵsḵu to come; yu'ksa evening)
hux ḏe-ɗ̱em-i'ḏt he also, on his part, went down to the middle of the house 142.14
hux ḏet gu'nat he also, on his part, demanded it 143.1
k'et hux g'ina'mt then he gave it again 139.6
hux k'â'ḻḻ g'at another man 108.1

Tsimshian:

| lat g'ik t'alle ne-mes-d'use lenḵḏi̱ḏet a ts'alṯg̱o when his sister again put on her paint on her face ZE 795° |
| mes-d'us ochre; lenḵḏi̱ḏ sister; ts'alṯg̱o face) |
| adat g'ik wula̱ide g'aḏ then the people knew it again ZE 795° |
| ada g'ikt wula̱idem hat!a'ḏe 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'â'ṉe al aro'an I go to thy proximity 196.12
dEm g'do'an you will see 80.2
n dem swant I shall cure her 123.7
dEm mu'ẖḏḏel twax̱ they were going to catch halibut 43.6

In the following examples dEm is nominal:

nig'idi ɗ̱ḏiḵsḵ sl dEm mes-x̱ not had come the future daylight 11.10
dEm lep-hova'y̱̱m̱ḻ dem ṉde'emm̱ we ourselves will find our future bait 56.6 (lep- self; hova to find; nax bait)

Tsimshian:

| dEmt dẕa'be twanil'̱i̱ g̱o he was about to make everything |
| n dem k'ḻa-trx̱al-wā'n I shall overtake you soon |
| ada dEmt se-ma'xes̱e g̱o't then it will make things grow |

171. hwil present (Tsimshian: hwil).

twan'iḵ sḵ hwil ses-s̱ sl k'ḻo-p̱e-ts'ō'ots all the small birds 124.11
naxna's Ts'ak'. hwil ḏāl hanaq Ts'ak' heard (about) a woman being there 126.2 (naxna's to hear; ḏ'a to sit; hanaq woman)
t hwil lō-ba'qt at his touching into it 203.6

§ 15
Tsimshian:

at gâ'ı wul kse-gwa'ntgē g'ama'get he went to where out comes (touches) the sun
lat nî'estge ts'!ab'de wul k'!A-sa-gidi-t!ā'o g'ama'gēm dz’ust when the people saw the sun standing still suddenly for a while ZE 788.13 (nî to see; ts'!ab people; k'!A- for a while; sa- suddenly; t!ā'o to sit; g'ama heat, heavenly body; dz’ust daylight)

-wul wa-di-aya'owul on account of his being without cleverness ZE 789.14 (wul- without; di on his part; aya'owul clever)

172. La past (Tsimshian: la).

nlk'!e la huh he'lu:k it had been morning again 204.2 (huh again; he'lu:k morning)

la dëlpkiL dën mesā'x' it was shortly going to be daylight 143.7 (dëlpk'iL short; mesā'x' daylight)

la huh hui’llt he had done this also 145.4 k'!elat huïlā'x'E huïl nö’ōt he had known that he was dead 57.7 (huïlā'x'E to know; nö’ō dead)

Tsimshian:

| n!inī' lat nî'estge ts'!a'b that was when the people saw  
| ada la al di ts'!onsge wak’t but then his brother had gone in (al but; di on his part; ts'!on to enter; wak’ brother) |  
| nî wâlde la hu'udet it happened, what he had said |

173. Lā while (Tsimshian: lā).

lā wi-t'e'sl lgo-tk'!e'Lkum'g' al lō-d'ā't al ts'em-xpē'ist while the child was large, it was in the box 9.9 (wi-t'e's large; lgo-tk'!e'Lkum' child; lō' in; d'ā to sit; ts'em- inside; xpē'is box)

Tsimshian:

| lā n!ini' ne-sela-wāl'det while that one did it with them  
| lā q'!aldēk'iā'tgo while he was walking about in the woods |

174. iagai- already, however, rather (Tsimshian: y'!agai-).

iagai-g'in-he'tk'ut however, he stood behind 141.1
iagai-nē’t however, it was so 26.7, 157.9
iagai-sem-k'!a-wi-he’llt however, exceedingly many 158.11
k'!ët iagai-lē-ia'qt then, however, it hung on it 46.1
k'!ë iagait-g'ë'ëlt then, he had picked it up already 26.3
iagait-lō-dâ'yi't he had put it on already 50.4

Tsimshian:

| y'!agai lō'-wula tgi-nî'otsget however, he looked always down |  
| adat y'!agai-dzag-a-gā'o'det then, however, he went across it |  
| n dem y'!agai-na'ksen I shall marry thee |  
| y'!agai-sem-bâ's very much afraid, however |
175. mā'dzE- almost.
   mā'dzE-sg'it he almost lay 62.8
   q'am-mā'dzE-nō'bēE I am only almost dead 76.13
   mā'dzE-sg't he almost hit it 140.7

176. kwats'ik's- close by.
   kwats'ik's-tq'al-sg' in you lie close against 75.12

177. sEm-g'it strongly (derived from sEm- much [no. 168], and g'at person) (Tsimshian: sEm-g'it).
   dem sEm-g'it dux-yu'k'den you will hold fast strongly
   sEm-g'it dē-yō'gal t'em-lā'nēst hold on to my neck! 80.10

Tsimshian:
   ada sEm-g'it hē'tge hand'gat then the woman stood fast

178. sEm-gal very, much (from sEm-) (Tsimshian: sEm-gal).
   sEm-gal abā'g'as'k'ut he was much troubled 36.1, 40.4
   sEm-gal gwā'et he was very poor 38.4

Tsimshian:
   | sEm-gal xe°! arch-slave! ZE 790
   | t sEm-gal lehā'leqst they hate them much ZE 793

179. q'ams'[E En secretly.
   q'ams'[E En hē't he said secretly 40.5
   q'ams'[E En tsē'nt he entered secretly 25.6

180. nīgri not; used in indicative sentences (Tsimshian: a'lgE).
   k'ē nīg'ī daw'q'ūl'w'det then they did not succeed 123.6
   nīg'ī bas'it ak' s the water did not run 18.3
   nīg'ī hāx dzūk'ut she did not kill him also 203.7
   nīg'īdē hōx'ī's Lōgōbōlā' Lōgōbōlā' did not paddle 17.3
   nīg'īn dē g'at I have not seen it

The syllable dē, dē, which is very often added to the negative, probably signifies on his part, and is the particle no. 167.

Tsimshian:
   | a'lgE aml demt wulā'idēl g'at it is not good that the people know it (ām good; wulā'ī to know; g'at people)
   | ada a'lgE ts'ā'sk'a'w la'k'ga° then the fire was not out
   | a'lgE ndem k'ē'īnā'mt al hanā'ox 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 particles, the letters being arranged in the order vowels, semi-vowels, labials, dentals, palatales, 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.

\[\begin{align*}
a & T 63a \\
awus & T 63 \\
awul & T (\text{awul} N) 43 \\
am & N T 136 \\
am, q'am & T (q'am N) 118 \\
am'gait & T (q'am'gait N) 119 \\
am & N (in T) 163 \\
am & N (n, ne T) 157 \\
an & N (na, nak T) 154 \\
andu & N (nta T) 158 \\
anb'el & N (p'el T) 64 \\
ak's & N (aks T) 65 \\
as & N (asdi T) 14 \\
asdi & T (as N) 14 \\
aqvi & N T 66 \\
aks & T (ank's N) 65 \\
av & N (iva T) 137 \\
alp & N (alu T) 67 \\
alav & N (ia T) 68 \\
ala & N 69 \\
alge & T (nig'i N) 180 \\
i & N 70 \\
iaga & N T 2 \\
iagai & N (y'agai T) 174 \\
yu-k & N (yu-g T) 159 \\
y & T (an N) 163 \\
aks & N T 6, 10 \\
wa & T (ax N) 137 \\
wadi & T 85 \\
hwa'gait & N (wa'gait T) 71 \\
walen & N 72 \\
w & N T 73 \\
wud'ax & N (wut'ax T) 73a \\
wude & N T 41 \\
hwun & N (wun T) 138 \\
hwun & T (hwun N) 138 \\
hwun & N T 51 \\
vuts' & T (wuts'en, huts'en N) 52 \\
vuts' & T (wuts'en, huts'en N) 52 \\
hwul & N (wul T) 171 \\
vul & T (hwul N) 171 \\
vud'am & N T 22 \\
ha & N T 160 \\
han & N 156 \\
ha'dix & N (hat'ek T) 48 \\
hase & N T 74 \\
hats'eks & N 75 \\
hagun & N (gun T) 44 \\
hagul & N T 76 \\
haldem & N T 77 \\
hal & N (hal T) 50 \\
h & N T 78 \\
his & N (sis T) 79 \\
héja & N 45 \\
huts' & N (wuts'en T) 52 \\
huk & T (gwix N) 162 \\
hux & N (gik T) 169 \\
benem & T (pelen T) 80 \\
p'el & T (anb'el N) 64 \\
plem & N (benem T) 80 \\
belsam & N (wbsam T) 81 \\
bagait & N (lebagait T) 82 \\
bax & N T 1 \\
me & T (ma N) 84 \\
man & N (man T) 3 \\
mese & N 83 \\
mela & T 88 \\
mel & N (mela T) 87 \\
ma & N (me T) 84 \\
man & T (men N) 3 \\
max & N 86 \\
marde & T 60 \\
mudze & N 175 \\
d, do & N (de T) 91 \\
d & N (ta T) 139 \\
d & N (dë T) 167 \\
dep & N (igi T) 4 \\
dem & N T 170 \\
\end{align*}\]
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$^r_e^m\ N\ T\ 13$

$^r_e^m\ N\ T\ 140$

ta\ T\ (de\ N)\ 139

dex,\ dix'\ N\ (da^r\ T)\ 90

t\ ek's\ T\ (ts\'ek's\ N)\ 155

t\ eks\ N\ T\ 6,\ 10

d\ l\ a\ N\ 92

tq'al\ N\ (txal\ T)\ 35

tgi\ T\ (d'ep\ N)\ 4

tgo\ N\ (tigu\ T)\ 31

txa\ N\ T\ 93

t\ as\ N\ T\ 47

n\ T\ (an\ N)\ 157

na\ N\ T\ 12

na,\ nak\ T\ (an\ N\)\ 154

n\ a\ N\ T\ 94

nak,\ na\ T\ (an\ N\)\ 154

ng'\ i\ N\ (al\ N\)\ 180

no'om\ N\ 96

nta\ T\ (anda\ N)\ 158

se\ N\ T\ 164

s\ a\ 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

s\ a\ T\ (his\ N)\ 79

six\ N\ (sia\ T)\ 102

sel\ N\ T\ 97

si\ N\ (su\ T)\ 101

su\ T\ (si\ N)\ 101

spe\ N\ T\ 141

spagait\ N\ T\ 103

sp\ i\ N\ 21

stex\ N\ 49

sta\ T\ (six'\ N)\ 102

s\ a\ N\ (s\ a\ T)\ 36

ts\'em\ N\ T\ 152

tsl\ ens\ N\ T\ 104

tsl\ en\ T\ 105

ts'ek'\ al\ T\ 16

tsl'a\ N\ T\ 153

tsaga\ N\ (dzaga\ T)\ 23

tsagam\ N\ (dzagam\ T)\ 9

ts'ik's\ N\ (ts\'ek's\ T)\ 155

ts'elem\ N\ T\ 7

k'\ a\ N\ (k\ a\ T)\ 106

k'\ ax\ N\ (k\ a\ T)\ 107

k'\ al\ N\ 58

g'\ i\ T\ (qa\ in\ part,\ N)\ 149

g'\ ime\ N\ (gami\ T)\ 25

g'\ it\ N\ T\ 147

k'si\ T\ 19

k'\ 'edo\ N\ 57

g'\ in\ N\ (g'\ ina\ T)\ 108

g'\ ina\ N\ T\ 109

k'\ 'ina\ T\ 110

g'\ is\ N\ 40

g'\ isi\ N\ (gisi\ T)\ 18

gik\ T\ (hux\ N)\ 169

g'\ ik'si\ N\ 61

g'\ leks\ T\ (gulik's\ N)\ 115

g'\ lavul\ N\ T\ 37

g'\ le\ dep\ N\ 111

k'\ ilq'al\ N\ 34

k'\ s\ N\ (ks\ T)\ 143

kse\ T\ (ks'ni\ N)\ 8

kse\ N\ T\ 144

k'\ ce\ N\ (kse\ T)\ 145

k'\ sem\ N\ (ksem\ T)\ 146

ksa\ T\ (ks'ax\ N)\ 112

k'si\ N\ (kse\ T)\ 8

g\ a\ N\ in\ part\ (g'\ i\ T)\ 149

q'\ as\ N\ 122

q'\ ap\ N\ T\ 117

q'\ am\ N\ (q'am,\ am\ T)\ 118

gam\ i\ T\ (g'\ ime\ N)\ 25

q'\ ant's\ en\ N\ 179

q'\ angait\ N\ (angait\ T)\ 119

gan\ N\ T\ 161

q'\ an\ T\ 28

qana\ T\ 59

qan\ N\ 120

q'\ as\ N\ 121

gal\ N\ 123

§\ 16
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.

§ 17
1. **-En causative** (Tsimshian: **-En**). In both dialects this suffix generally modifies the terminal consonant of the stem.

|hēthₜₜ| to stand, singular| lō-t'y'ul-ḥētₜₜ| to place a thing upright against something and inside of something 131.3
|mēthₜₜ| full| mētₜₜ| to fill
|yō'oxₜₜ| to eat, singular| yō'ozq'ₜₜ| to feed one person
|txō'oxₜₜ| to eat, plural| txō'ozq'ₜₜ| to feed several persons
|bā'ṣix| to divide, v. n.| bā'siq'ₜₜ| to separate (v. a.)
|hē-tā'q| it breaks| hē-tā'qan| to break (v. a.)
|bax| to run| bā'lan| to cause to run
|magsₜₜ| to stand, plural| ma'qsaan| to place several things upright 8.1

Tsimshian:

|sa'ipk| hard| sa'ip'ₜₜ| to harden
|mālk| to be uneasy| māl'k| to force
|māck| to be aboard, singular| mā'q'an| to put aboard one object
|hā'esk| annoyed| hā'q'an| to annoy
|lā'k| bent| lā'k'ₜₜ| to bend (v. a.)
|bō| to run| bō'ₜₜ| to cause to run
|gāxk| to wake up, singular| gū'k'ₜₜ| to wash (v. a.)
|li'duksk| to wake up, plural| lē'ibik'sₜₜ| to roll
|hōxsk| to be with| lē'ibik'skₜₜ| covered

2. **-skₜₜ** expresses primarily the elimination of the object of the transitive verb (Tsimshian **-sk**).

|t'ₜ'| to clap (v. a.) 34.10| t'a'askₜₜ| to clap (no object) 203.3
|suwə'n| to blow (v. a.) 123.1| suwə'anskₜₜ| to blow (no object) 124.8
|max| to tell (v. a.)| ma'laaskₜₜ| to tell news 161.15
|g'a'a| to see (v. a.)| g'a'askₜₜ| to look 137.6
|dā'mqan| to pull (v. a.)| dā'mqanskₜₜ| to be in the act of pulling 51.8
|gō| to take (v. a.)| gōskₜₜ| to extend 126.7

Verbs with this ending often form verbal nouns:

|dā'p'xₜₜ| to nail| dā'p'xanskₜₜ| nail
|sē'ēp'an| to love| sē'ēp'enskₜₜ| love
|ayō'q| to command| ayō'g'askₜₜ| commander
|lē'ib'ₜₜ| to roll| lē'ibik'sₜₜ| whirlpool 104.12
Tsimshian:

| lu-t!\textsuperscript{\textcircled{O}}yu xbi\textsuperscript{\textcircled{O}}s | I sweep out a t!\textsuperscript{\textcircled{O}}sk | to sweep |
| se-y\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}lgu wa\textsuperscript{i} | I polish a paddle | se-\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}ask | to polish |
| s\textcircled{\textdagger}l to spin something | s\textcircled{\textdagger}lsk | to spin |
| h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}s\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}en to place with something | g\textsuperscript{\textdagger}n-h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}s\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}en\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}sk | fastening-implementation |

Undoubtedly related to the preceding are the following two:

3. \textsuperscript{-}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} used commonly after terminal p, t, s, ts, q, x, l, and sometimes after l (Tsimshian: \textsuperscript{-}k); and

4. \textsuperscript{-}tk\textsuperscript{\textdagger} used after vowels, l, m, and n (Tsimshian: \textsuperscript{-}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 \textsuperscript{-}k are:

- h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}t\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} upright
- g\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ks\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to awake
- l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}s\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to finished
- b\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ts\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to lift

Tsimshian:

- ha\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}ts to send
- sa\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ip\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to hard

Examples of \textsuperscript{-}tk\textsuperscript{\textdagger} are:

- d\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to sit
- se-h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}wa\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to name
- w\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ô\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to invite
- h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}d\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a\textsuperscript{\textdagger}u\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to bewitch
- d\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a\textsuperscript{\textdagger}px\textsuperscript{\textdagger}n to nail
- b\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}n\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to belt

Tsimshian:

- \textsuperscript{-}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to stand
- g\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ks\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to wake up
- l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to be finished
- b\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ts\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}} to be lifted

Tsimshian:

- \textsuperscript{-}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to be placed 215.1, 131.1
- se-h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}wa\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to named
- w\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ô\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to be invited 128.5
- h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}d\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a\textsuperscript{\textdagger}u\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to bewitched
- d\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a\textsuperscript{\textdagger}px\textsuperscript{\textdagger}n\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to nailed
- b\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}n\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to belted

These endings occur in many intransitive verbs, and in nouns:

- d\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}pk\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to short
- ts\textsuperscript{\textdagger}lp\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to strong
- ay\textsuperscript{\textdagger}w\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ô\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to cry
- m\textsuperscript{\textdagger}tk\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to scatter
- met\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to full
- o\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to drift
- b\textsuperscript{\textdagger}sh\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to expect
- da\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}bik\textsuperscript{\textdagger}k\textsuperscript{\textdagger} to bend

§ 17
bu'asku wind aqla’u to attain
a’d’ök’sku to come i’d’la’u slimy
a’ems’ku to blame a’lku fuel
lis’šku to hang wal’k taboo
mò’šsku gray dàmq’lk’u friend
t’s’elšku canyon tk’èl’ku child
q’atšku to be tired mel’ku to shine
yòšku to follow dèl’k’u bag
dè’lemexku to answer mao’l’u rope
małku to go aboard a canoe mallow’u to put into fire
t’élšku to shout amal’u scab
ā’dèšiku enough

It is uncertain in many of the endings in -šku whether they are derived from stems ending in -s, or whether they belong to the suffix -šku. The same is true of forms in -thku, which may be derived from stems ending in -t or represent the suffix -thku. The following have probably the suffix -thku:

yal’ku to return lalt’u slow
dał’ku to meet ptal’tu to climb
dè’ènt’ku to guide

The same conditions are found in Tsimshian, but it does not seem necessary to give additional examples.

5. -1 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 -šk (no. 2, p. 344), -a. The terminal consonant is here modified, as before the suffix -en (no. 1, p. 344).

dab to measure something dd’p’A to measure
t’l’ap’ to drive piles t’l’ap’A to be engaged in pile-driving
g’ab to dig gan’g’ap’A a spade
g”-wulg’ad’ to dye something huk-ge-vulg’ad’ a dyer
gats to pour out huk-ga’l’s one who pours out
bús to split huk-bús one who splits

6. -s is used in Nisqa’ and in Tsimshian in place of -k and -tk (nos. 3 and 4, p. 345) after k’, x’, ku, q, and x.

òx’ to throw òk’s to fall (literally, to be thrown)
be’ku to lie sa-be’l’s to make lies
hwil’a’x’ to know se-hwil’ax’s to teach (literally, to make known)

mag to put ma’gos to be put 11.14
wòq to dig wòqs to be buried

§ 17
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dzak to kill</th>
<th>dzaks killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>med'ek grizzly bear</td>
<td>ne-med'oksu my grizzly bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the -s suffix is also used after p, although not regularly:

| wälb house       | ne wä'lpsu my house |

7. -Es appears in Tsimshian a few times after terminal p in place of -sk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tab to plane'down something</th>
<th>la'lp'es to plane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lü'ob to sew something</td>
<td>lü'o'p'es to sew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. -x seems to mean IN BEHALF OF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>që'ent to chew</th>
<th>që'endex to chew for 36.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hüp cover 8.15</td>
<td>le-hä'bet it is on as a cover for it 67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lë'ly'it a feast</td>
<td>lë'ly'ite a feast for somebody 83.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>aët gill-net</th>
<th>aëtnëe I fish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aë'lq'al to examine</td>
<td>aë'lq'alinëe I look at something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äë'sh'n to call</td>
<td>äë'sh'lnëe I call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'll'n to come from</td>
<td>wë'll'nëe I come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dä'ul to leave</td>
<td>dem dä'ulnëe Lë'sems I shall leave for Nass river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ië'E to go          | ië'ënëe I go |

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t!u'sg to sweep</th>
<th>t!u'sgënu I sweep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bä'o to run</td>
<td>bë'o'nu I run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lë'o'mi to sing</td>
<td>lë'o'minu I sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wä'o to find</td>
<td>t wä'ynu he finds me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. -d. The corresponding suffix -d appears in the indicative of many transitive verbs, both in Nass and in Tsimshian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>idë'ëe what I roast</th>
<th>idë'dët he roasts it 121.7, 154.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>habäl to take care of</td>
<td>bë'eldëe I take care of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hats to bite 65.9, 127.8</td>
<td>ha'tsdëe I bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lägi agö'l dem he'nist</td>
<td>dep he'idenöm we say 42.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever you say 59.3</td>
<td>qōg to open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qōg to open</th>
<th>qōg'qëëe I open something</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say to shake something</td>
<td>sa'xëëe I shake it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>análël to allow 122.1</td>
<td>análëëëe I lend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dzak</th>
<th>dead</th>
<th>dza'kdu</th>
<th>I kill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bū</td>
<td>to wait</td>
<td>bū'odut</td>
<td>I wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōo</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>gū'odu</td>
<td>I take</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. -ma may be, perhaps (Tsimshian: -ma).

lig'gula'eldema lôgs may be three months 170.13
nòot-mae maybe he is dead 182.8
si'egumanêe maybe I am sick.

Tsimshian:

| n!ini' gwai k'ung'matgo | 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 suffixed pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Nass.</th>
<th>Tsimshian.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-n, -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td></td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>-sem</td>
<td>-sem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>}-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>-det</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 19. Modal Suffixes following the Pronominal Suffixes

12. -gè might (Tsimshian: -gr' un, -gun). The position of this suffix seems to vary.

nexno'yìtgè they might hear it 91.10
si'èpl'g'inèe I might be sick
gwa'tstgè it might be dung 207.7

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>naha'ung'òn</th>
<th>maybe it is true</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naha'unguna n!axno'yu</td>
<td>it may be that it is true what I have heard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n t!w'useng'òn (take care!)</td>
<td>I might hit you!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. -se'n evidently (Tsimshian).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n!ini' et-se'n</th>
<th>evidently it is he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne te gwà'lgêsèn</td>
<td>evidently there has been a fire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. -sen indeed! (Tsimshian).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n!ini' et-sen</th>
<th>indeed! it is he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naha'unsen</td>
<td>indeed! it is true</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 18, 19
15. -gat it is said (Tsimshian: -gat).

sg'ī'-gal ama xpē'is there was a good box, it is said 19.4 (sg'ī to lie; am good; -a connective; xpē'is box)

k'ax-ā'm-gal t'em-qe'st his head was good before, it is said 32.8 (k'ax- before; am good; t'em-qe's head)

tgōn-gal dem huw'il dem alā'th₈-gat nōm this, we are told, we shall do, we are told we shall swim in a shoal 70.6 (tgōn this; dem future; huw'il to do; -em we; alā'th₈ to swim in a shoal; nōm we)

\[\text{dem sura'nt-gal lgō'll₈ʷt} \] he says he will cure his child 123.10 (sura'nt to cure; lgō'll₈ʷt child)

nē-gat-g'i di gwe'x'-g'eipt he says he does not like to eat it 40.6 (nē-g'i not; di on his part; gwe'x'- expert; g'eipt to eat something)

Tsimshian:

| sī'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:

-g'e absence and distance:

nik'g e d'lg'-extg'e then he said 53.1 (referring to one who is absent and to an event of the past)

nik'g e lō-ya'ltk₈ʷL g'a'tg'e then the man returned 113.3

yu'kdeh ga'ngr₈ la dzap'det they took the sticks they had made

114.7 (yu'k to take; gan stick; dzap to make)

haō'ng'e nakt₈ da yu'ksa before long it was evening 152.14 (haō'n it is soon: nakt₈ long; yu'ksa evening)

-st presence and nearness:

dem g'aiye'im orted' sehaw'il'ist my arrow will drop near by 19.15 (dem future; g'ai near; -em connective [see § 22]; orted' to drop; haw'il' arrow)

tgōnl gōn'est this I guess 28.2

sem-hō'duast it is true 29.13

twēl'desem'est ye will burn 215.10

ndalda dem əd'ik'sdest when will he come?
In some cases a terminal -t is found which indicates presence and nearness and corresponds to the analogous form in Tsimshian.

na-gan-hwîlâ'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 q̓e's gum gan, a small tree (namely, a slender thing which is a tree, or which belongs to the class "tree").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sîlq̓'idem lg̓wolq̓y the eldest child ZE 78346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lg̓wolq̓em haná'x little woman ZE 797.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwâ'de k̓sem ye'con cool fog ZE 797415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lû'nkssem sîlpy dry bone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals do not take this connective, but take -l instead (see § 23) (Tsimshian, -4 pp. 351, 353).
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.

\[ q'a'd'em \ gan \ a \ wooden \ man 89.12 \] (a man belonging to the class "wood")

\[ daw'i'\ sem \ l'o'\ op \ a \ stone \ ax 147.14 \] (an ax belonging to the class "stone")

\[ huxda'\ g'\ int\ ga\ m \ q'aug'a't\ o \ crow-grandchildren 19.15 \] (grandchildren of the class "crow")

\[ a'ly'\ g'am \ Ts'em\ sa'n \ Tsimshian \ language \ 20.9 \] (speech of the class "Tsimshian")

\[ amg'\ a'g\ im \ Le'sen\ saw\ bill \ ducks \ of \ Nass \ river \ 114.5 \] (sawbill ducks of the kind [belonging to] Nass river)

\[ huwa'm \ had'a'\xlw \ bad \ names \ 41.12 \] (names of the kind "bad")

Tsimshian:

\[ g'yip!\ em \ ts'\ al \ light-face \]

\[ g'a\'d'\m\ d\z'\us \ day-sun \ ZE \ 781^{3} \]

\[ ts'\d\b\em \ y\e\ts!\ esg \ the \ animal \ tribe \ 783^{49} \]

\[ m\a'sem \ an'\o'n \ thumb \ of \ hand \ 792^{27} \]

\[ y\e\ts!\ esg\em \ gilhau'\li \ the \ animals \ of \ the \ woods \]

3. Adverbial.

\[ had'a\ gan \ a'lg'\ixs \ Tx\'m\sen \ Tx\'m\sen \ spoke \ badly \ 38.11 \]

\[ sem-h\o'm \ n\o'\ot \ he \ was \ truly \ dead \ 9.6 \]

\[ w\i-t\\d'\sem \ y\o'\oxk\u\at \ he \ ate \ much \ 36.10 \] (\( y'o'\oxk\u \) \ is \ an \ intransitive \ verb)

\[ t\s\o' \ g'\in \ mast \ he \ grew \ a \ little \ 175.8 \]

\[ K\u-t\i\-\i\-\e\tg\u\m \ x\d\ax\t \ he \ was \ hungry \ (going) \ about \ 39.9 \]

Tsimshian:

\[ dz\a'\gem \ x\s\o\x \ to \ be \ dead \ asleep \]

\[ ks-q\o'\g\o\m \ a'lg'\ix \ to \ speak \ first \]

\[ ks-q\o'\g\o\m \ m\a-n\a'd\xy \ he \ reaches \ up \ first \]

\(-\a\). 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.

\[ ama \ hwilp \ a \ good \ house \ 48.3 \]

\[ w\i-ama \ g\at \ very \ good \ man \ 203.7 \]

\[ ama \ a'ly'\ixt \ he \ spoke \ well \ 45.6 \]

\[ w\i-ama \ h\v\e\nd\et \ they \ sat \ down \ very \ well \ 83.4 \]

\[ gw\a'\l\va \ tx\o\x \ dry \ halibut \ 161.10 \]

\[ h\e'ya \ \e\x \ fat \ of \ seal \ 161.12 \]

\[ t\e'la \ \e\x \ oil \ of \ seal \ 47.2 \]
Tsimshian:

| leksg'ig'a'de bial'lstet various stars |
| ama y'alot a good man |
| wi-l'dokse lu-am'd'm ga-qa'odemt we are exceedingly glad |
| k'e'relde g'ad'mset one moon |
| k'ad'le g'ad one person |
| h'e'le te's!ap many people |

§ 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 all cases where the connection between words is not attributive or adverbial, -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.
   le'-ia'qL oq a copper hung on it 138.3
   g'6'ol mäl there lay a canoe 138.13
   hwiL t's'emel'ix' the beaver did so 81.4
   t's'enL t's'emel'ix' the beaver entered 77.4
   a'l'ixL wi'-g'at the great man said 195.15
   (b) -s.
   gali-iä's Ts'ak Ts'ak went up the river 117.6
   hwiLs dep-bë'ebë my uncles did so 157.9
   xdam's Txa'msem Txa'msem was hungry 21.2

2. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.
   (a) -l.
   nLh'ë't lëlk'L gusli'skut then watched his nephews 9.5
   wö'öl t's'emel'ix' axt the beaver invited the porcupine 73.2
   ló-d'em-lo'd'ël sëg'idemna'q an'ënt inside down put the chieftainess her hand 183.8
   (b) -s.
   ëul-yu'klets Ts'ak lë'öp Ts'ak carried a stone about 118.9
   nLh'ë't ö's Ts'ak lgo-qa'mt Ts'ak struck a little fire 118.12
   t hwas Txa'msem hwiLp Txa'msem found a house 43.3

§ 23
3. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal object.

(a) -L.

\[ \text{dem } \text{lō-ma'qdēl } ts'ę'sgun I shall put thy louse in } \]
\[ \text{nık'ę't } gw'ad'al } t's\text{'em } g'at \text{ then he saw a large man } \]
\[ \text{ā'mlē } wō'bl nā'h'śin } \text{(good you) invite your wife!} \]

(b) -s.

\[ \text{nık'ę't } sa-gō'udets } \text{Ts'ak' they took Ts'ak' off } \]

4. In sentences with transitive verb, the object may sometimes precede the verb, and is then connected with the predicate by -L or -s.

\[ \text{tečanē' tł'qul-ts'ip-ts'ap} \text{L } g'ę'daxdēt \text{ they asked all the towns } \]
\[ \text{naxL } g'at \text{ he saw bait } \]

5. To express the possessive relation between nouns.

(a) -L.

\[ \text{qa-qalā'nL } \text{hwīlpl } \text{sem'ā'g'it the rear of the house of the chief } \]
\[ \text{anē'sL } \text{gan the branch of a tree } \]
\[ \text{magā'nL } K'san \text{ the mouth of Skeena river } \]
\[ \text{qa-wē'nL } k'ebō' the teeth of the wolves } \]
\[ \text{q'ąełdā'LL } \text{lg'it } \text{hanā'gg'ę six were the children of the woman } \]

(b) -s.

\[ \text{qul-ts'a'ps } \text{dep } \text{neguā'ōt the town of their fathers } \]
\[ \text{ndzē'ēts } \text{Ts'ak' the grandmother of Ts'ak' } \]
\[ \text{xpe'wis } \text{Lōgōbolā' the box of Lōgōbolā' } \]

6. Between definite and indefinite numerals and nouns, the connective is -L.

\[ k'ōll \text{ sem'ā'g'it one chief } \]
\[ k'ēll } \text{sa one day } \]
\[ k'ā'qul } \text{hān one salmon } \]
\[ q'ā'i-tepā'LL qāq } \text{even two ravens } \]
\[ baqade'LL } \text{lg'ıt two children } \]
\[ baqade'LL } \text{nak'}st two wives } \]
\[ wi-hē'LL } \text{lāx many trout } \]
\[ tečanē' tł'qul } \text{q'aima'qsit many youths } \]
\[ q'ul-qanē'L } \text{ha-xdakš'e'mest all your arrows } \]

A few indefinite numerals may also take the attributive connective -em.

\[ wi-hē'ldem } \text{q'aima'qsit many youths } \]
7. Connecting the preposition a (see § 67) with the following noun.

(a) -L.
  k'atsk't al qal-ts'a'p they landed at the town 107.12
  lē-ha'öl'lt al lô-lô'öp it is on the stone 109.4
  a'ly'ixl qal-ts'a'p al dem sem'â'l'gi't the people said he should be
  chief 163.10 (a'ly'ix to say; dem future; sem'â'l'gi't chief)
  mält al nak'st he told his wife 165.11

(b) -x.
  a'ly'ixt as ne'lg'ë he said to him 157.1
  a'ly'ixt as Ts'ak' he said to Ts'ak' 120.6
  k rêt sg'it as Tsäm'sem he laid it before Tsäm'sem 48.10

8. Connecting the conjunction qan with the following noun.

(a) -L.
  hë'ya ēlq qanl hë'ya dzëx fat of seal and fat of porpoise 161.12
  lâx qanl sesö'sem hân trout and little salmon 157.4

(c) -x.
  në'en qans në'e qans tsê'edëzê 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 -x 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 distinguish between the connectives in indicative and subjunctive sentences; 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 existence 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 possessive forms agree with the predicative forms. The peculiar agreement of the indicative connectives of the subject of the tran-

§ 24
itive 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>1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb</td>
<td>-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Subject of transitive verb</td>
<td>-E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I. Common nouns

| 1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb | -et | -det | -get | -s | -dEs | -tget |
| 2. Subject of transitive verb | ? | ? | -s | -det | -det | -tgEt |

II. Proper names.

§ 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 uesta-hê̂têgê d'uta a ne'-gôdêza a'kset then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (da then; uesta toward water; hê̂têgê to stand; d'uta porcupine; a at; ne'-possessive: dzôg edge; aks water)
hêlîtêgê bâ'nî'gêgê a'ksyâo his belly was full of water (hêltêgê full; bân belly; gêgê development of preposition a [see § 28]; aks water)
sem-bâ'o'se sts.'d'lya o the beaver was much afraid (sem-very; bâ'o afraid; sts.'d'l beaver)

(b) Present connective -dE

na-stû'oldê tyû̂'olgem y.'ató'igro the boy went along (na- past; stû̂ol to go in company; tyû̂olgy child; -ém attributive connective [§ 22]; yatório man)
da al ts.'bêlêm-ha'pde n.'ató'ret but then the killer-whales rushed in (da then; al but; ts.'bêlêm- into from the side; hâp to rush [plural]; natório killer-whales)

(c) Absent connective -ge

da na-bâ'o'ge o'lya o then the white bear ran out of the woods (na- out of woods; bâ'o to run; o'ly bear)
da gik kse-nâ'o'legêgêsts.'dlya o then the beaver breathed again (gik again; kse- out; nâ'o breath; sts.'d' beaver)

§ 25
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’wala’tge ne-ha-xba’gA lyug’olungt my child has lost his knife (k’wata’g to lose; ne- possessive; ha-xba’g knife; lyug’ol child; -u my)
wä’ide hä’oset he has found the dog
dem dzak’kela hä’os he will kill the dog
(b) Present connective -de
ne la wa’dlede wula dzab’bedes Gunaxnësemg’ad he had told what did Gunaxnësemg’ad (la past; mal to tell; wula verbal noun; dzab to do)
(c) Absent connective -ge
wä’itge hä’osga he has found the dog
dem dzak’kela’ga hä’osga he will kill the dog

A I 2. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e
wa’i hané’sge hä’osge the woman found the dog
agwi-ba’tsge ne-gá’du my lance stands outside ES 94.20
(c) Absent connective -ge
gä’isge huksul’ensgel’ge ö’lguº the hunter hit the bear
(gü to hit; huksul’ensg hunter; öl bear)
dem dzak’kela’ga g’iba’ugA hä’osga the wolf will kill the dog (dzak to kill; -d- [see § 17.10]; g’iba’u wolf; hä’os dog)
da dE-l!i-wa’isge wi-mes-ö’lyga qal-ts’a’pgaº the great bear found the town (dE on his part; l!i- on; wa to arrive, to find; wi- great; mes- white; öl bear; qal-empty; ts’a’pga tribe)

A II 1. Intransitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -et
ama wà’lt Tom Tom is rich
da hā’ut Sadzapanı’l then Sadzapanı’l said
du’e’raget Asdi-wàlt Asdi-wàl can not move ES 90.15
(b) Present connective -det
l!i-q’an-dā’uldet Astiwā’lgoº Astiwā’l has gone across (l!i- on; q’an- over; dā’ul to leave)
(c) Absent connective -get
ba’oget Dzō’ngac John is running

§25
A II 2. Transitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(c) Absent connective -s

du wu'de'zes Astiwa'dl yu'la'giye . . . then Astiwa'dl saw that it was full (wu to see; 'la'giye full)

B I 1. Intransitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

adat wu'l gi'tg'it!eksa t'ep'adu'0ldu y'u'ota then they saw two men coming (adat then; t' he [subj.]; gi'tg'it!eksa [plural gi'tg'it!eksa] to come; t'ep'adu'0l two persons; y'u'ota man)
a wu'lu'la'dl'eqa stsi'adl because the beaver desired (lu'la'dl man to desire; stsi'adl beaver)

(b) Present connective -de

dze hu'usde sem'á'g'it a k.'á'i if the chief says to me (dze conditional; hu'usde to say; sem'á'g'it chief; a to; k.'á'i me)
así da'du'usde t'nu-gó'sda né'ksen he who took your wife has just left (así just; da'du'usde to leave; t'nu' who; gó to take; né'ksen wife; -en thy)

(c) Absent connective -sgE

adat wu'lu'xal-id'sgE bá'0sgeguo then his fear increased (xal-id'sgE to increase; bá'0sg fear)

wu'lu'la'psge a'ksge'o where the water is deep (lu'la'psge to say; a'ksge'o water)

n.'in'gan hu'usge stsi'adl'gE'o therefore the beaver said (n.'in'g it is that; gan reason)

B I 1. Transitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

adat né'dem sa-t!'i-t!'u'sa ne-galdem-u'ksgu I shall suddenly push over on it my bucket (né'dem future sa- suddenly; t!'i-t!u'sa to push; ne- possessive; galdem- receptacle; u'ks gu -u my)
adat lu-xba-q.'a'g'.dze ne-ga-ts.'elts.'al'sgE há'oxgá'o then he cut (in) across the faces of the geese (t he; lu- in; xba- across; gódz, with plu. obj. a'g'.dze to cut; ne- possessive; ga- plural; ts.'elts.'al' face; hó'x goose)

(b) Present connective -sfe

. . . t'nu'gó'sde né'ksen he who took thy wife

(c) Absent connective -sGE

adat ge'te'dexge haná'oxgá'o then he asked the woman (t he; ge'te'dex to ask; haná'ox woman)
adat wu'lu'vexge maa'wilxgá'o then he shook the rope (wu'lu to shake; maa'wilxgá rope)
B I 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, common nouns:
(a) Indefinite connective -e
adat ts'elem-ks-gā'ye xe'oget first foam came in (t it, subj.; ts'elem- into, from the side; ks- extreme; gā first; xe foam)
(b) Present connective -de
adat Ɂ'up-yā'kede tran.'Ɂ' ga-wula-dza'bet then all the hunters really pursued it (Ɂ'up- really; yā'k to pursue; tran.'Ɂ' all; ga- plural; wula-dza'et hunter)
(c) Absent connective -te
ada wult kse-hashē'itse sem'a'g'itse hanā'naxtga then the chief sent out the women (kse- out; hē's plural obj.; hashē to send; sem'a'g'it chief; hanā'g [plural hanā'naq] woman)
adat nē'o'llētsta sts'a'lye nō'itga then the beaver saw him (nē'dez to see; sts'a'l beaver; nō'it he)

B II 1. Intransitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:
(a) Indefinite connective -s
lu dem bā'e Dzón John was running
ada wul sē'zęges Tom Tom was sick
(b) Present connective -des
wula dzā'bedes Gunaxnēsemg'a'd what Gunaxnēsemg'a'd was doing
(c) Absent connective -s
hi-ts'izens Gunaxnēsemg'a'tgə Gunaxnēsemg'a'd came in
ada wul sem-bā'esi'Gunaxnēsemg'a'tgə then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd ran fast

B II 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:
(b) Present connective -det
ada wult ge'redaqdet K-sem-Ɂ'agsā'osga then Crane-Woman asked him (ge'redaq to ask; ksem- female; Ɂ'agsā'os crane)
adat dōrdet Gunaxnēsemg'a'tgye lūdem mē-si'onsga then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd took the copper wedge (dōr to take; lūd wedge; -em attributive connective; mēsi'ons copper)
(c) Absent connective -teqet
ada ge'redastqet negwā'otgye hlg'rem y!ō'odatga then the father asked his sons (ge'redaq to ask; negwō'et father; hlg'er children; -em attributive connective; y!ō'od man)
ada al wult Ɂi'osqet Astiwałga then Astiwał counted it (Ɂi'os to count)
§ 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 hand'ga hā'oset the woman found the dog
(b) (with -e) hand'kdesga g'idb'uga hā'osga the wolf will kill the dog

B I 2. Subjunctive, common nouns:
(a) (with -e) ada wul t ēnq x'dgE then Gunaxnēseμ'g'a'd took his knife
b) (with -e) ada wul kse-gwa'ntyge wā-gęp'a.u, but then suddenly saw the animal tribe the great light rising
(b) (with -e) ada la hīd'ōgut sex-dā'ōde lyu'wā'lksetgā nese-meg'ā'xstga then the princess began to gather her berries (hīā'ogu to begin; sex-dā'ō to gather, to hold fast; lyu'wā'lkset princess; nē- possessive; sex- to make, to gather; meg'ā'xst berries)

(c) da òl i-wā'isge wī-mes-ā'lye qal-ts'apga then the great white bear, on his part, found the town (òl on his part; i-wā' on; wā to find; wī- great; mes-white; òl bear; qal- empty; ts'ap tribe)

(c) da wulat y'aga-kš-dā'ōtyge hānā'nxrge su-pl'o'sem y'ā'togaś then the women accompanied the young man down (Tsimshian Texts, New Series, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. III, 78.29; y'aga- down; kš- extreme; dā'ōl to accompany; x- he; hānā'nx, plural, women; su- newly; pl'o as to grow; -em adjectival connective; y'ā'togaś man)

(c) adat wul k'iinun'umedt Asdiwa'lge gō'kge then Asdiwā'lı gave the basket... (Ibid., 98.17; k'iinu'med to give; -det connective B II 2b; gō'k 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. Indicative</td>
<td>(a) Indefinite: -E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subjunctive</td>
<td>(b) Present: -de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Absent: -gE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have not been able to get examples of the whole series.

A I. (a) Indefinite connective -E

nīmī ne-wāl'be sem'd'ag'it this is the house of the chief

(b) Present connective -de

ne-me-l'li-q,gāl'sxan ne-ga-ts, wāl'le hā'set the fingers of the dog were six on each (paw) (ne- past; me-le- each; l'li-on; gāl'sxan six; -sxan long; ne- possessive; ga- plural; ts, wāl'le finger; hā's dog)

(c) Absent connective -gE

gū'gā dzō'gat gesge qal-ts, a'pge ne-wāl'ptga who lived in the houses of the town (gū who; dzō'g to camp; gesge from a in [see § 28]; qal-ts, a'p town; wāl' house)

B I. (b) Present connective -sde

ađu ne vul nē ye-wāl'sds de yī'ūreta then I saw the house of the man (ne I; nē to see; wāl' house; yī'ūreta man)

(c) Absent connective -sge

ađu vul gwa'lsqsg ye ne-wāl'sge yī'ūreta then the house of the man was burnt

B II. nūl demt in-nā'ksga lqū'gyles Gau'o? who will marry Gau'o’s daughter? (nūl who; dem future; l'in- he who; nā'ksg to marry; lqū'gyles child)

tse-n,l' ne-ligi-wāl's negwā'venqeo all the wealth of thy father (tse-n,l' all; ne- possessive; ligi-wāl wealth; negwā'venqelo 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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Common nouns.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Indicative . . .</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subjunctive . . .</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>asda</td>
<td>asga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Proper names.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Indefinite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Absent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I A. (a) Indefinite a

k'!a-â'm a txa-n.'l' gâ'o it is better than all things (k'!a exceedingly; â'm good; txa-n.'l' all; gâ'o something)

da uks-hôòtge a'uta a ne-dzôqa-d'kset then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (du then; uks toward water; hôòtge to stand; a'uta porcupine; ne- possessive; dzôq edge; aks water)

(b) Present du

lep-lgusge'resgy sts!â'ldA lax-a'kset the beaver himself was happy in the water (lep- self; lgusge'resgy happy: sts!âl beaver; lax- surface; aks water)

(c) Absent ga

hôltge b'antigea a'ksga'o his belly was full of water (hôltge full; b'ân belly; -t his; gega from ga; aks water)

I B. (a) Indefinite a

la bax-a'riget a ne-miyâ'n wî-sa'mengâ'o he came up to the foot of the great spruce tree (la past; bax- up; a'rig arrive; ne- possessive; miyâ'n foot of tree; wî- great; sâmeng spruce)

(b) Present asda

ada al l'i'-q'an-dâ'uda'o a'sde ne-ts!uwâ'n sxanêóstga'o but he has gone over the top of the mountain (al but; l'i'-on; q'an- over; dâ'ul to leave; ne- possessive; ts!uwâ'n top; sxanêóst mountain)

(c) Absent asga

ada hâ'usga a'uta asga sts!â'lga'o then said the porcupine to the beaver

II. (a) Indefinite aS

ada hâ'ut na'kst as nê'ot then his wife said to him

(b) Present des
da-ya't Astiwâl des ngwe'ôtga'o said Astiwâl to his father

(c) Absent ges

da'wula ha'usga a'uta ges nê'otga'o then the porcupine said to him

§ 28
Examples of the forms desdA and gesgA are the following:

\[ ne \; ne \; kse'ranu \; desdA \; da'udda^o \] I went out (at) some time ago
\[ da \; wi'am-ha'usgA \; da'uta \; gesgA \; sts!d'lgA^o \] then the porcupine shouted to the beaver.

The forms in desdA and gesgA 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 ɛ described in the preceding paragraphs have no ending after the vowels l, m, n, and r.

\[ ada \; al \; sger \; a'uta \ldots \] then the porcupine lay . . .
\[ adat \; k'e'inden \; ne-wandâ'otga^o \] then he gave him tobacco
\[ da \; wul \; wâ'l \; ne-lû'du \] because of what happened to my wedge
\[ ada \; deint \; q.'â'pegan \; leksâ'gat \] then it will obstruct the doorway (q.'â'pegan to obstruct; leksâ'g doorway)
\[ stû'op'.el \; wul \; t'â^o \; nd'ksen \] your wife is in the rear of the house (stû'op'.el rear of house; t'â^o to sit [singular]; nd'ks wife; -en thy)
\[ a\; lat \; ni \; gô'ep'.at \] when he saw the light

2. The endings beginning with s lose this sound after words with terminal s; for instance,

\[ ada \; sem-bâ'o'sga \; sts!d'lgA^o \] then the beaver was much afraid
(bâ'o's afraid; bâ'o'sga instead of bâ'o's-sga)

§ 30. Connectives of the Conjunction and

The conjunction and, when expressed by dl 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.

\[ n!e'ren \; dis \; n!e'rinu \] thou and I
\[ gwâ^o \; dis \; gwê^o \] that one and this one
\[ Dzòn \; dis \; Tom \]
\[ Dzòn \; gans \; Tom \] John and Tom

On the other hand:

\[ gwâ^o \; dl \; gwê^o \] that thing and this thing
\[ y!â'otu \; dl \; hanâ'eq ] the man and the woman
\[ y!â'otu \; gand \; hanâ'eq ]

§ 31. The Connective -I

Besides its use with the conjunctions dl and gan, the connective -I is used in negative, conditional, and interrogative sentences, be-

§§ 29–31
between the intransitive verb and its subject, and between the transitive verb and its object.

*a'lgE dzal' wan* the deer is not dead yet (*a'lgE* not yet; *dzal* dead; *wan* deer)

*a'lgE dî hê'tgel wâlb asge gwa'sga°* there was no house there (*a'lgE* not; *dî* on its part; *hê'tgel* to stand; *wâlb* house; *asge* at [see § 28]; *gwa'sga°* [see § 20])

*a'lgE dzal'gul wan* he did not kill the deer (*dzal'* to kill)

*a'lgE âmî demt wdî'gâ'el g'at* it is not good that the people should know it (*âm* good; *dem* future, nominal particle; *wdî'gâ°* to know; *g'at* people)

In interrogative sentences:

*du nô° dem dedâ'lô'sedel tvâl'paxe wul k'!îpk'!a'pl sa âl mela-k'ê'tel del g'âmk a tras-k'â'lo'el?* who will live (with) forty days each month throughout the year? (*du* demonstrative; *nô°* who; *dem* future; *dedâ'lô's* to live; *tvâl'paxe* four; *wul* being; *k'!îpk'!a'pl* ten round ones, *k'!îpk'!a'p* distributive; *sa* day; *âl* at; *mela-* each; *k'ê'tel* one round one; *g'âmk* sun, moon; *a* at; *tras-* along, throughout; *k'â'lo°,* year)

§ 32. Suffixes of Numerals

In the Nass river dialect, only three classes of numerals have distinctive suffixes. These are:

- *-âl* human beings
- *-kws* canoes
- *-a'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
- *-e'ô'n* fathoms
- *-sxan* 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'ëm-län* steersman; for *t'ëm g'i-län* sitting stern (*t'ë* to sit; *g'i-län* stern of canoe)
- *negunsha'ë* smart, frisky; for *negwëtdëts hän* father of dog
- *ste'män* humpback salmon; for *stän hän* on one side salmon
- *lëbe ts'ëgy* kidney-fat; for *lëbe ts'ëg* fat of stone (i.e., of kidney)
- *lëbe-ë'än* biceps; for *lëbo'ë'än* arm-stone
- *ts'ëne* he stands on the end of it; for *ts'ënuwëän*

Here belongs also the particle *kes*- fluid; for *aks* water:

*kes-günc'naks* spring of water.

Following are examples of contraction by omission of prefixes:

- *t'ëm-län* steersman, for *t'ëm g'i-län*
- *t'ëm-ts'ëg* harpooneer, for *t'ëm g'i-ts'ëg* sitting bow
- *ne-kswëns'ësk* looking-glass, for *ne-g'ëlëks-lu-mëns'ësk* where backward in one looks. It seems probable that *g'i-* is a separable part of *g'ëlëks-
- *t'ëm-g'ëni* the one up river, for *t'ëm g'i-g'ëni*, is not used, but is understood; also *t'ëm-hau'li* the one in the woods; for *t'ëm g'ëlha'li*.

Contraction with omission of syllables that are not known as prefixes seems to occur in—

- *sig'idëmmad'x* chieftainess; for *sig'idem han'a'g* chief woman
- *ha-l't'i-tu t'ëbo'ën* when sea-lions lie on; for *ha-l't'i-dë t'ëbo'ën*

The name of the tribe itself is interpreted in a similar manner:

- *ts'ëm-sid'n*, for *ts'ëm-ksid'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-l'o'gal'k* looking-glass; for *an-gulik's-lo-l'o'gal'k* where back in one examines.
- *sig'idëmna'q* chieftainess; for *sig'adëm han'a'q* chief woman
- *sem'a'g'ë't* chief, seems to contain *sem-* very; *g'ët* person.

Masënsts'ë'tsk* (a name); for *mëna'mst yó-n-ts'ë'tsk* growing up having a grandmother (*mëns* to grow; *-m* connective; *-st*?); *yó-* *k* to have; *n-ts'ë'ts* grandmother

*Xp'ëylek* (a name); for *xp'-hagul'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'q* to desire; *saga dem yë'g* I desire to go.
§ 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:

- \( go'lts!_exgan \) to be a stick-carrier (\( go'lts!_eq \) to carry; \( gan \) stick)
- \( go'lts!_exl\_ob \) to be a stone-carrier (\( l\_ob \) stone)
- \( waliga'n \) to be a stick-carrier \( (wul'i \) to carry \( on \) back)
- \( g'el'e'rela \) to be out harpooning seals \( (g'elgy \) to harpoon; \( e'rela \) seal)
- \( b\_sgan \) to split wood \( (b\_s \) to split)
- \( b\_slag \) to split fire-wood \( (lag \) fire)
- \( g'elh\_snu \) I am a box-carver \( (g'elg \) to carve; \( xh\_s \) box)
- \( se'-yel-\_yinu \) I am a paddle-polisher \( (se'- \) to make; \( yelg \) smooth; \( wul'i \) 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 Consonant 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>
<th>Plural Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( 6x' )</td>
<td>( tx'_x' )</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( _am )</td>
<td>( em_a'm )</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( a'lg_x )</td>
<td>( el_a'lg_x )</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( el_s )</td>
<td>( at_e'th_s )</td>
<td>to name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This method of reduplication may be considered as duplication modified by phonetic laws. Monosyllabic words terminating with a consonantic 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 consonantic 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>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðx'</td>
<td>ðx'ðx'</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðs</td>
<td>ðs'ðs'</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðm</td>
<td>ðm'ðm'</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðl</td>
<td>ðl'ðl'</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðavr</td>
<td>ðav'davr'</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð'oc</td>
<td>ð'oc'd'oc'</td>
<td>to push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap</td>
<td>lap'd'lap'</td>
<td>deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal</td>
<td>bal'd'bal'</td>
<td>to spread out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap</td>
<td>hap'd'hap'</td>
<td>to shut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan</td>
<td>gan'd'gan'</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðaq</td>
<td>ðaq'd'aq'</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzôq</td>
<td>dzôq'dzôq'</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'e'</td>
<td>t'e't'e'</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mël</td>
<td>mël'mël'</td>
<td>to burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mël</td>
<td>mël'mël'</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ëc</td>
<td>q'ëc'q'ëc'</td>
<td>wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lô'ôp</td>
<td>lôp'lôp'</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsap</td>
<td>tsap's'tsap'</td>
<td>to make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'al</td>
<td>ts'äl's'äl'</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsë'ip</td>
<td>tsë'ip's'tëip'</td>
<td>to tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qôs</td>
<td>qôs'sqôs'</td>
<td>to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzôq</td>
<td>dzôq'dzôq'</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-dzam</td>
<td>n-dzam'dzam'</td>
<td>kettle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel is apparently strengthened in

nô'       nônô'       hole

§ 36
### Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥy</td>
<td>aɣ'y</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏm</td>
<td>aɣ'm</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hæs</td>
<td>hashæ's</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏa</td>
<td>ḏa da</td>
<td>to place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏam</td>
<td>ḏemad'm</td>
<td>to hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏal</td>
<td>ḏild'æ</td>
<td>to fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏu'p</td>
<td>ḏepu'op</td>
<td>foot of mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏo'n</td>
<td>hanho'qon</td>
<td>to fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hæ⁰</td>
<td>hæbæ⁰</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏel</td>
<td>hæbæl</td>
<td>to spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'æ'ak</td>
<td>k'æ'ikk'æ'd'k</td>
<td>to choke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏs'æl</td>
<td>ḏs'ept'sæ'l</td>
<td>to slice fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏæd</td>
<td>ḏædæd'æd</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏæ'æp</td>
<td>ts'æpt'sæ'æp</td>
<td>to slide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏæb</td>
<td>leplæ'æb</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏæ'æu</td>
<td>leplæ'æu</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏæ-sæ'ævæ</td>
<td>le-særesæ'ævæ</td>
<td>ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'æ'æi</td>
<td>q'æ'ægaï'æi</td>
<td>red-hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'æ</td>
<td>q'æ'ægæi</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) 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>sî'æphu</td>
<td>sîpî'æphu</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'æphu</td>
<td>ts'æpt'sæphu</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îshu</td>
<td>îshî'æshu</td>
<td>stench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gîcîhu</td>
<td>gîcîgî'æshu</td>
<td>lean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qècîhu</td>
<td>qècîgî'æshu</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèlphu</td>
<td>dèldèl'æphu</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lò-dâ'îlkîu</td>
<td>lò-deldâ'îl'æphu</td>
<td>to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanthu</td>
<td>lenlant'ælhu</td>
<td>to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûlhu</td>
<td>mûtmî'ælhu</td>
<td>full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'îlhku</td>
<td>g'îlgî'ælhku</td>
<td>to swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ulhkîu</td>
<td>g'ulq'ælhku</td>
<td>to pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanx</td>
<td>hanhad'æx</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lintx</td>
<td>lint'ænt'æx</td>
<td>to be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'æpke</td>
<td>g'æpg'æpke</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëlge</td>
<td>ælg'ælge</td>
<td>to end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëlhks</td>
<td>ælæthks</td>
<td>to name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ækx</td>
<td>ma'ma'ækx</td>
<td>meek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lò-ya'ltÎk</td>
<td>lò-yîlya'ltÎk</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sī'p̓k</td>
<td>sep̓s̓p̓k</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā'l̓x</td>
<td>ał̓ā'lx</td>
<td>brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēl̓b</td>
<td>(wil̓wēl̓b)</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāw̓k̓</td>
<td>haxhāw̓k̓</td>
<td>annoyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōks̓</td>
<td>hak̓hōks̓</td>
<td>to be with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q̓isq̓ sk</td>
<td>q̓ísq̓ísq̓ sk</td>
<td>to go past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalt̓k</td>
<td>yil̓yalt̓k</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g̓'ēl̓ks</td>
<td>g̓'il̓'el̓ks</td>
<td>to feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ał̓y</td>
<td>ał̓ā'ly</td>
<td>to attain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g̓'a'p̓k</td>
<td>gap̓g̓a'p̓k</td>
<td>to scratch, to rake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw̓a'ot̓k</td>
<td>kutkw̓a'ot̓k</td>
<td>to disappear</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>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sī'eb̓'en</td>
<td>sip̓s̓eb̓'en</td>
<td>to love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had̓'a'xk̓</td>
<td>had̓had̓'a'xk̓</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw̓il̓'x̓</td>
<td>hw̓il̓hw̓il̓'x̓</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā'siex̓</td>
<td>bël̓b̓s̓iex̓</td>
<td>to separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw̓il̓'x̓</td>
<td>hw̓il̓hw̓il̓'x̓</td>
<td>to carry on back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā'd̓ik̓'sk̓</td>
<td>ā'ā'd̓ik̓'sk̓</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g̓'id̓'eex̓</td>
<td>g̓'id̓g̓id̓'eex̓</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as̓̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>as̓̓'as̓̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d̓̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>d̓̓'d̓̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l̓̓'el̓'aq</td>
<td>lel̓l̓'el̓'aq</td>
<td>ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gan)m̓̓'l̓a</td>
<td>(gan)m̓̓'el̓'l̓a</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ał̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>ał̓'a'ł̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mał̓g̓'el̓'sk̓</td>
<td>mel̓mał̓g̓'el̓'sk̓</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hax̓̓d̓̓'a'k̓</td>
<td>h̓̓x̓̓'hax̓̓d̓̓'a'k̓</td>
<td>bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h̓̓m̓̓'t̓̓s̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>h̓̓m̓̓'h̓̓t̓̓'m̓̓'t̓̓s̓'el̓'x̓</td>
<td>to kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'x̓̓g̓'at</td>
<td>hax̓̓ha'x̓̓g̓'at</td>
<td>sweet-smelling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k̓'sin̓'m̓</td>
<td>k̓'ink̓'k̓'sin̓'m̓</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lepl̓'p̓'gan</td>
<td>lepl̓lepl̓'p̓'gan</td>
<td>to shuffle about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ok̓'ut̓k</td>
<td>1el̓1el̓'k̓'ut̓k</td>
<td>to wrap up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g̓'a'gel̓k</td>
<td>g̓'ig̓g̓'a'gel̓k</td>
<td>to roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p̓'el̓'o̓len</td>
<td>p̓'el̓p̓'el̓'o̓len</td>
<td>to nudge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k̓'w̓'o̓das</td>
<td>k̓'ut̓k̓'w̓'o̓das</td>
<td>to miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts̓'ek̓'ts̓'a</td>
<td>ts̓'ek̓'ts̓'a</td>
<td>fire is out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'k̓'a</td>
<td>dek̓'a</td>
<td>d̓̓'k̓'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 36
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'; g and q are aspirated and become x; y becomes x; ts becomes s; dz becomes z.

(a) 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'ilâ'ol</td>
<td>g'ilg'ilâ'ol</td>
<td>to look after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'msax</td>
<td>demda'msax</td>
<td>downcast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl'elp'dg'xsk</td>
<td>pl'elp'dlg'xsk</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu'llol</td>
<td>wu'llwu'llol</td>
<td>to rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-wu'll'onsk</td>
<td>su-wu'llwu'll'onsk</td>
<td>hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gò'it'eiks</td>
<td>gatgò'it'eiks</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) 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>hò'yëv</td>
<td>hìx'hò'yëv</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(y) g 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>maqâ'nsk</td>
<td>mâxmâqâ'nsk</td>
<td>explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qâ'içk</td>
<td>qèxiqâ'içk</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sö'uqsk</td>
<td>sèxso'uqsk</td>
<td>to dive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'âqL</td>
<td>qèxq'âqL</td>
<td>to drag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqkL</td>
<td>axa'qgkL</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>yìs'ìa'ts</td>
<td>to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ôts</td>
<td>qèsp'ôts</td>
<td>to chop a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hë'its</td>
<td>hìshe'ìts</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hè'tsumex</td>
<td>hashe'tsumex</td>
<td>to command.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dziks</td>
<td>az'a'dziks</td>
<td>proud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ε) 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'leq</td>
<td>dix'dedā'leq</td>
<td>to talk to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amō's</td>
<td>ax'umō's</td>
<td>corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōtsk(_a)</td>
<td>tix'tō'tsk(_a)</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinā'tsk(_a)</td>
<td>yix'inā'tsk(_a)</td>
<td>whip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-ā'o'yen</td>
<td>ax'an-ā'o'yen</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-sq'ist</td>
<td>ax'an-sq'ist</td>
<td>grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā'alk(_a)</td>
<td>sīx'sā'alk(_a)</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halā'alt</td>
<td>hax'elā'alt</td>
<td>to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-leb'k(_a)</td>
<td>hax'el-leb'k(_a)</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanlai'dik's</td>
<td>sīx-sanlai'dik's</td>
<td>sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'esk(_a)</td>
<td>ax'ē'esk(_a)</td>
<td>debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax-yō'ok'sk(_a)</td>
<td>ax'iix'yō'ok'sk(_a)</td>
<td>to trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̥q'al-hwē'lemk(_a)</td>
<td>t̥q'al-hwē'lemk(_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 \( g' \), \( k' \), \( y' \), and \( k' \) does not seem to occur; only \( g' \) and \( g \) are aspirated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzōq</td>
<td>dze'̆ndzo'q</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'λq</td>
<td>y'ir'yad'q</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>Qōdz</td>
<td>gadzgō'dz</td>
<td>to tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō̆'ts</td>
<td>hase'b'̆ots</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yō'dz</td>
<td>yisygō'dz</td>
<td>to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̥'ā'tsk</td>
<td>t'̆st'̆t̥̆tsk</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>sō̆'olk!'ensk</td>
<td>seka'sō̆'olk!'ensk</td>
<td>dismayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōl</td>
<td>lella'ol</td>
<td>to shove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō̆n̥i</td>
<td>lella'̆nti</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō̆o</td>
<td>lella'̆o</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāmak</td>
<td>wukwā'mak</td>
<td>to suffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō'o</td>
<td>nekni'̆o</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō̆'ts</td>
<td>nekni'̆̆ts</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 36
Singular | Plural
---|---
lātk | lekldā’ik (better: le-lā’ik) to move
stūlt | stekstū’olt companion
qaba’xs | qakgaba’xs to splash
yūudenx | yēkyū’uđenx to advise
galā’d | qakgalā’d d to let go

(2) Some words insert a t after the first vowel. Since a d or t occurs in some of these cases after the first vowel of the stem, the occurrence of the t may sometimes be due to an irregular treatment of the reduplication:

| Singular | Plural |
---|---|
gwāntk | gugywā’ntk to touch
gē’ređax | gēgyē’ređax to ask

§ 37. Initial Reduplication, including the First Vowel

(a) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
d’lg’ix | ad’lg’ix | one who is speaking
q’ibā’yuk to fly | q’ig’ibā’yuk | one who is flying
xmiyā’n | igexmiyā’ē | I smoke walking
ha’dik’es | ihahā’dik’es | swimming while carrying

qēba’ksk’u to splash

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
l’p’ē’s | ll’p’ē’s | one who is sewing
twāxh’w | tttxā’xh’w | those eating

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
g’ip | ang’ig’i’pt | one who is eating it
tśē’n | alō-tśē’šē’n | one who enters publicly

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
l’ax | ll’ax | lakes
māl | m’māl | canoes
bax | bbax | one who runs

Here belongs also

wōq to sleep | huuwōq | one who sleeps

Similar forms occur in the Tsimshian dialect:

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
a’lq’q’q | ad’lg’q | the one who is speaking
he’lo | háhē’lo | the one standing
lē’ox | letlē’ox | the one sitting
bā’o | lēba’o | the one running

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
lē’deg to be silent | llē’de’deg | silent
sē’p | sesē’p | bones

| | Singular | Plural |
---|---|---|
g’ad | g’ig’ad | people
(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>leqs</td>
<td>lā'leqs</td>
<td>to wash body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōq</td>
<td>wā'wōq</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak'</td>
<td>sē'isāk'</td>
<td>to haul out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak'</td>
<td>lē'liāk'</td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ōq</td>
<td>t!ā't!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>lā'o</td>
<td>lā'ōla</td>
<td>to swim (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luwet</td>
<td>lu'lewet</td>
<td>to hold with teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāk'</td>
<td>lē'liāk'</td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawq</td>
<td>wē'wawq</td>
<td>to bury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ōq</td>
<td>t!ō'deq</td>
<td>to step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sē'n-wōq</td>
<td>sē'n-wā'wōq</td>
<td>to rebuke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Words beginning in huw (w Tsimshian) have a form of reduplication 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>huwā'</td>
<td>huwā'</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huwāl̓p</td>
<td>huwāl̓p</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>wāa</td>
<td>huwā'o</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāl̓b</td>
<td>huwāl̓b</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāi</td>
<td>huwā'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 x 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>pto</td>
<td>ppto</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x1gō</td>
<td>qex1gō'</td>
<td>to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x1kō'lux</td>
<td>qex1kō'lux</td>
<td>to scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtsa'ē</td>
<td>qextsa'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>sqa'q</td>
<td>sexsqa'q</td>
<td>to refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txā'ō</td>
<td>t!āxtxā'ō</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 37
(e) A number of cases of irregular reduplication occur. Examples in the Nass dialect are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ali’sk’a</td>
<td>alli’sk’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anē’s</td>
<td>annē’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la’g’asak</td>
<td>laxla’g’asak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanā’g</td>
<td>hanā’nak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>nekknō’nk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxnō’x</td>
<td>naxnō’nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lw’wa’l</td>
<td>lw’wa’l</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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lō-ā’m</td>
<td>lō-am’ā’m</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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anā’s</td>
<td>anā’es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr’i’ma’m</td>
<td>gr’ë’nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’iba’</td>
<td>k’iba’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr’u’la’</td>
<td>gu’la’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hala’it</td>
<td>hā’lait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanā’q</td>
<td>hā’nak</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.

§§ 38-40
(1) Singular and plural have the same form.
(2) The plural is formed by reduplication.
(3) The plural is formed by diaeresis 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 -(i)k'u.
(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 ős and bear ől, trees, and many words that can not be classified.

Parts of the body (see also § 43):

| Singular | Plural
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qēc hair</td>
<td>nisq upper lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āpe forehead</td>
<td>plnāx body (plural also qa- plnāx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz'aq nose</td>
<td>mmas thumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan tooth</td>
<td>tātxe tail of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īnq'ag beard</td>
<td>nūiq fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lqys finger-nail</td>
<td>q'āx feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban belly</td>
<td>la'ē wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptał rib</td>
<td>l'em-lā'nix' neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mādz'ik's breast</td>
<td>l'em-ğāx fathom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misr'kāx' down of bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miscellaneous:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se day</td>
<td>āt net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak'x' night</td>
<td>ts'ak' dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāl year</td>
<td>wōł'sh disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak's fire</td>
<td>lēp'est marmot blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak's water</td>
<td>dā'ist bed-quilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēl'ist star</td>
<td>yālt'sesk' animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'ins leaf</td>
<td>wic root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daw'î's axe</td>
<td>bēla' haliotis-shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haw'ēl' arrow</td>
<td>mēl'aks sweet-smelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēla' haliotis</td>
<td>xīgām payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iā'k to thunder</td>
<td>lām'ēm to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēl'mekx' to reply</td>
<td>hāl'taw to rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēl'ekx' to dance</td>
<td>g'ēl'daw to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēmīx' to sing</td>
<td>bāk'x' to feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'āda to see</td>
<td>li-yu'yq to hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasa'q to want</td>
<td>anā'q to agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of stems with prefixes also retain the same form in singular and plural:

- gwis-ma'k'sh' white blanket
- gwis-halai't dancing-blanket
- lax-ama'k's prairie

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 (hō's) and the bear (ōl). 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—

- nē'tseks fish-tail
- sa day
- latsx smoked split salmon-
  - tail
- mag'a'sx berry
- hasa'x to desire

§ 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 diaereses. 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>g'în</td>
<td>g'îg'în</td>
<td>to give food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'îkl'</td>
<td>g'îg'îk'</td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'âk'</td>
<td>ts'ets'âk'</td>
<td>dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ux</td>
<td>t'ets'a'x, t'axt'a'x</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ëp</td>
<td>ts'ets'ëp'</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ät</td>
<td>g'îg'ît</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māl</td>
<td>m màl</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 42
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sêp</td>
<td>sêsêp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lô</td>
<td>lødôlô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lô'ik</td>
<td>lêlô'ik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A special form of this reduplication is found in words beginning with *hu*, which take *hûw* in the plural, probably originating from *hûw* (see p. 372).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hava</td>
<td>hûva'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâvâlp</td>
<td>hûwâlp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huât</td>
<td>hûwât'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huîl</td>
<td>hûwîl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huîo</td>
<td>hûwîô'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huâw'</td>
<td>hûwâw'</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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dêls</td>
<td>dêdê'l's</td>
<td>dêldê'l's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qêt</td>
<td>qêqê'th'</td>
<td>qêtqê'th'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *mak-sk*<sup>a</sup>, plural *ne'mâl-k-sk*<sup>a</sup>, *white*, may be mentioned here, since its stem seems to be *mas*.

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dêdê'ôls</td>
<td>dêldê'ôls</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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xwâ'âxs</td>
<td>sêxwâ'âxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'â</td>
<td>ts'â'ts'Ext</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'âx</td>
<td>q'â'ôlx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txâ-a'q</td>
<td>txâ-â'lq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lào'q</td>
<td>lào'âlk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làq</td>
<td>lào'lq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§42
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'Em-q'e'c</td>
<td>qa-t'Em-q'e'c</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'Em-mu'x</td>
<td>qa-ts'Em-mu'x</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'Em-a'q</td>
<td>qa-ts'Em-a'q</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'Em-q'a'x</td>
<td>qa-t'Em-q'a'x</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'Em-La'm</td>
<td>qa-t'Em-La'm</td>
<td>leg below knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuv'e'Ent</td>
<td>qa-tsv'e'Ent</td>
<td>fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'ö'n</td>
<td>qa-an'ö'n</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plnäx</td>
<td>qa-plnäx and plnäx</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'e'ly</td>
<td>qa-q'e'ly</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qät</td>
<td>qa-qät</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqamäm'q</td>
<td>qa-tqamäm'q</td>
<td>lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'e'sEE</td>
<td>qa-q'e'sEE</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>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bë'n</td>
<td>qa-bë'n</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dū'la</td>
<td>qa-dū'la</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'Em-ts'ä'us</td>
<td>qa-ts'Em-ts'ä'us</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo'ol</td>
<td>qa-qo'ol</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'ö'n</td>
<td>qa-an'ö'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'iba'ë</td>
<td>qa-k'iba'ë</td>
<td>lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sins</td>
<td>qa-sins</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'äq</td>
<td>qa-ts'äq</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>xâ'oshw</td>
<td>qa-xâ'oshw</td>
<td>wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax-qâ'ö't</td>
<td>ax-qa-qâ'ö't</td>
<td>foolish (literally, without mind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 43
Here may belong also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwiil' e</td>
<td>qa-gwiil' e</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hux-i'o'nst</td>
<td>hix-qa-i'o'nst</td>
<td>liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama hwiil'</td>
<td>ama qa-hwiil'</td>
<td>rich (literally, well-to-do)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama w'il</td>
<td>ama qa-w'il</td>
<td>rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugaq-sa'o't</td>
<td>sugaq-qa-sa'o't</td>
<td>good luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyusge'r</td>
<td>qa-tyusge'r</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Locations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dax'</td>
<td>qa-dax'</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax'o'</td>
<td>qa-lax'o'</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sto'o'k's</td>
<td>qa-sto'o'k's</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ii'u</td>
<td>qa-g'ii'u</td>
<td>beach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Unclassified words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semo'tks</td>
<td>qa-semo'tks</td>
<td>to believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'd'en</td>
<td>qa-no'd'en</td>
<td>to adorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yis-gu'sg'itks</td>
<td>yis-qa-gu'sg'itks</td>
<td>to rejoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'laks</td>
<td>qa-le'laks</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwir'-sil'e'ensk</td>
<td>gwir'-qa-sil'e'ensk</td>
<td>hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wis</td>
<td>qa-wis's and wis</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'it</td>
<td>qa-qa'it</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'en</td>
<td>qa-m'en</td>
<td>butt of tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y'ii'o</td>
<td>qa-y'ii'o</td>
<td>berrying-basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go'k</td>
<td>qa-go'k</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi'o</td>
<td>qa-bi'o</td>
<td>to scatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xs'io</td>
<td>qa-xs'io</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'ks</td>
<td>qa-le'ks</td>
<td>torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va'l'k</td>
<td>qa-va'l'k</td>
<td>to upset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nii'ol</td>
<td>qa-nii'ol</td>
<td>to fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kse-nii'olk</td>
<td>qa-kse-nii'olk</td>
<td>to breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa'megu</td>
<td>qa-maa'megu</td>
<td>to smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xs'ii'o</td>
<td>qa-xs'ii'o</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-nts!d!p* means THE ONE TOWN OF EACH ONE, while the plural would be *ts!ept!d!p*, and also in *k!peqa-tept!d!k* ALL SMALL PIECES (of salmon) 56.1

§ 44. Fifth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix *qa*- and the Suffix *(t)k*

Plurals formed by the prefix *qa*- and the suffix *(t)k* 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 *(k)*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni!d'</td>
<td>qa-ni!d'etk*</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nts!d'ot</td>
<td>qa-nts!d'etk*</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negu!d'ot</td>
<td>qa-negu!d'etk*</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nebe!d'p</td>
<td>qa-nebe!d'etk*</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak'</td>
<td>qa-wa!k'etk*</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belongs also—

| me!en    | qa-me!entk* | master                   |

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nebi!op</td>
<td>qa-nebi!opg</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi!n</td>
<td>qa-mi!ntg</td>
<td>master</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words have *qa*- *(k)* combined with reduplication, the reduplicated syllable being lengthened and the stem-vowel weakened:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nak's</td>
<td>qa-nak'setk*</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nox</td>
<td>qa-noxetk*</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Without the prefix *qa*- are found—

- Singular | Plural       | Meanings                  |
- wak'      | wak-k*       | younger brother           |
- gr'mar'de | gr'mar'detk* | elder brother             |

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naks</td>
<td>n'enksg</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular is—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luxda!ch'en</td>
<td>luxda!ch'enk*</td>
<td>grandson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undoubtedly the terminal *(k)*, *(k)*, in these forms, is the same as the suffix discussed in § 17.
§ 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>hewa'i 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak's</td>
<td>la-a'k's</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōchəu</td>
<td>lē-yō'chəu</td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōkskəu</td>
<td>lē-yō'kskəu</td>
<td>to be awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ā'g</td>
<td>lē-d'ā'g</td>
<td>to devour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'i</td>
<td>lu-wa'i</td>
<td>to paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa-bad'esk</td>
<td>qa-lē'bad'esk</td>
<td>to shake one's self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yer</td>
<td>lē-yər</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Reduplication or lengthening of vowel is found with l-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xda'w</td>
<td>lu-xda'w</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhe'st's'ex</td>
<td>la-xhe'xt's'ex</td>
<td>to be afraid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here may be mentioned Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kət̓bəd̓o</td>
<td>lu-kət̓bəd̓o</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Initial g', k', and g drop out after l-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'āk's</td>
<td>lāk's</td>
<td>a bird swims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'id̓bə'yuq</td>
<td>lēbə'yuq</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qə'neq</td>
<td>lē'neq</td>
<td>(tree) falls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also the reduplicated plurals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'amk's</td>
<td>le MLA'mk's</td>
<td>to warm one's self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'amg'ił</td>
<td>le MLA'mg'ił</td>
<td>to warm something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ge't̓en'ks</td>
<td>l̓ȗnks</td>
<td>to dry (meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gē'o'na</td>
<td>lē'o'na</td>
<td>to fall over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yō'ks</td>
<td>lō'ks</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ā'ks</td>
<td>lō'ks</td>
<td>to float</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'iq'ō'ks</td>
<td>l̓ȏ'ks</td>
<td>floating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ō'mg</td>
<td>l̓ȏ'mg</td>
<td>to wipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'amg</td>
<td>lamk's</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ipə'yuq</td>
<td>lipə'yuq</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(d) 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>l'le'x</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'urya'q</td>
<td>l'sli'sh'm</td>
<td>to hang [v. n.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔdakw</td>
<td>l'idux</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ìn-hë'tkw</td>
<td>l'ne'demh'ast</td>
<td>to arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'staqs</td>
<td>l'uksu'de'eqs</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>gakšk</td>
<td>l'dakšk</td>
<td>to wake up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'a'kšen</td>
<td>l'dakšen</td>
<td>to awaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les-á'xs</td>
<td>laxes-á'xs</td>
<td>to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øst'øg</td>
<td>laxst'ø'eqa</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'á'g'it</td>
<td>sem'á'g'it</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sig'ídemma'x</td>
<td>sig'ídemhá'nax</td>
<td>chieftainness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuwyìtkw</td>
<td>siya'tkw</td>
<td>to weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayawa'tkw</td>
<td>alayuwa't</td>
<td>to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo'amhè</td>
<td>wu'dax al'amhè</td>
<td>to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo-mà'k'sa</td>
<td>ló-lë'dik'sa</td>
<td>to wash clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wë-na'k'w</td>
<td>nu'he'nik'w</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wë-d'æ'x</td>
<td>d'æx'd'æ'x</td>
<td>stout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ai-ma's</td>
<td>q'ai-ma'q'sit</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am'n'a-ma's</td>
<td>am'n'a-ma'q'sit</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'á'g'id</td>
<td>sem'á'g'id</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sig'ídemma'q</td>
<td>sig'ídemhá'nag</td>
<td>chieftainness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'í'nì'øtk</td>
<td>nanì'øtk</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>q'ù'okw</td>
<td>hò'ut</td>
<td>to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie'</td>
<td>ló</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ià'óokw</td>
<td>txó'óokw</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'a</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzakw</td>
<td>yëts</td>
<td>to kill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(plural = to chop)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hōtkʷ</td>
<td>makʷslʷ</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwītkʷ</td>
<td>bakʷ</td>
<td>to come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō</td>
<td>ḍōq</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sgʷtkʷ</td>
<td>dōxʷ</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷsak</td>
<td>kʷsi-Lōʷ</td>
<td>to go out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maqt</td>
<td>hwilq't</td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqats'āx</td>
<td>alisq'i'-da</td>
<td>ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā'al</td>
<td>sakʷskʷ</td>
<td>to leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malkʷ</td>
<td>twid̓et</td>
<td>to put into fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māxkʷt</td>
<td>cōnthkʷ</td>
<td>to go aboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bax</td>
<td>gōl</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mə'gat</td>
<td>f'al</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʷil</td>
<td>lā'</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ən</td>
<td>la'mdzíw</td>
<td>to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō'o</td>
<td>dax</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vad'e, male slave</td>
<td>llēng'it</td>
<td>slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa't'akʷ, female slave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʷat</td>
<td>č'nxt</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ōskʷ</td>
<td>ses'ō's</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭə-</td>
<td>k'he-</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>wud'ax-</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷs-</td>
<td>de-</td>
<td>extreme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimschian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʷtewsk</td>
<td>hū't</td>
<td>to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iāo</td>
<td>wūks</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gō</td>
<td>hab</td>
<td>to go to a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iāwsk</td>
<td>tewsk</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ōo</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzag</td>
<td>yadz</td>
<td>to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hęty, batsg</td>
<td>māxsk</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāty</td>
<td>amint</td>
<td>to come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāo</td>
<td>ḍōq</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayā'oks</td>
<td>māxsk</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>môrk</td>
<td>sōntk</td>
<td>to go aboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>môq'ən</td>
<td>sān</td>
<td>put aboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baō</td>
<td>g'ōl</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōk</td>
<td>lāv̌k</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi'ən</td>
<td>la'mdzex</td>
<td>to enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzag</td>
<td>dər</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raō</td>
<td>lilə'ng'it</td>
<td>male slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lgw̓əl̓g</td>
<td>k̓l̓ger</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōl</td>
<td>sa'mi (i. e., meat)</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 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>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gā'wa</td>
<td>txō</td>
<td>to take canoe down to the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'utk</td>
<td>bāk</td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalul'e</td>
<td>tgi-kīlēl</td>
<td>to drop down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'as</td>
<td>marz</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-p'as</td>
<td>le-ma'x</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu'-a</td>
<td>k'ābe'</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'-</td>
<td>wut'ay</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks'</td>
<td>ta'</td>
<td>extreme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gal-t's'a'p</td>
<td>gal-t's'ept'sa'p</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dax-g'a't</td>
<td>dax-g'īg'a't</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-se'binsk'</td>
<td>an-sepsē'binsk'</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa-dzagam-lu-yu'lt'</td>
<td>sa-dzagam-lu-yu'lt'</td>
<td>suddenly to return across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lū-ām gā'od</td>
<td>lū-ām'ām gā'od</td>
<td>to be of [in] good heart</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 ha-.

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>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guw'e-silē'ensh'</td>
<td>guw'e-qu-silē'ensh'</td>
<td>hunter (Nass dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'á-k'ul-ga-lusge'vedet</td>
<td>(Tsimshian dialect)</td>
<td>they are for a while here and there happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, we find in the Tsimshian dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts'ēm-mū'</td>
<td>ga-ts'ēm-mū'</td>
<td>ear</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
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>de₂p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>m 8ém-</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></th>
<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—sém</td>
<td>n—t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>de₂p—n</td>
<td>de₂p—sém</td>
<td>de₂p—t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>m—m</td>
<td>m—m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n—t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>m 8ém—u</td>
<td>m 8ém—m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m 8ém—l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>t—n</td>
<td>l—m</td>
<td>t—n</td>
<td>t—8ém</td>
<td>l—t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*ada wəl me wā'yu then you (singular) found me
a wəl m səm wā'yu because ye (plural) found me
ada wəlt wā'yu hā'èsét then the dog found me
hā'wō'ni, n dem k'!a-twəl-wā'n wait until I shall for a while
meet you (hā'wō'ni, wait until; n l; dem future; k'!a- for a
while; twəl- against; wā to find; -n thee)
a demt wō'tu that he will bake me
ada me dem səm wul man-sək'!ut then ye will pull it up (ada
then; me thou; dem future; səm ye; wul being; man- up;
sək'!ut to pull; -t it)
a wθl de₂p dī-še-wāq̣t because we, on our part, give them names
(a at; wθl being; de₂p we; dī- on our part; sə- to make; wāq̣t
name; -t it)
dem-t ligi-la-nil'odz'tetga° he would see somewhere bad luck
(dem- future; t he; ligi- somewhere; la- bad luck; nil'odz to
see; -t it; -ga° absence [see § 20])
lat g'i k da'mk's'etga° when he squeezed it again (la when; t he;
g'i k 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me.</th>
<th>us.</th>
<th>thee.</th>
<th>you.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I    | —     | —     | n-{fn} | n-{ns}
| we   | —     | —     | d{ep}-| d{ep}-|
| thou | m-{nu} | m-  | —     | —     |
| ye   | m-{sem} | m-{sem} | —     | —     |
| he   | t-{nu}  | t-{sem} | —     | —     |

Examples:

m wa'y'nu you (singular) found me
m dem da'ld'nu you will kill me (da'k to kill)
t wa'y'nu ha'oset the dog found me
n da'ld'nu I have killed thee
n wa'nu you have found me
me sy'd'y'nu you (singular) have hit us
d{ep} b'yu we hit thee

c) The subjective pronouns are used with transitive and intransi-
tive forms that take the objective pronouns for the purpose of
emphasis.

me dem da'ld'nu gu'i [you (singular) will kill this one
or me dem sem da'k'sem gu'i [you (plural) will kill this one
or dem da'k'sem gu'i [he has killed the dog
or t da'k'detge ha'osga° [I was eating
or dza'k'detge ha'osga° [you (singular) were eating
(d) The verb *da-yə* to say so takes these elements always:

*da-n-yə*nu I say so
*da-dep-yə*nuem we say so
*da-m-yə'n* you (singular) say so
*da-m-sem-yə*nuemuə ye say so
*da-yət* he says, they say

Adverbs like *g'ik* again are placed here following the subjective pronoun, including *m-sem*.

*da-m-sem g'ik yə*nuem ye say so again

§ 50. Use of the Objective

(a) The objective is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb.

*ši*nu e I am sick
*de*mu al *tgi*-ks-gə*ganu* but I shall (go) down first (*de* future; al but; *tgi*- down; ks- extreme; *qəgə* first)
*ada de*nu l'i-ō'k*se* then you will drop on (it) (*ada* then; *l'i*- on; *ōk* to drop)
*sə-ō'kst* suddenly he dropped
*da *wul dzə'x*nuem when you camped (*da* at [see § 28]; *wul* being; *dzəq* to camp)
*mə'ta həsə*ganu tell that I wish
*tə*lel-ks-ə*walə*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.

*ši*nu u I hit it
*ši*nu yənt you (singular) hit him
*ši*nu yəmt we hit it

*nə*la dzə'k*de*nt gu'i we have killed this one
*de*mu dzə'k*de*nt I will kill him
*ši*nu həs 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.

*nə*do*duzut n'!*e'ru*nu I see thee (literally: I see it, thee)
*de*mu dzə'g*de*nt n'!*e'ryu you (singular) will kill me

§ 50
The objective pronoun is used to express the possessive relation.

nia'mu  my master
ne-wâl'hen  thy house
ne-sî'p'senget  his friend
gu-gâ'lem  our minds
ne-wâl'usem  what you have (wân for wâl, 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 -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.

a'dge  di  ha-dza'gi  I do not die from it
a'dge  hasa'gail  dem  dza'gen  I do not want thee to die

(b) In sentences expressing potentiality, but with reference to the unreality of the event.

ada  a'dget  wâl  dem  t'in-1.î-g'lan-1.dgî  then there is no one who could get across me (a'dge not; wâl who; -l [see § 31]; dem future; -t he [trans. subj.]; în noun actoris (see p. 335); 1.î-g'lan- over; adg to attain)

semaîl  bâ'senut  âp  dze  dza'gi  I am much afraid lest I may die
(semaîl much; bâs afraid; -u indicative; -u 1; âp lest; dze conditional; dzaq to die)

me  o'gî'gin  you might hit me! (m thou; òy to hit; -i me; -gî'in perhaps)

ada  demt  hîodâlge  na-râ'agesge  demt  gun-d'ksqigre;  wî-yîlge  dem  g'a'bu,  dzedu  la  ts.'î'onâ,  da . . . then my master may send me, he may order me to get water; I shall take a large basket, when I come in, then . . . (hîodâlge to send; -ge [see § 24]; na- possessive prefix [see § 55]; wî-yîlge slave; na-râ'i my master; gesge preposition [see § 28]; gun- to order, to cause; aksg to get water; -gaô absence [§ 20]; wî- great; qôg basket; g'a'bu to dip up; dzedu if; ts.'î'on to enter; da then)

(c) In conditional clauses.

ada  dze  la  lu-yâ'litgi  then, if I return —

(d) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -i in address.

lgî'olgi  my child!

nâ'î  my mother! (said by girl)

negwâ'olî  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.

\[ \text{adj.} p.\text{exdi a n dze b } t\text{ad-wi}sde lgyo'lgida } \] I might remember when I met my child (adj. p. ex to remember; a at; n I; dze conditional; b past; t\ad against; wio to meet; lgyo'lg y child)

\[ d\text{lye d } w\text{albi } \] I have no house (dlye not; d on my part; walb house)

§ 52. Remarks on the Subjective 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 gwi' 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 w'il, dem, la are placed between m- and -sem.

\[ a\text{du me dem sem wulai } la gwa'ntgat \] then you will know that I have touched it (a du then; me- 2d pers. subj.; dem future; -sem 2d pers. plural; wulai to know [singular obj.]; la past; gwantg to touch; -u 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\ad ulget I shall shake the rope

(n I; dem future; sū to swing; me\ad rope)

First person singular: n dem wēksgen I shall marry thee

First person plural: dep dem avul-ma'gen we will stand by you

(dep we; dem future; avul- by the side of; mag to place; -n thee)

Second person: a\du me dem kse-de-bā'gye then you will run out with her (kse- out; de- with; bāo to run; -t her; -ya absence)

Third person: a\du dem t q\ad\pe\egan leksa'gat then he will close the doorway (q\ad\pe\egan to close, fill up; leksa'g doorway)

First person: dlye n la di-k\ā\inā'm m del hanā'o then I have not given it to the woman (dlye not; n I; la past; di on my part; k\ā\inā'm to give; del [see §§ 28, 31]; hanā'o woman)
First person: ada ne wul nē' ne-wāl'psge y′ū'otu then I saw the house of the man (ada then; ne I; wul being; nē' to see; ne- possessive prefix [see § 55]; wāl' house; -psge [see § 24]; y′ū'otu man)

Third person: ada wult yū'tgan wdl wul yū'tgan 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 dem wō'ōl qal-les'dp good (if) you call the people 206.13
(ām good; wō'ōl to call; qal-les'dp town)

La ām me ne'k'squē good (if) you marry me 158.2
ām dep d'isq'sēl qa-dz'agam good (if) we strike our noses 103.8
(ām good; d'ēs to strike; qa- plural; dz'ag nose; -em our)
at gwālllwet for their drying them 169.7 (i preposition; t- 3rd per. subj.; gwāl lw to dry)

nīg'in hwīlē'xt I did not know it (nīg'i not [takes the subjunctive])
(b) I have not found any examples of indicative and emphatic forms

(e) (see § 49, b, c).

(d) The verb de-ya to say so (see § 49, d) has the following forms:

nē-ya'zneg I say so

dep he'ideñom we say so

mē-ya'an you (singular) said so 171.5

mēsem he'ide 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 -t'e, and the third person plural, which is -det.

Examples of the third person plural are the following:

-SEM-a-barba'g'askw-detg'e they were much troubled 195.14
-aayuwa'tdet they made noise 173.14
-tyal-la'k'det ul dépl néq-sqan'ist they reached (against at) the foot of the mountain 126.6
-hux bé-yukt or-det they began to throw again 139.15
-uru'tpdet 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).

-ni'g'ide halai'dée I am not a shaman 128.9 (ni'g'i not; de on my part; halai't shaman)
-DEM léts'wan you will count 129.9 (DEM future; létswe to count)
-hagun-i's'et he went in the direction (toward it) 129.14
-DEM dé-be'gam we, on our part, shall try 114.16 (bag to try)
-men-ló'ónom we go up 42.8
-grílú déz hux huri' sem do not do so also 98.4 (gríló' do not; déx conditional; hux also, again; huri's to do; -sem ye)
-la sem-dex-g'q'adet they had become very strong 98.13 (La past; sem very; dex- strong; q'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-hwa'yím we ourselves will find our bait 56.6

(d) Periphrastic conjugation.

-dem na'tksnu né'en I shall marry thee 203.9
-la líkay'd'eenen né'ee thou hast taken notice of me 158.1
-sakwa'stu'qsdet né'en gans né'e they have deserted thee and me 157.10
-dem hwi'le'ee né'en I shall carry thee 74.1

e) Possessive pronoun.

-an-qala'gwe my playground 79.1
-ts'á'bé my people 192.2
-negwa'óden thy father 133.2
-lgö'úigun thy child 205.5
-nak'ist his wife 133.1
-la dem g'z'ibem what was to have been our food 122.9
-qa-ts'éem-á'qsem your mouths 84.10
-qa-ts'éem-a'qdet their mouths 84.13

§ 53
§ 54. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun, which in its subjective form has also predicative character, is formed from the following stems:

Nass dialect: Subjective nê-; objective lâ-.
Tsimshian dialect: Subjective n!er-; objective k!â-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective Form</th>
<th>Objective Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nass dialect</td>
<td>Tsimshian dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l...</td>
<td>më'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we...</td>
<td>në'ëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou...</td>
<td>në'ëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye...</td>
<td>në'ëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he...</td>
<td>nöt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they...</td>
<td>nöt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

në'ë t'ân mukt I am the one who caught it 44.8
në'en t'ân dedô'qt thou art the one who took it 157.4

Nass dialect: Subjective në'; objective lâ-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nass dialect</th>
<th>Tsimshian dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me...</td>
<td>lâ'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us...</td>
<td>lâ'ëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee...</td>
<td>lâ'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you...</td>
<td>lâ'ëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him...</td>
<td>lâ'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them...</td>
<td>lâ'ët</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

në'ë t'ân mukt I am the one who caught it 44.8
në'en t'ân dedô'qt thou art the one who took it 157.4

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.

huril hurîl's de?p-bë'ëbe as në'en quns në'e thus did my uncles to thee and to me 157.9 (hurîl being; hurîl to do; -s connective; de?p plural [see § 52, a]; bë'ëbe uncle; -e my; quns and; -s connective) a!l'ëx t... as në't'ëg'ë she spoke to him 157.1

Tsimshian:

n!er'ëiu demt ìn-nàksyà lgë'qyënt I am the one who will marry thy child (dem future; t- he; ìn- nomen actoris; nàksyà to marry; lgë'qyënt child; -en thy)

n!ë'rent ìn-b'ëyît thou art the one who hit him
y'agai-ni'Go desen g'ap-k'lu-wi-naXno'gan da k'ä'i however, he (i. e., you) indeed, you are really more greatly supernatural than I (y'agai- however; ni'Go he [here with the meaning you]; -sen indeed; g'ap- really; k'la- exceedingly, more; wi- greatly; naXno'g supernatural; -n thou; da preposition [see § 28]; k'ä'i me) li'gi-gë' o dem k'unë'në'n da k'ä'i, dem k'linë'me da k'ë'can whatever you will ask of me, (that) I shall give you (li'gi- any [see § 8, no. 20]; gë' something; dem future; k'unë' to request; -n thou; da preposition; k'linë'm to give; -n I) da-yë'get neyë'ë'i ges ni'në' 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 na-, 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, a), or, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the addition of the connective (see § 23).

   hwë'lbë' my house  hwë'lx Lógë'bola' the arrow of Lógë'bola' 20.3
d'k'së'e my water 18.7  tsë'ë'mël mälgy'ë' 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.

   g'ë'bò'kst his wolf (g'ë'bò' wolf; -tk passive suffix; -t his)
   hwë'ldâ'grë'ntkst 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  bAn'nu my belly
   ts'läq nose  ts'lä'gen thy nose

§ 55
(β) Inseparable possession relating to space relations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Okanagan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>arwā'ot near him (his proximity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place over</td>
<td>laxā'otyu the place over me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td>txalā'ont the place behind him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(γ) Inseparable possession, expressing terms of relationship, in singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Okanagan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>neqweł'tol my father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>lemk̓dł'yu my sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this group belong also—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Okanagan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>master</td>
<td>mía'n my master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>nesít'p'ensg my friend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Separable possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the prefix ne- and the possessive suffix (viz., the connective suffix).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Okanagan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>nE-waľlbu my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>nE-lal'bu my stone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Separable possession of animate objects is expressed by the prefix ne-, the passive suffix, and the possessive (viz., connective) suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Okanagan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seal</td>
<td>ne-E'rlagı my seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>ne-h̕aš'sqı my dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>ne-š'ltguı my bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salmon</td>
<td>ne-h̕aš'n̕ę my salmon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herring</td>
<td>ne-sk̕ę'guı my herring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>ne-d̕a'psıı my bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steelhead</td>
<td>ne-mel̕t'kspıı my steelhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribe</td>
<td>n-ts'ap'psıı people of my village (but n-ts'ap'ıuı my village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>nE-waľlpsıı people of my house   (but nE-waľlbuıı my house)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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 -q'ē (Tsimshian -t and -ga). Besides these, we find independent demonstrative pronouns and peculiar demonstrative suffixes. In the Nass dialect there are two independent demonstratives: gōn this, gós that.

§ 56.
gōn:
lep-nē'k qane-hwīl a gōn I am always doing this myself 52.3 (lep-
self; nē' 1; qane-hwīl always)
nxk'-t yōmī stu-gō'bot'st then she resolved this 7.5
gu-yī'p'q'u'psl hwīl dued'at gōn high piles these 42.10
tyōmī hit: this he said 99.12

gōs:
sem-bik'-s-g'a'dem qa-gāt dep gō'sty'ē very different were the minds
of those 114.12 (sem- very; bik'- separate; -g'a' person; -em
attributive connective; qa- plural; gāt mind; dep- plural [§ 52, a])
sem-gō' usk'=l qe'nex as gō'sty'ē really he reached a trail there 126.7
(sem- very; gux to hit; -sk= intransitive [17.2]; qe'nex trail)
mēn tl'enl'k gō'sty'ē that was the master of the squirrels 212.5
(mēn master; -l possessive connective; tl'enl'k squirrel)
wi-sem- k'!ā-ama māl tyō'sty'ē that was a large exceedingly good
cano 107.5 (wi- large; sem- very; k'!ā- exceedingly; am, good;
-a connective [§ 22]; māl canoe)

In Tsimshian the demonstratives seem to be more numerous.
There are two independent forms: guwī this, guwā that.

guwā:
dō da guwāt they are here
adat plā'vedet Waxayā'nq dep guwāt then Waxayā'nq told them
lgn-sqa-na'k da guwī a little after this (sqa- across; nak long)


guwā:
nīn!'ū ksdemā's gal-ts'epst'a'be guwā those are the nine towns
(nīn!'ū this; ksdemā's nine; gal-ts-'ep town)
Gr'iksats'ā'ntk wān xū guwā this slave's name was G.
k'!u-sqō'ksen guwā we will stop here for a while
adat anā'we de dep guwā then these agreed

Derived from guwā is guwā'sgā, which always refers to absent
objects:
adat al sqer lgn-dzal'gum d'nta yesqa guwā'sgā but then the little
dead porcupine lay there (adu then; al but; lgn- little; dzag
dead; d'nta porcupine; yesqa at [see § 28])
dylē hī'ot'ytē wālbesgē guwā'sga no house stood there

It would seem that guwā refers to locations near by, since it is
never used with the ending -ga; while guwā'sgā designates the dis-
tance, and is always used with the corresponding connectives.

Derived from guwā is also guwāi, which seems to point to the part
of the sentence that follows immediately; while guwā is almost
always in terminal position.

§ 56
nin.'l' wiitvtl'lb gwa'i na-tgi-dâ'ul those were the houses that had come down
negwâ'de Igwâ'mige gwa'it Ha'ts.'emâ'set the father of the boy
was that Ha'ts.'emâ'set

Possibly these two demonstratives are related to gn, 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 -a. I have not succeeded, however, in gaining
a clear understanding of these forms. I have found the series

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
-i & -a & -u \\
\end{array}
\]

of which I shall give examples:

-\textit{i}:

\[
\begin{align*}
nin.'l' & \text{ hâl}l'\text{ste gwa}^\circ \text{ se-wâ'temi } y^\text{ë}(\text{oldu}^\circ \text{ this is the star that we} \\
& \text{call y}^\text{ë}l \\
& \text{wâ}^\text{dun}^\circ\text{onem}i \text{ those around us} \\
gal-ts.'a'be t.'t'oben\l'Iu \text{ gu gwe}^\circ \text{ this is the town of the sea-lions} \\
& \text{ada hâl'de wâ'ldi } a \text{ guwe}^\circ \text{ much did this one here} \\
& \text{wâ-sqan}^\circ\text{ste hâ'otjed}i \text{ a st.'u'op}^\circ\text{el}t \text{ a large mountain stands} \\
& \text{here behind the house}
\end{align*}
\]

-\textit{u}:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne-bâ'odu } & \text{ hanâ'og this woman has been running} \\
\text{ne-bâ'odu } & \text{ awâ'n the one near thee has been running} \\
\text{du } & \text{ those are the towns}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
nin.'l' \text{ gal-ts.'epts.'a'be } & \text{ du gwe}^\circ \text{ who will live then? } \text{ZE 792}^\text{xx}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
gu^\circ \text{ du gan lâ'ontin } & \text{ you were angry for something of the kind.}
\end{align*}
\]

-\textit{gu}:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gu } \text{ na-di-q'ig'ij'nerga ne-go-niâ'otgem } & \text{ those were the ones}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{prayed to by our grandfathers}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du-yaga sem}^\circ\text{d'g'itge } & \text{ guge } g'\text{a}^\circ\text{ngem } \text{d}^\circ\text{z}^\circ\text{usdege}^\circ \text{ thus said the}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chief, that sun}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
tw'rin\l'I \text{ in-k.'llk.'inâ'm } & \text{ ya'ts.'esge } \text{ du k.'wan, gu } \text{lâ'owula}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
vutred'yi'n I \text{ am the one who gave you the animals that you}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{always found (t he: } \text{ne'rin} \l'I; \text{ in nomen actoris; k.'inâ'm to}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{give; ya'ts.'esge animals; du to; k.'wan you [dative]; lâ'owula}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{always; wâ to find)}
\end{align*}
\]

Among the demonstratives may also be enumerated the element \textit{n-},
which, in the Nass dialect, forms the common conjunction \textit{n-k'a'ë}, and

§ 56
which also may be contained in the stem $n\check{e}$- (Tsimshian $n:\check{e}r$-) of the independent pronouns. In Tsimshian it is found in the very frequent demonstrative $n\check{in}t\check{i}$ 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>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$k\check{a}k\check{a}$</td>
<td>$k\check{a}\check{e}k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$t\check{e}p\check{x}\check{a}t\check{e}$</td>
<td>$t\check{e}p\check{x}\check{a}d\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$g\check{a}\check{u}\check{a}$</td>
<td>$g\check{a}\check{u}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$t\check{x}\check{a}\check{l}\check{p}$</td>
<td>$t\check{x}\check{a}\check{l}\check{p}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{t}\check{e}$</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>$q\check{u}\check{a}l\check{t}$</td>
<td>$q\check{u}\check{a}l\check{t}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. Long objects.</th>
<th>V. Human beings.</th>
<th>VI. Canoes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$q\check{a}\wut\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$k\check{\check{y}}\check{\check{a}}l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$q\check{a}p\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$b\check{a}g\check{a}d\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$g\check{a}\check{l}\check{t}\check{g}\check{a}n$</td>
<td>$g\check{u}\check{a}\check{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$t\check{x}\check{a}\check{l}\check{p}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$t\check{x}\check{a}\check{l}\check{p}\check{x}\check{a}d\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$k\check{u}\check{e}\check{m}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{t}\check{e}\check{m}\check{x}\check{a}d\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$q\check{a}\check{l}\check{a}\check{t}\check{e}$</td>
<td>$q\check{a}\check{l}\check{a}\check{d}\check{a}d\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$t\check{e}p\check{x}\check{a}\check{l}\check{t}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$t\check{e}p\check{x}\check{a}\check{l}\check{t}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$y\check{u}\check{u}\check{d}\check{a}\check{e}\check{a}n$</td>
<td>$y\check{u}\check{u}\check{d}\check{a}\check{e}\check{a}d\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{t}\check{e}\check{m}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{t}\check{e}\check{m}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>$k\check{a}\check{p}\check{e}\check{t}\check{x}\check{x}$</td>
<td>$x\check{p}\check{a}l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>$k\check{a}\check{p}\check{e}\check{t}$</td>
<td>$x\check{p}\check{a}l\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>$x\check{p}\check{a}l\check{e}$</td>
<td>$k\check{a}k\check{e}\check{t}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{d}\check{a}\check{e}$</td>
<td>$k\check{e}\check{d}\check{a}\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>$g\check{u}\check{l}\check{a}\check{t}\check{e}$</td>
<td>$g\check{u}\check{l}\check{a}\check{t}\check{e}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This system will appear clearer when the numerals are arranged according to their stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One:</td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{o}k</td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{o}k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}el</td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qam\textsuperscript{\textdagger} (el)</td>
<td>qam\textsuperscript{\textdagger}, which may be the stem also for q'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a\textsuperscript{\textdagger}m\textsuperscript{\textdagger}an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two:</td>
<td>t'ep\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}a(t)</td>
<td>t'ep\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}a(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger}bel</td>
<td>g\textsuperscript{\textdagger}o'p\textsuperscript{\textdagger}el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bag\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ul (el)</td>
<td>q\textsuperscript{\textdagger}p, which seems to be the stem for galb\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ol\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three:</td>
<td>gol(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}a\textsuperscript{\textdagger}nt)</td>
<td>gul- in gw\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ant, gul\textsuperscript{\textdagger}n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ul\textsuperscript{\textdagger}e' It seems doubtful if this is different from the preceding one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four:</td>
<td>tx\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}x</td>
<td>tx\textsuperscript{\textdagger}l\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five:</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{\textdagger}st\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ns</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{\textdagger}st\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six:</td>
<td>q\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}el</td>
<td>q\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven:</td>
<td>t'ep\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}a</td>
<td>t'ep\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}a the same as two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight:</td>
<td>q\textsuperscript{\textdagger}an</td>
<td>q\textsuperscript{\textdagger}an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y\textsuperscript{\textdagger}</td>
<td>yuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine:</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{\textdagger}stem\textsuperscript{\textdagger} \textsuperscript{\textdagger}c</td>
<td>kstem\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}s (containing m\textsuperscript{\textdagger}as thumb?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten:</td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ap</td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x\textsuperscript{\textdagger}\textsuperscript{\textdagger}vel</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{\textdagger}vel probably related to the preceding one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $k'$-tak and $k'$-rel, gwant and $k'$-ul$\ddot{e}$, $k'$-ap and kp$\ddot{e}$l, 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 -swan, in the class for long objects in Tsimshian, may well be a contraction of the numeral with swan stick. The class designating human beings contains the endings -$t\ddot{a}$, -d$t\ddot{a}$, which in the numeral three (gul$\ddot{a}$n) has been changed to -$\ddot{a}$n by dissimilation. The class expressing measures contains the element -$\ddot{a}$n hand.

In the numerals the process of contraction may be observed with great clearness. Examples are the weakened forms kstenas$\ddot{a}$l five persons, and that for nine persons, which is probably derived from the same stem, kstenas$\ddot{a}$l. Here belong also the forms yukt vad$\ddot{a}$l, which stands for yuktad$\ddot{a}$l; $k'$el$\ddot{o}$n, for $k'$-rel$\ddot{a}$n; k$\ddot{a}$lg$\ddot{a}$x, for $k'$-el g$\ddot{a}$w.

§ 58. Ordinal Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, and Distributive Numbers

Ordinal numbers are not found, except the words ks-q$\ddot{o}$x and ks-d$\ddot{o}$x the first, and unid the next, which are not, strictly speaking, numerals.

Numeral adverbs agree in form with the numerals used for counting round objects.

\begin{align*}
&\textit{nlk'}\text{-}t\text{-}l\ddot{o}\text{-}t\text{gs}\\
&\text{then she washed him in it three times}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&197.11 (-t \text{ she}; \text{l}\ddot{o}\text{-} \text{in}; \text{lgs} \text{ to wash}; -t \text{ him})
\end{align*}

Tsimshian:

\begin{align*}
&\text{txal'pea hahak'}\text{hu} \text{ext four times it clapped together}
\end{align*}

Distributive numbers are formed with the prefix me$\ddot{a}$- (Tsimshian me$\ddot{e}$-), which has been recorded in § 10, no. 87. Besides this, reduplicated forms are found.

Tsimshian:

\begin{align*}
&\text{txal'peu de wul k'}\text{ipk'}\text{-}u\text{p}'s a\text{ al me$\ddot{a}$-k'}\text{-}rel$\ddot{e}$l g'amk forty days}
\end{align*}

to each month ZE 792.21 (sa day; g'amk 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 hw'ël, la, la⁹, dem (Tsimshian: wul, la, la⁹, dem). The following examples illustrate their use:

1. hw'ël 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 hw'ēl'x to know:

hw'ēl'y't hw'ēl'a'nuksem ělt he knew the condition of being cooked of his seal 183.13 (a'nukx done; -em attributive connective; ěle seal)

at hw'ēl'x₁ hw'ēl had'a'xk₅₅ hw'ēl'ltg'ē he knew the being bad his doing 37.6 (had'a'xk₅₅ bad; hw'ēl to do)

(Compare with this niy'it hw'ēl'x's Ts'ak' hē'tg'ē Ts'ak' did not know what he said 127.7)

After bag to feel:

bag₅ hw'ēl sqü-dāl dā'squum ěle 183.10 she felt the piece of seal being across (sqü- across; dā to sit; dāš₅₅ slice; ěle seal)

nił'ē lat bag₅ dem hw'ēl ale'sk₆₅ then he felt himself getting weak

After nawna' to hear:

nawna'₅ hw'ēl a'ly'ix₅ qąq she heard that the raven spoke 151.11 t nawna'₅ hw'ēl hah'ū t a'ns mol₆₅ a'ns he heard that some one was speaking who caught leaves 15.11 (hēt to say; mol₆₅ to catch with net; a'ns leaves)

(Compare with this t nawna'₅ hēl wē-dē'set he heard what the old man said 22.6)
After g'aJa to see:

g'aJa gōkst melēt he saw a salmon jumping 52.15

g'aJa al hōwāl a'lỵ'al g'at wī-wpā'ot he saw a man examining the

large jaw 52.6

g'aJa lālī'ng'it hōwāl lā a'dīk'skʷal ilā'e the slaves saw the blood

having come out 133.15

After a'dīk'sku to come:

a'dīk'skʷal hōwāl me'sā'x' it came to be daylight 160.7

a'dīk'skʷal hōwāl sīq'āthkʷdet it came that they cried 104.11

a'dīk'skʷal hōwāl q'and'ā'ul lax-ha' the sky came to be clear 78.12

After iūē to go:

hagun-iūēl g'at al hōwāl ts'elem-nōlōt the man went to the hole

being there 201.11

After qā'dō to go to:

nūkʷēt qā'ōl hōwāl d'at she went to where he was sitting 209.10

k'rēt qū'oL hōwāl s'ēt it goes to he goes to where he lies 218.4

After hwa to find:

nūg'ēt hōwāt hōwāl g'āk'sL qōttg'ē he did not find his string of fish

lying in the water 117.8 (nūg'ē not; g'āk's to be in water; qōt a

string of fish)

After adjectives used as verbs, and after numerals:

nakʷal hōwāl iūēt long he went 146.11 (long was his going)

nakʷal hōwāl tō'ōdet long they walked 126.6

wī-t'ē'sL hōwāl g'ī'thku'ťg'ē he swelled up much 90.12

wī-t'ē'sL hōwāl agawāthkʷet he cried much 123.4

hux k'rēl hōwāl wūlā ws'ā-tōd'lhēt then he was quite near to where

the hole in the sky was

Tsimshian:

| adat t'el-gā'ōti wul wa'tseg̤a syā'ōdget he thought about it that the |
| darkness continued ZE 784.3 (t'el-gā'ōti to think; wa'tseg̤ to |
| continue; syā'ōdget darkness) |
| adat n'amnū⁰ wul la g'īk ha'ts'ekšem gō't ekst then he heard him |
| come again (n'amnū⁰ to hear; g'īk again; ha'ts'ekšem once more; |
| gō't ekst to come) |
| adat n'amnū⁰det Waxayā'ōk wul wī-sāldzege ts'a-wāl'bet then |
| Waxayā'ōk heard the people in the house groan much (wī-
| greatly; sāldze to groan; ts'a- inside; wāl'bet house) |

§ 59
**2. La expresses a past state (Tsimshian: la).**

*sem-gwā'ēl hwi'lt al gwess, gwās-halai'tg'e* he was very poor on having lost his dancing-blanket 38.14 (sem- very; gwā'ē poor; gwess to lose; gwās- blanket; halai't ceremonial dance)

*k'si-lō'ōdet al la laxlā'kx̱det* they went out having finished eating 40.9

*t g'ə'al wumā'x la ax-g'ēbetg'e* he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.4 (wumā'x food; ax- not; g'ēp to eat something)

*a'lg'ixs Lōgōbolā' al lat hwi'lā'x̱l hwi'l dz'ālt Lōgōbolā'* spoke when he knew that he had lost 20.10 (a'lg'ix to speak; hwi'lā'x̱ to know; dz'ālt to lose)

*bo'sīkx̱det al la xsdāt* they divided upon his having won 21.1

*la hup yu'ksa, nāk'ē ...* when it was evening again 141.4

*la le'sk̕'w̱ tle-i'w̱ tsl axt k̕'ō'ukx̱t al lax-an-lə'k̕*, after the porcupine had struck the fire with its tail 77.7

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——26 § 59
Tsimshian:

adat sem-lu-sanā'lgeta ḥlat nī'° dulā'u leplō°p then he was much surprised at it when he saw the ice (on the) stones (sem-
very; lu- in; sanā'lg surprised; nī° to see; dulā'u ice; leplō°p stone)
lu-d' m gā'ot's nā'ot gesye ḥlat nī'°stgà° his mother was glad when she saw him (lu- in; ām good; gā'ot mind; nā'ot mother; nī° to see) 
nin.'l' gun-hal-den-gq'°lt gesye ḥla g'ìk ganlā'ok therefore they arose when it was morning again (nin.'l' that it is; gun-reason; hal-den-
up; q'°lt to run [plural]; gesye at; g'ìk again; ganlā'ok morning)
adat g'e'lskà ḥlat wul'am-suada ndé bō'osgēt then he felt when the wind had driven him ashore (g'e'lsk to feel; wul'am-
landward; suada'n to blow; bō'osg wind)
la g'ìk k.'e'reldē la tyi-iā° sat when again one day went down
(k.'e'rel one; tyi- down; iā° to go; sa day)
dze'ldē la quwa'tk'senen if you feel cold
dze la guwā'nsen you may have been cooked
ada la gu'odinge ha'utga° when he had finished speaking
ada lat sa-gq'demgā 'nukseqēt when they had taken off the ashes

3. Lā while (Tsimshian: lā°).
nlē°čet ma'ldētē'è Lā metk°L gqal-ts'ā°p then they told him that the town was full 183.14
la sem-bag'ait-dā'ā' ē Lōqs, nlk.'è . . . when really in the middle was the sun, then . . . 103.15
niq'i hu̍x huitl la gq'ōdet they did not do it again when they
finished 179.10

Tsimshian:

n'in'i'lwul wulā' i lāōt wula stōp'ende na'kstgā° that was how she knew that her husband continued to love her (wulā'i to know;
stōp'ende to love; naks husband)
ada lā° wula heq̓'tge wul-gq̓'osgēt then continued to stand the wise ones ZE 792.20 (heq̓'tge to stand; wul-gq̓'osg wise)
ada sagait-anā'gq̓asgēta ḥla ḥel dem wula iō° gq̓'ameng dzī'sudēt then they agreed together that the sun should continue to go
ZE 791.18 (sagait- together; anā'gq̓asg to agree; iō° to go; gq̓'amng moon, sun; dzī'sudēt daylight)

4. dem future (Tsimshian: dEm).

xpēts'a'xl lig'č'ensh'n̓g̓'è al dem dē-huitl the grizzly was afraid
to do it also 56.14 (xpēts'a'xl afraid; lig'č'ensh'n̓g̓'è grizzly bear)
hēl q̓̄q'ōdet x̓'el dem t'ūks-t'ē'sēs Ts'ak̓' the slave thought he
would push out Ts'ak̓' 135.4 (hē to say; q̓̄q'ōd heart; x̓'el slave;
t'ūks- out of; t'ē's to push)
 nig'i dem hu̍x a'ëk'sguēg'ē I may not come again 165.14
dzal am-hā'ts dem g'e'iptg'ē the stump ate all he was going to eat
55.12
dem k'i'ē men-ī' ē'en you shall go up 91.2

§ 59
Tsimshian:

| ada dem k'ul-man-gô'sen then you will jump up and about ZE 790.15 (k'ul- about; man- up; gô's to jump) |
| gwa'i dem ha'um this will you say ZE 790.15 |
| da ne dem kse-ló'ó sî'òhet then shove out the bone! (me thou [subj.]; kse- out; ló'ó to shove; sî'ò bone) |
| ma'le demt legû'ôlardet she told she would burn it |

§ 60. Use of Subjunctive in the Negative

The negative conjunction nêg'í (Tsimshian: ñôge), and that used in interrogative-negative sentences nê (Tsimshian: aô), are followed by the subjunctive or by the connective -l

nêg'ít mat'ênl dem sqa-iìt lát 107.1 it did not let go what went across the way of it (mat'ên to let go; sqa- across; iìt to go; lát to it)

nîkg'ët nêg'ít da-a'qìhìnìdet they do not reach it 139.2

nêgin dem dê-yô'ût I will not take it

nêl aô'ô'dik'sedada? are they not coming?

nê mèsem hirâ'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 -ì. (See § 51.)

ôlge n dem k'î'nâ'nt al hanâ'qg I shall not give it to the woman
ôlge di t.ô'rdìgetyô it is not difficult

a vulôlge di t vulâ'it dem dax-yô'qul anî'osgâo because he did not know how to hold on to the branch (wulâ'i to know; dax-yô'q to hold; anî'os branch)

ôlge di hâsâ'gai I do not wish (to do so)

ôlget nîsagô'òtgetyâ sts'àlgeô the beaver did not mind it (nîsagô'òt to mind; sts'àl beaver)

Negative-interrogative sentences:

al sî'opgedî guga hanâ'qaca? is not this woman sick?

tas me vulâ'idut in-wulâ'gûn? don't you know who has done this to you?

§ 61. The Subjunctive after Conjunctions

nîkg'ët g'ô'âl hvîl lêba'yûkîl qê'wun 103.5 then he saw the gulls fly (g'ô'a to see; lêba'yûkî to fly [plural]; qê'wun gull)

k'ët gô'ul vôbâ'st then he takes a string 217.4

vôalk:ët lô'è-èp-tèkî'âlsaanì then he breaks it down in it 217.8 (lô- in; èp- down; tèkî'âlsaan to break)

tse n dem suwa'nt I may cure her 123.7
dat hvîlâ'gût when he has done this to him 217.6

§§ 60, 61
Tsimshian:

| adat ge'vEdaxtyg̊e then he asked her |
| ada me dem sem wulā'i la gwā'ntgut 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 h'ul-sag'ap-iā'onu I have only walked about without purpose |
| Examples of the use of the indicative are the following: |

- *dem ia'l-na e al awd'an* I shall go (to) near you
- *dem qalā'ynɒm* we will play
- *nī̃ne'̃ l iā'dee* I roast that
- *lep-g'ēbedas dzē'ēdze lgo-lep-tq'al-mēnt* grandmother ate her own little vulva
- *dze'ēdze grandmother; lgo- little; tq'al- against; mēn vulva*

Tsimshian:

| gwūlge ne wālbe sem'ā'g'īlt the chief's house is burnt |
| ãna wālT Tom Tom is rich |
| *dem g'idi-gā'ednu rā* I shall catch the slave |
| wā'nt yā'g̊ut my grandfather invites thee |

§ 63. The Negative

(a) The negative declarative is expressed by the adverb *nā'g̊'i* (Tsimshian *a'lg̊e*), which evidently contains the stem *nē* (Tsimshian *ã* 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.

| nā̃g̊'i huvālā'x̌ l huvāl dā'u'll stēlt he did not know where his companion had gone |
| nā̃g̊'i tēsťēst they were not large |

(See also p. 403.)

(b) The negative interrogative is expressed by *nē* (Tsimshian: *ã*).

| nē̃ l ãd'ā'dik'se'deďa? are they not coming? |
| nē̃, sg'ìi me dem ha-men-sā'g̊'ida? have you anything to pull it up with? |

§§ 62, 63
Tsimshian:

\[ a\ell \text{ ne-bā'odi? has he not been running?} \]
\[ a\ell \text{ me-wulā'idut in-wulā'gun? don't you know who did this to you?} \]

(c) The word no is expressed by nē (Tsimshian: a'yin). The form a'yin is also sometimes used in interrogative sentences.

"nē," dē'yal g'atg'e "no," said the man 87.11

Tsimshian:

\[ "A'yin ne-gan-wal'sem, nāol?" —"A'yin." Did you not get what you went for, my dear?" —" No." (a'yin not; ne- possessive; gan- reason; wāl to do; -sem ye; nāol my dear! [masc.]) \]

(d) hawā'lg (Tsimshian) signifies not yet.

a hawā'lgna gāl dēdā'olset when not yet anything was alive ZE 782.1

(e) In subordinate clauses the negation is expressed by a'x- (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'ila').

\[ g'ilō dze sō'ōsem, ana! don't take the rest out 181.9 (dze weakens the imperative) \]

\[ g'ilō' me dze sem mā'let don't tell about it! 181.11 \]

Tsimshian:

\[ g'ila' bā'osent don't be afraid! \]
\[ g'ila' me dze gā'ot don't go there! \]

§ 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'ēns k'al-hā'tgam-q'ē'semq al ts'ēm-hwálbā'? did not Labret-on-One-Side enter the house? 191.12 (ts'ēn to enter; k'al- on one side; hā'tg to stand; q'ē'semq labret; ts'ēm-interior; hwálp house; -a interrogative) nēel wī-t'ē'sda? is it great? nē me sem hwā'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

§64
Tsimshian -i:

| wa, nī'odzenī? do you see? |
| me dālī'odsenī? are you alive? |
| a wū la dzahl wa'ni? is the deer dead yet? |
| ḥal me n'axnōq pathology? gu ṭɪstámqt? don't you hear a noise? |
| āl dī gu'usenī? have you no hair? |

Tsimshian -u:

| sī'opgut? is he sick? |
| āl me wūla'idut ḥin-wūla'gun? dost thou not know who did this to thee? |
| āl me lā' wūla habebō'ldut? didst thou not always keep it? |

2. No interrogative suffix is used after interrogative pronouns.

ago' what (Tsimshian: gō)

| agō' la an-hāl' gal-ts'ap? what is it that the people say? |
| agō' l' den an-ōl'k'sen? what are you going to drink? |
| agō' l' hē'tsen? what is talking (there)? |

Tsimshian:

| gō' wūla ha'unt? what do you say? |

nda where (Tsimshian: nda)

| ndal hūl hēt'wūl hūl'lp? where is the house? |
| ndal demt hūl dē-wēt'wūl? where will he have come from? |

Tsimshian:

| nda wūla wū'ot'gent? where do you come from? |

nā who (Tsimshian: nā)

| nā t'an-āx-hūl'ā'yīn? who does not know thee? |

Tsimshian:

| nāō t ūn na'kse lgu'ol'ges Gauō? who is the one to marry the daughter of Gauō? |
| nāō'le gu awā'ōn? 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.

dem yu'kdenl t' em-lā'nē hē hold to my neck! 75.11

dem qalā'qnom let us play! (literally, we shall play) 75.6

§ 65
Weakened by dze:
\[\text{dze a}ma-g'd'adesem\] look well after her 191.15
\[\text{me dze k}''e'\ me lô-k''e'tsel\] then put in the finger 195.10

Tsimshian:
- \[\text{dem k}''ud\text{-man-gôsen}\] then jump up and about!
- \[\text{n}''\text{ini}'\text{ dem dzagam-hă'gyeng}\] that one call ashore! (literally, that is the one you will call ashore)
- \[\text{dem t'an ne-ama-wála negwá'\text{den}}\] promise him the wealth of your father

Weakened by dze:
\[\text{ada dze nul hau'\text{un} \"lax-lo'oh\"}\] then say “on stone”

Transitive verbs may form their imperatives in the same way.
\[\text{tg}''\text{onl dem hiv'\text{len}}\] do this! (literally, you will do this)

Tsimshian:
- \[\text{me dem lagax-\text{lu-dô} dâ'\text{u}}\] put ice on each side!
- \[\text{me dem se-\text{va'dit}}\] 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 -\(L\)).

\[\text{gôn lgo'uLgun take your child! 205.5}\]
\[\text{hûts'en-d'\text{a'\text{L qu-tsô'}}\text{\text{ol ts'a'k} put back from the fire some dishes 207.2}\]
\[\text{sâ'lebel steam it! 54.8.}\]

Tsimshian:
- \[\text{wai, di bâ'\text{oll you, on your part, try!}\}
- \[\text{der-yâ'\text{gwa ani'}\text{set hold on to the branch!}\}
- \[\text{t'\text{en-strî\text{ol lu'msat accompany my son-in-law to the fire!}\}
- \[\text{man-sa'ik'A osî\text{ont pull up your foot!}\}

By far the most frequent method of expressing the imperative is by the periphrastic expression \(\text{âm (it would be) good (if)}\).
\[\text{âm dem gux't take it! 141.6}\]
\[\text{âm dem se-\text{a'lyum let us cut wood! 63.4}\]
\[\text{âm dem dê-\text{xsan you gamble also! 29.1}\]
\[\text{âm me dem wô'\text{ol yal-ts'a'dp invite the town 206.13}\]

Tsimshian:
- \[\text{âm me dem di bâ'\text{olt try it too!}\}
- \[\text{âm xen'm me k'\text{a-di-ba'g' u n-di-na-beba'gun just try my playground too (âm good; -se\text{\'n dubitative; me thou; k'\text{a- just; dî- on (thy) part; bag to taste; n- possessive; na- place; bag to taste, play)}\]
- \[\text{âm dem k'}\text{e'\text{x'sent escape!}\]
- \[\text{âm dze gôs dep negwá'\text{den go to your parents!}\]
The negative imperative is expressed by g'îlô'.

\[ g'îlô' \text{ nerna'gîtaq'ë al ts'em-huül'ip don't! they might hear you in the house 91.10. } \]
\[ g'îlô' \text{ me dze sem sqa-yô'xhut don't pass in front of it 107.3 } \]
\[ g'îlô'l seax'ë'mewëmewës don't keep your mouths closed 84.5 \]

§ 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. k'ë then; generally in connection with the demonstrative n-
\[ nLk'ë a'd'ik'sk'ët then he came \]
\[ k'ë dôql annás'ël qâq then he took the skins of ravens 39.2 \]
\[ nL ëm k'ë me-txôldil smax' then burn the meat 213.1 \]

2. da when.
\[ da la wôqsl g'ô'tq'ë when the man is buried 218.4 \]

3. dzE (tsE) weakens statements.
\[ nLk'ë g'ô'daxl sem'd'ëg'ët tse huüil with'ët then the chief asked where it might come from 183.13 \]
\[ nôg'ët huüilâx's Wig'ât tse huüil d'ëp-d'ëk'ët'ël not knew Giant where he came down 15.1 \]
\[ nLk'ë wôxxad'xet a tse huüil huüil'ël olx then they wondered at where was the seal 42.6 \]
\[ òp tse noô't, tse më'ëk'ët'ël ak's al ba'nt lest he die, if his belly should be full of water 73.7 \]

The use of dzE with imperatives has been explained before.

4. tsEda (dzE da) when, if.
\[ tsEda ha'sa'xh halâd'gû't ëmelt dzak'ël sel-g'ëtt, k'ë, when a witch desires to kill a fellow-man, then 217.1 \]
\[ tsEda huûx huüil'ësê, nLk'ë, when I do it again, then 165.12 \]
\[ ts'ë'në nât, tsEda në'en enter, my dear, if it is you! 39.13 \]

5. òp tsE else, lest.
\[ òp tse noô'ëzë else I might die 74.4 \]
\[ k'ë sem-ia'llh'ël lax-ô'l lô'ëp; òp tse g'utg'ô'ëthk'ël sâk' qan-huült 34.9 then the top of the stone was very slippery; }\]
\[ lax-ô' top; lô'ëp stone; g'vô'tk'ë to be lost; sak' olachen) \]

6. ts'ô although.
\[ tsôt huûx huüil'ëx't although he knows it \]

§ 66
Tsimshian:

1. *ada* then.
   
   *ada mā'edə dep gwɑ́o* then these told
   
   *adat g'ik sqa-bā'ot* he assisted him (literally, then he stood by him)

2. *da* when.

   
   *ne la dem gwɑ́ntge da n dem sū mea'wulget* when I shall have touched it, then I shall swing the rope (gwɑ́ntg to touch; sū to swing; mea'wulg rope)
   
   *da sl ts!əlem-ha'pda n!ā°xet, ada . . .* when the killer-whales rushed in, then . . . (ts!əlem- into; hap to rush [plural]; n!ā°x killer-whale)

3. *dzE* weakens statements.

   
   *adat ge'vedəxtge a gōl dze gan hɑ'ut* then they asked why he might have said so
   
   *ēp! exdī a n dzE txal-wɑ́sde lgūolgido* I may remember when
   
   I may have met my child (āp! ex to remember; txal-wɑ́ to meet; lgūolg child; -I I, my [see § 51])

4. *dzE da* when, if.

   
   *n dem wa'lint dzE da bā°sen* I will carry you if you are afraid
   
   (wa'lint to carry on back; bā°sen to be afraid)
   
   *dzE da lā ts!ə°nā da n dem sa-da-ga'ınat* when I enter, I shall fall with it (ts!ə°n to enter; sa- suddenly; da- with something; ga'ın to fall)

5. *ōp dzE* else, lest.

   
   *bā°senut əp dze dzɑ'gī* I fear (lest) I fall


   
   *ts!u nīyeda tgi-ō'ksut, da q'ap-a'lgə-di-sqa'yiksgī* although I (literally, this one) fell down, he (I) really did not hurt himself (myself) (nīyeda he, this; tgi- down; ō'ks to drop; -n I; q'ap-really; a'lgə not; di- on [my] part; sqa'yiksg to be hurt)
   
   *ts!u wəgagait n'ə g'ideganə°tsəga°* even though far to the Tlingit

7. *asī* while.

   
   *ada asī hiū'oksga lī'omita* then while he began his song

8. *amī* if (event assumed as not likely to happen)

   
   *amī dzE la me g'ālksə dzE dem lu-da'kxan* if you should feel that you may drown (g'ālks to feel, lu- in; da'kxan to be drowned)
   
   *amī dzE la k!ə°xegə* when you have made your escape

9. *yuH* if (event expected to happen).

   
   *yuH ne yə'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*:

   *bax* *lgo-* *a'd* *s* *al* *awa'adetg*-*ê* a little water ran near them 117.3
   *(bax to run; lgo- little; ak'-s water; awa'ad a proximity)*

   *iaga-* *maq* *at* *g'â'u* he put him down at the front of the house 46.8
   *(iaga- down; maq to put; g'â'u beach in front of house)*

2. Signifying *in*; generally with the verbal prefix *lô*- and with the substantival prefix *ts'êm*-

   *lô-* *maq*-*sh*-*L* *teiv*-*ê* *at* *ts'êm-* *ts'ak* the grease ran in (into) the dish 46.14
   *(lô- in; maq*-*sh* to stand [plural]; teiv-*ê* grease; ts'êm- inside of; ts'ak- dish)*

   *tq'al-* *lô-* *dzô'q* *at* *hwîlpq*-*ê* he stayed in the house 64.11
   *(tq'al- against [i.e., permanently]; lô- in; dzôq to camp; hwîlp house)*

3. Signifying *on*; generally with verbal prefix *lê*- and substantival prefix *law*-

   *lê-* *iaq'ê* *oq* *at* *law-anê'ê* a copper hangs on a branch 138.3
   *(lê- on; iaq'ê to hang; anê's branch)*

4. Signifying *toward*; often with the verbal prefix *hagun*-

   *hagun-* *lê*-*ê* *at* *al* *awd* *at* a man went toward him 138.14
   *(hagun- toward; lê-ê to go; awd*-*at* man; awd*-*at* proximity)*

   *iaq'ê* *at* *g'îlê'lix*-*ê* he went into the woods 119.11

5. Signifying *from*:

   *wêth*-*ê* *at* *awd*-*as* *nôxt* he came from near his mother 22.12
   *(wêth-*ê* to come from; awd*-*as* proximity; nôxt mother)*

   *k'sax*-*ê* *at* *hwîlp* he went out of the house 166.11

6. Signifying *to*; used like our dative:

   *hwîlp* *hwîl* *ls* *dep* *bê*-*êbê* as *nê'ên* thus did my uncles to thee 157.9
   *(hwîl* to do; *dep* plural; *bê*-*êb* uncle; bê-ë my; nê'ên thou)*

   *g'înâ'mt* *at* *lgo-* *lê*-*ê*-*L*-*L*-*sh*-*ê* he gave it to the boy 139.4

7. Signifying *with*; instrumental:

   *lo*-*lê*-*ê* *al* *g'aldồ*-*ê*-*ê*-*ê*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*-*L*
   she scraped the spoon with her fish-knife 8.9
   *(lo*-*lê* to scrape; g'aldồ*ê*-*ê* spoon; ha-*q*-*ê* fish-knife)
U!-ia'tsEt lax-a'k's ah waqht he struck the water with his tail 75.15 (lë- on; ia'ts to strike; lax- surface; ak's water; waqht beaver's tail)
gux lakw al lët qanl daql he took fire-wood with wedge and hammer 90.8 (gux to take; lakw fire-wood; lët wedge; qan and; daql hammer)

8. Signifying on account of:

siéplxl qä'bots Wí-g'at' al xdaxt sick was Giant's mind on account of his hunger 69.4
sem-pla'k'sk'at al ha'atlgy'ë he was very tired on account of what he had done 62.15

9. Expressing time:
al wí-sa' all day long 138.9 (literally, at great day)
al haöng'ë mesâ'x'g'ë before daylight 151.6 (at not yet daylight)
al sint in summer 20.14

10. Used with various verbs:
lë-metnæ'tl'at al t'ëben they were full of sea-lions 108.8 (lë- on; mét' full; t'ëben sea-lion)
mét'x'l mäl al län the canoe was full of spawn 29.10
ansgwalt'gut as nê'ty'ë they made fun of him 143.3
nlk'ët g'enl g'alt'yë al hwëndö'o the man fed him with tobacco 90.10 (g'en to give to eat; g'at man; hwëndö'o tobacco)
g'ëhlx'l lia'n al haya'tsk'w he bought elk for coppers 194.11 (g'ëh' to buy; lia' elk; haya'tsk'w copper)
sa-hwadet al X-amal'gwaxedel Wä'se they called him Eating-Seabs-of-Wä'se 41.14 (sa- to make; hwu name; x- to eat; amal'w scab)
q'ätsk'at al hana'g he was tired of the woman 126.1
wai-g'a'tk'at as négnö'ödet he longed for his father 203.13

The preposition a is used very often with hwël and dem to express causal and final subordination, the subordinate clause being thus transformed into a nominal phrase.

11. al hwël because (literally, at [its] being):
laxbëts'ë x'det . . . al hwël g'â'adet they were afraid because they saw it 207.10
al hwël níg'idi halawi'Ts'ak'; nîlne't quant-hwël'dëtg'ë because Ts'ak' was no shaman, therefore they did so 123.12 (níg' i not; di on his part; halawi shaman; nîlne't that; qan reason; hwël to do)
Iö-hwamnthwl qâ'det al hwël xstëmt its heart was annoyed because of the noise 95.15 (Iö- in; hwamnthw annoyed; qâ'dt heart; xstëmt noise)
ló-hva'ynth⁴⁴l ɣá'ódet al hvil əstamk⁴⁴t he was annoyed on account 
of the noise 95.15 (ló-hva'ynth⁴⁴ annoy; ɣá'ót mind) 
aba'q'ask⁴⁴t al hvil sí-k'ua-wi-yé'tk⁴⁴st he was troubled because he 
cried anew very much 21.12 (aba'q'ask⁴⁴ to be troubled; sí- anew; 
k'ua- exceedingly; wi-yé'tk⁴⁴ to cry)

12. al dem in order to, that:
tsagam-vo'öt al dem dedø'leqt he called it ashore to talk with it 
38.1 (tsagam- ashore: vo'öt to call; dedø'leqt to talk with) 
k'ët bëot al dem nóóm-ak'st he waited for her to be thirsty 21.7 
(böe to wait; nóóm- to desire; ak's to drink) 
ló-yo'ólk⁴⁴t al dem yö'oxk⁴⁴t he returned to eat 55.9 
k'si-ha'x al dem gun-lu'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. 
yö'oxk⁴⁴t al wi-të'sëm yö'oxk⁴⁴t he ate, and ate much 36.10 
d'at al wi-yé'tk⁴⁴t he sat and wept 39.7 (he sat down, weeping) 
iaga-ia! na'kö'stg'e 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 illustrat- 
ing its application.

1. Signifying AT:

ada k'lu-t!ā'ot gesga g'ilhaw'li then he sat at the inland-side for 
a while 
ai di nàök g'ad a awa' nakse ne-wai'q'u? does a person lie near 
my brother's wife? (a! not; di- on his part; nàök to lie; g'ad 
a person; awa' proximity; nakse wife; waig' brother)

2. Signifying IN:

dem t'udø'den a ts'ëm-la'get he will bake thee in the fire (t'ud to 
bake; ts'ëm- interior of; lag fire)

3. Signifying ON:

adat l'i-se-γul'ge la'ge da lax'ö'tga⁶ then he lighted a fire on 
top of him (l'i- on; se- to make; γul'ge to light; lag fire; 
lax'ö' top) 
me dem t'lë'ont gesge stū'op'ëlyu⁶ make him sit in the rear of 
the house

4. Signifying TOWARD:

ada hugul-ia'ot gesga awa' ne-wäl'bt then he went slowly toward 
his house 
gun-ia'ot gesge wul nàök bystand he went to where he lay 

§ 67
5. Signifying from:

\[\text{wå̂t get gesge aw̔' na'kstå'ga° he came from near his wife}
\text{hâl dém-bå° get Astiwål gesge luo-lö°pgyo° Astiwål arose from}
\text{the stones}\]

6. Signifying to; used like our dative:

\[\text{ada wul ha'us negwå° get ges nå°tgo° then his father said to him}
\text{adat wula k'!ina'msgse do'nu gesge lgu° getgo° then he gave ice}
\text{to his child (k'!ina'm to give; do'nu ice; lgu° child)}\]

7. Signifying with, instrumental:

\[\text{dat wul l̕u-sga-ya'dzÉ ts'dÉ gu° then she struck him across}
\text{the face with the feather (l̕u- in; sgu- across; yadz to strike;}
\text{ts'dÉ face; lgu° feather)}\]

8. Signifying with, instrumental:

\[\text{dat wul l̕u-sga-ya'dzÉ ts'dÉ gu° then she struck him across}
\text{the face with the feather (l̕u- in; sgu- across; yadz to strike;}
\text{ts'dÉ face; lgu° feather)}\]

9. Expressing time:

\[\text{a vi-gå'muşm during the whole (great) winter}
\text{a nA-qå'ga in the beginning ZE 781'}\]

10. Used with various verbs:

\[\text{a wult se-q'an-q'adâ'ulu gu-gâ°da a gwâ'dele sm kem ićont because}
\text{she refreshed the hearts with cool fog ZE 797.32 (q'an-dâ'ul,}
\text{literally, to go over, to refresh; gwâ'dele cool; ićont fog)}
\text{hö°tgo° wâl bet a ts'dÉq full was the house of fat}
\text{adat wul plâ'íres negwå°t gesget g'îlks-nö°sges na'kstå'go° then}
\text{she told her father that she had looked back at her husband}
\text{(plâ'í to tell; g'îlks- back; nö° to see)}\]

11. a wul because:

\[\text{a wult la na'gedat n'axnû' hau because for a long time she had}
\text{heard say (nag long; n'axnû' to hear; hau to say)}
\text{asde wul wa-di-lgu-xå°ga because they, on their part, were even}
\text{without a little foam (i. e., had nothing) (wa- without; di-}
\text{on their part; lgu- little; xå°g foam)}\]

12. a dem in order to, that:

\[\text{txan!' gå̂ bâlo'de la'msu a demt wula dzæ'k'dut everything tries}
\text{my father-in-law to kill me (txan!' all; gå what, something;}
\text{bâlo'd to try; lams father-in-law; dzæk to kill)}
\text{a demt ù°tut in order to bake me}
\text{a demt ma'ksge ne-seśl°ptgo° in order to gather his bones}\]

13. a and:

\[\text{ada wul wa'ndít a bâ'okedet then they sat down and lamented}\]
TEXTS
NASS DIALECT

\begin{verbatim}
Txanë'tkl\(^1\) sa\(^2\) his-dzoö'qsl\(^3\) k'ope-tkë'e'lk\(^u\).\(^4\) Wi-hë'lt\(^5\).

Every day played camping little children. Many

\textit{q'am-kë'òl}\(^6\) wi-ga'n.\(^7\) Wi-lo-nô'òl\(^8\) wi-ts'a'wat\(^9\) Wi-dë'ë'xl\(^10\)

only one great log. Great in hole great inside. Large

\textit{wi-ga'n.} \(^7\) Nl\(^11\) hwîl\(^12\) g'its'el-qât'ôdel\(^13\) k'ope-tkë'e'lk\(^u\).\(^4\) Nlînêl\(^14\)
great tree. Then where in went little children. Then

hwîlpdêtgê\(^15\) wi-qalk'si-nô'ôm\(^16\) gan.\(^7\) Nlîk'ët\(^17\) lô-si-me'ldêl\(^18\)
their house large through hole of tree. Then \textit{in} made burn they

lak\(^9\) lit\(^19\) Nlîk'ë\(^17\) hux txâ'xkâ'dêt\(^20\) wi-hë'lt\(^5\) ts'ëlemdet.
fire in it. Then again they ate many their traveling provisions.

Hànx ts'ëlê'nîl gul-q'anë'tkl\(^u\).\(^21\) k'ope-tkë'e'lk\(^u\).\(^4\) la\(^22\) nak'ë\(^23\)
Salmon the provisions of all little children. When long

hwîldêt\(^24\) al\(^25\) txanë'tkl\(^u\).\(^1\) sa\(^2\) nîk'ë\(^17\) la\(^22\) hux têsêl ak's
they did so at every day, then when again large was water

la\(^28\) hux lo-dzo'qdet\(^26\) al\(^25\) wi-ts'ëm-ga'n.\(^27\) Nlîk'ë\(^17\) hux pta'lik's.
when again in they camped at great in log. Then again the water rose.
\end{verbatim}

\(^1\) tx. all (§ 10, no. 93); \textit{tranëkt} independent form; \textit{L}-connective of numerals (§ 23.6).
\(^2\) Same form in singular and plural (§ 41).
\(^3\) his- to pretend (§ 10, no. 79); döög to camp; -s suffix (§ 17, no. 6) required by his-; \textit{L}-connective of predicate and subject (§ 23).
\(^4\) k'ope- small [plural] (§ 10, no. 113); \textit{t}k'ëtkw children [plural]; k'ope- only in the plural; \textit{Lgö}- is the singular of \textit{small}.
\(^5\) wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); \textit{hîlt} many (almost always used with the prefix \textit{wi}-).
\(^6\) q'am- only (§ 10, no. 115); k'ët one flat thing (§ 57); \textit{L}-connective of numerals.
\(^7\) wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); gan tree, log.
\(^8\) wi- great; lô- in (verbal prefix [§ 9, no. 29]); môô- hole; -m predicate connective.
\(^9\) ts'ëlemdet. in the inside; in combination with nouns the prefix \textit{ts'ëm}- is used to designate the inside (§ 11, no. 152); \textit{t} probably possessively \textit{its}.
\(^10\) wi- great; \textit{d'ë}x large.
\(^11\) n. demonstrative (?); \textit{L} probably connective.
\(^12\) Verbal noun, here designating the place where something happens (§ 59).
\(^13\) The prefix \textit{g'its'el} is not known in other combinations; \textit{ië} (singular), \textit{q'âô} (plural), to go; -det \textit{3d} person plural (§ 53); \textit{L}-connective.
\(^14\) n. demonstrative (?); \textit{L}-probable connective. This conjunction seems to appear here doubled.
\(^15\) hwîlp house; -det their; g'ë invisible (§ 20).
\(^16\) wi- great; qalk'ë through (§ 9, no. 24); môô- hole; -m adjectival connective.
\(^17\) n. see note 11; k'ë they then; t transitive subject, \textit{3d} person (§ 48).
\(^18\) lô- in (§ 9, no. 29); si- to cause (§ 13, no. 164); \textit{mel} to burn; -det they; -\textit{L} connects predicate and object.
\(^19\) lit 3d person pronoun, oblique case (§ 54).
\(^20\) q'âô'zkw (singular), \textit{teö'ozkwa} (plural), to eat (intransitive verb); -det they.
\(^21\) A compound the elements of which are not quite clear (compare \textit{tranëkt}s all); also \textit{qam-hwita} always (§ 10, no. 120).
\(^22\) Particle indicating that one action is past when another sets in; also verbal noun (§ 59).
\(^23\) naks long, temporal and local.
\(^24\) hwîl to do; -det they.
\(^25\) A general preposition (§ 67); -l indefinite connective.
\(^26\) lô- in; döög to camp; -det they.
\(^27\) wi- large; \textit{ts'ëm}- inside of (§ 11, no. 152).
\(^28\) 414
NLk-'e 17 g'ig'ak'sl 28 wi-ga'n. NLk-'e uks-o'lik'sk't. 29 N'y'g'it 30
Then floated the great log. Then out to sea it drifted. Not they
hwil'a-x'l 31 k'op-tk'elk'u. 4 Yukl 32 gwanemqala'qdet 33 al 25
knew it the little children. Beginning they were playing at
lo-ts'a'wul 34 wi-ga'n la 22 hwagait-eks'da'ul 35 al 25 hwagait-gi'ks 36
inside of great log when away out it was going at way off shore
to sea.
la 22 uks-na'kt. 37 NLk-'e 17 k'si-lo'otk'ul 38 k'all 39 lwg-o-tk'elk'u. 4
Then out went one little boy.
NLk-'e 17 g'a'at 40 hwil la 11 hwagait-eks-o'lik'sk't 29,35 al 25
Then he saw where when way seaward it drifted to
hwagait-gi'ks. 36 NLk-'e 17 k'si-q'a'odel 42 k'op-tk'elk'u. 4 NLk-'e 17
way off shore. Then out went the little children. Then
sig'a'tk'det; 43 qan-hwil 44 sig'a'tk'det. 43 NLk-'e 17 k'uL-da'ul 45
they cried; always they cried. Then about went
wi-ga'n' 46 al 25 hwagait-lax-so'elda. 46
the log at way off on the ocean.

Great
NLk-'e hux k'si-lo'otk'ul 38 lwg-hwil-xo'osgun 47 lwg-tk'elk'u. 4
Then again out was put the being wise little child.
NLk-'e g'a'at 40 hwil 52 leba yunik 48 qe'wun 49 NLk-'e ha'ts'ik'sem 50
Then he saw where flew gulls. Then again
lo-ya'tl'k 51 al ts'a'wul 34 wi-ga'n. K'et ma't. 52 "Qa'nc-hwil' 44
he returned at inside of great log. Then he told it: "Always
lo-hwa'unl 53 qe'wun 49 al lax-o'edm 54 aq-dep-hwil'a'gut' 55 NLk-'e
on sit gulls at top of us, without we [way of doing]? Then

25 g'ig'ak's to drift.
29 uks- out to sea, from land to sea (§ 8, no. 6); t intransitive, 3d person singular.
30 nig'i indicative negation; t transitive subject, 3d person.
31 hwil'a-x' to know; det (3d person plural ending has been omitted here).
32 yik appears both as verb and as particle.
33 gwanem a prefix of doubtful significance.
34 lo a verbal prefix, appears here with the noun te'a'en the inside. It seems that this whole
expression is possessive or verbal, because otherwise the connective would be -m (§ 22).
35 hwagait- away (§ 10, no. 71); uks- seaward (§ 8, no. 6); da'ul to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.
36 hwagait- is both verbal and nominal prefix; gi'ks the region off shore (a noun corresponding to
the verbal prefix uks-).
37 uks- seaward; naks far; t perhaps closure of sentence (§ 20).
38 k'si-out (§ 8, no. 8); b'otk'u.
39 k'il one (numeral for counting human beings [§ 57]; l connective of numerals (§ 23).
40 g'a to see; t it (object).
41 hwil'la present and past participle forming nominal clause (§ 59).
42 k'si-out of (§ 8, no. 8); q'ol go (plural); det they.
43 Irregular plural (§ 46); singular wu'it'ku.
44 qan- always (§ 10, no. 120).
45 lo- about; da'ul to leave, to go.
46 hwagait- way off (verbal and nominal prefix); lax- surface of (nominal prefix corresponding to
v- on; [§ 11, no. 151]; § 9, no. 30) aL-eelda ocean.
47 lwg- little; hwil- being (§ 58); x'o'hek wise; m adjective connective (§ 22).
48 gi'bal'yiku (plural gi'bal'yiku) to fly (§ 45).
49 Singular and plural same form (§ 41).
50 Adverb.
51 This verb occurs always with the prefix lo- 1N.
52 mat to tell (transitive verb).
53 lo- on corresponds to the nominal prefix lax- (note 46); d'a (plural hwan) to sit; l indefinite
connective.
54 lax- surface corresponds to the verbal prefix lo- on [note 58]); t top; m our.
55 q'- without, and a-b on negation of dependent clauses (§ 11, no. 137); dep- plural of transitive
pronoun; hwil'a'k's is a peculiar form; while it is apparently a passive of hwil, it is used as a transitive
verb; t probably object 3d person.
Then the gulls. Then he
succeeded on that log.
They future then stood
against; then they struck
their noses. Then came
rub it at outside of great
log. They future then stand
the sun, then again walked
(see note 5); future they flew.
Then he
made it. While they dried
their feet. When very middle
was
Then against the gulls. Not they
succeeded future they flew.
Then he
among twisted
their noses. Then came
rub it at inside of the
log. Then they entered at
the great
rub it on the great
log. They entered at the
side of the log.

Ng'it do aUqld'sk)t)9 Nl-k'c
la'mdzid'et71 al ts'a'wul wi-ga'n.
Nl-k'c la'mdzid'et71 al ts'a'wul wi-ga'n.

Put them at where holes great' log. Then in good
hearts.

56 The introductory l- of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; he.
57 For lal.-
58 dEm good; used here as a periphrastic exhortative: it would be good if we — (§ 65).
59 dEp plural of transitive subject (§ 48).
60 d'Es (plural d'tsd'Es) to strike (§ 42).
61 d'ap nose; plural qad'ap (§ 43); -m our.
62 Nl-k'c (note 17) appears here divided by the future particle dEm.
63 lbs' blood.
64 d'Epl want we rub it (§ 48) (subjunctive).
65 dax' surface, outer side.
66 ts'-l against (§ 9, no. 35); hct (plural hathct) to stand.
67 lb' oblique case, 3d person pronoun; -g're absent (because the outer side of the tree was invisible
to the speaker).
68 hwil to do; -det they; -g're absent.
69 a'd'tsk'ske (plural a'da'da'dt'sk'ske) to come.
70 k'ilaqal- around; man to rub (transitive verb).
71 te'En (plural ta'mdztx) to enter.
72 wi-h'Et many (see note 5); usually used with adjectival connective -m, but not with numeral connec-
tive -l (§ 22).
73 ts'-l against; qad'tuk to dry.
74 asa'e (plural asisa'e) foot.
75 sem- very (§ 15, no. 168); bagait- in middle; d'a to sit (used to express the idea of to BE in a posi-
tion, for round objects.
76 sun or moon.
77 k'sax to go out (probably related to k'sat- out of (§ 8, no. 8)).
78 l'Et a little; k'da- really; w'Et great; t'Es large (almost always combined with w' Et); -l probably close
of sentence.
79 da-agku; aqilku to attain. The prefix da may be the same as in de'ya he says thus (§ 49, d).
80 gUn (plural d'ag) to take (§ 46).
81 lo- in; hait along (§ 9, no. 50); t'ag (plural t'x'd'uq) to twist; -l connects predicate with object.
82 t'em- prefix indicating certain parts of the body; probably from t'am sitting (§ 33).
83 See note 21.
84 lo- in; d'Ep- downward (§ 8, no. 4); da'l to put.
85 See note 8; nan'Et is here plural.
86 lo- in; d'm (plural am'am'm) good (§ 42).
87 go'Et (plural qag'Et) mind, heart.
k'ope-tk-'e'lk^u. Gr'ë'ipdel sma'x'tg'e.89 la22 t'a'k'döl.90 hw'lda'tg'e.91

the little children. They ate it the meat when they forgot what they did

la22 hwagait-k'ul-da'ultdet.92 al hwagait-lax-se'u'ida.46

when way out about they went at way out on ocean.

Nig'ët30 dag'i-tsamam-dö'lpk'det,93 al dag'i-lax-ts'a'lk.94 ak's.

Not anywhere landward short they at some- on edge of water, where

Nlk'ë la hux k'ë'lk.6 sa de-nexna'xdel.95 wi-xst'o'ntk'u. K'ë

Then when again one day also they heard great noise. Then

k'si-lö'ol96 k'ope-tk-'e'lk. Gwina'dél, an-tgo-le'lbik'sku.97

out went the little boys. Behold the whirlpool

hwil la98 ló-lé-d'ep-yu'k'det.90 Nlk'ë a'd'lk'siku.99 hwil100

where when in on down they went. Then came the

sig'a'tk'det.93 la22 ló-d'ép-he'tk'el100 wi-ga'n al dem.101 t'loq'k'u.

their crying when in down stood the great tree to future swallow (them)

an-tgo-le'lbik'sku.97

the whirlpool.

Nlk'ë la22 ló-d'ép-he'tk'ü't,100 dö-uks-ba'xl k'alök.30 g'a'tg'e.102

Then when in down stood, also ran one man.

Q'am-k'ë'lk.103 asa'et,74 g'a'tg'e.102 Nlk'ët g'a'tk'u.104 wi-ga'n al.105

Only one foot the man. Then he speared the log with

gala't.106 K'ët tsagam-d'a'mgantg'e.106 de-lé-mátgu.107 g'a'tg'e.102

his harpoon. Then he a-here pulled it; he saved them the man.

Nlk'ë bax-lö'ol108 k'ope-tk-'e'lk^u al ts'em-hwil'pl.109 g'a'tg'e.

Then up went the little children to inside of house of the man.

Nlk'ë yuk-txá'q'ëns110 Q'am-k'ë'lem-as ë'a'tc.111

Then began he fed them Only-One-Foot.

88 Gr'ë'ip to eat something. We should expect here t gr'ë'ipdel sma'.

89 sma'x- venison; -t its; -g'e absent.

90 T'ak' to forget; -det they; -l connective.

91 hwil to do; -det they; -g'e absent.

92 hwagait- way off; k'ul- about; da'ul to go; det they.

93 dag'i somewhere, indefinite place (§ 8, no. 20); tsagam- landward (§ 8, no. 9); dö-uks short, near; -det they.

94 dag'i- (see note 98); bax- surface: bax'lk shore, edge (nominal term corresponding to tsagam).

95 dö- also (precedes transitive subject); nexna'u to hear.

96 k'si- (plural Ló'ol) to go (§ 46).

97 an- prefix indicating place (§ 12, no. 157); ló'ul around; le'lbik'sku to flow (?).

98 hwil la where in the past.

99 bi- in (namely, inside the whirlpool); bax'lk on (namely, on the surface of the water); d'ev downward; yuk to begin; -det they.

100 bi-in; d'ep- down; hw'il to place upright: bax'lk to be placed upright, to stand (§ 17).

101 al dem to the future—, final sentence (§§ 59, 67); i.e., to the future swollowing of the whirlpool.

102 g'a't man; -g'e absent.

103 q'am only; k'ë'lk one flat or round thing.

104 g'atk's to spear; the preceding t is the subject, the terminal -l connective predicate and object.

105 Terminal t either pronom or close of sentence.

106 tsagam- shoreward; da'ulgan to haul.

107 wits'kë (plural Le'm'ëts'kë) to save (§ 45).

108 bax'- up along ground (§ 8, no. 1. 10)

109 te'ëm- the inside of (nominal prefix).

110 yuk- beginning; txá'q's to eat (plural) (see note 20); -en causative suffix.

111 See note 153. Here q'am k'ë'lk is used as an attribute, not as a predicate, hence the connective -am instead of -l.
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.
ADÁ’OGAM¹ A’UTAGA² (STORY OF PORCUPINE)

Ninli’sga³ la⁴ kṣū’otga⁵, a⁶ la⁴ wā’nsga⁷ txanli’sga⁸ ya’ts!esgesga⁹
That it was when fall, at when were sitting all animals in
na-ga-ts!em-ts!a’ptga¹⁰ Da’¹¹ wula¹² di¹³ t’ā’osga¹⁴ wī-medi’ok¹⁵
Then being on his part sitting great grizzly bear
in his town at great winter. Then always
gesga¹⁶ n di tsa’p⁰t¹⁷ A⁶ dza¹⁸ wī-ga’msenmg²⁹.¹⁹ Ada²⁰ ga’ni-wula²¹
always in the town at the towns. Then
gwa’ntgesga²² wā’osga²³ da¹₁ g’ik²⁴ lu-la’wa’y²⁵ na-ts!em-ts!a’ptga²⁶
when touched the rain, then also dripped the town of
wī-medi’okga²⁸.¹⁵ Ada²⁰ g’ik²⁴ lō’gakgesga²⁶ n-l’otga²⁷.²⁸ Ada²⁰
the great grizzly bear. Then again
semgəl²⁹ lu-hā’osgesga³⁰ g’ot³⁰ gesga³¹ sga-na’ksga³¹ wā’otsta³²
very in annoyed his heart at too long rain.

¹ ad’a’og story: -em connection (§ 22).
² a’uta porcupine; -gao absent (§ 20).
³ ninś’th that (§ 56); -sge (§ 25).
⁴ la when (§ 59).
⁵ kṣu’ot fall; -gao absent (§ 20).
⁶ a preposition (§ 67).
⁷ li’s (plural mean) to sit (§ 46); -sge (§ 24).
⁸ txan’li’ all (contains the particle [cx-entirely]); -sge (§ 24).
⁹ From yats to kill many; yatta’esk the killing (§ 17, no. 2); the terminal -esga stands here for asga in.
¹⁰ na- separable possession (§ 55); ga- distributive plural, the towns of the various kinds of animals; ts/em- inside (§ 11, no. 152); ts/lab town; -t his; gao absence.
¹¹ da conjunction (§ 66, no. 2).
¹² § 69.
¹³ di on (his) part (§ 15, no. 167).
¹⁴ lī’o to sit; -sge (§ 25).
¹⁵ wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); med’i’ok grizzly bear.
¹⁶ a preposition (§ 67); absent conjunctive form (§ 28).
¹⁷ n- separable possession; di- on his part (cf. note 13); ts/lab town.
¹⁸ dza weakened statement, when it may have been (§ 66, no. 3).
¹⁹ wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); g’d’msem winter; -gao absence.
²⁰ Conjunctive (§ 66, no. 1).
²¹ gani-all (§ 10, no. 120).
²² gwawnty to touch (i.e., here, fell); -sga connection (§§ 24, 25).
²³ wēes rain.
²⁴ y’ik again (§ 15, no. 169).
²⁵ lu- in (§ 9, no. 29); lō’wa’l to drip; no connective after l (§ 29).
²⁶ lō’gaksg to be wet (fur, skin).
²⁷ n- separable possession; fi fur, hair of body; -t his; -gao absence.
²⁸ sem-pal very (§ 15, no. 178).
²⁹ lu- in (§ 9, no. 29), relating to gēōd mind; hā’ogo annoyed.
³⁰ gēōd mind.
³¹ spa- across (§ 9, no. 36); nay long; here apparently a verbal subordinate construction: AT ACROSS LONG BEING THE RAIN.
³² wēes rain; the -t is a difficult directive ending, which is used very frequently, and for which no adequate explanation has been given.

419
Ninli33 gun-kse-tla'tot34 gesga16 ne-txaa'gasga35 n-tsl'a'ptga10, 16 at 36
That reason out he sat at the mouth of his town, at he
Logie-lep-ga33 gesga16 ke'din'oftga39 Ada a'si40 detla'a't41 gesga16
seeing everything at around him. Then while sitting at
Gwa'sga42 gukstatun'ga43 a'utaga44 gun-he'otgef45 gesga16 awa'otga9, 46
that, behold who the porcupine toward stood at his proximity.
A'st40 t47 sga-i'ot48 gesga16 n-leksa'gasge49 n-tsl'a'psge10 wi-
When he aross went the doorway of the town of the
Medi'okga15 ada wul h'a'usga50 wi-Medi'okga9, 15 "Tsl'ona51 gri'ot52
great grizzly bear, then being said" the great grizzly bear, "Enter here,
Ni'ki'ple'Ensgtf 53 ME dem k'a-xd'iy'out." 54 Ninli33 gan da' wula
my friend! You shall a little eat with me." That it was reason then when
tsi'ungsa51 a'ut44 gesga awa'otga46 wi-Medi'okga9, 15 Ada' wula
entered the porcupine at the proximity of the great grizzly bear. Then being
Wi-se-h'kesga9, 15 wi-Medi'okga9. Adat sa-ga'osga56 lgu-a'utaga57
great made fire the great grizzly bear. Then he suddenly took the little porcupine.
Adat dekda'klega58 ga-sesi'tga53 di60 ga-an'otga9, 61 Adat
Then he tied his feet and his hands. Then he
Ha-se'rt52 gesga dz'o'gasga53 la'ktga9, 64 Adat wul gwalk'ensga65
alongside laid it at the edge of the fire. Then he
Hak'a'osga56 lgu-a'utaga57 N!33 ada' wul h'a'usga50 wi-Medi'ok
back of the little porcupine. He then said the great grizzly to the

33 mi that: n! probably demonstrative (§ 56)
34 gun-reson; following at, it means therefore; kse- out, generally directive, but here indicating the position outside; tlo to sit; -l he.
35 ne- separable possession; kse- direction; ig mouth.
36 a preposition (§ 67) with subjective (subjunctive) pronoun attached (§ 49).
37 to see; after to the connecting is missing (§ 29).
38 ligi- somewhere, this is that (§ 8, no. 20); lep- self (§ 10, no. 129); giv- something, what; ligi-giv' anything; ligi- lep- giv' everything.
39 kul'is the place around (a nominal expression). When used in the possessive, it is considered as inseparable possession (§ 55).
40 asi while (§ 66, no. 7), here followed by the progressive form.
41 Tela'to progressive form of tub to sit (§ 37).
42 gwa'ot this; gwa'osga that (§ 56).
43 an interjection, probably gaksta behold; t he; na' who.
44 a'uta porcupine: -a connective (§ 25).
45 gun- toward (§ 10, no. 114); hediy to stand; -l he.
46 awi- proximity (a noun which corresponds to the particle gun- [see notes 39, 45]).
47 i subject of intransitive verb, here emphatic.
48 gpa across (§ 9, no. 56); -tl to go; -l he.
49 n- separable pronoun; leks'g doorway.
50 ha' to say.
51 la'wen (plural, la'wenzer) to enter by (imperative [§ 65]).
52 gri'of here.
53 mi- separable possession; si'p'ensg friend; -i my (in address [§ 51]).
54 a subject pronoun (§ 40); desu future (§ 58); k' a little while (§ 10, no. 16); xdi' o to eat with some one; - me; -l (see note 32).
55 le- great (§ 10, no. 73); se- to make (§ 13, no. 164).
56 ju' subject pronoun; su- suddenly; giv- to take.
57 lgu- little (§ 10, no. 135).
58 dakti to lie (with plural object dekda'k'i).
59 asi' (plural, gase'si' [§ 43]).
60 di and; - connective (§ 39).
61 ani'o' hand; gw-an'o' hands (§ 43).
62 hal- along (§ 9, no. 50); giv' to lie.
63 Zos edge (noun corresponds to the particle hal- [see note 62]).
64 hak fire (cf. note 32).
65 gwale to burn; gwalek' ien to cause to burn (§ 17, no. 1).
66 hak'do back; has no prefix ne-, because, as a part of the body, the possessive 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 here, 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

60 Dum hak'at'o back fur (§ 22).
61 This verb has always subjective pronouns (see § 49).
62 Here indicative, therefore -u objective pronoun with third person object (§ 50).
63 sem'a'g'id chief (see § 33).
64 dEsga to unite. Here indicative construction in place of imperative.
65 dEsga'k bands. -u my; -t (see note 32).
66 yagai however (§ 15 no. 174).
67 a'utaga lot (§ 15, no. 180; § 63).
68 nEsEga' to mind; -tEg connective (§ 21 Bl2 absent).
69 ges preposition, definite form before pronoun designating human beings (§ 28).
70 a waI because (§ 67, no. 11).
71 wi-greatly (§ 10, no. 73); got-g'ad strong (a compound of grad person).
72 kTa exceedingly (here used as superlative (§ 10, no. 106)).
73 nEsgo' to hear; no connective after vowels (§ 29).
74 klabe the little one, poorly (§ 10, no. 113), also plural to kDe small.
75 a'dEg proud.
76 lagunak from the sides of the house to the fire; klax to kick.
77 tEsem- the inside; a- place (§ 12, no. 157); lak fire.
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.
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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, Athapaskan 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'ul; 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.

¹ A grammar of the Kwagiutl Language, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1888, ii, 57-105.
² Sixth Report, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891, 655-668; also Eleventh Report, Ibid., 1896, 585-586.
³ N. S., ii, 708-721.
⁴ Annual Report for 1895, 311-737, particularly 605-731.
⁶ Kwakiutl Tales, by Franz Boas. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. II.
§ 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-palatals. 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>$q$</td>
<td>$q'$</td>
<td>$x$</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>$p$</td>
<td>$p'$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$l'$</td>
<td>$l, l$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal stop, $^\varepsilon$</td>
<td>$h$, $y$, $w$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels are quite variable. The indistinct $e$ 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:

$\begin{align*}
  i & e & ë & ê & a & ô & o & u \\
  ì & ë & à & â & à & ô & ô & û
\end{align*}$

§ 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>x̂</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x(w)</td>
<td>εw</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>εn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ts!</td>
<td>y or dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>t̃l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar relations of consonants appear in cases of reduplication. Thus we have—

ε'qa reduplicated ε'sε'qa (q and s)
q'u'lyak̂a reduplicated q'u'lsq'u'lyak̂a (s and y)

The change of x' 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 palatals 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 consonantic 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'\, st!, x'dg', nx's, nx'q!, nx's, nx's, lxl, lxs, lxm, lxl, lx's, 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 consonantic elision; the retroactive processes consist in the hardening and softening of consonants; the reciprocal influence manifests itself in contraction and consonantic assimilation. Since the rules of consonantic 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.
Instances of these changes are the following:

(ʔā’wayu-g’ila)  
Lā’wayugwila to make a salmon-weir 26.39

(sō’-g’anem)  
Sō’gwanem you perhaps 146.28

(ʔā’wayu-g’a)  
Lā’wayugwa this salmon-weir 26.39

(ʔ’-g’iw-ʔ)  
ʔ’gwiw ṣ̣̃ inside

(ʔmá’qēs[ʔayaha]sōʔ-k’as)  
ʔmá’qēs(ʔayaha)sōʔkwas really thrown into my belly 478.1

(ʔ-ʔ’-a)  
ʔ’kwaʔkwa knee 154.11

(ʔ-ʔ’-iʔh)  
ʔ’k’wulq’ front of body

(bō’-x’-ʔd)  
bō’x’wída to leave

Changes of velars following a u vowel:

(ʔmá’xulayu-g’a)  
ʔmá’xulayugwa Potlatch-Present-Woman 142.1

(ts’-g-ʔ)  
ts’gwe’ given away among other things

(yǒ-xu)  
yǒ’xwa to say “yǒ” X 176.19

When the vowel following the k after a u vowel is an e, the timbre of the weak vowel tends towards the u.

When a u vowel is followed by a consonantic cluster the first sound of which is a k sound (according to § 3 these can be only x’, x!* or x), the x’ changes to x*, while the others remain unaffected.

(yū’-x’-sā)  
yū’x’sā it is entirely this 102.18

(ʔ-x’siʔ-ʔ)  
ʔ’x’siʔ’v’e mouth of river

On the other hand—

(ʔ-xlā-ʔ)  
ʔ’xlā’ 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’aʔl)  
yō’k!ug’aʔl (not yō’k!ugwaʔl) noise of wind

(meqʷ-g’it-x’-ʔd)  
meq’it’l!ʔd 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—

\[g'\tilde{o}'\tilde{x}^u\tilde{g}^\prime\tilde{in}\] and \[g'\tilde{o}'\tilde{x}^u\tilde{g}^\prime\tilde{un}\] my visible house here

\[g'\tilde{o}'\tilde{x}^u\tilde{g}^\prime\tilde{ae}n\] and \[g'\tilde{o}'\tilde{x}^u\tilde{g}^\prime\tilde{ae}n\] 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 \(q\tilde{a}s\) to walk, and the suffix \(-x^\prime\tilde{id}\) to begin, would result in the phonetically admissible combination \(q\tilde{a}'sx^\prime\tilde{id}\), which we find in a word like \(\tilde{w}\tilde{a}\lambda\tilde{s}\tilde{e}'\) LYNX. Nevertheless, the resulting form is \(q\tilde{a}'s\tilde{id}\). 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 \(\acute{a}\) into \(\tilde{w}\) after \(n\) and vowels, which occurs in a few suffixes: for instance—

\[t\tilde{e}'p\acute{a}\] to step off \(\tilde{l}\tilde{a}'-\tilde{w}\tilde{a}\) to be off (the right line)
\[s\tilde{\sigma}p\acute{a}'l\tilde{a}\] to chop off \(d\tilde{a}'\tilde{w}\tilde{a}\) to fail to hold
\[k\acute{a}t\acute{a}'l\tilde{a}\] long thing on water \(h\tilde{a}n-\tilde{w}\tilde{a}'l\tilde{a}\) hollow thing on water
\[m\tilde{e}x\tilde{\i}l\tilde{a}\] canoe drifts on water \(g'\tilde{\i}'-\tilde{w}\tilde{a}\tilde{la}\) to be on water

(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
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>ĕp- to pinch</td>
<td>ĕ'p'-i'd to begin to pinch</td>
<td>ĕ'b-a'yu dice 112.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gap- to upset</td>
<td>qap'-ā'lōd to upset on rock 179.27</td>
<td>qab-ĕ's upset on the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaâ'p! cradle</td>
<td>53.42</td>
<td>xaâ'b-ekʷ cradled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wat- to lead</td>
<td>ya't!-āla rattle sound 229.27</td>
<td>wâ'd-ekʷ led 109.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

āt!- sinew
t!ēk'- to lie on back 256.38
k'ēlək'- to club k'ēlək'-ēnē clubbing
lemk'- to wedge lemk'-ēxōd to wedge neck, i.e., foot of tree
geg'- wife gā'gak!a to try to get a wife geg'a'd having a wife
bekʷ- man bekʷ-u's man in woods
tekʷ- to expect

tunkʷ- child
‘nemō'ku one person
elqʷ to put out tongue ēlq'w-ēnōxʷ a person who removes cinders from eye with tongue
yāqʷ- to lie dead
wung- deep
k'īml- to adze k'īm'l-āla noise of adzing, U.S.N.M. 677.19
q!ulā'l- to hide q!ulā’l-nā'kula to go along hiding 262.39
(b) Theme ends in sonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzā'wad</td>
<td>dzā'wado-</td>
<td>mē'x'ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knight</td>
<td>enoxu</td>
<td>burnt at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inlet</td>
<td>people of</td>
<td>end 247.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qēg'au'd</td>
<td>qēg'au'd-</td>
<td>qā'sida-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>having a</td>
<td>enexu</td>
<td>walking place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>state of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nā'x</em></td>
<td><em>nā'x</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sid</em></td>
<td><em>ida</em>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day comes</td>
<td>enoxu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na'd;</em></td>
<td>*T(2?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^na'x^</td>
<td>^lda-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eênoxu</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē'x'ba to burn at end</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qā'sida to walk</td>
<td></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-</td>
<td>dā'de-</td>
<td>mā'w-ayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sing</td>
<td>nəx-u</td>
<td>salmon-weir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləx-u</td>
<td>lə'x-w-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>a to stand on rock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qamx-u</td>
<td>qā'qam-</td>
<td>mən-a'tśle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down of</td>
<td>w-a to try to put on down of bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td></td>
<td>striking receptacle (drum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'n</em></td>
<td><em>ma'n</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x potlatch</td>
<td>enoxu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēx-u</td>
<td>sē'x-</td>
<td>mən-a'ts'le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to paddle</td>
<td>enoxu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīx-u</td>
<td>mā'man-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to try to strike with strike</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k·lēs</td>
<td>k·lē's-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>lē's!enexu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'lēs-</td>
<td>p'lē's-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to flatten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qās-</td>
<td>qā's-</td>
<td>p'lēy-a'yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to walk</td>
<td></td>
<td>means of flattening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'lōs-</td>
<td>t'lō's-</td>
<td>qā'y-anem obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut</td>
<td>by walking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!ōl-</td>
<td>ts!ō'l-e'mya</td>
<td>with black cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsōl-atō with black ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k·il-</td>
<td>k·il-</td>
<td>k·i'l-e'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afraid</td>
<td></td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'il-</td>
<td>g'il-a</td>
<td>*meibō' white-chested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to walk on four feet</td>
<td>to try to walk on four feet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*meb-</td>
<td>*meb-</td>
<td>ha*m-a'yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
<td>eating instrument (fork)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham-</td>
<td>ham-</td>
<td>§ 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stems ending in s and \( x^u \) present peculiar forms when the accent falls upon the semivocalic \( y \) and \( w \), into which these sounds are transformed. The \( y \) becomes \( ê \), the \( w \) becomes \( ù \). Thus we have from—

\[ x'yis\- \text{to disappear} \]
\[ q'Els\- \text{to sink under water} \]
\[ 'mens\- \text{to measure} \]
\[ t'ems\- \text{to beat time} \]
\[ s'rx'\- \text{to paddle} \]
\[ yix'u\- \text{to dance} \]

In some cases the preceding vowel, if accented, is contracted with the \( y \) which has originated from \( s \).

\[ qas\- \text{to walk} \]

The use of \( dz \) and \( y \) in place of \( s \) does not seem to follow any definite rules. Thus we find—

\[ le'ndzem (la-ns-em) \text{means of taking under water X 62.10} \]
\[ qq'dzazs \text{place of walking (considered not as goods as } qq'yas) \]
\[ qwâ'yaestar (qwâs-exsta) \text{to bring mouth near to one } III 71.33 \]
\[ 'wâlayas (wâlas-as) \text{size X 161.25} \]

A purely phonetic change belonging to this class is the palatalization of \( k^u \) and \( x^u \) preceding an \( o \) or \( u \). \( qlák^u \- \text{slave becomes } qlá'k\-\tilde{o} \); \( 'mek^u \- \text{a round thing being in a position becomes } 'mek'd'la \text{ round thing on water (island)} \); \( px^u \- \text{to float becomes } px'd'la \text{ 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 \( l \) 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, \( § \ 4 \)
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 hanł- to shoot, and -x'e'idd to begin, we have ha'nii'e'idd. This phenomenon will be more fully discussed in § 18 (p. 449). In a number of instances t before an affricative changes to l.

Surd k: stops changed into spirants:

\[ ^*nēk'\] to say
\[ nā'nēnak'u\] to return
\[ wēq'u\] to shove a long thing
\[ mōkh'u\] to tie

L changed into l:
\[ yīl-\] to tie
\[ āl-\] to tear
\[ kwē'xalan-xwa\]

S following l changed to ts:
\[ k!we'l-sō'ę\]
\[ q!ōx-ts!ō-ēL-sa\]
\[ legwi'l-sa g'ō'k'w\]

S following d or t forms ts:
\[ lā'gwilbend-sēs\]
\[ lē'temnd-sō'ę\]

s following another s forms with it ts:
\[ axā's-sen\]
\[ qā's-sē'stōla\]

The sounds y and w, when interconsonantal, change to ē and ō:
\[ menē'k'u\] measured
\[ ti'emē'dzō\] to beat time on something flat

\[ ^*nēx'd'ems\] time of saying
\[ ^*nēx'\]he will say III 33.13
\[ nā'nēx'ax'u'ı\] he will return home
\[ III 33.26
\[ wē'x'ustend\] to shove into water
\[ mō'x'ubāla\] to tie to end
\[ III 89.15
\[ yīl'pl'gend\] to tie to a pole
\[ III 158.32
\[ ālts'end\] to tear through (a string)
\[ kwē'xalanxva\] will dance this
\[ III 447.4
\[ k!we'ltsō'ę\] feasted III 32.32
\[ q!ō'tsx!zwilt\]sa to dress in III
\[ 303.26
\[ legwi'tsaw g'ōk'w\] the fire of the house
\[ III 109.23
\[ lā'gwilbentsēs\] to push nose
\[ with his III 349.20
\[ lē'temtsō'ę\] cover is taken off
\[ from face III 109.23
\[ axā'tsen\] place of my III 32.6
\[ qā'tsē'stōla\] to walk around
\[ III 23.13

§ 4
(p'ey-k^u [from p'es-])  
(p!€k^u one to whom potlatch is given III 163.40

(qem{k^u-k^u [from qem{x^u-}]

(qem{k^u'k^u covered with down III 153.35

(xew-k^u [from xex^u-])

(x€k^u split IV 246.39

On the other hand, ê and ō preceding a vowel become y and w.

(õ-ag-êz)

(awâ'gê crotch

(õ-wêz and

(ïn'x'sôz he was told

(ïn'x's'sêwêdâ K. K. was told

(xâ'êz something split

(xâ'ês his thing that has been split

(ðâ'sanâzâ seaseide

(ðâ'sanâ'zâs its seaside

The ending ê, when preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel, changes to ay.

(nâ'qêz mind

(nâ'qâ'yâs his mind

(g'i'gamêz chief

(g'i'gama'yâs his chief

The diphthong ay, when preceding a consonant, becomes â.

(ayô'l desired

(â'xula to desire

(gay-²nâ'kula [from qâs-])

(qâ'nâ'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 â, õ'z'mâ; with terminal o it is contracted into â, ðâ'wayne-a that salmon river becoming ðâ'wayô. On the other hand, we have, in the case of other suffixes, q'â'xxaqôs your coming, in which two adjoining a's are not contracted.

Similar contractions occur in a number of suffixes:

(ts!â-anem)

(ts!â'ûnem obtained by drawing water

(lâ'wâ-âmas)

(lawâ'mas to cause to be off from a line

(ts!â-ayu)

(ts!â'yu instrument for drawing water

(ts!â-anem)

(ts!â'nem obtained by giving

(l!âyô-ap!)

(l!ayâ'p! to exangange

(lexå'-ålisem)

(lexå'lisem to die of coughing

The consonants m and l have a similar effect upon vowels:

(dê'gém-ayu)

(dê'gemyu means of wiping face

(tlê'm-ayu)

(tlê'myu thread, i.e., means of sewing

§ 4
§ 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 $k^u$ and $x^u$ preceding an $o$ or $u$ into $k$ and $x$; 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, $\text{lng}^u$- to fish halibut, $\text{lõx}^u\text{logwa}$ 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
§ 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—

bek'u's man of the woods (from begu man, -s in woods)

tlé'k'es to lie on back on ground (from tlék- to lie on back, and the same suffix as before)

tlé'semx'tsìna stone handed (from tlé's- stone, -em plural, -x'tsìna hand)

axtsìlanā'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 -öl to obtain with stems some of which we consider as verbal, while others appear to us as nominal stems. We find qā'k'öl to obtain a slave (from qāk'- slave), and also lōl 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 begwānemx'ìd to become a man (from begwānem man, -x'ìd, inchoative), and mix'ë'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 -nauxwa sometimes,
we have lā'naṭwa he goes sometimes and x'iyā'snaṭwa place where something disappears from time to time (from x'ı's- 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 -ēy, others ending in -äm, animate beings ending in -ānäm, 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 -dzë large is used in such a manner that it conveys the impression of overwhelming size, or the subjective impression of size, while the word ²ẉụlas expresses size without the emotional element; -xol 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, -xol 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-kjutl, 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 (§§ 18-46)

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’aq- 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 denominating and predicking ideas, that, by themselves, are not sentences. Among the latter class we find a considerable number that may be designated as terminal or completive, in so far as they round off the theme into a complete word
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 $dzax^w$-
\[\begin{align*}
&dzax^w\text{wu}'n\text{ silver salmon} \\
&hanx^w- \quad \text{ha}'nö'n\text{ humpback salmon} \\
&qwâx- \quad \text{qwâ'xnis dog salmon} \\
&mél- \quad \text{mélēk'}\text{ sockeye salmon} \\
&met- \quad \text{metlā'ñē}^e\text{ large clam (Saxidomus)} \\
&lēq- \quad \text{lēq'ēste}'n\text{ kelp} \\
&ts!ēx'- \quad \text{ts!ēx'i'nas elderberry} \\
&t!ēq^u- \quad \text{t!ēx'sō's cinquefoil}
\end{align*}\]

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 $gē'was$ deer is treated as though it were a compound of the stem $gēz^w-\text{ to hang}$ and the suffix -a$\text{ as place}$, 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 $mē'gwat$ 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:

\[\begin{align*}
&bēk^u-\text{ man} \\
&ləp-\text{ to peg} \\
&xuls-\text{ to long} \\
&mél- \text{ sockeye salmon}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
&bā'kium genuine man, Indian (see no. 111) \\
&ləbe'm pegging utensil, peg (see no. 173) \\
&xu'lyālīsem to die of longing 382.27 (see no. 152) \\
&melmā'ñō head of sockeye salmon
\end{align*}\]

§ 18
When a significant suffix is added to a word provided with a significant suffix, the latter loses its formal, completive element, if it has one, and the new suffix is attached to the theme of the first suffix. For instance:

\[ t'i\text{ek}^u \text{ tc to move, } -ax- \text{ down (no. 19), } -g'alil \text{ in house (no. 46), } \]
\[ t'i\text{ek}\text{wâ}xalil \text{ to take down in house } \]
\[ hël- \text{ right, } -k'i!\text{ot opposite (no. 12), } -ag- \text{ crotch (no. 71), } -\varepsilon \text{ noun (no. 161), } \]
\[ hë'lk'!\text{odaq}^\varepsilon \text{ right side in crotch, i.e., right anal fin } \]
\[ xunk^u- \text{ child, } -ad \text{ having (no. 170); } -x^\varepsilon \text{id to begin (no. 90), } \]
\[ xu'\text{ngwad}ex^\varepsilon \text{id to begin to have a child } \]
\[ L'i\text{aq}^u- \text{ red, copper; } -\varepsilon \text{stl- around (no. 6), } -g'alil \text{ in house (no. 46), } \]
\[ -k^u \text{ passive participle, } L'i\text{a}'qwë\text{stalilk}^u \text{ made to be copper all around in the house } \]
\[ ^=\text{mél- white, } -xlō \text{ hair of body (no. 76), } -\text{qeml mask (no. 54a), } \]
\[ ^=\text{më'lxloqeml white body-hair mask, i.e., mountain-goat mask } \]

Other suffixes are added to words which retain their formal, completive elements. Examples are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem.</th>
<th>Complete suffix.</th>
<th>Suffix.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qi'lwê'lu- slave</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>-bidō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi'wās- to cry</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-bula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sās- children</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-nuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>sās- children</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-nuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In still other cases the usage is not absolutely fixed:

\[ h\text{anl}- \text{ to shoot, } -b\text{es fond of, } ha'\text{nlb}es \text{ fond of shooting } \]
\[ e'ax- \text{ to work, } -\text{alal completive suffix, } -b\text{es fond of, } e'\text{axalab}es \text{ fond of work } \]

or with slight differentiation of meaning:

\[ bêk^u- \text{ man, } -\text{anem completive suffix, } -k'!\text{lêla noise } \]
\[ bêk'!\text{wâ}la man's voice \]
\[ be\text{gwâ}neml'\text{lêla voice of a man } \]

For convenience' sake those suffixes that are attached to the stem without its formal, completive endings may be called stem-suffixes; those 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.

§ 18
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 fortés, and the other in the transformation of surds and fortés 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 (q), 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:

\[ \text{dze'dzönoqotála and dze'dzönoqoxtála Dzö'noq'was on top 118.29} \]
\[ \text{megug\'v!t\'iđ to rub on 199.11} \]

Suffixes with initial g', x', and q lose these sounds also after the spirant palatals and velars (x', x'', x, x''), while initial k'! is generally retained in these cases:

\[ \text{sepex'lx-k\'!alá-g\'ilé ringing noise on water 152.34 (nos. 144, 42)} \]
\[ \text{ax-k\'!alá to ask 7.5 (no. 144)} \]
\[ \text{ts\'ex-k\'!\'ly-end-álá to drop in lap 258.2 (nos. 70, 2, 91)} \]

This rule, however, is not rigid. We find, for instance,

\[ \text{gemx-ôt-stá\'z-lil left hand side of door X 76.6 (nos. 12, 59, 46) where} \]
\[ \text{the initial sound of -k\'!öt drops out; and} \]
\[ \text{ex-k\'!ôt straight down, where it is retained} \]

44877—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 \( q \) of \( ñeq \)-straight.

Suffixes with initial \(-k^r\) lose this sound under the same conditions that govern the elision of \( g^r, x^r, \) and \( q \). An exception is—

\[ ge'lkwônd \] to lift by the top (\( gelq'-k^r\)-nd, nos. 38, 2)

Terminal \( l \) of the stem has the effect of eliding all initials. Only one exception has been found:

\[ kél-k'!ôt \] right side 81.2

It is interesting to note that the suffix \(-g^riu\), 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 \( õ \) vowel, when, according to the general phonetic rules, it should be expected to assume the form \(-g^riu\) (see no. 57).

Among these suffixes the following weaken the terminal consonant:

-xtâ head
-x'sa away from

Strengthening is:

-k'!âla noise

The suffix \(-x^ståd\) (nos. 87 and 90), and the inchoatives in \(-g'al-, -g'ïl-, -g'aë-\) (no. 197), lose the initial \( x^r, g'\), or \( g^r \) after all consonants except \( m, n, l, \) and after sonants. At the same time terminal \( p \) and \( t \) are transformed into the forties \( p! \) and \( t! \), and all \( k \) and \( l \) stops are transformed into their spirants, while \( s \) and \( l \) remain unchanged.

The suffix \(-sqem\) round surface (no. 85), which is undoubtedly related to \(-gem\) face, follows the same rules as suffixes in \( g \), but it always retains its \( s \): We find, instead of

\[ më'x-sqem \] më'xsem to sleep on a round object
\[ ma^t-sqem \] ma^tse'm two round objects

The suffix \(-stästa\) around has the form \(-së^stå\) after vowels, \( m, n, l, \) and behaves, therefore, in a manner opposite to that of suffixes in \( g^r, x^r, \) and \( q \).

The suffix \(-sqwap\) fire loses its initial \( s \) after stems ending in \( s \), except when affixed to the stem \( t'ës-\) stone, in which case both \( s \)'s are lost, and we find the form \( t!ë'qwap\) stones on fire.

The suffix \(-sx'ä\) 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.

\( § \) 18
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 -$g’il$, 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 qāsata’sela to be walking down river. Here the $l$ weakens the terminal $s$ of qās, while in se’xultū’sela to begin to paddle down river (from sēx$^u$- to paddle) the terminal $x^u$ 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; -wults!ō out of (no. 37). In the suffix -stō$^e$ eye, opening, the $l$ is substituted for $s$, perhaps on account of the cumbersome form that would result, -ltstō$^e$. The terminal $t$ of the suffix -k’lōt opposite (no. 12) changes regularly to $l$ before ts!:

hēl$k’lōtts!āna instead of hēl$k’lōt-ts!āna right hand

It would seem that the $l$ before ts! is sometimes a glide, at least I cannot offer a satisfactory explanation of its occurrence:

ō- SOMETHING, -ig$^-$ back, -x’ts!ān$-$ hand, -ē$^f$ noun, form awī-g’ālts!ānē$^f$ back of hand

dā to take, -ba end, ts!ān hand, -d inchoative, form dā’bal-ts!ānend to lead by the hand

$^enq$ middle, -ts!ō in, -la verbal ending, form $^enqetls!ā’la to be in the middle

Similar phonetic groupings occur, however, without the $l$:

$^wāb$ water, -ts!ō in, $^wā’bets!ō$ water in something

Following is a list of suffixes grouped according to their mode of attachment and effect upon the stem:

**WORD-SUFFIXES**

**Adverbial**

- $fmsk^u$ I told you so!
- $eng’a$ it seemed in a dream
- āna perhaps
- azaa also
- $č’l$ astonishing!
- $wist!a$ very
- ul past
- $p!en$ times
- $bōla$ to pretend
- $^em$ indicating close connection in thought between two sentences
- $^em-wis$ and so
- mā at once
- t!ā but
- naξwa from time to time

§ 18
-nēsɁ oh, if!
-ńōč too much
-sōč passive
-dzā indeed
-g'anem perhaps
-k'as indeed
-k'asτō beautiful, beautifully
-k'inal miserably
-g'āmas for the reason that
-g'ānakʷ quite unexpectedly
-g'ālam to no purpose
-x' exhortative
-xença evidently

-xōl behold!
-x'dē transition from present to past
-x'sāla carelessly
-x'sā still
-x'sτ'aakʷ apparently, like
-x'sτl as usual
-x'tā very
-x'tē miserably
-x'l it is said
-lag'i, meanwhile
-lax potentiality
-l future

Adjectival

-o small
-bidoč small (singular)
-menhɛ small (plural)

-dzē large
-ŋa female, woman

Miscellaneous

-ōstq'la to use so and so often
-sdana to die of—
-xa to say—
-lāl to dance like
-ts'es (-dzes?) piece of

-sqeml mask
-ŋamēč the one among—, excellent
-ŋwa's days

STEM-SUFFIXES

Indifferent Suffixes

-ɛm nominal suffix
-ɛlg'is doing for others
-a verbal and nominal suffix
-a'w'il across
-ap! neck
-ap! each other
-āmas to cause
-atus down river
-ānem class of animate beings
-anō instrument, passive
-asdē meat
-yag'a returning
-aqa past
-āxa down
-agō extreme
-āla continued position
-²yāla to go to look for

-ɛm's near by
-ēsōč rest
-ɛlāla about
-ō meeting
-ō out of
-āla on water
-āla each other
-ōmas class of animals
-ōt, (-wut) fellow
-²usta up river
-²usdēs up from the beach
-ōkʷ person
-ōlem nominal suffix
-ōz to obtain
-ōlēla continued motion
-ōlēta into, in
-ōa end

§ 18
-p!a taste
-p!ala smell
-p!altō with eyes
-bes expert, fond of
-p!ēq tree
-pōl (Newettee dialect) into, in
-manō head
-mis useless part
-mut refuse
-mp relationship
-d inchoative
-dems time of
-ënak direction
-nd inchoative
-ents!ēs down to beach

-ēnx edge
-saqo penis
-śta water
-śsa!e- with hands
-ślaq long
-śśō in
-dsaqa to speak
-śk'ä to speak
-śk'ina accidentally
-śq!es to swallow
-śq!eqē meat
-śq!ā to feel
-śsa flat
-šlā top of head
-śllō top of tree, hair on body
-śa verbal and nominal suffix

Hardening Suffixes

-em genuine
-emśya cheek
-es expert
-a on rock
-a to endeavor
-aqa among
-ēmas class of animals
-ēnē abstract noun
-ēnoxu nomen actoris
-ēs body (?)

-ēq in body
-ēxsd to desire
-ōś cheek
-ōbō chest
-ś on ground
-ś'aśl to begin to make noise
-xō neck
-xsd hind end
-xla bottom end

Weakening Suffixes

-em instrument
-em diminutive
-en nominal suffix
-śenē season
-ēlku doing regularly
-ēlttus down river
-ayu instrument
-Śbō under
-śmāla along river
-śd having
-śbō ear
-śānem obtained by—
-śaño rope
-śas place
-śats!ē receptacle
-śag crotch
-śalas material (?)

-śalīsem to die of—
-śē nominal suffix (?)
-śād having
-śiṃt obtained by—
-śēs body (?)
-śēs beach
-śēgē back
-śl in house
-śl into house
-śēsla ashore (?)
-śiba nose
-śl!xō mouth
-śōyō middle
-śns obtained unexpectedly
-śōl ugly
-śnakula gradual motion
-śēq corner

§ 18
-nō side
-nōs side
-nulem temples
-nulg'a groins
-nsa under water
-ndzem throat
-dzō flat

-kʷə passive participle
-ks in canoe
-x'sa away
-xxsēg'a front of house
-xxsta 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'avē between
-k'ē top of a square object

Losing initial k'!:
-k'!in body
-k'!āla noise
-k'!ot opposite

Losing initial x'-:
-x'sid to begin
-x'sid past
-x'pleg'a thigh
-x'dem place
-x'daxu pronominal plural
-x'dē transition from present
to past
-x's across

Losing initial g'a-:
All inchoatives in -g'al-, such as—
-g'alit in house
-g'alēks in canoe

Losing initial q:
-qed fare
-qeml mask

Losing initial x:
-xta seaward
-xsa through
-xta head

Losing or modifying initial s:
-sxstā around
-stō eye
-sōk'u person

§ 18
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 *goy*-  
stem *gawot*-  
stem *gin*-  
stem *xunk*-  
stem *bas-*

stem p'es- to flatten

 Automated extract of §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).

(2) Temporal suffixes (§§ 25–26, nos. 86–97).
   (a) Purely temporal suffixes (§ 25, nos. 86–89).
   (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).
   (b) Suffixes denoting degrees of certainty (§ 28, nos. 105–107).
   (c) Suffixes denoting judgments regarding size, intensity, and quality (§ 29, nos. 108–126).
   (d) Suffixes denoting emotional states (§ 30, nos. 127–129).
   (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).

§ 19
(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. 156–160).
(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. u indicates that the terminal con-

§ 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:
   mǐx'-
   qās-
   with -l-:
   ts!ex'-

(b) Nominal:
   leq'-
   -qa female, as in Hā'la'mā'la'ga mouse woman 11.12 (but Hā'la'mā'la'g O mouse woman!)
   with -l-:
   ^na- light
   pāxa- shaman

2. -d[stem-s.]. The first impression of the suffix -d is that it transforms intransitive verbs into transitive ones.

   q!ōxts!ō' to have on
   lā'ba to go to the end

   q!ōxts!ō'd to put on
   lā'bend to reach the end.

§ 20
A closer examination shows that both forms occur in transitive as well as in intransitive verbs.

-d intransitive:

\[ ^{\text{exw}^\ddagger \text{xsd}} \text{End} \] to begin to be near 107.17

\[ ^{\text{l} \text{wax}^\ddagger \text{d}} \] to hand down a copper 84.3

without -d, transitive:

\[ ^{\text{QLD}} \text{xsl} \text{ala} \] to have on 98.27

\[ ^{\text{n} \text{sl} \text{ala}} \] to pull through 76.1

\[ ^{\text{da} \text{d}} \text{Eba} \] 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 -ō or ā, and after -axa down (no. 19), it amalgamates with the terminal vowel and becomes -ōd.

(a) -d:

\[ ^{\text{Q} \text{en} \text{pem} \text{d}} \] to cover face 299.21 (from -gem face; see no. 54)

(b) nd:

\[ ^{\text{dz} \text{a} \text{k} \text{o} \text{z} \text{E} \text{nd}} \] to rub hind end 96.21 (from -xI-hind end; see no. 15)

\[ ^{\text{t} \text{i} \text{t} \text{s} \text{e} \text{st} \text{E} \text{nd}} \] to cut around 138.18 (from -e^st-around; see no. 6)

\[ ^{\text{ts} \text{E} \text{bete} \text{nd}} \] to throw in 365.16 (from -bE-t-into; see no. 28)

\[ ^{\text{da} \text{b} \text{end}} \] to take end 15.7 (from -b-end; see no. 31)

(c) -ōd:

\[ ^{\text{n} \text{sl} \text{xsod} \text{d}} \] to pull through 53.17 (from -xsā through; see no. 3)

\[ ^{\text{l} \text{a} \text{sa} \text{g} \text{od}} \] to put farthest seaward (from -ago extreme; see no. 13)

\[ ^{\text{ne} \text{g} \text{o} \text{y} \text{od}} \] to move in middle 141.7 (from -ō^yō-middle; see no. 16)

\[ ^{\text{n} \text{sl} \text{xustod} \text{d}} \] to pull up 184.37 (from -ustā up; see no. 20)

\[ ^{\text{Q} \text{l} \text{dl} \text{xsl} \text{od} \text{d}} \] to put on clothes 15.10 (from -tsIö in; see no. 27)

\[ ^{\text{l} \text{a} \text{y} \text{abdod}} \] to push under 80.13 (from -abō under; see no. 29)

\[ ^{\text{l} \text{a} \text{xtdod} \text{d}} \] to reach top 196.34 (from -xtd on top; see no. 30)

\[ ^{\text{q} \text{ix} \text{o} \text{d}} \] to take off 16.10 (from -ō-off; see no. 37)

§ 20
3. -xsâ through [stem-s., ind.] loses the initial x.

- la to go
- k!umâl- to burn
- qâs- to walk
- p!el- to fly
- sêxânu- to paddle
- nêx- to pull
- ts!elqânu- hot

4. -x'sz through [stem-s., ind.] loses the initial x.

- 'wil- entirely
- g'âx to come
- sakâzu- to carve meat
- sôp- to chop
- lem't to split

5. -lûâ(la) about [stem-s., ind.]
- dôq- to see
- q!wes- to squeeze
- pes- to drift
- ôdz- wrong

6. -Êst(a) and -sêÊst(a) around [stem-s., ind.]

(a) After vowels, m, and n; -êst(a):
- õ- something
- k'wa to sit
- qelq- to swim
- mô'plen four times

(b) After vowels, m, and n; -êst(a):
- awê'sta circumference 85.9
- k!we'ëstala to sit about
- gelqamêstala to swim around, plural (see no. 196), 153.22
- mô'plenêësta four times around 13.9
- lenêësta to forget 25.3
(b) After $k$ and $l$ sounds, $s$, $p$: -$sेst(a)$:

$q\dot{a}s$- to walk

$mìx$- to strike

$d_{Ex}$- to jump

$k\cdot lìml$- to adze

$x\cdot ìlp$- to twist

7. -($E$)$q(\eta)$ AMONG [STEM-s., h].

$sèx$- to paddle

$yaq$- to distribute

$d$- something

$x\cdot ìlp$- to turn

$nàq$- mind

$mék$- a round thing is somewhere

$g\cdot ì$- to be somewhere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$sèx$</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$yaq$</td>
<td>distribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x\cdot ìlp$</td>
<td>turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$nàq$</td>
<td>mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$mék$</td>
<td>a round thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g\cdot ì$</td>
<td>somewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are apparently a few cases in which this suffix weakens the stem. I found the two forms $q\dot{a}ts!ega$ and $q\dot{a}qga$ to WALK AMONG, derived from $q\dot{a}s$- to WALK.

It is also used to express the superlative:

$g\cdot ìlt!$- long

$g\cdot ìlt!aga$ long among (i.e., the longest)

7a. -$gamë$. This suffix may belong here, although its use as a word-suffix and the indifferent action upon the last consonant make its relations doubtful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$g\cdot ìgamë$</td>
<td>head chief (= chief among others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$xwàk\cdot unagamë$</td>
<td>excellent canoe (= canoe among others)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. -$k\cdot ã$, -$k\cdot vau$ BETWEEN [STEM-s., IND.] loses initial $k$- after $s$ and $k$- and $l$ sounds. The original form may be $k\cdot w\cdot ã$ (see § 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k\cdot lìml$- to adze</td>
<td>$k\cdot lìml\cdot ãla$ to adze between V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$qens$- to adze</td>
<td>$qens\cdot ãla$ to adze between V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\cdot wëx$- to devise</td>
<td>$k\cdot wëx\cdot k\cdot wax\cdot wë$ inventor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 21
Lâ'x\textsuperscript{u}- to stand

Lâ'lexwawayaa\textsuperscript{u}'s place of standing repeatedly between on ground 140.35 (Lâ'le\textsuperscript{u}, -au, -s [no. 44]; -as place [no. 182])

Hamâ'łakawë\textsuperscript{z} 111.29

bék\textsuperscript{u}- man

békâwë\textsuperscript{z} 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'âl- first

lï\textsuperscript{s}- seaward

gwâ- down river, north

ënâ'la south

xwêl- back

In the following examples the terminal consonant is weakened:

qwâs- to turn to

ët!- again

10. -x's(a) away from [stem-s., w].

p!el- to fly

qâs- to walk

han- hollow object is somewhere

mäx'ts- to be ashamed

ëwîl- entire

sêx\textsuperscript{u}- to paddle

After x the initial x\textsuperscript{t} seems to be lost:

ax- to do

axsâ'nô it is taken off

10a. -yaga'a returning [stem-s., ind.].

lâ'ya\textsuperscript{g}a to go back X 186.18

hô'xyaga'a they go back X 190.12

lâ'z\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{g},\textsuperscript{él}it to re-enter house 386.11

11. -em\textsuperscript{s} near by [stem-s., ind.]. Possibly the terminal-s does not belong to the suffix, but signifies on the ground (no. 44).

ëwun- to hide

k\textsuperscript{u}wa to sit

Lax\textsuperscript{u}- to stand

ëwunë\textsuperscript{m}s to hide near by

k\textsuperscript{u}wëm\textsuperscript{s}s to sit near by

Laxwë\textsuperscript{m}s to stand watching

§ 21
12. -k'lot opposite [stem-s., ind.]. After s the initial k' disappears.

la to go  
lak'lotend to go to the opposite side 271.8

aps- side  
apsō't the other side 96.28

qwēs- far  
qwē'śōt the far opposite side

gwā- down river  
gwā'k'lot the opposite side down river 130.22

hēl- right hand  
hē'lk'lotēdnēgwil the right hand corner in the house 81.2 (see nos. 18, 46)

Before the affricative ts, t changes to l.

hē'lk'lotōts!āna the right hand 15.11 (see no. 67)

While q before this suffix changes to x in ʰne'k'lot (from ʰneq-)

right opposite, the k' drops out in gemxōt left side (from gemx-)

13. -aqō extreme [stem-s., ind.].

ēk'!- above  
ēk'!aqō farthest above X 179.32

lāš- seaward  
lā'šaqōd to put farthest seaward

gwā- north  
gwā'gwā'x extreme north end 218.9

14. -xsd behind, hind end, tail end [stem-s., h].

leq- to slap  
le'q!exsd to slap behind

ts!ēk'w- short  
ts!ēk'w'exsd a short person

q!a'ku'xsdē to have a notch for a tail 279.18

ēk'!a up  
ēk'!axsdāla to have hind end up V 325.8

ō- something  
ō'xsdē hind end V 490.28

nūn wolf  
nū'nxsdē wolf tail 279.13

15. -xl(a) behind, bottom, stern [stem-s., h].

ʰwā'las large  
ʰwā'latongs!eļa (canoe) with large stern

ō- something  
ō'xlē' stern of canoe 127.23

ʰxlax'sidē' heel V 475.5 (see no. 75)

hanl- to shoot  
ha'nls!exlend to shoot stern of canoe

ɡwāl- to groan  
ɡwā'l!exlā'la to groan afterwards X 5,11

§ 21
16. -ō'yō middle [stem-s., w].

mōkⁿ to tie mō'qwoś'yō to tie in middle 370.13

la to go lō'z'yō to go to the middle U.S.N.M. 670.17

ō- something ōyā'ez the middle 273.23

k'ip- to clasp k'ibo'yōd to clasp in the middle, to embrace X 177.4

gō'kⁿ house grō'kwos'yō middle of house 248.28

da to hold dā'yiwę to hold in middle V 325.7

17. -nō side. The form of this suffix is variable. On the one hand, we have the word-suffix -nō, from which are formed ā'lanāč LANDSIDE 20.1, ē'nā'lanāč SEASIDE 272.3; and, on the other hand, we have -nō as stem-suffix, weakening the terminal consonant. From this form we have—

ax- to do akinsonis to place by the side 177.39

laxⁿ to stand lā'nōlis to stand by the side 37.9

t!ex'- trqil, door t!E'nnoč side door X 171.28

We have also -nus, sometimes indifferent, sometimes weakening the terminal consonant.

It weakens the terminal sound in the following forms:

hēl- right side hē'lk'-ōd'enutsę right side 175.14 (see no. 12)

qās- to walk qā'dzenō'dzendala to walk alongside

qā'nō'dzendala to walk alongside

sēxⁿ- to paddle si'wonudzę paddling alongside

laxⁿ- to stand lā'wunōdzelil to stand alongside in house 31.34

It is indifferent in the following forms:

da to take dā'banusela to take alongside 152.5 (see no. 31)

dzelxⁿ to run dzel'ļunudzę running alongside

The ending -nulem (no. 54b) suggests a third form, -nul.

§ 21
18. -mēqʷ corner [stem-s., ind. (w.?)].

ō- something
hēl- right side
aps- one side
han- hollow object is somewhere

ō'mēqʷwil corner in house 56.15
hēl'!ōdnē'qwil right-hand corner in house 81.2 (see nos. 12, 46)
apsā'mēqʷēs one corner of mind 260.40
hanē'qwil (kettle) stands in corner of house X 125.29

19. -ā.x(a) down [stem-s., ind.].

la to go
wa river
p'el- to fly
löx- to roll
dzelxʷ- to run
la to go

With -ayu (no. 174) it forms -axōʰyu.

ts!eq- to throw

With the inchoative (no. 2) it forms -axōᵈ.

ax- to do
wul- in vain
lel- to invite in
llāqʷ- red, copper

taxōᵈ to take down 48.24
wulā'xōᵈ to bring down in vain U.S.N.M. 727.10
lēl'axōᵈ to call down 185.36
ll!ā'qeqxōᵈ to hand down a copper, i.e., to sell a copper 84.3

20. -gʷustā up [stem-s., ind.] loses ʰ after s, and k and l sounds.

ga- morning, early
k!wā to sit
eⁿem⁹mp⁹en once
q!ōm- rich

gā'gʷustā' to rise early 61.5
k!wā'gʷustālt to sit up in house 50.17 (see no. 46)
eⁿem⁹mp⁹engʷustā (to jump) up once 390.13
Q!ō'mgʷustāls wealth coming up on ground (name) 377.1 (no. 44)
dōqʷ- to see
dexʷ- to jump

kō'gʷustala to look up X 167.37
dex'ō'stā to jump up X 179.17
xʷ changes before ō to x', see p. 436

nēx- to pull
qās- to walk
pl!el- to fly

nē'xustōd to pull up 184.37
qā'sustāla to walk up
p!elō'stā to fly up

§ 21
21. -nts'ës down to beach [stem-s., ind.]

la to go
qâs- to walk
lêl- to invite in, to call
lô'gwala supernatural

lênts'ës to go to beach 80.21
qâ'sents'ës to walk to beach
lêlents'ësela to call down to beach 80.17
lô'legwalents'ësela the supernatural ones coming down to the beach 159.18

22. -usdës up from beach [stem-s., ind.]

qâs to walk
la to go
xâp- to grasp in talons
ôxl- to carry on back

qâ'susdës to walk up from beach
lá'sedës to go up from beach 211.15
xâ'pusdës to grasp and carry up the beach X 155.21
ôxlosdësel to carry on back up the beach X 162.15

22a. -xt!a out to sea [stem-s., w]. Loses initial x.

gê'ligt!a to swim out to sea X 144.27
dô'gut!âla to look out to sea X 117.26
kwadzet!ô'd to kick out to sea X 111.1

23. -atûs and -eltûs down river, down inlet [stem-s., -atûs ind., -eltûs ind. and w.]

yâl- to blow
qelq- to swim
qamx- down of birds
qâs- to walk
lá to go

yâlatû'sêla to blow down the inlet 274.5
qelqatû'sêla to swim down river
qa'mzwatôsêla down coming down river 154.30
qâ'dzetilûsela to walk down river
Lâ'tôselag'ilîs going down river (westward) through the world (name) X 84.39
se'wultû'sêla and se'xultû'sêla to paddle down river

24. -usta up river [stem-s., ind.]

hôq- to go [plural]
'neq- straight
qâs- to walk
sêx- to paddle

hô'x'usta to walk up river 62.31
'ne'x'usta' to continue up river 70.23
qâ'sûstûla to walk up river
sê'x'ûstûla to paddle up river
25. -a'wil across [stem-s., ind.].

\( ^{\prime}m\phi-\) to load

\( ^{\prime}gelq-\) to swim

\( ^{\prime}m\phi'\)il a canoe carrying load across 131.23

\( ^{\prime}gelq'\)il'ela swimming across 148.18

26. -ns(a) under water [stem-s., w].

\( \epsilon\eta l-\) again

\( ^{\prime}neq-\) straight

\( k!wa\) to sit

\( wun-\) to hide (?)

\( \epsilon\eta l'\)ensla again under water 143.19

\( ^{\prime}neq'\)ensela straight under water V 477.30

\( k!u'nsa\) to sit in water 64.22

\( wu'ns\)il to sink 143.32 (see no. 90)

27. -ts'ō in [stem-s., ind.].

\( m\alpha -\) fish

\( ^{\prime}mel-\) white

\( ax-\) to do

\( ts'ix'-\) sick

\( m\alpha 'l\) two

\( q!o'x-\) to dress

\( g\eta -\) to be somewhere

\( la\) to go

\( m\alpha 'lts'\)ila two inside, i. e., two in a canoe 147.15

\( q!o'xlts'\)il to dress in, to put on garment 98.1

\( g\eta 't\)its'\)i\)was place of going in (see no. 182)

\( la'lt\)is'\)il to come out of room in house 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46)

\( ^{\prime}wil-\) entirely

\( m\alpha 'lts'\)ila (strength) gives out entirely 141.2 (see no. 37)

28. -bēta into hole [stem-s., ind.].

\( d\)ex-\) to jump

\( la\) to go

\( L\)enx- to shove

\( d\)ex'\)bēta' to jump into 99.1

\( la'bedas\) place of going into (hole) 9.10 (see no. 182)

\( L\)en'\)be\)end to shove in X 224.17

28a. -pōl into hole, in hole (Newetette dialect) [stem-s., ind.].

\( kul-\) to lie

\( \phi-\) something

\( kul'\)il to lie down in a room in the house X 207.22 (see no. 46)

\( \phi'\)pō'\)il room in house X 207.23

§ 21
29. -ulō UNDER [STEM-S., W.]

lūs- to push
ō- something

\[\text{g}\hat{\text{i}}\text{gami}^{\text{z}} \text{ chief}\]

\[\text{gelq- to grasp}\]

30. -xtā ON TOP OF A LONG STANDING OBJECT [STEM-S., W.] seems to

\[\text{ō- something}\]

\[\text{k!wē} to sit\]

\[\text{k!us- to sit, plural}\]

\[\text{āp- to pinch}\]

\[\text{ā'mas float}\]

\[\text{īmek}^{\text{v}}- \text{round thing is somewhere}\]

31. -b(ă) END OF A LONG HORIZONTAL OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.]

\[\text{dōq}^{\text{u- to see}}\]

\[\text{L}!\text{lūs- sea}\]

\[\text{L}!\text{ēx- sea-lion}\]

\[\text{qanā'yu lasso}\]

\[\text{dā to take}\]

\[\text{ha'nl- to shoot}\]

\[\text{ōdz- wrong}\]

\[\text{hēl- right}\]

\[\text{xīq- to burn}\]

\[\text{lu to go}\]

\[\text{§ 21}\]
32. $-x^*L(a)$ on top of a rounded object [stem-s., ind.] loses $x^*$ after $p$, $s$, $k$, and $l$ sounds.

This ending has assumed two specific meanings:

(a) On the flames of the fire:

- $ax$- to do
- $t!e'qwep$ stone in fire
- $han$- a hollow object is somewhere

(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.

33. $-(E)nE$ edge of a flat or long object [stem-s., ind.]

- $da$ to take
- $qas$- to walk
- $temk^u$- to chop, bite out

34. $-nt$ edge of a round object [stem-s., ind.]

- $qas$- to walk

35. $-dzọ$ on a flat object [stem-s., w.]

- $qas$- to walk
- $al'e^u$- to hunt sea-mammals
- $t!ep$- to step
- $dọgy^u$- to see
xus- hill on which fortified vil-

gage is built

$\bar{t}\bar{\ell}\bar{k}^\ddagger$- to lie on back

$xudzedz\bar{\imath}^\ddagger$is hill on flat on

beach X 227.7

$t\bar{\ell}\bar{\ell}g^\ddagger edz\bar{\imath}ol\ddot{\imath}$ to lie on back on flat

thing in house (see no. 46)

** -sqem ** ON A ROUND OBJECT (see no. 85)

36. -g'egra INSIDE OF A HOLLOW OBJECT [STEM-s., w.] loses initial g'ë.

$\ddot{o}$- something

$m\ddot{o}\dot{q}^\ddagger$- yellowish

$\ddot{o}'g'uq'r^\ddagger$ inside of hollow thing

$m\ddot{o}'g'uq'r^\ddagger$ yellowish inside (=

spoon of horn of the big-

horn sheep) U.S.N.M. 680.2

$ts\ddot{\ddot{o}}\dot{x}^\ddagger$- to wash

$ts\ddot{\ddot{o}}'xug^\ddagger$ind to wash inside

V 432.42

36a. -nulgrä HOLLOW SIDE (compound of -nô and -g'ra, nos. 17, 36).

$\ddot{o}$- something

$\ddot{o}'nulgy'\dot{a}\ddot{\ddot{e}}^\ddagger$groins

37. -ô 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'îl- (see no. 197) and -ô. It is not impossible that

this suffix -ô may be identical with -wâ, -ô (no. 124). This is

suggested by such forms as $t!\ddot{\ell}'pôd$ to step off (from $t!\ddot{\ell}p^\ddagger$ to

step), but the identity of these suffixes is not certain.

(a) With the completive terminal -d:

$ax^\ddagger$- to do

$qix^\ddagger$- to put around

$elk^\ddagger$- blood

$t!\ddot{\ddot{o}}s^\ddagger$- to cut

$saq!^\ddagger$- to peel

$ax\ddot{o}'d$ to take out

$qix\ddot{o}'d$ to take off 16.10, 39.29

$elk\ddot{o}'d$ to bleed 197.21 (see

p. 436)

$t!\ddot{\ddot{o}}\ddot{s}\ddot{o}d$ to cut off 279.13

$saq!\ddot{o}'d$ to peel off V 473.27

(b) With other primary suffixes:

$ax^\ddagger$- to do

$la$ to go

$\ddot{\ell}wîl^\ddagger$- all

$la$ to go

$\ddot{\ell}ex^\ddagger$-

$ax\ddot{o}'dala$ to take off

$l\ddot{a}wels$ to go out (see nos.

44, 197)

$\ddot{\ell}wîl^\ddagger\ddot{\ell}\ddot{o}\ddot{\ddot{e}}sta$ all out of water 21.8

(see no. 39)

$l\ddot{a}\ddot{\ddot{e}}sta$ to go out of water 356.6

$\ddot{\ell}exust\ddot{\ddot{e}}'nd$ to take out X

155.39 (see no. 39)

§ 21
\(\varepsilon\text{mo} \) to load \(\varepsilon\text{molts'â'la} \) to unload 55.33
(see nos. 27, 91).

\(\text{la} \) to go \(\text{lölts'â'lit'lo} \) to go out of room 194.31
(see nos. 27, 46).

\(\text{ax}^\ast \text{wults'â'oid} \) to take out (see no. 27).

\(\text{la} \) to go \(\text{lâ'wiöd} \) to take off from forehead 22.2
(see no. 57).

\(\text{g'âx} \) to come \(\text{g'âxwugâ} \) to come out of inside of something 415.31

\(\text{q!'ö'l'weqâ} \) to well up out of a hole

\(\text{han-} \) a hollow thing is somewhere \(\text{hanö'qâl's} \) (box) coming out of
ground X 35.31 (see no. 44).

\(\text{c} \) The following are evidently compounds of the suffix -ö or
-wul, but the second elements do not seem to be free.

-wult!a out of an enclosed place:

\(\varepsilon\text{wi}^\varepsilon\) all \(\varepsilon\text{wi}^\varepsilon\text{lölta} \) all out of the woods 42.34

\(\text{dēx}^\varepsilon \) to jump \(\text{dēx}^\varepsilon \text{wults'â'lit'lo} \) to jump out of room in house 97.29

\(\text{zwë'laq-} \) backward \(\text{zwë'laxwults'â} \) to turn back out of 62.27

-wultâ out of canoe:

\(\varepsilon\text{wi}^\varepsilon\) all \(\varepsilon\text{wi}^\varepsilon\text{lölta} \) all out of canoe 217.20

\(\varepsilon\text{mo} \) to load \(\varepsilon\text{mölta'lasö} \) to be unloaded 217.13

-wultös down out of:

\(\text{dēx}^\varepsilon \) to jump \(\text{dēxults'â's} \) to jump down out of 279.15

\(\text{§ 22. Special Space Limitations (Nos. 38-52)}\)

38. -K·E top of a box [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial k·.

\(\text{k'wâ} \) to sit \(\text{k'wâ'k'ë'ë} \) seat on top X 155.23

\(\text{wê-} \) not \(\text{wê'k'ë'ë} \) not full

\(\text{lēp-} \) to spread \(\text{lēpeyû'ndala} \) to spread over top (see nos. 2, 91)

\(\text{nâs-} \) to cover \(\text{nâ'seyû'nd} \) to cover top

\(\varepsilon\text{ne}^\varepsilon \text{mâ'k'ë'ë} \) to be level \(\varepsilon\text{ne}^\varepsilon \text{mâ'k'ë'ë} \) level on top

\(\text{qelq}^\varepsilon \) to lift \(\text{qelxkwöend} \) to lift top of box

\(\text{§ 22}\)
39. \(-st(a)\) WATER [WORD-s. and STEM-s., IND.].

(a) Word-suffix:
- q'ula' life
- wuda' cold
- g'ala first

(b) Stem-suffix:
- ax- to do
- \(dEx^u\) to jump
- \(k\cdot\tilde{Ox}\) lukewarm
- \(\tilde{G}\) long time
- la to go
- \(ax\) to do
- \(t\tilde{C}q\) to drop
- \(gap\) to upset

40. \(-sqwap\) FIRE [STEM-s., IND.].
- q'e- many

With \(t!e\)- stone, this suffix forms \(t!e'qwap\) stone IN FIRE. With other stems ending in \(s\), one of the \(s\) sounds is dropped, which would suggest a form \(-qwap\).
- \(\tilde{O}mas\) large (Newettee dialect)
- \(\tilde{E}w\tilde{A}\)s great

41. \(-w\tilde{A}la, -\tilde{A}la\) STATIONARY ON WATER.

(a) After \(n\) and vowels \(-w\tilde{A}la;\)
- h\(an\)- hollow object is somewhere
- k\(w\tilde{A}\) to sit
- \(\tilde{L}a(\tilde{x}\) to stand
- \(g\tilde{I}\) to be
- \(\tilde{G}\) long time

§ 22
(b) After p, t, and anterior and posterior k sounds -āla:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{k'ātāla} & \text{ long object adrift} \\
\text{yā'qāla} & \text{ dead body adrift} \\
\text{mexālā} & \text{ canoes adrift on water}
\end{align*}\]

Medial k(w) sounds are transformed by this ending into the corresponding anterior sounds (see p. 436).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{†mekw} & \text{ island, i.e., round thing on water} \\
\text{pexw} & \text{ to drift}
\end{align*}\]

The inchoative form of this suffix is formed with -g'il (no. 197) and is -g'ilāla.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{k'wā} & \text{ to sit} \\
\text{k'ād} & \text{ long thing is somewhere}
\end{align*}\]

42. -Lö Moving on Water [stem-s., w]. Inchoative form -g'ilē (see no. 197) loses initial g'i.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{hanl} & \text{ to shoot} \\
\text{dōq} & \text{ to see} \\
\text{dzek'la'la} & \text{ noise of splitting} \\
\text{sepe'le'k'la} & \text{ ringing noise of metal} \\
\text{lā'k} & \text{ to stand}
\end{align*}\]

43. -u On Rocks [stem-s., n]. Inchoative form -grālā, -g'ilā (see no. 197) loses initial g'u and g'i.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{yāq} & \text{ dead body is somewhere} \\
\text{ō} & \text{ something} \\
\text{ō} & \text{ something, -nāk} \text{ direction} \\
\text{k'wa} & \text{ to sit} \\
\text{lā'k} & \text{ to stand} \\
\text{qap} & \text{ upside down}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{yā'q'wa} & \text{ to lie dead on rock} \\
\text{ō'nēq'wa} & \text{ corner on rock (see no. 18)} \\
\text{avō'nak'wa} & \text{ rocky place} \\
\text{k'waa'} & \text{ to sit on rock} \\
\text{lā'waa} & \text{ to stand on rock} \\
\text{qap'ā'wod} & \text{ to pour out on rock}
\end{align*}\]

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44. -s on ground, outside of house [stem-s., H]. Inchoative form -g'aels, -g'ıls loses initial g'a and g.

leqʷu- fire
k!wa to sit

qē long time
Laxʷu- to stand
yaqʷu- to lie dead
békʷu- man
k!wa to sit

.aws- to lead
mā to crawl, swim
gun- to try
da- to take
lā to go

.awsla all

leqʷu's fire on ground, outside of house 45.32
k!wās to be seated on ground X 173.22
k!wā'dzas place of being seated on ground X 173.31 (see no. 182)
gē's long on ground 37.14
Lāxʷs to stand on ground; tree 37.20
yāl'q!udzas place of lying dead on ground 61.8 (see no. 182)
bek!u's woodman
k!wā'g'aels to sit down on ground X 173.19
εwā'tels to lead on ground X 4.5
mā'q'ıls to move on ground 60.37
gun'ε'ls to try on ground 160.22
dā'deg'ılszd to pick up from ground X 6.18
lā'wels to go out 19.8 (see no. 37)
εwi'tela all

45. -ės, -īs 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 -ndzēs UNDER water on the bottom. Inchoative form- g'aelis loses initial g.

k!us- to sit [plural]
dōqʷu- to see

k!udzi's to sit on the beach 102.18
dō'xdogwēs to see the bottom 34.4

§ 22
ek: good
han- hollow vessel is somewhere
qap- upside down
k'wa to sit
Llą's- seaward

qap- upside down

Here may also belong the very common suffix of names -g'ilis signifying in the world:

\( ^{9}nemō'k^u \) one person
\( ^{9}masqwap \) great fire

46. -il in house, on the floor of the house[stem-s., w]. Inchoative form -g'ilil, -g'alil loses initial g'.

\( leq^u \) fire
han- hollow vessel is somewhere
\( Lax^u \) to stand
\( gā- \) early, -g'ustā up

\( kul- \) to lie, plural

\( yaq^u \) to lie dead

\( ax- \) to do
\( Lep- \) to spread
\( t'lek'- \) to lie on back

The very numerous forms in -il are evidently to a great extent derived from continuative forms in -la.

\( k'wadzā'la \) to sit on flat thing
\( gemxōtstālōa \) left side of door

\( Lep- \) to spread

\( lebegwīlk^u \) spread out on floor V 430.22 (\( Lepēk^u \) spread out, see no. 172)
47. -čL INTO HOUSE [STEM-s., W.]
   hōqʷ- to go
   dɛxʷ- to jump
   g'āx to come
   ax- to do
   hō'qwil to enter
   dɛwil′ to jump into house
   g'ālɛela to be in the act of
   axɛlɛela to put into

47a. -čLɛE'sela SHOREWARD (STEM-s., W.). This is evidently composed of -čL (no. 47); -ɛs (no. 45); -la (no. 91)
   dā'bēlɛ'sela to tow ashore

48. -cs IN CANOE [STEM-s., W]. Inchoative form -g'alaEXS loses initial g'.
   hōqʷ- to go [pl.]
   ṏ- something
   da to take
   k'īp- to hold with tongs
   ɛmō- to load
   k'wā to sit
   Ṗwil- all, entire
   ṕwil'y'-alaEXS all is in canoe
   qap- upside down
   ṕwil'y'-alaEXS to sit down in canoe
   apsāl'xlzɛ other side of canoe

49. -xLō ON TOP OF TREE [STEM-s., IND.] (compare no. 76).
   han- a hollow thing is somewhere
   g'ē- to be somewhere
   ha'nxlōd to put a box on top of a tree
   g'ē-xlō it is on a tree

50. -x'siū MOUTH OF RIVER [STEM-s., IND.] loses initial x'.
   ṕ- something
   wun- deep
   ṕx'siwɛs mouth of river
   wu'nwa'siū deep at mouth of river

51. -g'ag- SIDE, BANK OF RIVER [STEM-s., IND.]; loses initial g'.
   mak'- next
   k'wa to sit
   mā'k'agɛ next to bank of river
   k'wa'g'agɛnd to sit on bank of river
   k'wa'g'agɛls to sit down on ground by a river

§ 22
52. -xsė́g- outside front of house [stem-s., w].

\[\text{o- something} \quad \text{o'gwá̱gə̱ side of canoe 79.14} \]
\[\text{sḗxu- to paddle} \quad \text{sḗse̱xwágə̱ paddles at sides 214.40} \]
\[\text{gē̱xu- to hang} \quad \text{gḗxwa̱gə̱dāla to be suspended by the side of V 479.10} \]

§ 23. Parts of Body as Space Limitations (Nos. 53-81)

53. -xlä́ on head [stem-s., h or w?]

\[\text{o- something} \quad \text{o'xlä̱c̱ head of clam 134.10} \]
\[\text{nḗs- to pull} \quad \text{nḗts!xlä́labend to pull by the head X 171.30} \]
\[\text{e̱̱m̱̱ḻ̱- white} \quad \text{e̱̱m̱̱lḏ̱ẕ̱xlä̱ḻ̱a having white feather on head X 114.12} \]
\[\text{lḗḵ- to throw} \quad \text{lḗg̱ixlä̱ḻ̱s to throw at head outside X 116.20} \]
\[\text{nḗḻ- to show} \quad \text{nḗḻxlä̱x̱č̱iḏ̱ to begin to show head 143.10} \]

54. -gə́m face. This suffix is probably related to -sgə́m round thing (no. 85). After p, s, t, l, l, and k sounds, -em; after l, n, m, and fortes, -gə́m.

\[\text{e̱̱m̱̱ḻ̱- white} \quad \text{e̱̱m̱̱ḻ̱q̱̱m̱̱ white face} \]
\[\text{ḗḵ-! upward, high} \quad \text{ḗḵḻ̱q̱̱m̱̱’̱m̱̱aḻ̱̱̱’̱m̱̱’̱mas to cause face to be turned up (see nos. 92, 158)} \]
\[\text{q̱̱w̱̱ā̱x̱ hemlock} \quad \text{q̱̱w̱̱ā̱x̱x̱m̱̱e̱̱ hemlock on face (around head) 18.10} \]
\[\text{ẖ̱p̱- hair} \quad \text{ẖ̱p̱e̱’̱m̱ hairy face} \]
\[\text{ḻ̱ḻ’̱e̱̱ḻ- to push} \quad \text{ḻ̱ḻ’̱e̱̱ḻg̱̱m̱̱x̱č̱iḏ̱ to push from face 173.36} \]
\[\text{a̱x̱- to be} \quad \text{a̱ẕa̱m̱̱a̱ḻ̱̱’̱la to have on face 271.24} \]

Sometimes with the significance in front of:
\[\text{lā́xu- to stand} \quad \text{lā́x̱x̱m̱̱e̱̱ standing in front of} \]

It occurs also as word-suffix:
\[\text{āḻaṉe̱’̱m̱ wolf} \quad \text{āḻaṉe̱’̱m̱q̱̱m̱̱ with a wolf face,} \]

§ 23
54 a. -gEml mask [stem-s., as no. 54, or word-s.].

(a) stem-s.:  
- kun^x- thunder-bird  
- eml- white  

54 b. -nuLEm temples (= sides of face; compound of -nō side [no. 17] and -gEm face [no. 54]).

ō- something  
ma'l two  

hōl-klōt right side  

55. -Em^ya cheek [stem-s., H].

l!aq^m- red  
- nax^m- to cover with blanket  

56. -ōs cheek [stem-s., H].

l!aq^m- red  

57. -griu, -griyu forehead [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial g'.

ō- something  
wā'dzō broad  
qēs- to shine  
čk'- good  

Before vocalic suffixes the terminal u becomes w.

k'at- a long thing is somewhere  
Lās- to stick  
ho'x'hōk u a fabulous bird  
- yix^m- to dance  
x'is- to show teeth  
q!elx- wrinkled  

§ 23
békʷu- man  
.ak- to do, to be  
gums- ochre  
yil- to tie  
lā to go  

békwi'wala to have man on forehead 167.27  
aksiwala to have on forehead 19.6  
gu'msiwakʷ forehead painted red (see no. 172)  
yileys'dl to tie on forehead  
lā'wiōd 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 ō to gw.

ō- something  
laḵʷu- to stand  
xwul- to stick out  

ā'g'iwē bow of canoe 127.42  
la'xʷu'g'iwē standing in bow of canoe 127.9  
xw'deg'i'wala to stick out at bow 143.26  

Sometimes -g'iu is used with the significance AHEAD, IN FRONT, in the same way as -eγ- (no. 69) is used to express BEHIND.

sā'yapalguwala to send ahead 149.22 (probably containing the inchoative -g'il- no. 197)  
al'xul'g'iu to paddle ahead 470.17  

We have -g'iu also as word-suffix in g'ā'lagnwē leadEr 8.6.

58. -a[to EAR [stem-s., w].  
g'iltś long  
qe'mxőt left side  
heľ- to hire  
wāxs- both sides  
gwās- to turn towards  

ğ'ildatō long-eared  
qemxō'datē left ear 105.7  
hē'latā to lend ear 217.37  
wā'xsōdatē on each ear 223.2  
gwa'saatāla to turn ear to 81.43  

59. -xśto EYE, DOOR; MORE GENERAL, ROUND OPENING LIKE AN EYE [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial xś.

(a) EYE:

dā to wipe  
kwe's- to spit  
śnaq- middle  

dzex'- to rub  

dāx'stō'd to wipe eye  
kwe'stō'd to spit into eye 95.30  
śnā'qō'stāc between eyes 168.13  
dzedzex'stō'xʷūd to rub eyes X 57.34  

(b) DOOR:

ak- to do  
ō- something  

axstō'd to open door 15.6  
ō'stō'lil door of house 20.9  
§ 23
wāxs- both sides
mix- to strike
(c) ROUND PLACE:
Lēq*- to miss
Lēqʷ- to miss

ROUND PLACE: to miss

(d) TRAIL. It would seem that in this case the form -liō, which
weakens the terminal stem consonant, is also used.
naq- middle

Lēqʷ- to miss

60. -īl(a) NOSE, POINT [stem-s., w; from -b(a) POINT (no. 31)].
ōt- to perforate
ō- something
qwāxʷ- raven
lāqʷ- to push

This suffix occurs also as word-suffix.
quē'sa far

NEXWA near

61. -Exs(a) MOUTH, OUTWARD OPENING [stem-s., w].
mēhʷ- round object is some-
where
i!ōq- gap, narrow opening
ō- something

ha²m- to eat

qēl- to spread
gwās- to turn to

malt!ē- to recognize

ga- early
geg'- wife

62. -Exs(u) TOOTH [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial s.
ō'tiē hind end
aʷwabō'ē lower side

This suffix occurs also as word-suffix.
quē'sa really far from

NEXWA near

mēguXstā'le's round entrance
on beach 153.29 (see no. 45)
tiō'quXsta with small'mouth
āwaxstā' mouth of inlet 155.26,
of bottle V 486.3
hā' manōdzXesta to eat at the
side of some one 117.23 (see
no. 17)
qwās'yaXst to turn mouth to

malt!ē'Xst to recognize voice

ga'Xstālā breakfast X 167.6
geg'Xst woman's voice

ō'tiē' lower jaw 166.6
aʷwā'bosx'āē lower side of bow
of canoe 127.20

§ 23
63. -xō NECK [stem-s., II].

l!aqʷ red
ō- something
q'ixʷ- to put around

q!wēs- to squeeze
k'!ip- to hold around
sōp- to chop

L!ā'q!wexō red necked
ōxā'wē neck 149.22 (see §4.3)
q'enxā'la to have around neck
167.28
q'enxō'd to put around neck
90.2
q!wē'ts!exōd to strangle 136.32
k'!ip!exō'd to embrace around
neck X 121.38
sō'p!exōd to chop neck (i. e.,
foot of tree) V 344.15

63a. -īl!xō IN MOUTH [stem-s., w; compound of -īl (no. 47) and
-xō (no. 63)].

ēwāp water
hēl- right
ts!e!xʷ- to wash
sekʷ- to spear
xwāk!- canoe
ts!eq- to throw

ēwā'bīl!xāwē saliva
hē'lel!xāwēmouthful X 157.20
ts!we'lel!xō to rinse mouth V
432.27
sag'el!xāla to spear into
mouth U.S.N.M. 670.2
xwā'gwē!xāla canoe in mouth
U.S.N.M. 670.2
nts!eq'el!exōd to throw into
mouth 359.13

64. -ndzɛm throat [stem-s., w; perhaps related to -ns- (no. 26)].
tōp- speck
tō'bendzɛm speck in throat

65. -āp! when followed by accent -ip! NECK [stem-s., ind.].

ō- something
ax- to be
d!e!xʷ- to jump
g'ē- to be somewhere

a'wāp!el!x piece 18.5, 39.4
ga'ya'p!el!x part 38.25
axa'p!ala to have on neck 19.6
da'lwap! to jump on neck 99.27
g'ip!a'lelōd to put into neck-
piece 39.3

Also with the meaning following, behind, like -ēg- (no. 69).

Laxʷ- to stand
han- hollow thing is somewhere

lā'lwap!elis to stand behind on
beach (see no. 45)
ha'ng'il!lel!p!ala canoe fol-
lowing on water (see no. 42)
§ 23
66. \(-x'siā'p!\) ARM ABOVE ELBOW. Evidently a compound of the preceding suffix; loses initial \(x\).

\(ō\)- something

\(ēwēk\)- to carry on shoulder

\(ō'x'siap!ē\) shoulder and humerus

\(ēwix'siap!āla\) to carry on shoulder 57.16

67. \(-x'ts!ān(a)\) HAND [stem-s., ind.] loses initial \(x\).

\(t!ēs\)- stone

\(ax\)- to do

\(lɛm\)- dry

\(pɛx\)- to scorch

\(t!ē'semxts!ānā\) stone-handed 131.32

\(axts!ā'n\end\) to put on hand 198.19

\(lɛ'mɛmx'ts!ānax!ūd\) to dry hands V 430.8

\(pɛ'pɛxts!ānax!ūd\) to dry hands by fire V 429.18

After short vowels this suffix has the form \(-ltts!ānā\); with preceding \(t\) it also forms \(-ltts!ānā\).

\(dā'bu\) to hold end

\(hē'lk\)- right side

\(dā'balts!ān\end\) to take by hand X 4.31 (see no. 31)

\(hē'lk\)-!ūltts!ānā right hand 15.11

68. \(-bō\) CHEST [stem-s., ii].

\(q!āp\)- to hit

\(q!ā'p!bō\) to hit chest

69. \(-ēg!(ē)\) BACK [stem-s., w]. The terminal vowel of this suffix may be \(-a\). It appears very often, however, as \(-ē\) without any apparent grammatical reason.

\(at\)- sinew

\(ō\)- something

\(mīx\)- to strike

\(l!ūs\)- seaward

\(g'ūl\)- to walk on four feet

\(adē'g'ē\) back sinew V 487.4 (see no. 161)

\(a'w'il'g'ē\) back 144.21, V 475.6 (see no. 161)

\(mɛnɛ'g'înd\) to strike back

\(l!ū'sig!ūla\) being with back seaward 150.9 (see no. 92)

\(g'ūl'g'end\) to climb on back 279.5

\(g'ūl'g'îndalap!a\) to climb on back of neck 279.7 (see no. 65)

\(lē'q'ra\) to follow 47.41

\(ēwil'alts!ān!ē\) backs of hands X 159.30 (see no. 67)
With ending -ė it appears in—

čwun- to hide

ts!ēlk- feather

It is often used to signify behind, as in the examples given before.

It is also used in a temporal sense, afterwards.

hēl- right

L!ōp- to roast

nāq- to drink

Peculiar idiomatic uses of this suffix are—

čneq- straight

(naq- ?)

70. -k'!ilg(a) FRONT OF BODY [stem-s., ind.].

ō- something

g'ē- to be somewhere

ts!eq- to drop

ō'k!wulqē front of body

g'ē'k'!ilgend to put in lap

V 478.25

ts!exk'!ilgendāla to drop in lap 258.2

71. -aq CROTCH [stem-s., w].

ō- something

awā'qē crotch of a tree, hollow in foot of a tree

awā'qōxā small of back V 490.32 (see no. 15)

ts!ō'baygē something tucked into crotch X 175.6

g'ī'graqālā teeth in crotch 96.17

ts!edā'q woman (i. e., split in crotch?)

72. -saqō PENIS [stem-s., ind.].

mōk- to tie

mō'xqeqewak with tied penis

(see no. 172) 138.11

73. -x!plegr(a) THIGH (compounded of -x'p!ē and -q'a inside [no. 36]).

q!x- to put around

qīx!pel'g'ind to put around thigh 89.37

74. -k'āxe KNEE [stem-s., ind.].

ō- something

LEM- scab

ōkwā'xē knee 87.12

LEM'āxē with scabby knees 154.11

§ 23
75. -x'sis, -x'sidz(e) foot [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial x.

- something  
  - under  
  - that  

- to pinch

76. -xLO hair on body [stem-s., w] (compare no. 49).

- red  
  - white

77. -q!Egë meat [stem-s., probably from -q and -ga among (no. 7)]

- white (see -lxlö under no. 76)

78. -ës in body [stem-s., w].

- long  
  - round thing is  
  - sick  

78 a. -k'ës is probably a secondary form of the last, which loses its initial k', and hardens the terminal stem-consonant.

- one  
  - stout

Here belongs probably also a form -k'aës.

- branch side of tree V 344.15  
  - to enter the body 77.20

79. -q'it body [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial q'.

- something  
  - to sprinkle  
  - to sprinkle  
  - good  
  - to hang  
  - to rub

- body 202.24 V 366.13  
  - to sprinkle over body 112.19 (see no. 90)  
  - to sprinkle body 105.38  
  - well grown (tree) V 496.6  
  - to be hung to body U.S.N.M. 667.7  
  - to rub body 199.20

§ 23
In a few cases -g'it appears as word-suffix.

\[^*nā'la\] day  
\[^*nā'lag'itäso\] Day - on - Body  
196.4 (see no. 159)

\[t!e'sem\] stone  
\[T!e'semg'it\] Stone-Body 200.9

In one case the ending -g'it appears with its g' preserved after a g.

\[^*męg^*\] - to put on [PLURAL OBJECT]  
\[^*męgug'it\] to put on body [PLURAL OBJECT] 199.11

80. -k'!in body, consisting of (relating to the surface of the body)  
[STEM-s., IND., also WORD-s.]; loses initial k'-!, replaced by \[^*\].

(a) STEM-s.:

\[ō\]- something  
\[ō'k'!winę\] surface of body

\[^*męł\] white  
\[^*męlk'!in\] with white body

\[l!emq^*\] yew tree  
\[l!e'mq!ek'!in\] made of yew  
408.1

\[lemx^*\] dry  
\[lemle'mxųnxę^*id\] to get dry V  
483.6

\[x'ix\] to burn  
\[x'i'xenāla\] being like fire  
196.35

\[dewę'x\] cedar withe  
\[dewę'xę'xn\] cedar-withe rope  
170.8

Sometimes used to express LOG.

\[k'wą\] to sit  
\[k'wąk'!inid\] to sit on log in house  
272.29 (see no. 46)

\[g'k'!indāla\] to put on log  
272.33 (see nos. 2, 91)

\[^*nęx^*\] to cover with blanket  
\[^*nęxųnd\] to put on blanket  
65.1

(b) WORD-s.:

\[l!aq^*\] red  
\[l!ą'qwa'k'!in\] copper body (i.e., entirely copper)  
80.12

\[ą'la\] real  
\[ą'la'k'!in\] able-bodied  
208.39

81. -eq in mind [STEM-s., H, often with reduplication].

\[ō\] something  
\[a'weqę^*\] inside of body

\[čk'\] good  
\[čk'čqęla\] to feel good  
123.12 (see no. 91)

\[čk'čxę^*d\] to begin to feel glad  
34.30 (see no. 90)

\[wą^*nęqa\] revengeful

\[lęł\] dead  
\[lęłqęla\] to long (i. e., to feel dead)  
63.14

\[lęłęłę'xę^*d\] to yield (i. e., to begin to feel dead)

§ 23
§ 24. Limitations of Form (Nos. 82-85b)

82. -ōk"u and -sōk"u HUMAN BEINGS [STEM-s., with doubtful influence upon stem].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-s.</th>
<th>Ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'l two</td>
<td>ma'lō'k&quot;u two persons 48.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēk' good</td>
<td>ē'x'sōk&quot;u handsome 48.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'in- how many?</td>
<td>q'inō'k&quot;u how many persons?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō'la' a few</td>
<td>hō'la'lo'k&quot;u a few persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!ē- many</td>
<td>q!eyōk&quot;u many persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83. -xs(a) FLAT [STEM-s., IND.].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-s.</th>
<th>Ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q!e' one</td>
<td>q!e'mxa one (day) 18.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84. -ts'aq LONG [STEM-s., IND.].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-s.</th>
<th>Ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q!e' one</td>
<td>q!e'mts'aq one (horn) 17.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

85. -s'gem ROUND SURFACE [STEM-s., IND., and WORD-s]; loses s and g.

(a) STEM-s.:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-s.</th>
<th>Ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q!e' one</td>
<td>q!e'ms'gem one round thing 8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!e'ml- white</td>
<td>q!e'mls'gem white-surfaced 61.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k!wā to sit</td>
<td>k!wā's'gem to sit on round thing 299.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!enēp- to wrap up</td>
<td>q!enē'pemdl to cover face 299.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also—

L!ā's- seaward  
Lā's'gemāla to face seaward 61.16
Lā's'gem to go facing (i.e., to follow) 8.9

(b) WORD-s.: blanket.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-s.</th>
<th>Ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mētsa' mink</td>
<td>mā'tsas'gem mink blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!wā'xem hemlock</td>
<td>q!wā'xe'sem house of hemlock branches 45.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alā'g'īm dressed skin</td>
<td>alā'g'ī'ms'gem dressed - skin blanket X 57.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
85a. -den FINGER-WIDTH [WORD-S., IND.].

*ne'/mdenxsâ one finger-width thick V 491.6 (see no. 3)
yâeyâ'durâden LTSâlála everywhere about three finger-widths (see no. 5)

85b. -xwa's day.

hê'lôp!enxwa'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 -tsî (no. 27), *ne'ntstsî one inside; and with -âla STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41), aâebâ'la seven in a CANOE AFLOAT. Since, furthermore, -ôkâ HUMAN BEINGS is used with a number of intransitive verbs, and since -sgem 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 -dzî ON A FLAT THING (no. 35) and -xsa 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'mxsatsî one FLAT THING inside (-xsa a flat thing, -tsî inside); and *ne'msgemîstsî one DROP, literally "one round thing in round thing" (-sgem round, -stsî round opening [no. 59]).

Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86–97) (§§ 25–26)

§ 25. Purely Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86–89)

86. -âl REMOTE PAST [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S.]. This suffix has the form -âl after words ending in a, m, n, l, x; after p, t, s, h, x, it assumes the form -wâl. At the same time terminal h is aspirated as before a consonant. After ê it has the form -yâl.

*neqâ'/p!enk'îmôl the dead *neqâ'/p!enk'îm 283.9
Yâ'xlenul the dead Yâ'xlen 285.11
lôl he went long ago (from la to go)
*ma'xôl the dead *mâ'xwa 470.36
qê- long time
ôm p father
tens- one day remote
âs thy father

geyô'îl long ago 12.4
ô'mpwul dead father 113.16
le'ns'ul yesterday 31.6
â'swul thy dead father 142.16

§§ 24, 25
hayō't'wul former rival
t'ne'mō'x'wul past friend 271.23
gā'x'wulen I came long ago 142.19 (gā'x to come; -en I)
Ō'q'magasema'yul the dead Ō'q'magasemö 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'ts!ē dog, is treated as though the stem were was- and the terminal s were weakened.

87. -x'i'dl recent past [stem-s., ind.]. The initial x' drops out after p, t, s, l, and k sounds; p and t at the same time strengthened; l and k stops are aspirated.

ax- to be
la to go

88. -l future [word-s.]

xwā'k!una canoe
Le'gad having a name

89. -x'dē transition from present to past, or rather from existence to non-existence [stem-s., ind., and word-s.]; loses the initial x'.

g'īl first
wā'ldem word
xīsā'la to have disappeared
yā'q!udzā's place of lying dead
k!wīl to feast in house

§ 26. Suffixes with Prevailing Temporal Character (Nos. 90-97)

90. -x'i'dl 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 -\( xe'td \) is used. We have—

\[
\begin{align*}
la'taxe'td & \text{ to begin to go into water 36.25} \\
gwe'xtue'twd & \text{ to begin to have a direction on top (=to steer)} \\
\delta'dze'baxe'td & \text{ to begin to turn the wrong way} \\
k'!ipts!a'laxe'td & \text{ to begin to hold (in tongs) inside 192.38} \\
k'!a'tstalaxe'td & \text{ to begin to place into water 95.8}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of the use of the inchoative with simple stems are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
g'ul- & \text{ to walk on four feet} \\
leu- & \text{ to forget} \\
k'um- & \text{ to burn} \\
wun- & \text{ to drill} \\
xwun- & \text{ to hide} \\
xek'-!- & \text{ to stay} \\
x!ep- & \text{ to climb (a pole)} \\
xltp- & \text{ to dig} \\
xo's^it & \text{ to sprinkle body (see no. 79)} \\
g'as- & \text{ to walk} \\
p'es- & \text{ to flatten} \\
nel- & \text{ to tell} \\
g'ido'!- & \text{ to steal} \\
k'!im- & \text{ to adze} \\
k'e- & \text{ to fish with net} \\
dze'k'- & \text{ to dig clams} \\
dok'- & \text{ to troll} \\
dok'- & \text{ to see} \\
naq- & \text{ to drink} \\
awu'q- & \text{ to want more} \\
yas'wix- & \text{ to act} \\
jax'- & \text{ to turn bow of canoe} \\
qamx'- & \text{ to put on down} \\
max'- & \text{ potlatch} \\
denx- & \text{ to sing}
\end{align*}
\]

\( § 26 \)
It appears from the rules and examples here given that the incho-atives of stems in \( k' \) and \( x' \), \( k^n \) and \( x^n \), \( q \) and \( x \), \( q^n \) and \( x^n \), \( L \) 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 \(-x'^{\text{t}}a\) preceded by a release of the vocal cords. I have no examples of stems ending in a sonant and taking the ending \(-x'^{\text{t}}a\).

A few cases are apparently irregular, presumably on account of secondary changes in the stem.

\[(\lambda a x^n-) \text{ to stand} \quad \lambda a' x^{\text{t}}a\]
\[(tō x^n-) \text{ to go forward} \quad tō' x^{\text{t}}a\]

Both these stems are often treated as though they ended in \(-d\), not in \(-x^n\), but the relationship of these two sounds has been pointed out before.

91. -\( \lambda (a) \) 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 \(-a\).

\[\text{wuL-} \text{ to hear} \quad \text{wuLē'la} \text{ to hear} 11.10\]
\[\text{laē'ē to enter} \quad \text{laē'LEla} \text{ to be engaged in entering} 24.2\]
\[\text{yā'āōd to tie} \quad \text{yā'LOdāla} \text{ to be engaged in tying} 28.33\]

This suffix is evidently contained in the suffixes \(-nākula\) (no. 94), \(-k'āla\) (no. 144), \(-i^2lāla\) (no. 5), \(-g'āalela\) (no. 96), \(-ōlela\) (no. 93), \(-g'ila\) (no. 136).

Examples of its use after various classes of sounds are the following:

After long vowels—
\[pā'la \text{ to be hungry} 7.4 \quad εmō'ēla \text{ to thank} 21.2\]
\[hāng'ē'la \text{ to feed} 7.6 \quad ā'la \text{ real} 9.5\]
\[εwē'ēla \text{ entirely} 10.8 \quad axk'ē'āla \text{ to ask} 7.5\]

After stems ending in a \( k' \) sound with \( u \) or \( i \) tinge—
\[g'ō'kula \text{ to live} 7.1 \quad is!x'ē'la \text{ sick} 32.27\]
\[εnā'qula \text{ light} 11.2 \quad pē'ēxula \text{ to feel} \]

§ 26
After consonants of \( k \) and \( l \) series—

\begin{align*}
\text{wu}^\text{e} \text{la} & \text{ to hear } 11.10 \\
\text{wu}'^\text{n} \text{eq} \text{ela} & \text{ deep } 11.1 \\
\text{x} \text{e}'^\text{n} \text{n} \text{e} \text{la} & \text{ very } 7.3
\end{align*}

\( k' \text{le} \text{la}' \) to be afraid 10.2

\( \text{ze}^\text{e} \text{eq} \text{ela} \) to name 9.13

\( \text{de}'^\text{n} \text{n} \text{e} \text{la} \) to sing 13.2

After consonants of \( p \) and \( t \) series—

\begin{align*}
\text{ax}^\text{a} \text{p}^\text{!} \text{ala} & \text{ to be on neck } 19.6 \\
\text{h} \text{e}^\text{l} \text{o}^\text{!} \text{m} \text{ala} & \text{ to be on time } 15.10 \\
\text{q} \text{e}^\text{x} \text{im} \text{a}^\text{!} \text{ala} & \text{ to be on head-ring } 18.4
\end{align*}

\( \text{ho} \text{l} \text{em} \text{ala} \) to obtain easily 7.3

\( \text{a} \text{x} \text{o} \text{d} \text{a} \text{la} \) to handle 32.41

\( \text{d} \text{a} \text{la} \) to hold 14.9

\( \text{len} \text{a} \text{la} \) to forget

\( \text{q} \text{a}' \text{ts} \text{e}^\text{!} \text{sta} \text{la} \) to go around 23.13

After \( s \)—

\begin{align*}
\text{me}^\text{s} \text{ela} & \text{ to have a smell } \\
\text{qw} \text{e} \text{s} \text{ala} & \text{ far } 26.43
\end{align*}

\( \text{le}^\text{stal} \text{i} \text{e} \text{la} \) to go around on beach 12.7

After suffixes that may take terminal \( a \)—

\( \text{Sa}' \text{g} \text{um} \text{b} \text{a} \text{la} \) (name of a place) 7.1 (no. 31)

\( \text{ts} \text{i} \text{e}^\text{!} \text{sl} \text{a} \text{la} \) tongs 21.3 (no. 32)

\( \text{q} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{y} \text{o} \text{b} \text{a} \text{la} \) having lasso at end 37.13 (no. 31)

\( \text{q} \text{e}' \text{sta} \text{la} \) long in water X 155.38 (no. 39)

92. -\( \text{ala} \) 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} \text{o} \text{s}^\text{!} & \text{ to rest } \\
\text{e} \text{w} \text{u} \text{n} & \text{ to hide } \\
\text{g} \text{'} \text{u} \text{l} \text{a} & \text{ to move on four legs } \\
\text{e} \text{n} \text{e} \text{x}^\text{!} & \text{ near } \\
\text{d} \text{a} & \text{ to take } \\
\text{b} \text{e} \text{k} \text{u}^\text{!} & \text{ man }
\end{align*}

\( \text{g} \text{d} \text{a} \text{la} \) long

\( \text{h} \text{a} \text{la} \) being that 14.3

With stems ending in \( \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}, \) and \( \dot{i} \) it is contracted to -\( \ddot{a} \text{la} \):

\begin{align*}
\text{g} \ddot{\text{e}} & \text{ long } \\
\text{h} \ddot{\text{e}} & \text{ that }
\end{align*}

93. -\( \dddot{\text{ol}} \text{(Ela)} \) continued motion [stem-s., ind.].

\begin{align*}
\dddot{\text{e}} \text{'} \text{k} \text{!} & \text{ above } \\
\text{e} \text{'} \text{n} \text{a} \text{la} & \text{ south } \\
\text{q} \text{w} \text{a} \text{s}^\text{!} & \text{ direction }
\end{align*}

\( \dddot{\text{e}} \text{'} \text{k} \text{!} \text{ol} \text{ela} \) to continue to go up 126.40

\( \text{e} \text{'} \text{n} \text{a} \text{la} \text{ol} \text{ela} \) going south, down river 125.7

\( \text{gw} \text{a} \text{s} \text{ol} \text{ela} \) to approach 9.9

§ 26
49. -nākula(¬) Gradual Motion, one after another [stem-s., w].
   tēk¬- to hang
   penl- stout
   qās- to walk
   to hang one after another
   to grow stout
   to walk along

95. -naxwa(¬) Sometimes [word-s.]
la to go
x'iá's place of disappearance
lā'naxwa to go sometimes
x'iá'snaxwa place where he disappears sometimes

96. -g'a'alela, after k and l sounds -alela, suddenly. Used often with verbs denoting sense-impressions (see p. 514).
   dōg¬- to see
   plaq- to taste
   q!ál- to know
   g'rāx to come
   dōxwalela to discover
   pl'ex'alela to learn by taste
   q!ó'alela to learn
   g'á'alela to come suddenly

The following is apparently irregular:
   wul- to hear.
   wulá'x'alela to learn by hearing

The following probably belong here also:
   ax- to do
   kwēx- to strike
   lás- to push
   ax'alelôd to take out suddenly
   kwēx'alelôd to strike suddenly
   lás'alelôd to push in suddenly

97. -lā to do at the same time while doing something else, while in motion [stem-s., ind.].
   dāl- to laugh
   dë'ltâ¬ya laughing at the same time
   denx- to sing
   de'nuxetâ¬ya singing while walking
   .Low- to dance
   ²yiixu¬ya dancing as she came

With terminal -ê (see § 49, p. 530) this suffix has the form -te'we:
   ²ne'g'ite'we he says while—
   hâ'malâ'g'itu¬we to eat walking
   yâ'q'entlalaxte'we to speak while—
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. -xaa also, on the other hand [word-s.].

dā'x'ádaxaa he also took 8.13
á'emlxaaas and only you on your part 397.3 (-em no. 103; -l no. 88; -s thou)
lō'gwalamaxaen I on my part have supernatural power 399.3 (-en I)

99. -x'sā still, entirely [word-s.].

lā'siwalax'sā it still stuck on his forehead 24.5
dā'lxax'sā still holding on 14.11
l!el!a'gex'sā entirely cedar-bark 86.24

99a. -q!āla perfectly, completely [stem-s., ind.].

'énā'q!āla it is full day 441.13
nō'łq!āla entirely uneasy

100. -lag'īl. in the mean time [word-s.].

sek'ālag'īl. to spear in the mean time CS 44.25

101. -t!a but [word-s.].

'énēx!t!a but he said, it is said, 100.22

102. -tā but [word-s.]

lā'tā but he went 14.10

The difference between -tā and -t!a 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'deđa xwā'k!una la'xem'śla he'ldik'ama the canoe capsized but he came out well
gap!e'deđa xwā'k!una la'xem'stå la'ldik'ama the canoe capsized and against all expectation he came out well (gap!e'd to capsize; -da prenominal subj. [p. 530]; xwā'k!una canoe; la to do, go, happen; -mēs no. 104; he'ldik'ama to come out right)
lā'xem'stå wulekwa it has antlers (although they do not belong to it) (wule'm antlers; -k̂ passive participle, no. 172)
103. $^e_m$ indicates that the subject has been referred to or thought of before.

This suffix evidently contains $^e_m$ (no. 103); the intimate connection between the expressed idea and the preceding idea being first indicated by $^e_m$, and their causal relation being indicated by -wis. In a few cases, when following -änä perhaps (no. 106), it occurs without $^e_m$.

§ 28. Suffixes Denoting Degrees of Certainty (Nos. 105-107)

105. -lax POTENTIALITY, used in all uncertain conditional sentences [word-s.].

$a^e_m$'lalax it might spoil 131.17
$y'il$kwalaxol you might be hurt 29.35

106. -änä PERHAPS [word-s.].

$^e_m$ä'dzå'navis what, indeed, may it be? (see no. 119) 11.12
lå'gr'ıls'laxa'navis (what) may he perhaps be doing on the ground? 95.20 (-g'ıls on ground [no. 44]; -lax [no. 105]; -wis [no. 104])

107. -granEm PERHAPS [word-s.].

$sō'gwанEm you perhaps 146.28$

§ 29. Suffixes Denoting Judgments Regarding Size, Intensity, and Quality (Nos. 108-126)

108. -k'as REALLY [word-s.]. In the dialects of northern Vancouver Island, particularly in that of Koskimo, this suffix is used throughout, and has lost its significance entirely.

gå'lak'as really a long time 7.4
$ne'nwalak!winék'asös your real supernatural quality 479.11 (see no. 171)
gå'x'kasden really I came 478.4 (see no. 89; -en I)

§§ 28, 29
108 a. -k'asö fine and beautiful, used particularly in poetry (word-s.).

lō'gwalam'asö a really fine magic treasure 111.1, 478.9

109. -ōl ugly, awkward [stem-s., w].

wā'yatl a big ugly dog

'wō'tl'wis late where is the past, ugly, miserable thing? ('wō- where, -ul past [no. 86], -ōl ugly, -wi's [no. 104], -xē miserable [no. 115]) 99.31

lā'k'adzo'tl that really bad one X 207.16 (see no. 108)

110. -dzē large [word-s.].

lā'qwadzē large copper 84.16

glā'sadzē'as a great number of sea-otters (-k'as no. 108)

g'ō'xudzē large house 483.27

110a. -Em diminutive [stem-s., w] always used with reduplication (see § 45, p. 526).

nēg'ē' mountain

tsī'ē'q woman

g'ōk'u house

g'īnl-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., ii, lengthens vowel of stem].

bā'k!um genuine man, Indian

bā'gwanim'Em full-grown man

K'kwā'k!um real Kwakiutl

wi'wāp!Em fresh water V 365.33

112. -bidō² small [singular, word-s.]; see no. 113.

q'ā'k'-ōbidō² a little slave 99.31

sē'kwabidō² to paddle a little

gē'wilbabidō² little hooked nose 271.29

begwō²'libidō² ugly, little man (see no. 109)

Very common are the compounds—

amā'bidō² small one 18.10, 38.14

'nēzwā'labidō² 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'p'ēbidō² the little one pinched, he pinched a little CS 12.13

§ 29
113. -\textit{mEnēx} small [plural, word-s.]. Possibly this is etymologically related to the preceding, since \textit{m} and \textit{n} are the nasals belonging to \textit{b} and \textit{d}; and a similar relation of stops and nasals may be observed in the northern dialects of the Kwakiutl, where we have, for instance, -\textit{idEx} corresponding to -\textit{ēnox} (no. 162).

\textit{ēnēmőgēsmEnēx} the little '\textit{mőgēs}' 135.34

114. -ō small [word-s.].

\textit{gā'xēlelaō} little ones entering U.S.N.M. 670.14

115. -\textit{xLē} miserable, pitiful, too bad that, loses the initial \textit{x} after \textit{s}.

\textit{mē'xaxląyin} too bad that I was asleep!
\textit{lā'xLē} unfortunately X 162.39

116. -\textit{xLā} very [word-s.].

\textit{ts!e'qwaLā} it is very warm
\textit{q!e'msq!emts!exLā} very lazy 45.9

117. -\textit{wist!a} very (perhaps a compound of -\textit{wīs} [no. 104] and -\textit{t!a} [no. 101] but so).

\textit{ts!ō'ltowist!a} very black

118. -\textit{mā} at once, without hesitation [word-s.]. Used in the most southern Kwakiutl dialect, the \textit{Lv'kwilda'x}, with great frequency. In this dialect the suffix has lost its significance entirely.

\textit{gā'xmā} he came at once

119. -\textit{dzā} emphatic [word-s.].

\textit{gē'lādzā} come, do! 13.3 (like German "komm doch!")
\textit{ēmā'dzā} what anyway? 11.12
\textit{yū'dzāem} evidently this is it (see nos. 103, 135)
\textit{kē'łēdzāem} not at all X 3.29 (see no. 103)

120. -\textit{k'inat} nicely [word-s.].

\textit{de'nxalak'inat} singing nicely

121. -\textit{xsiala} carelessly [word-s.].

\textit{ēnē'k'axsalā} to speak carelessly

122. -\textit{kina} accidentally [stem-s., with reduplication].

\textit{dā'doxkwinala} to see accidentally
\textit{wā'wal'ınē} obtained by luck CS 42.8
\textit{lō'mak'inałalē} will be by chance very much CS 36.7

§ 29
123. -q!āla^m(a) to no purpose [word-s.]
  q!ā^nā'kulaq!ā'la^ma walking along without object
  bē'begwānemq!āla^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
  t!ē'pā to step off
  sōpā'la to chop off V 345.18
  tēlō'la to have the bait off V 479.9
  k'ēxā'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
  ts!ex'q!labō'la to pretend to feel sick 278.26 (see no. 148)
  ha'māpōbōla to pretend to eat 257.23
  'wī'labōla to pretend to pinch 260.33
  This suffix occurs also with nouns:
  ha'me'bōlax'dē past pretended food (what had been made to look like food) 260.36

126. -x·st! as usual; -x·st!aak^u apparently, seemingly, it seems like.
  la'ezmx·st!as you do as usual U.S.N.M. 670.7
  ladzō'lisax·st!aā'x^u maē apparently reaching up to the sky 238.5
  lā'x·st!aā'k^u it seems to be 50.25

§ 30. Suffixes Denoting Emotional States (Nos. 127-129)

127. -q!anāk^u quite unexpectedly [word-s.]
  lā'q!anā'kwaē k·!ē'lax^e'dēq he struck her, although you would not expect it of him

128. -ēL astonishing! [word-s.]
  sā'ēL it is you! 149.12, U.S.N.M. 725.11
  ě'dzāā'ēLak' behold not this! 198.37 (ēs- not; -dzā no. 119; -ak' this [see p. 530])

129. -xōL astonishing! o wonder! [word-s.]
  k·!ē'xōL oh, wonder! not 17.7
  ě'ē'maē'laxōL oh, wonder! it was he 138.43
  ēala'ne'maxōL behold! wolves X 57.15

§ 30
§ 31. Suffix Denoting the Optative (Nos. 130-131)

130. -nēśśI oh, if! [word-s.].
gāxneśśle 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. -il(a) it is said [word-s.].
xelilela very much, it is said 7.3
k'īšś'latla but not, it is said 8.10 (see no. 101)
lā'ilaē then, it is said, he—(passim)

133. -Emsku as I told you before [word-s.].
gā'xEmsku he has come—as you ought to know, since I told you before

134. -Engra in a dream [word-s.].
lae'nya in a dream it was seen that he went X 173.40

135. -xEnt evidently (as is shown by evidence) [word-s.].
k'īē'ısaaxent evidently nothing 73.18
k'īé'sxent evidently not 148.15

Suffixes Denoting Special Activities (Nos. 136-155) (§§ 33-34)

§ 33. Activities of Persons in General (Nos. 136-143)

136. -g'ila to make [word-s. and stem-s., 'ind.]; loses initial g'.
li'naqg'ila to make oil 37.5
mo'masila to hurt 29.28
lá'wayugwila to make a salmon-weir 26.39
leq'ila to make a fire 98.8
qwē'g'ila to do so (to make a certain kind of thing) 15.12
sē'xwila to make a paddle V 496.2-

This suffix occurs also with neutral stems as an indifferent stem-suffix.

beku- man
békwe'la to make a man 103.20

lōku- strong
lōkwē'la to make strong 104.7

This suffix in its passive form -g'izlaku is used very often to form names of men, in the sense born to be—

Gu'nēłaku born (literally, made) to be heavy
Nēq'ā'istlaku born to be mountain on open prairie
Hā'masiłaku born to be a chief
Līa'qwasgěmŋizlaku born to be copper-faced

§§ 31-33
Peculiar is the mythical name of the mink *Lë'selag*'-ila, which retains the glottal stop of the passive forms, although it lacks the passive suffix -k' (no. 172), with which it would mean born to be the sun.

137. *-x'sila* to take care of [stem-s. also word-s. Used with reduplication]; loses initial x'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsi'q'</td>
<td>winter-dance</td>
<td>ts!e'xt!e'xlalala to take care of winter dance 16.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nâq'</td>
<td>mind</td>
<td>nanâd'q'ex'sila to resolve 184.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bek'</td>
<td>man (?)</td>
<td>bâ'ba'x'sila to use 36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griq'</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>g'â'q'ixsila to treat like a chief 360.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panâ'yu</td>
<td>hook</td>
<td>pâ'panayux'si'lats!e'receptacle (i. e., canoe) for fishing with hooks V 484.14 (see no. 184)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138. *-lat* to be occupied with [word-s., generally with reduplication or lengthened vowel].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mä'</td>
<td>salmon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð'ma'</td>
<td>chieftainess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilk'</td>
<td>cedar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pes</td>
<td>to give a potlatch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

139. *-exst* to desire [stem-s., H].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nâq'</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax'</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

140. *-6L* to obtain [stem-s., Ind].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q'le'</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'aka'</td>
<td>slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'i</td>
<td>to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>më'gwat</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwô'yo'</td>
<td>the thing referred to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwô'yo'</td>
<td>place where one obtains</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——32 § 33
141. -a to endeavor [stem-s., h, always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

dōqⁿ- to see
dx'iš- to disappear
nā'qō to meet
γίξⁿ- to dance
dō'xʷwasəla to discover

tsā to draw water
nē's to pull

This suffix is used very often with nouns.

ts'!elkʷ- feather
sās- spring salmon
g'ixʷ- steelhead salmon
xunkʷ- child
xwākʷ- canoe

It also occurs quite frequently with other suffixes.
lōl to obtain (see no. 140)
lae'l to enter (see no. 47)
lā'wavə to go out (see no. 37)
ɛ'wil'loł to obtain all (see no. 140)

142. -yāla to go to look for [stem-s., ind., always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).
tlēś- stone
xwākʷ- canoe

tlā'tlēsɛ'yāla to go to look for stones
xwā'xwaku'yāla to go to look for a canoe

142a. -māla to go [stem-s., ind.].
q'ɛ'māla many walking 16.2
wəd'xumāla to go in company with several 44.19
Hā'lamālaga right going woman (mythical name of mouse) 11.12 (see no. 192)

142b. -sələ to sit deserted [stem-s., ind.].
kwasə'lə 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'il first

k'q- to strike together
q'ul- alive
ɛ'yak'- bad

k'ā'qō canoes meet
q'vā'lāqō to meet alive 193.29
ɛ'yā'k'āmas to vanquish 131.24
(see no. 158)

143. -ōst'qα to use, only with numeral adverbs.

ɛ'nɛ'mp'ēnōst'qα to use once.
q'ē'p'ēnōst'qα to use many times
mā'p'ē'nōst'eqα 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., n]. After t, ts, k stops, l, l, -āla, with hardened terminal consonant; after s, generally ɛ'āla.

da to hold
de'nx- to sing
sepelk'- noise of metal
ax- to do
tēk'- to joke
lēl'- to call
ō'dzeq'- wrong
sāl- love song
ō'èmes mis curious
ɡ'înl- child

In a few cases -k'āla appears as word suffix.

begwā'nem man
begwā'nemk'-āla noise of a man 148.26
āla really
ālak'-āla to speak really X 5.24

Irregular is—

yā'q'antlāla to speak (see yā'q'eg'afl to begin to speak, no. 145)
144. -āla to persuade to. I doubt very much if this suffix belongs with the preceding, since its rules of attachment are quite different. It is always used with reduplication.

\[g\text{-}in\text{-} to add to a price\]  \[g\text{-}ig\text{-}n\text{wala to ask for a higher price}\]

\[mēx\text{-} to sleep\]  \[hamēx\text{wala to persuade to sleep}\]

145. -g\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}t, -k\text{-}tīg\text{\text{}y}ā\text{t} beginning of a noise, to begin with the voice [generally stem-s., ii.]. No rule can be given for the use of the two forms of this suffix. The second form loses initial -k:.

\[kwē\text{-}g\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l to begin to cry kwē 49.33\]

\[mīx\text{-} to strike\]  \[me\text{-}ng\text{-}g\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l sound of striking\]

\[dzē\text{-}x\text{-} to run\]  \[dzē\text{lo}\text{-}g\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l it sounds like running\]

\[hē\text{-} that\]  \[hē\text{-}k\text{-}tīg\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l it sounds thus 443.33\]

\[gwē\text{-} thus\]  \[gwē\text{-}k\text{-}tīg\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l it sounds thus 174.26, 202.26\]

\[yōg\text{-} wind\]  \[yō\text{-}k\text{-}tīg\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l it sounds like wind\]

\[ē\text{-}dzaq\text{\text{}wa to say again}\]  \[ē\text{-}dzaq\text{-}u\text{g\text{-}y}ā\text{-}l it begins to sound like speaking again X 231.9\]

\[wul\text{-} to ask\]  \[wu\text{-}l\text{-}eg\text{\text{}y}ā\text{-}l to question X 5.16\]

\[(x\text{\text{}wā\text{-} to croak?)}\]  \[xwā\text{-}k\text{-}u\text{g\text{-}y}ā\text{-}l to croak X 174.29\]

\[yā\text{-}q\text{\text{}e}g\text{-}y\text{\text{}a}l to begin to speak 12.3\]

146. -xa to say [stem-s., ind.].

\[mā\text{-}lexa to say mā\text{-}le 34.27\]

\[yē\text{-}xa to say yē 35.40\]

\[p\text{-}exa\text{\text{}t to utter sound of paxala (shaman) 100.10}\]

\[yō\text{-}xwa to say yō X 176.19\]

\[mā\text{\text{}le\text{-}xela to continue to say mā\text{-}le X 226.22\]

147. -dzaqwa to speak [stem-s., ind.?].

\[ē\text{-}t\text{-} again\]  \[ē\text{-}dzaq\text{\text{}wa to speak again 18.13}\]

\[mō\text{-}p\text{-}\text{\text{}en four times\}]  \[mō\text{-}\text{\text{}p\text{-}d\text{-}dzaq\text{\text{}wa to speak four times 73.31}\]

\[ē\text{-}wil\text{-} all\]  \[ē\text{-}wil\text{-}dzaq\text{\text{}wa all spoke 319.12}\]

\[ē\text{-}nak\text{-} all\]  \[ē\text{-}nak\text{-}dzaq\text{\text{}wa all spoke X 197.7}\]

148. -q\text{a} to feel [stem-s., ind.].

\[pōs\text{-} hungry\]  \[pō\text{-}sq\text{\text{}a to feel hungry 36.38}\]

\[ōdz\text{-} wrong\]  \[ō\text{-}d\text{-}dzaq\text{\text{}ala to feel wrong 30.34}\]

§ 34
149. **-q!Es** to eat [stem-s., ind.]. This suffix seems to be very irregular.

\[g'\text{i}l'q!\text{e}s\] to eat first 193.4

149a. **-q!r** to eat [word-s., ind.; also stem-s.], always used with reduplicated stem.

\[g\text{'e}w\text{as}\] deer
\[\text{L}'a'c\] black bear
\[\text{a}l\text{a}n\text{e}'m\] wolf
\[\text{l}\text{a}q\] hemlock sap
\[q!\text{a}'md\text{e}\text{z}k^u\] salmon berry

\[g'\text{a}'w\text{e}\text{q\text{g}n}e\text{m}\] clam
\[m\text{es}e'^t'q^u\] sea egg
\[k!'\text{a}'w\text{as}\] dried halibut

\[\text{x}\text{o}l'\text{e}'\] mussel
\[\text{b}i\text{s}k\text{'i}'t\] biscuit

See also § 43, p. 525.

150. **-p!a** to taste [stem-s., ind.].

\[\text{e}'x'p!a\] good taste

150a. **-p!a\text{la}** to smell [stem-s., ind.].

\[\text{e}'x'p!a\text{la}\] good smell
\[q!a'n\text{e}\text{x}'p!a\text{la}\] it smells of [see no. 20].

95.21

151. **-(a)k'a** to happen [stem-s., ind.].

\[o'd\text{z}a\text{k}'a\] it happens wrongly (= to die).
\[q!a\] to find
\[q!a'k'a\] to happen to find

348.13

152. **-ä\text{l}ä\text{se}m** to die of [stem-s., w.].

\[q!w\text{a}s-\] to cry
\[xu'\text{ly}d\text{e}\text{s}m\] to die of longing

367.35

382.27

\[\varepsilon\text{m}E\text{k}^u-\] round thing is somewhere
\[\varepsilon\text{megw}a'\text{l}ä\text{sem}\] to choke to death

428.20

153. **-sd\text{a}na** to die of [word-s.].

\[p\text{o}'s\text{d}a\text{n}a\] to die of hunger
\[\varepsilon\text{n}a'l\text{a}\text{s}d\text{a}na\] to die of the weather (i.e., by drowning)

21.6

251.42

154. **-t\text{s}!E** with hands.

\[w\text{i}t's\text{e}g'\text{u}st\text{a}\] not able to climb up with hands (\(w\text{i}-\) not, \(g'\text{u}st\text{a}-\) up [see no. 20]).
155. -p!ätö WITH EYES.

hēp!ā'ltō to look at once 63.8
awe!lp!altō to discover 154.16
g!lp!altō to see first X 197.2

§ 35. Suffixes which Change the Subject or Object of a Verb (Nos. 156-160)

156. -ap!(a) EACH OTHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or lengthening of vowel.

qās- to walk
kwēx- to strike
sēxʷ- to paddle
k!wē'las feast

qā'qasap!a to race walking
kwā'kwēx-ap!a to strike each other 292.6
sā'sēxwap!a to race paddling
k!wā'kwēlasap!a to vie giving feasts 397.16

In the following cases the vowel is lengthened into ā:

wul- to ask
wā'lap!a to ask each other 162.6

tek'- to throw
tā'k'ap!a to throw each other 215.10

mix'- to strike
mā'x'ap!a to strike each other

nep- to throw
nā'pap!a to throw each other X 6.23

(tō-) to attack
tā'wap!a to meet fighting 288.10

sek'- to spear
sā'k'āla to spear each other.

Long vowels remain unchanged:

wī'n- to make war
wī'nap!a to make war upon each other 270.4

lē'nem- to quarrel
lē'nemap!a to quarrel together 121.13

lā'xula to love
lā'xulap!a to love each other
lā'xulap!ōt 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.

εnemō'kʷ friend
εnā'mul'āla friends to each other 147.20 (see p. 436).

q!wōs- to cry
q!wā'q!usāla to cry together 157.8

After vowels it takes the form -sāla.

ts!ā'ya sister
ts!ā'ts!aζyasāla sisters to each other 47.42

§ 35
Frequently it appears combined with *qa among (no. 7).

|hó'lela to listen | hā'wāle'gāla to listen to each other 26.10
|xā to split | xōxugā'la broken to pieces among itself 27.7

158. -āmas to cause [word-s.].

*a'mēlā'mas to cause to be spoiled 13.4
le'ā'la mas to cause to die 39.1
qulā'xidā'mas to cause to come to life 48.14 (see no. 90)
gē'wasidā'mas to cause to become a deer (see no. 90)
ēk'tigemālā'mas to cause face to be turned up 144.20 (see nos. 54, 92)
lāvā'mas to cause to be off 441.32 (see no. 37)
*wi'ōlītā'amas 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 qā'sūtsō^ to be pursued (literally, to be the object of going) and qā'sūda'yu to be carried along (literally, to be the means of going).

mēl- to tease
wul- to ask
*nēk- to say
Lō'pa to roast
axē'd to take
q'la'mt'ed to sing
p!elxelax'idā'mas to cause to become fog (see nos. 91, 90, 158)
k!wēl feast (see no. 46)

With following -ē, this suffix becomes -se^we (see § 4, p. 438).

160. -l. passive of words denoting sense experiences and emotions [stem s., w].

dōq- to see
dō'xwale'la to discover by seeing
q!ā' to know
p!ēx- to feel
ē'xul- to desire
dō'qul to be seen 8.10
dō'xwale'l to be discovered 41.34
q!ā'le'l known 136.23
p!ēxul and p!ayō'l to be felt
ē'xul and ēyō'l to be desired

§ 35
\[ ^{e}mle\text{q}u^{*} \] to remember \[ ^{e}mle\text{q}ul \] to be remembered
\[ w\text{\d{i}}l \] to wish \[ w\text{\d{i}}lag\text{e}t \] to be wished 17.7
\[ l\text{\d{e}}\text{\d{e}}s \] to hate \[ l\text{\d{e}}dzel \] to be hated

Here belongs also—
\[ q\text{\d{a}}y\text{\d{a}}l\text{\d{a}} \] to talk (from \[ q\text{\d{a}}l \]) \[ q\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{y}}\text{\d{o}}l \] to be spoken of (much)

§ 36. Nominal Suffixes (Nos. 161-194b)

161. \(-e^{*}[\text{word-s.}]\). This suffix serves to form substantives of neutral stems and suffixes. It occurs generally with a demonstrative \(a\) or \(\ddot{e}\) (see § 56), and then takes the forms \(-a^{*}y\text{\d{a}}\) and \(-a^{*}\ddot{e}\).

\(x\ddot{a}\) to split \(x\ddot{a}c\ddot{e}\) what has been split 27.13
\(a\ddot{a}\) to do \(axa\text{\d{e}}\ddot{e}\) work 28.1, 79.18
\(k\ddot{a}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\) to paint \(k\ddot{a}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\ddot{e}\) painting 50.2
\(-x\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\) hind end (no. 15) \(\ddot{o}'x\ddot{a}\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\) stern of canoe 79.9
\(-g\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\text{\d{a}}\) forehead (no. 57) \(l\ddot{a}'s\text{\d{e}}\text{\d{e}}\ddot{e}\) what sticks on forehead 22.11

A number of nouns are also found which occur only with \(\ddot{e}\), but which are not known as neutral stems, except in composition.

\(l\ddot{a}\text{\d{e}}\ddot{e}\) black bear
\(\ddot{e}n\ddot{a}\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\) mind
\(l\ddot{e}'w\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\) mat

Here belongs the ending of abstract nouns in \(-\ddot{e}n\ddot{e}\) (see no. 171).

\(l\ddot{l}\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\ddot{l}d\ddot{a}\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\) the calling 17.2

162. \(-\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{e}\). A PERSON WHO DOES AN ACTION PROFESSIONALLY [STEM-s., II].

\(sak\ddot{a}\) to carve meat \(sak\text{\d{a}}\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{e}\) meat-carver 32.1
\(a\ddot{l}e'x\ddot{a}\) to hunt in canoe \(a\ddot{l}e'\ddot{w}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{e}\ddot{u}\) sea hunter V 496.2
\(s\ddot{e}'x\ddot{a}\) to paddle \(s\ddot{e}'\text{\d{o}}\text{\d{e}}\ddot{a}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{e}\ddot{u}\) paddle maker V 496.4
\(t\text{\d{e}}w\text{\d{e}}x\ddot{a}\) to hunt goats \(t\text{\d{e}}w\text{\d{e}}\text{\d{e}}\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{e}\ddot{u}\) goat hunter 7.4
\(\ddot{e}m\ddot{a}'x\ddot{a}\) to give potlatch \(\ddot{e}m\ddot{a}'\ddot{w}l\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{e}\ddot{u}\) potlatch giver 144.3

This suffix is also used to designate tribal names, and place-names derived from these.

\(A\ddot{w}i'q\ddot{a}\) country in back (?)  \(A\ddot{w}i'k\ddot{l}\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{u}\) (Rivers inlet)
\(G\ddot{w}a'd\ddot{e}z\ddot{e}\ddot{e}\) north  \(G\ddot{w}a'\ddot{t}s\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{u}\)
\(\ddot{e}m\ddot{a}\) what? \(\ddot{e}m\ddot{a}'n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{u}\) of what tribe?

The tribal name \(G\ddot{o}'s\ddot{g}r\ddot{e}m\ddot{u}x\ddot{u}\) contains a similar suffix, although no reason can be given for the change from \(n\) in \(-\ddot{e}n\text{\d{a}}x\ddot{u}\) to \(m\) in \(-\ddot{m}u\ddot{a}x\ddot{u}\). A similar change occurs in the ending \(-m\ddot{p}\) (no. 168).
162a. (-ědExu) The suffix corresponding to the Kwakiutl -ênoxu in the Bella Bella dialect is -ědexu, which may be of the same origin, the t and n being related sounds.

He'staêdêxu 429.33  
A'wî'ôLôdêxu 431.26  
Nô'lowidêxu 436.30

163. -bîs FOND OF, DEVOTED TO [STEM-S., IND.; and WORD-S.].

(a) STEM-S.:  
  nāq- to drink  
  wâx- to smoke  

(b) WORD-S.:  
  ā'xâlala to work  
  ē'xplâ to sweet  

164. -ēs CAPABLE OF, used particularly with words denoting sense impressions [STEM-S., n, generally used with reduplication].

dōqʷ- to see  
mēs- to smell  
lîlkuʷ- to lie

Irregular seem to be—

hō'laq'us with good power of hearing X 57.20 (from hō'lēlə to listen)  
dō'xts'is see (from dōqʷ- to see)

165. -ēlkʷ DOING REPEATEDLY [STEM-S., w].

nāq- to drink  
  nā'qelkʷ drunkard (= one who drinks often and much)  
  ha'm to eat  
  ha'melkʷ eater  
  a'yîlklkw attenuant of chief

166. -ēlg'is ONE WHO DOES AN ACT FOR OTHERS [STEM-S., IND.; and WORD-S.].

sēxʷ- to paddle  
  sē'xul'g'is one who paddles for others  
  dā'dōq'wâlēl'g'is watchman X 228.12  
  xo's- to sprinkle  
  xo'selg'is sprinkler X 4.8  
  lā'tawavuyxʷsîla to take care of salmon-weir  
  lā'tawavuyxʷsîlel'g'is watchman of salmon-weir CS 6.10  
  xēk- to sweep  
  xē'kul'g'iseml sweeper mask X 389.25

§ 36
167. -ōt fellow [word-s., and stem-s., ind.].

(a) word-s.:  
g'ōkula to live in house  
yā'q'ant'āla to speak  
ā'mā'latable to play together  
lā'xwalap! to love each other

(b) stem-s.:  
begw- man  
gēg- chief  
kul to lie down

168. -mp relationship [stem-s.].

qag- grandfather  
ab- mother  
(wo-) father  
pelwvu- husband’s sister, brother’s wife  
neg- parent-in-law, child-in-law

Here belongs also g'inp 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 -enoxu, which assumes in one case the form -imuxu (see no. 162). The stem for father appears in the possessive second person without this suffix.

169. -nuku̱ having [stem-s., ind.; word-s.].

sā'sem children  
as- to do  
wāldem word  
dō'xwalel to be seen

170. -ad having [stem-s., w].

lāw- husband  
leq- name  
k'ī'ēd- chief’s daughter  
xu'nuku- child

§ 36
ab- mother  
qā'yas place of walking

abā'yad having a mother 25.16  
qā'yadzad 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.

q!ākʷu- slave

q!ā'gwid slave-owner! (i. e.,  
O master!)

qwa's- dog

qwa'dzid dog-owner! (i. e., O  
master! [who has me for a  
dog])

The same form is used in names.

ha'emsə to eat  
Ha'mdzik food-owner

171. -ēn(ėz), suffix forming abstract nouns [stem-s., II, word-s].  
Never used without possessive pronouns.

k!e'läk-a to club  

k!e'läk-ēnē the clubbing  

k!e'ts!ēnē 10.9, 262.15  

ē'axela to work  

awī'nagwis country  

awī'nagwits!ēnē a kind of  
country 258.23  

begwā'nem man  

begwā'ne!ēmēnē manhood  

131.35

172. -I:u passive past participle [stem-s., w].

l!ōp- to roast

l!ōbékʷu roasted 155.22  

q!ilōk- to steal  

q!ilōkʷu stolen  

legwîl fire in house  

legwîl'kʷu fire made in house  

187.25  

wā'dékʷu led 109.7  

q!elēkʷu sinker V 488.9  

qamōkʷu covered with down  

153.35

173. -Em instrument [stem-s., w].

k!il- to fish with net  

k!ē'lem net  

lāp- to peg  

lāp- to peg  

lāb'rem peg 79.13  

*e'mā'yu- to be born  

*e'mā'yu!em what is born77.18  

q!emti- to sing  

q!e'mde[mem song 15.6

174. -ayu instrument [stem-s., w].

*e'lap- to dig  

*e'lā'bayu digging-stick  

deqʷ- to drive, to punch  

dē'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)

denx- to sing  denxidayu 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.

wuseg'a to put on belt  wuseg'anō belt
ha'nx'len to put on fire  ha'nx'lanō kettle
la'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,

axle'ndayu to be put on 43.14

176. -g'il reason of [word-s.]; loses initial g'.

lā'g'il reason of going 14.3
g'ā'xēl reason of coming 16.7

177. -q'amās reason [word-s.].

nō'qwaq'qamas I am the reason of U.S.N.M. 669.9
laq'lū'māq'qōs 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)

tslav'lwala to be famous  tslav'lwaxlen fame (what causes one to be famous)
yā'laqwa to sing sacred song  yā' lax'len 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
qāk'ōl to obtain a slave  qāk'otānem obtained by obtaining a slave 136.25 (see no. 140)
lel- to invite  lelānem guest (obtained by inviting) 163.9
sen- to plan  se'nānem obtained by planning 278.75

§ 36
179a. **-inēt** obtained by [stem-s., w].

- **dō’kʷu**- to troll
  - **dō’gwinēt** obtained by trolling

- **kʷe’xʷ**- to scrape
  - **Kʷe’xinēt** Obtained-by-scrapping X 179.9

180. **-ns** arriving unexpectedly [stem-s., w, and lengthens vowel of stem].

- **bēkʷu**- man
  - **bā’guns** visitor

- **kʷe’lōxʷ**- to escape
  - **kʷe’lwuns** obtained by escaping, runaway slave X 197.5

181. **-mūt** refuse [stem-s., ind., with reduplication] (see § 43).

- **gō’lū** house
  - **gō’laxʷmūt** remains of a house 146.8

- **sōp**- to hew
  - **sō’yamnut** chips (with weakened initial s)

132. **-ās** place of [stem-s., w].

- **sēxʷ**- to paddle
  - **sē’was** place where one paddles 129.32

- **lā’beta** to go in
  - **lā’bedas** place where one goes in 8.12

- **lī’ōp**- cormorant
  - **lī’ōbas** cormorant rock 369.29

- **qās**- to walk
  - **qā’yas** walking place 11.3

  - **lā’wayugwīla** to make a weir
    - **lā’wayugwīlas** place of making a weir 27.24

  - **yā’xyiq’wa** to lie dead on rock
    - **yā’xyiq’waas** place of lying dead on rock 40.12

183. **-dūms** place where something is done habitually [word-s., ind.].

- **kwē’las** feasting-place
  - **kwē’lasdūms** place where feasts are held habitually

- **gō’lū** house
  - **gō’laxʷdūms** village site 51.22

183a. **-ēnakʷ** country lying in a certain direction [ind.].

- **qwēs**- far
  - **qwē’se’nakʷ** far side 11.2

- **ōnāla** south
  - **ōnā’lēnak** south side X 144.7

- **qwā’na**- down river
  - **qwā’naxʷ** country down river X 3.11

- **ō- something
  - **aw’ínagwis** country 142.4 (see no. 45)

§ 36
184. -atsle receptacle [stem-s., w].

nāq- to drink
win- to go to war
k!we'las feasting place

Lēl- to inviting

ts!ēq- winter dance

185. -x'dEm time of [stem-s., ind., and word-s.]. The initial x' is dropped after s, k, and l sounds.

qā'sdēm time of walking 146.41
yīxwā'x'dēm time of dancing 72.27 (also yī'xu'dēm)
bégwā' nemx'izidex'demōl 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'enu.

mō'x'unx four years 18.3
hē'enux summer 194.20

In a few cases the suffix seems to weaken the terminal consonant.

mās what
mā'yenx what season X 166.28

187. -alas material [stem-s., w?].

sēx'- to paddle

sē'walas material for paddles (sē'xwālas V 496.5)

188. -ts'Es or -dzEs (?) piece of [word-s.].

xwā'k'unats'Es piece of a canoe
bégwā' nemdzEs pieces of a man 32.42

188a. -ēsō? remains of [stem-s., ind.].

xā'qēsō? remains of bones 94.21
alā'kwisō? blood from a wound U.S.N.M. 669.13
k'ā'pēsō? pieces cut out with shears

189. -mis useless part [stem-s., ind.].

dēnā's cedar-bark
dēnā'smis useless part belonging to cedar-bark (i.e., cedar-tree [yellow cedar])
tsē'lxmis hail-stones 121.24

190. -p!eq stick, tree [stem-s., ind.; also word-s.].

'max'- to give a potlatch

'yiil- to tie

yīl'p!eq potlatch pole
yīl'p!eqendā'la to tie to a stick 158.32

Here belongs also

yē'q!ent!eq speaker's staff (from yā'q!ent!āla to speak) 186.39

§ 36
190a. -aano rope, line [stem-s., w].

seki- to harpoon

q’elz- to put under water

māk- near to

190b. -manō head [stem-s., ind.].

dzexʷ- silver salmon

mel- to twist

xulqʷ- rough

191. -asdē meat of [stem s., ind.].

bekʷ- man

sās- spring salmon

192. -q(a) woman [word-s.].

leqwā'ga brain woman 48.23

Hā'lamālaga right going woman 11.12 (see no. 142a)

k’ixetā'ga crow 47.30

This suffix occurs in combination with -ayu means of (no. 174) very often in names of women.

mā'xulayūgwa woman being means of giving potlatch 38.15

A secondary form, -gas, belongs at present to the Bella Bella dialect, but occurs in a few proper names and in a few terms of relationship in the Kwakiutl dialect.

ne'mqas sister 48.31

193. -Em, a frequent nominal suffix of unknown significance [stem-s., in some cases w.].

t!ēs- stone

lēg- name

sās- spring salmon

sā- children of one person

k’itil- tongue

193a. -nEm, an irregular nominal suffix, probably related to 193.

gēg'- wife

q'ē- many

193b. -ānEm, irregular, apparently designating animate beings.

bekʷ- man

g'ānt- child

g'ā’wēq- clam
193c. -ōlem, nominal suffix.

\( ts!ex\'q!a\) to feel sick  
\( mēg\) - to calk  
\( le̲\) dead  
\( el\) - fast, tight

\( ts!ex\'q!ōlem \) sickness 284.18  
\( Mē\')n̄g\)ōlem canoe-calking 285.23  
\( le\)ōlem death 244.22  
\( el̄\)ōlem ballast 311.25

194. -ōmas, -ēmas. This suffix is used to designate classes of animals, but occurs also in a few other words.

\( g'il\) - to walk on four feet  
\( p!el\) - to fly  
\( ma\) - to swim  
\( ts!e'sayasadē \) clam-meat  
\( lōk\) - strong  
\( el\) - new  
\( ha^z\)m - to eat

\( g'il\)'g'āōmas quadrupeds  
\( p!e'p!alōmas \) birds  
\( mō\)'maōmas fish  
\( ts!e'ts!ek\)'wēmas shell-fish.  
\( lō\)'k'wēmas strong  
\( wō\)'lēmas weak  
\( a'lōmas \) new  
\( hē'maōmas \) food

194a. -En, a nominal suffix [stem-s., w].

\( l!ē\)x- sea lion  
\( dzax\) - silver salmon  
\( hanx\) - humpback salmon

\( l!ē\)'x\'En \) 81.16  
\( dzax\)'wō'n \)  
\( hanx\)'nō'n \)

194b. ñna nominal suffix [stem-s., w].

\( gwax\) - raven

\( gwax\)'wōna \) 46.13

§ 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).

\( mō\)p\!'En four times 12.5  
\( n\)'mp\!'Enx\'stō \) one time (span) across 72.39  
\( mō\)'p\!'En\'s\)tō four times around 13.9  
\( hē\)'lop\!'Enx\'wa\)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.

\(-xsā \) through  
\(-x\)'s across  
\(-ē\)sta around

\( k!wā\)'xsā hole  
\( le\)'ml- to split  
\( ē'lq\) - to swim

\( k!wā\)'xumxsā holes 100.29  
\( le\)'lem\'xē\'End \) to split cedar-trees 158.30  
\( ē'lqamē\')s\)tāla to swim about [plural] 153.22.

§§ 37, 38.
In purely distributive expressions reduplicated forms are used.

197. -g'iř- 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 a.

With -ała STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41):

k'wā'wālā to be seated on water (from k'wā to sit)  
k'wā'g'iltala to sit down on water  
čmek'-ałala round thing on water (from čmek'- a round thing is somewhere)  
čme'g'ultala round thing alights on water

With -łě́ć MOVING ON WATER (no. 42):

lā'xʷałę́ć to move about  
ha'ng'rałę́ć canoe comes to be standing on water  
dzexk'-ā'lay'irłę́ć sound of splitting comes to be on water

With -a ON ROCK (no. 43):

k'waa' to be seated on rock  
102.31  
axlṓd to put down on rock  
171.22  
mē'xä to be asleep on rock  
mē'xäla' to go to sleep on rock

With -s ON GROUND (no. 44):

gḗs being a long time on ground  
37.14  
čg'irls to move a long time on ground  
30.21  
k'wā'g'ael to sit down on ground  
37.3
With -ës on beach (no. 45):  
ha'ënë's canoe is on beach 102.34  
ha'ng'ëlis canoe comes to be on beach 101.40  

With -ël in house (no. 46):  
k'wät'il to be seated in house 173.20  
yä'güm'g'ëlil to fall dead in house [plural] X 110.34  

With -ës in canoe (no. 48):  
hö'g'ëxs they have gone aboard 224.9  
hö'x'walexs they start to go aboard 84.37  

With -ël among (no. 7):  
dä'ë'g'ëlgala to carry among them 240.6  
l'ë'g'ëlgala to kill among them X 14.21  

With -ël(a) behind (no. 15):  
dä'ë'k'lëlgala to take secretly 99.18  
g'ë'k'ulx'ëxs 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 -ël- is not applied, although motion seems to be clearly implied. We have laxs to go aboard 147.38; däxs to take aboard 114.25, while the two examples of hö'g'ëxs and hö'x'walexs 22.9 and 84.37, bring out the distinction with the same suffix. The same element is evidently combined in -ë'g'aalels (no. 96) which may thus be a compound of -ë'i and a suffix -ë(la).  

On the whole, -ël seems to serve as a kind of inchoative, and the suffixes which take this suffix do not often take -ë'sid (no. 90), or the inchoative completive -ë. Still we have aë'ëlts!ëd 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:  

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<th>E</th>
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-ém instrument 173
-ém nominal 193
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-ém²ya cheek 55
-emskʷ as I told you 133
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-(f³)enx season 186
-es capable of 164
-ëxsta mouth 61
-ëlkʷ one who is in the habit of 165
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-ël!xô in throat 63a
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-ō small 114
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-bōs fond of, devoted to 163
-p!ēg'ā (for -x!p!ēg'ā) thigh 73
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-nēs!i oh, if! 130
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-nulem temples 54b
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-saqō penis 72

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-sīs (for -x'sīs) foot 75

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-sā (for -x'sā) through 1

-sō (x) passive 159

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-sāla (also -āla) each other 157

-sēla deserted 142b

-ēsta water 39

-sāna to die of 153

-ēstō eye, round opening 59

-sēm round surface 85

-sqwap five 40

-sx'ā tooth 62

-ts!ē with hands 154

-dze's, -ts!ēs piece of 188

-ts!āna (for -x-ts!āna) hand 67

-ts!aq long 84

-dzaqwa to speak 147

-dzē large 110

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-dzō on a flat thing 35

-ts!ō in 27

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-k'ē top of a square object 38

-g'a (for g'īg'a) inside of a hollow object 36

-(a)k'ā to happen 151

-g'anaēla suddenly 96

-k'!aēs inside of body 78a

-k'ān between 8

-g'anem perhaps 107

-k'as really 108

-k'asō beautiful 108a

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-g'alil in house 46

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-g'īltāla stationary on surface of water 41

-k'ālā between 8

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-g'ustā up 20

-k'ū passive participle 172

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-geml mask 54a

-q'ēs to eat 149

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-qa, -qa among 7

-ga woman 192

-q'ā to feel 148

-q'hūomas reason 177

-gamē among others, excellent 7a

-q!anāk' quite unexpectedly 127

§ 39
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 occa-
sional repetition of an action. The accent tends to be thrown back
to the first syllable.

- me'xa to sleep
- ha'nla to shoot
- dzE'lxwa to run

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.

- tsö to draw water
- la to go
- tō to attack
- ts!ō to give
- xo to split
- nō to aim
- tē'nō to pole
- q'wa to stand spread out [plu-
- ]
- ha'x- to eat
- k!um El- to burn

§ 42. DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY

Distributive plurality is expressed by reduplication of the first few
sounds of the word, the form of reduplication showing great varia-
tions, 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 modi-
fication, perhaps to phonetic decay, of reduplicated forms. Prob-
ably 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.

\[ ná'qē \] mind
\[ hā'nal!em \] arrow
\[ ēno'last!egemē \]
\[ tām \] post
\[ q!ō'las!ē \] kettle
\[ ālē \] recent
\[ xatsē'm \] box
\[ ēn̓emō'k\u0301 \] friend
\[ q'ula\u0301 \] alive
\[ gōk\u0301 \] house

(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.

\[ xwā'k!una \] canoe
\[ qā'k-ā \] slave
\[ ts!ā'ya \] younger brother
\[ ēnō'la \] elder brother
\[ pó'sdana \] to die of hunger

(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 consonant cluster.

\[ xu'ndē \] otter
\[ sēm'sēm \] mouth
\[ q!ēmdēm \] song
\[ hā'nal!enox\u0301 \] archer
\[ ēlkula \] bloody
\[ g'ina'nam \] child (stem \( g'īnl- \))

(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:

- *q̱u'lyak* grown up
- *g̱iltla* long
- *e'qa* witchcraft
- *ḵe'te'del* princess
- *le'xa* large round opening
- *e'k* good
- *le'k* thick
- *dā'la* to laugh
- *lā'lēnōx* ghost
- *tāx*- to stand

(b) With l:

- *g̱ō'kulōt* tribe
- *ṉem* one
- *x̱aq* bone
- *deg'e'ga' grave

(5) Words beginning with *m*, *n*, *l*, *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 *el*.

- *mā'x̱ēnox* killer-whale
- *mē'qwat* seal
- *e'mak'āla* island
- *nēg'e* mountain
- *g̱̱ex̱̱unē* blanket
- *Lē'gwilda* (name of a tribe)

(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.

- *dā'la* to laugh
- *dzets!e'nd* to tear across
- *dā* to hold
- *sakwa* to carve meat

§ 42
gut'a full  qu Gut'ta' 195.27 (but also gēqō'tla 235.27)
gene'm wife  qegene'm 467.41
adē' my dear  aadē'

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hap-</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤyāʤyatslē</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤyixu'ml</td>
<td>mask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap-</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤyāʤyatslē</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʤyixu'ml</td>
<td>mask</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here may be grouped also forms like—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alk'</td>
<td>attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'mlāla</td>
<td>to play</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same way ē accented becomes aēya:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hēlēa</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'yālēa</td>
<td>151.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A transformation of initial a into ē takes place in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abē'mp</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēbe'emp</td>
<td>151.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same, combined with change of a into ē, is found in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aēyasō'</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēēēyasō'</td>
<td>175.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initial ō and wa take sometimes the forms aō; viz, waō.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'tsē</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waō'tsē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among those forms in which reduplication gradually assumes the character of change of vowel, may be classed—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wōlādem</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!ēdā'q</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quite irregular, perhaps derived from a stem wo-, is—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōmp</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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 a vowel; but in many cases the short stem vowel is expanded into ē or into other long vowels.

§ 43
Suffixes treated in this manner are, for instance—

-\textit{ap}! each other (§ 35, no. 156)
-\textit{ā}la each other (§ 35, no. 157)
-\textit{āla} becoming more and more
-\textit{aaqa} motion in a certain direction
-\textit{x}s\textit{ā}la to occupy one’s self with something
-\textit{āt} fellow
-\textit{ēm} genuine
-\textit{alal} always acting like
-\textit{k‘ina} accidental result of an action
-\textit{ns} obtained unexpectedly
-\textit{deqa} only by the performance of an action
-\textit{k‘awē} 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—

\begin{align*}
\textit{se’xwa} & \text{ to paddle} & \textit{sā‘se’xwp!} & \text{to paddle, racing against each other.} \\
\textit{q!wā’sa} & \text{ to cry} & \textit{q!wā’q!usāla} & \text{to cry together 157.8} \\
\textit{ts!ā’ē} & \text{ younger sister} & \textit{ts!ā’ts!ā’yaṣāla} & \text{ sisters together 55.13} \\
\textit{nō’mas} & \text{ old} & \textit{nā’nōmasāla} & \text{ getting old} \\
\textit{q!?-} & \text{ much} & \textit{q!ā’q!uṭa} & \text{ getting more} \\
\textit{L!ā’sa} & \text{ seaward} & \textit{L!ā’l!asuaqa} & \text{ to carry seaward} \\
\textit{ēt-} & \text{ again} & \textit{aṭ’daqa} & \text{ to return} \\
\textit{L!ō’p-} & \text{ to roast} & \textit{L!ā’l!ōpsīla} & \text{ to take care of roasting} \\
\textit{nā’qē} & \text{ mind} & \textit{nā’nāgēxśīla} & \text{ to make up mind 184.2} \\
\textit{ō’ma} & \text{ chieftain} & \textit{a’ō’maḷa} & \text{ to dance the chieftainess dance} \\
\textit{qā’sa} & \text{ to walk} & \textit{qū’qash’inala} & \text{ to find accidentally by walking} \\
\textit{Lāxʷ-} & \text{ to stand} & \textit{qaqā’sdēqa} & \text{ only by walking} \\
\text{Here belongs also—} & \textit{yīxa’} & \text{ fast} & \textit{yā’yixap!} \text{ to speed, racing against each other} \\
\end{align*}

(2) Stems with short vowel transform it into ā.

\begin{align*}
\textit{mīx’ā’} & \text{ to strike} & \textit{mā’xap!} & \text{ to strike each other} \\
\textit{wułə’} & \text{ to ask} & \textit{wā’lap!} & \text{ to ask each other 162.6} \\
\text{ēnēmō’kʷ} & \text{ friend} & \textit{ēnā’mōk’āla} & \text{ friends 147.20} \\
\textit{se’k’ā’} & \text{ to spear} & \textit{sā’k’āla} & \text{ to spear each other} \\
\text{ēnēq-} & \text{ straight} & \textit{ēnā’qawē} & \text{ right among} \\
\text{ēmēkʷ-} & \text{ round thing is} & \textit{ēmā’k’awē} & \text{ round thing among} \\
\text{somewhere} & & & \\
\end{align*}
Here belongs also—

-ho’lêla to listen

hâ’wařêlagâla to listen to each other 26.11

(3) There are, however, also reduplicated forms with short reduplicated syllable.

-êlagu to wail, to cry

êle’lqwalâla to cry together 244.36

la to go

le’lqâla to go to each other (= to quarrel)

(4) Irregular reduplication or vowel modifications are not rare.

yâ’q!entâla to speak

yê’q!entâla to speak together

wâ’la sweetheart

wo’dâla sweetheart

ts!ê’qawwinter dance

ts!ê’xts!êxâla to use winter dance

16.12

g’ôkʷu house

g’ô’g’ak’awâ the house in middle of other things

g’î’t!a long

g’î’yâ’tawâ a long thing in middle of other things

(5) Forms without reduplication occur also.

lê’nenemâp! to quarrel together 121.13

ha’n ’nap!a to shoot each other

ë’k’aqawâ 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 ê and with softened initial consonant of the stem.

sô’pa to chop

sô’yapmut chips (y for softened s)

se’kwa’ to carve meat

se’yaq“mut what is left over from carving (y for softened s)

k’â’xwa to chip

k’â’yâxmût chips

xwâ’la to cut salmon

xwâ’xulmût what is left over from cutting salmon

(7) The suffix -êgala in the MIND (§ 23, no. 81) generally takes reduplication with ê vowel, which is quite analogous to the form of reduplication treated in § 42.1.

la to go

le’laêgala to think of going

e’nê’k to say

e’nê’nk’êgala to speak in one’s mind (i.e., to think) 18.6

There are cases, however, in which this suffix appears without reduplication.

êk’êgala to feel good 123.12

§ 43
The idea to eat may be expressed by verbs denoting to chew, to break, to swallow, etc., with nominal object; by the suffixes -q'es and -q (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!exl!a'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekʷ-</td>
<td>bekwä'num man</td>
<td>bekwä'kʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!eqʷ-</td>
<td>t!exʷsō's cinquefoil</td>
<td>t!exʷt!a'qʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leq-</td>
<td>leq'este'n seaweed (kelp)</td>
<td>lexl!a'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lek-</td>
<td>Lex'se'm clover</td>
<td>lexl!a'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met-</td>
<td>metl!a'nē large clam</td>
<td>metmō't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēt-</td>
<td>xēt'm (a plant)</td>
<td>xēt'a't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet-</td>
<td>pet'a medicine.</td>
<td>petpā't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nexʷ-</td>
<td>nexusk'v'n (a plant)</td>
<td>nexʷnō'xʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mel-</td>
<td>mel'k' steelhead salmon</td>
<td>melmō'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-</td>
<td>alev'a dentalia</td>
<td>alev'al</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'sles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sās-</td>
<td>sā'sem springs salmon</td>
<td>sā'sses (not sā'tses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsľaxʷ-</td>
<td>tsľä'we beaver</td>
<td>tsľa'xʷts lxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwād-</td>
<td>gwā'dem huckleberry</td>
<td>gwā'dqud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liēx-</td>
<td>liē'exen sea-lion</td>
<td>liē'exl'ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsľēxʷ-</td>
<td>tsľēx'inas elderberry</td>
<td>tsľē'x'ts lxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ēs-</td>
<td>t!ē'sem stone</td>
<td>t!ē'stās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwēx-</td>
<td>gwē'yim whale</td>
<td>gwē'x'gwak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qēs-</td>
<td>qē'sena (a berry)</td>
<td>qē'sq'as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō'xʷ-</td>
<td>nō'xva (a berry)</td>
<td>nō'xvnaxʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōl-</td>
<td>lō'lenox ghost</td>
<td>lō'l'lal to eat a corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liōl-</td>
<td>liēwu'ls elk</td>
<td>liō't'l'al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 43
UNREALITY (§§ 44-46)

§ 44. General Remarks

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To eat—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'-o't-</td>
<td>k'-o'te'la fish, salmon</td>
<td>k'-o'tk'!wat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzâ's-</td>
<td>dzâ'le cockle</td>
<td>dzâ'sdzas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xô'e-</td>
<td>xô'le' large mussel</td>
<td>xô'lxwat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Stems ending in consonantic clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To eat—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xams-</td>
<td>xa'mâ's dry salmon</td>
<td>xa'msxâs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'els</td>
<td>t'els crabapple</td>
<td>t'!e'lst!âs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsE'Istu-</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>tsE'lst'sâxu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ans-</td>
<td>q'â'nas large chiton</td>
<td>q'E'nsq'âs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'înI-</td>
<td>g'înâ'nmë child</td>
<td>g'î'nîg'ât</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular is sô'bayu ADZE; sâyô'em, which softens its initial s to y (see § 42).

The whole word is reduplicated, and takes the suffix -em, in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To play—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>më'gwat</td>
<td>më'gwadem</td>
<td>më'gwadem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'-o'to't</td>
<td>k'-o'k'-o'to'dem</td>
<td>k'-o'to'dem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!ëdâ'q</td>
<td>ts!ëdâ'ts!ëdâ'qem</td>
<td>ts!ëdâ'ts!ëdâ'qem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'was</td>
<td>gë'wadem</td>
<td>gë'wadem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same forms with added a are used to express the idea of to play with.

sâ'sewuma to play paddling
hâ'naõema 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.

- *xunə'kʷ* child
- *qwəq'ʷ* whale
- *gək'ʷ* wife
- *laə'Λ* to enter
- *də'kwa* to troll

These forms are used both with nouns and verbs.

The forms in \(z \- yələ\) to go to look for (§ 33, no. 142) are similar in form to the preceding.

- *tłəs* stone
- *gə̑kʷ* house
- *hanə* to shoot

The following pronouns are distinguished:

- Speaker
- Speaker and person or persons addressed
- Speaker and person or persons spoken of
- Person addressed
- Person spoken of

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

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:

- 1st person.
- Inclusive.
- Exclusive.
- 2d person.
- 3d person.

§§ 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pronominal.</th>
<th>Prenominal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-En(L)</td>
<td>-En(L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-Ens</td>
<td>-Ens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>-Enu'xu</td>
<td>-Enu'xu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-Es</td>
<td>-Gl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-S</td>
<td>-q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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§ 48
II. DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Prenominal</th>
<th>Postnominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>-k'</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
<td>-k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, visible</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôz, -ag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, invisible</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôz, -ag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, visible</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, invisible</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>-k'</td>
<td>-g'k'</td>
<td>-g'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>-g'k'</td>
<td>-g'k'</td>
<td>-g'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, visible</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôu</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person, invisible</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôu</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, visible</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person, invisible</td>
<td>-ôq</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-ô</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 consonantic.

II (b). PRENOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Vocalic</th>
<th>Consonantic</th>
<th>Vocalic</th>
<th>Consonantic</th>
<th>Vocalic</th>
<th>Consonantic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-g'ada</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
<td>-g'ada</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
<td>-g'ada</td>
<td>-g'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-ôza</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôza</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
<td>-ôza</td>
<td>-ôz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-ôda</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-ôda</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-ôda</td>
<td>-ô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 49
In the Dzā'wadeēnoxt dialect, the forms -xwə and -sa do not seem to occur; and in place of -xa and -sa, we find -xəda and -səda, which are analogous to -əda of the subjective. In the Koskimo and Newettee dialects, -xa and -sa are replaced by -xē and -sē.

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><strong>PRENOMINAL.</strong></th>
<th><strong>POSTNOMINAL.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person, inclusive, excl.</td>
<td>2d person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>(-g'\in, -g'in)</td>
<td>(-g's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>(-g'\in\text{um})</td>
<td>(-\delta s, -\text{rs})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, visible</td>
<td>(-\text{En}, -\text{En}\text{um})</td>
<td>(-\text{rs})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, invisible</td>
<td>(-\text{En}\text{um})</td>
<td>(-\text{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person, visible</td>
<td>(-\text{a})</td>
<td>(-\text{Es})</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><strong>POSSESSOR SUBJECT OF SENTENCE.</strong></th>
<th><strong>POSSESSOR NOT SUBJECT OF SENTENCE.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>PRENOMINAL.</strong></td>
<td><strong>POSTNOMINAL.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>(-g'as)</td>
<td>(-k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>(-g'a)</td>
<td>(-q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, visible</td>
<td>(-\text{q}')</td>
<td>(-\text{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, invisible</td>
<td>(-\text{a})</td>
<td>(-\text{Es})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person, visible</td>
<td>(-\text{a})</td>
<td>(-\text{Es})</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

§ 49
§ 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 -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, gā'xenl 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 Hē'ldzaq dialect of Milbank sound, where we find for these forms -enla, corresponding to the -enl of the Koskimo. Examples of the form -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 -a; so that we find the forms -enlaq i—him; -ensaq we[incl.]—him, -enuxwaq we[excl.]—him; and -enlas i—with him, -ensas we[incl.]—with him, -enuxwaš we[excl.]—with him.

hā'zmaswutìtsōx'denlas I was asked to eat with him 480.10 (hāz-m to eat; -s-[?]; -ot companion; -ēl[?]; -sō passive; -x'dē transition from present to past) dō'qula'mēsenlalaxw Gwē'telax and so I saw the Northerners 473.27 (dō'qula to see; -mēs and so; -xwa obj. 2d pers. dem.; Gwē'tela northern tribes; -x 2d pers. dem.)

tnē'k'enlalaxa tnej'mqēsē I said to the tnej'mqēs 473.26 (tnēk to say) lāwe'lgamēk'asenlaxw lā'laēnoxs I am the prince of the ghosts X 131, note 3 (lāwe'lgamēt prince; -k'as real; lā'laēnoxs ghosts) bō'lesda'yinlas lē'leslag'ēlala I am the musk-bag of mink CS 158.22 (bōl- musk-bag; -xsd hind end; -ēz nominal; lē'lesla sun; -g'īla to make)
3. The second person takes a connective -é- before the objective and instrumental of the third person; so that we have -séq thou—him, and -sés thou—with him. With the instrumental of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, the second person forms -sétsen, -sétsens, -sétsenué. 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).

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 -éd. Evidently the process of contraction by which the objective -xa and the instrumental -sa have developed from the older -xéd and -séd has affected in this case also the subjective. The second person future, when the verb has a pronominal ending, is generally -lóls instead of -lós, which is used only as a possessive form.

6. Nouns ending in -a, -é, -ü, and -d, when followed by the connective -a- (rule 4), by the postnominal -a of the third person invisible, by -ax, -aq!, and -qu! of the second person invisible, and by -qu! of the second person visible (Tables II, III, §§ 48, 49), take the endings -á, -ax, -aq!, -aq!-, -aq-, in place of -a, -é, -ü, -d, followed by the ordinary endings. In nouns ending in -a, the forms -aéya, -aéyax, -aéyax.
-aʰyaq!, -aʰyaq!ⁿ, aʰyaq, are sometimes found instead of the forms in -ʊ-. The forms in -aʰya- seem to be preferred in the case of many proper names.

ⁿᵉʰˣᵉⁿᵃⁿᵃ Qʷᵉ'smᵒˡĩʣᵉᵐᵍᵃ to him 116.1
ⁿᵉʰˡᵃˢᵉⁿᵉʰ Lᵃ'qʷᵃʣᵃˢ vᵃⁿ'dᵉᵐᵃˢ Lᵃ'qʷᵃʣᵉ was told of his word 116.21
Lᵃⁿᵃⁿᵃ ḏᵒ'ˣʷᵃⁿᵃ ḋᵉ'Lᵉ Lᵃ'qᵘˡᵃʸʷᵍʷᵃₓᵃ ḡ'ᵒ'kwᵉ then, it is said, Lᵃ'qᵘˡᵃʸʷᵍʷᵃ saw a house 251.8
ⁿᵉʰˣᵉⁿᵃⁿᵃ Hᵃ'mᵈᵘʣᵉˡˢ օ'mᵖᵉ it is said Hᵃ'mᵈᶻⁱᵈ said to his father 55.19

7. Nouns ending in -ʰə̱ take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -ᵃʰya, -ᵃʰyaʁ, -ᵃʰyaq!, -ᵃʰyaq!ⁿ, aʰyaqⁿ.

gʰ'qʰ'gʰ'àmʰaʈʰașa Bᵉ'l²xᵘˡᵃ the chiefs of the Bella Coola 223.33
gʰ'qʰ'gʰ'a轻轻地 chief

8. Nouns ending in -ʊ̱ take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -ʊ̱, -ʊ̱x, -ʊ̱q!, -ʊ̱qⁿ, -ʊ̱qⁿ.

lᵃⁿᵉ'mᵃ=qʰʾtʰə̱ ʸᵃʰʾzᵃᵗˡᵉš  Kʷᵃ'qᵃˢᵃⁿᵃ%xᵃ qʰ'gʰ'kwᵉ Kʷᵃ'qᵃ%x-
sᵃⁿᵒˢ's canoe was full of heads 153.33 (-⁷a but; qʰʾtʰa full; ḡʰʾzᵃᵗˡᵉš canoe; qʰ'gʰ'kwᵃ head cut off)

9. Nouns ending in -ᵃ and -ʊ̱, when followed by the demonstrative second person visible, take the ending -x instead of -ʰə̱.

lᵃⁿᵉ'mᵃ=dᵉⁿ  lᵉʰˢᵃți'sᵉˡᵃ lᵃ'zᵉⁿˢ ḡⁿᵃ'łᵃ x I have been around this
our world 12.7 (-ᵉᵐ and; -xED past; -Ẽⁿ I; ¹a to go; -ʰə̱sta
around; -la continuative; -ís world; -la continuative; ḡⁿᵃ to go
[here prepositional]; -xEzn our; ḡⁿᵃ'la world)
we'gᵃ  ḡⁿᵉʼxᵉⁿ¹d%xʷᵃ  ḡᵐᵉˡ%xλ³%x go on, carry these mountain
(goats 41.5 (we'gᵃ go on!; ḡⁿᵉʼxᵉ̱d to carry; ḡᵐᵉˡ%xλ³% mountain
goat)
Lᵉʰwᵒ'xda ḡᵃᠯᵃ'yᵘ⁴x and this death-bringer 50.36 (Lᵉʰ and; ḡᵃᠯᵃ'yᵘ
death-bringer, means of killing)

10. Nouns ending in -ᵃ do not take the postnominal -ᵉ of the third
person (see § 56).

11. ḡⁿᵒ and never takes the form in -ʰdᵃ, except in the Dzᵃ'-
wadeēⁿoxⁿ dialect, but forms ḡⁿᵉʷᵃ even before common nouns
(see § 49, II).

Lᵉʷᵃ aʰyʰʾlkʷəsᵃ qʰʰ'gʰ'àmʰ and the attendants of the chief
159.22
Lᵉʷᵃ lᵃ'kʰ'êⁿᵈᵉ Lʰ'ê'lᵃ'sᵉᵐ and one hundred bear-skin blankets
223.37
Lᵉʷᵃ ḡⁿᵃ'ʷᵃ tšʰ'ë'sʰkʰ'wᵃ and all the birds 295.2

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12. The -s third person possessive, when followed by an objective or instrumental, takes a terminal e.

\[ \text{t'le'mə'yu'àśeņēs xwā'k'lu}na \] his means of sewing his canoe (see p. 555, note 62)

\[ \text{lā'lae dā'le k'wey'ni'masēnā əw'lasē g'ildasa} \] then his crew took the large box 226.39 (dā'la to take, carry; k'wey'ni'm crew; əw'las large; g'ildasa box)

13. The objective -q and instrumental -s, when followed by the temporal subordinating elements, are followed by -e. 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:

\[ \text{lā'dzālen} \text{ indeed I shall go 146.7 (la to go; -dzā indeed [no. 119]; -L future [no. 88]; -EN I)} \]

\[ \text{lā'zmens} \text{ we do 179.35 (la to go; -zm [no. 103]; -ENS [incl.])} \]

\[ \text{gā'gak'!unnə'xə} \text{ we are trying to marry 225.43 (gēk'- wife [reduplication with a vowel and hardened terminal, tentative]; -nnə'xə [excl.])} \]

\[ \text{hē'meni'nalal·enes} \text{ thou wilt always 182.41 (hē'menala always; -zm [no. 103]; -L future [no. 88]; -ES thou)} \]

\[ \text{hōqawels} \text{ they go out 179.17 (hōq- to go [PLURAL]; -WELS out of house [nos. 37, 44])} \]

\[ \text{gā'xə'ya} \text{ he [near 1st person invis.] comes} \]

\[ \text{lā'zmix gōsl} \text{ this [near 2d person vis.] will be thine 228.42 (la to go; -zm [no. 103]; -ōx [dem. 2d person vis.]; gōs thine; -L future [no. 88])} \]

\[ \text{gā'xə'mōdə} \text{ this [near 2d person invis.] comes 370.24 (gā'x to come; -zd [no. 103]; -ōd [dem. 2d person invis.])} \]

\[ \text{hē'zmēq} \text{ that is it 60.6 (hē that; -zm [no. 103]; -EQ [dem. 3d person vis.])} \]

2. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal object:

\[ \text{gā'gak'!'inlōl} \text{ I try to marry thee 97.4 (gēk'- wife [tentative § 46]; ENLōl I — thee [§ 50.1])} \]

\[ \text{l!elē'wàś'ynlæq} \text{ I forgot it 102.15 (§ 50.2)} \]

\[ \text{wu'lē'nsaq} \text{ we [incl.] ask him (§ 50.2)} \]

\[ \text{wu'lą'nu'yəwōl} \text{ we [excl.] ask thee} \]
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:

\[ \text{\textit{la'wadenlasik}}:\ I \ have \ him \ for \ my \ husband \ 97.20 (læw- \ husband; -ad \ having \ [no. \ 170]; -enlas \ I — \ of \ him \ (§ 50. 2); -k' \ [dem. 1st \ person \ vis.]) \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'yardelös}}: \ I \ have \ you \ for \ my \ father \ (ås- \ father; -ad \ having \ [no. \ 170]; -enlōs \ I \ of \ you \ [§ 50. 1]) \]
\[ \text{\textit{la'xulanux'sētsen}}: \ thou \ lovest \ me \ (lætxula \ love; -nuk \ having \ [no. \ 169]; -sētse \ thou — \ of \ me \ [§ 50. 3]) \]

4. Transitive sentences with a single verb and pronominal object and instrumental. These are rare, since periphrastic expressions are preferred (see § 61).

\[ \text{\textit{mīx'īnlōlas}}: \ I \ strike \ thee \ with \ it \ (see \ § 50. 1) \]

§ 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.

\[ \text{\textit{g'āx'menui'x xē'lalōl} \ we \ came \ to \ invite \ thee \ 66.17 (g'āx \ to \ come; -m \ [no. \ 103]; -enu'x \ [excl]; xē'lalōl \ to \ invite; -ōl \ thee)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{lā'la'xens xwē'x'itsek} \ should \ we \ shake \ with \ it \ 57.40 (la \ to \ go; -lax \ uncertainty \ [§ 28, \ no. \ 105]; -ens \ we, \ xwē'x'\ id \ to \ begin \ to \ shake; -sek' \ with \ this)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{lā'les nā'\textsuperscript{2}nax\textsuperscript{2}nēleq} \ thou \ wilt \ answer \ him \ 264.28 (la \ to \ go; -l future \ [no. \ 88]; -es \ thou; nā'\textsuperscript{2}nax\textsuperscript{2}nē \ to \ answer; -l future \ [no. \ 88]; -q \ him)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{xē'n\textsuperscript{2}lela} \ mīx'ā'q} \ I \ strike \ him \ too \ much \ (xē'n\textsuperscript{2}lela \ very, \ too \ much; -en \ I; mīx'ā' \ to \ strike; -q \ him)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{g'āx'mens ēwī'laēla} \ you \ have \ all \ come \ in \ 131.22 (g'āx \ to \ come; -m \ [no. \ 103]; -s \ you; ēwī'la \ all; -ēl \ into \ house \ [§ 22, \ no. \ 47]) \]
\[ \text{\textit{k'\textsuperscript{2}lēs\textsuperscript{2}en hamx\textsuperscript{2}v'\dla} \ I \ did \ not \ eat \ 258.17 (k'\textsuperscript{2}lēs \ not; -en \ I; hamx\textsuperscript{2}v'\dla \ to \ begin \ to \ eat)} \]

Also—

\[ \text{\textit{qen g'īwā'lōl \ that \ I \ may \ help \ thee \ (qen \ that \ I; g'īwāla \ to \ help; -ōl \ thee)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{qen lā'\textsuperscript{2}wadēsik} \ that \ I \ marry \ this \ one \ (S 72.11)} \]

§ 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 postnominal demonstrative ending.

1. Intransitive sentence with nominal subject.
   
   ?n?x?la? Ts!é?ts! Tsi?é?ts! said, it is said 31.9 (?n?ek· to say; ?la it is said [§ 32, no. 133]; ?e [subj. dem. 3d person consonantic])
   
   g?x?l?éda ma?l?ó'kw? two persons came, it is said 261.33 (g?x to come; ?la it is said [§ 32, no. 133]; ?eda [subj. dem. 3d person vocalic])
   
   
   g?x?m?óx Wulação'sex?ex Wulação'se? has come 161.27 (g?x to come; ?m [no. 103]; ?ówex [subj. dem. 2d person cons.]; ?ex [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])
   

2. Transitive sentences with nominal subject and pronominal object or instrumental.
   
   n?x?nax?ex? Xá'náts! emoti'k'akwaq Xá'náts! emoti{lakw replied to him 131.7 (n?x?nax?m?è? to reply; ?è [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; q [obj. 3d person, § 50.4])
   
   b?w? Q!á'néq?e?lakwas Q!á'néq?è{lakw left him 169.28 (b? to leave; ?è [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -s [instr., § 50.4])
   
   k?l?é?d?éda b?b?egwanemas the men became afraid of him 127.21 (k?l? to be afraid; -t?id [inchoative, no. 90]; ?èda [subj. dem. 3d person voc.]; begwá'nem man; -s [instr., § 50.4])

3. Transitive sentences with pronominal subject and nominal object or instrumental.
   
   d?x?x?laxa lex?d?è I took the basket (da to take; -x?tid [inchoative, no. 90]; -nlaq I—it [§ 50.2]; ?a [obj. dem. 3d person voc.]; lex?è basket)
   
   ?n?x?x?wun?asa begwá'nem I was told by the man (?n?ek· to say; -s? [passive, § 35, no. 159]; -nlaq I—it [§ 50.2]; -sa [instr. 3d person voc.]; begwá'nem man)
   
   mix?x?d?èx?a begwá'nem he struck the man (mix· to strike; -x?tid [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; ? [§ 56]; -x?a [prenom. obj.])

§ 53
4. Transitive sentences with nominal subject, object, and instrument.

Xunoqiwadi Q'te'xwaqlanakwas Ot'ayagit'lisë Q'te'xwaqlanakw had Ot'ayagit'lis for her child 133.11 (xunk'-child; -ad having [no. 170]; -ê [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -as [instr., § 50.4]) yô'sëda lë'lwalaqtañaxa gwâ'xnisë the tribes ate the dog-salmon with spoons 133.34 (yô'sa to eat with spoons; lë'lwalaqtañaxa tribe; gwâ'xnis dog-salmon)

Kwex'udeda hEgwd'riñaxa Qld'sdsaxa t'Iwagayd the man struck the sea-otter with the club (kwex- to strike; -x'Hd [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; hEgwd'nEm man; Qld'sdsaxa sea-otter; t'Iwagayd to club; -ayô 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 pronominal or nominal subject, while the latter takes the nominal object and instrumental.

Lg'laë Kl'unâqaxsânô wule'lax 'nemô'gwisë then, it is said, Kl'unâqaxsânô questioned 'nemô'gwis 153.39 (la to go; -ìla it is said; -ê [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; wule'lax to question)

Lâ'len ax'e'dlax t'I'wëma I shall go and get a stone (la to go; -l future [no. 88]; -ën I; ax'e'd take; -l future [no. 88]; -x [cons. obj.]; t'I'wëma stone; -a [indef., see § 59.2])

Lâ'tilaë q'la'msedê mâl'kilâq 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.

Lg'lin k'ë'sëx'dëk this my crest will go 209.31 (la to go; -l future [no. 88]; -ë'ën [prenom. subj., dem. 1st person, § 49]; k'ë'sëx'dëk crest; -x'd past [no. 89]; -k' [postnominal dem. 1st person vis.])

Wule'laxës ab'empe he questioned his mother 141.37 (wule'lax to question; -ës [prenom. obj., dem. 3d person subj. and possessor identical, § 49, III]; ab'em mother; -ê [see § 49, III])

Lâ'wasë'ldê nâ'qâ'ëyas his mind became wild 142.38 (lâ'wasë'ldê to become wild; -ê [dem. 3d person indef.]; nâ'qâ'ëyas mind; -as [nominal subj., dem. 3d person, subj. and possessor not the same person, § 49, III])

§§ 54, 55
q'elsaxen g'ó'kwé he painted my house (q'e'ls- to paint; -xen [prenom. obj., § 49]; g'ó'kw house; -é [see § 56])
yá'x'sa'més ná'qa'yóš your mind is bad 71.35 (yá'x'sa'm bad; -és [prenom. subj., § 49]; ná'qé' mind; -ōs [postnom. possess. 2d person, dem., § 49])

The following examples illustrate possessive forms:

1st person, dem. 1st person, visible:
lae'ms a'xleq'gin lé'gemx'dík' take my past name! 125.31
la'qun g'ó'kutog'ín and my tribe 451.28

1st person, dem. 1st person, invisible:
*má's'é'nawiség'ín tek'-!g'ae'n? what may be the matter with my belly? 172.20

1st person, dem. 2d person, visible:
wé'g'a dó'qwalaxwa g'ó'kwagen look at this my house! 409.38
la'xen gene'ma'генен to my wife 410.33
la'xen a'wí'naqwisëc to my country 259.30

1st person, dem. 3d person, visible:
k'-é'sen wi'lx'en wá'ldemé I did not obtain my wish 454.3

1st person, dem. 3d person, invisible:
la'xen g'á'g'imáx'da'nen to my past loans 452.1
la'xen g'ó'kwä to my house 409.12
qwá'gwa'yagaxe gene'maën my wife's way of going 300.33

Exclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:
la'xen a'g'lagEmlaxsg'anu g-i'gamik' the food-obtaining mask of our chief 35.38

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:
alé'wa'slæxsenu'g'ó'gamaëx the hunting canoe of our chief U.S.N.M. 665.12

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:
ná'qa'yasëns é'nól'ax the heart of our elder brother 325.11

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:
lá'xenu'g'ó'kwë outside of our house 120.31

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:
lá'xenu'g'ó'kwë nó'sa a'wí'naqwisë to our country 259.41

Inclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:
dó'qwaxg'ada wá'g'ins look at our river 147.37
lae'mkr' wí'l'laelg'íns é'nél'ne'mó'kwigái' now all our friends are in the house 459.16

§ 55
Inclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:
yisens g'i'gama'ëx of our chief 453.11

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:
hä'g'a, axk'!ä' laxens g'ö'kulötax go and ask our tribe 310.8

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:
wä'ldemasens §emö'kwë the word of our friend 461.40

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:
lä'xens a*wii'nagwisaens to our country 261.12
k'!ö'telag'asens wi'wömpdäens this salmon of our ancestors 451.40

2d person, dem. 1st person, visible:
lä'xg'as gene'mg'ös to your wife 234.22

2d person, dem. 2d person, visible:
läxs go'quma'yaqös to your face 306.20
lä'xös a*wii'nagwisaqös to your country 259.39

2d person, dem. 2d person, invisible:
gä'gak'!inlaxs k'!ë'dëlaq'ös I will woo your princess 119.22

2d person, dem. 3d person, visible:
é'x'mís wä'ldemös good is your word 259.35

2d person, dem. 3d person, invisible:
dö'qwalaxs ax'ë'xsdesô'laös see what is desired by you 409.29
lä'xës xunö'x'laös to your future child 51.36

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
—dö'x'ë'widxös xunö'kwëx (let her) see her child 134.16
—lä'xös yä'ë'yatslëx in his canoe 230.18

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
dëdä'x'sâxës le'k!wisë they held their bows 243.40

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
lä'më'sen geg'a'desöaxa k'!ë'dëlaxs and so I have married his princess 193.35 (ë'mës and so; geg'a'd to have for wife; k'!ë'dël princess)

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
—ä'xëx yå'nëms he took his game 294.27
—lä'xumaxa läx ö'x'sidza'ëyas they rolled down to its base 19.12

§ 55
§ 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, mâx'-ē'dēxēs xùna'lkwē HE STRUCK HIS CHILD, because it is not expected that a man would strike his child. Examples from the texts are:

lā'laē yē'laqula'ē Wā'xwidē then Wā'xwid sang his sacred song
CS 90.6
—axk'-lā'laēs ēnē'nevō'kwē he called his friends 43.5
g'a'x'laēda hō'x'uhōk kwē the hō'x'uhōku came 109.39
—gā'sēdē Nē'neŋqasē 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'ā'x'mōx Wulā'sē'vex 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't'mēs la bēk!u'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't'mōs wā'ldēmēx this is your word

When the sentence is opened by a verbal expression without demonstrative ending, the second term is a verb.

yū't'mēs yē'laq'widadusēyōx 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.
§ 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 mîx'ëid'ëa bégwă'ne'm he struck the man
k'é'sôx mîx'ëid'ë g'â'xen this one did not strike me
lóx lé'gades T!e'semg'ité this one had the name T!e'semg'ité 225.18

The construction is similar to that in sentences in which nouns occur accompanied by qualifying terms.

mîx'ëdëda wâ'lasé bégwă'ne'ma g'înâ'ne'm 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.

mîx'ëdëda bégwă'ne'ma g'înâ'ne'm

Temporal suffixes are treated in the same manner.

xŭ'mtëlsëda wâ'lasdë g'ô'xûsa bégwă'ne'm the large house of the man was burnt on the ground (sumô- to burn; -els on ground [§ 22, no. 44]; -(x)dë past; g'ôkû house); (but xŭ'mtëlsë g'ô'xûdûsa bégwă'ne'm 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'sem qâ'sëida then he went
la'smôx qâ'sëida then he went
lé'da bégwă'ne'm qâ'sëida then the man went

In this position the verb can not take the ending -ê, although it may be made a noun by the appropriate prenominal demonstrative.

bégwă'ne'mêda qâ'sëidê 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 -ëda and -x, which in Kwâ'g'ul invariably have the function of determining subject and object, may have originally performed different functions. This is suggested by the following forms: The Dzâ'wadeênoxû forms -sëda and -xëda (see § 49), and the analogous forms -xy'ada, -xôxda, -sg'ada, -sôxda, of the §§ 57, 58
Kwâ'g-ul, show that the endings -g'a, -ôx, -ê, and -da are not necessarily subjective. There are also indications that originally -da was not so exclusively prenominal as we find it now. This is indicated particularly in its use with the independent demonstrative g'â, yû, hê, and the interrogative ʷwî when. These often take the ending -da either by itself or in connection with possessive pronouns: g'â'da, yû'da, hê'da, ʷwî'de; and hê'den g'ôkʷ 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 Newettee: g'â'xê, yîxa beqwâ'nem he came, that man. In the Awî'k̑énox̑ dialect of Rivers inlet it is suffixed in the same manner to the subject as well as to the object.

lâ'tle yâ'e'tî'de'la g'ô'kulayaxai the people felt bad (g'ô'kula tribe; -xa' 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 Consonant Premoninal Forms

It was mentioned in § 49 that the prenominal demonstrative occurs in two forms, as vocalic and consonant. The latter is used in three cases:

1. Before proper names.

lâ'tlae yâ'q!eg'a'tle Ts!âqama'te then Ts!âqamâ't spoke 193.26 a'yî'lkwâs T!'e'semgrîte the attendants of T!'e'semgrîte 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 wâ'tdems beqwâ'nem that is the word of mankind
g'ô'kwâs g'yî'gîqama'yâ a house fit for chiefs
la'men wuâ'xg'a beqwâ'nemk' I ask the men in present existence

(b):

â'lâso'tên lae'sasa t'sî'dâq mussels are searched for by the women
sek'â'lenlax gwô'yî'mlaxa I shall harpoon a whale, if there is one (-lax uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]).

On the other hand, we have la'men sek'â'xa gwô'yî'cm I harpooned a whale, because the whale, after having been harpooned, is definite.

§ 59
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.

\[
g'ä'xē lāx g'ō'kwæsen' nēmō'kwē \text{ he came to the house of my friend} \]

§ 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'g'ul 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{la}^{'m} \text{En}) & \quad \text{le'q'elas t!ēx'i'la lāq I name it "door" 9.14 (leq- name; -s [instr.]; t!ēx'i'la door; lāq going to it)} \\
\text{le'q'adas Dā'bendē} & \quad \text{having the name of Dā'bendē 15.8} \\
\text{we'g'a guw's ētsēs g'āxilaōs} & \quad \text{mention your reason for coming 16.10 (we'g'a go on; guw's ēd to mention; -sēs your [instr.]; g'āx to come; -g'ēl reason [no. 176, p. 508]; -āōs your)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

sā'bentsōx he overdoes this 18.1
\[
\text{t'yā'laqas g'īnā'nēm} \text{ he sent the child} \\
\text{lē tsāōs then he gave it 18.11} \\
\text{laē'm t!ēqwaplentsa t!ēsēmē} \text{ he put on the fire the stones 20.8} \\
\text{we'g'a, de'nēxētsen q!ēmdēma} \text{ go on! sing (with) my song 451.25} \\
\text{All passives are constructed with the instrumentalis.} \\
\text{qā'sēdayusa alā'ēlēnoxw} \text{ he was walked away with by the wolves}
\]

§ 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 la 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la'ē lā'bēta laq then he went in to it (-bēta into [no. 28, p. 465])} \\
\text{le'stalī'sela lā'xēns ēnā'lax he went around our world 12.7} \\
\end{align*}
\]
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.

\[ hɛ \, Ʌwɛ'yɪləxə \, qə'qenulɛ \] he did so every night 249.24 (hɛ that; Ʌwɛ'yɪlə to do so; -xa [obj.]; qə'nul 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.

\[ Ʌ'lael \, le'ŋ'aa \, qa's \, Ɇla'la \] it is said, he longed really the cause is *his* (= on account of his) sweetheart 23.12 (Ɇla really; -la quotative; le'ŋ'aa to long; Ɇla's sweetheart)

\[ lae'mɛləɛ \, Ʌya'x'semɛ \, na'qa'qas \, K\wɛk\waxa'twa'xɛ \, qaεs \, 'nemɔ't'wɛ \] then the mind of K\wɛk\waxa'twa'xɛ was bad on account of his friend 291.34 (la auxiliary verb; -em and; -la it is said; Ʌya'x'sem bad; na'qɛ' mind; 'nemɔ't'ku friend)

\[ qa'qin \, wa'ldemlik' \] on account of this my future word 115.31 qa'du mōts'laqɛx 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 . . . . . . . . . . . *qɛn-*a

Inclusive . . . . . . . . . . . *qɛns-*a

Exclusive . . . . . . . . . . . *qεnu'vɛ-*a

2d person . . . . . . . . . . . *qa'ɛ,*-âs

3d person . . . . . . . . . . . *qa-*as (possessor different from subject)

3d person . . . . . . . . . . . *qa'ɛ,*-a (possessor and subject the same)

44877—Bull. 40, pt. 1—10—35          §§ 62, 63
It corresponds to a verbal stem *q* with the possessive forms for absence.

\[ k'i'lwäneməlaq qen qene'ma \] I bought her to be my wife

This final is very frequently used with verbs, which, however, take certain suffixes. Most often they take the ending -e, 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.

\[ wā'dzāentsōs qen p\lwex'edē \] go on that I may taste \( 37.32 \) (\( wā \) go on; -dzā emphatic [no. 119, p. 494]; \( p\lwex'edē \) to taste)

\[ qan nē'ke'ə and I say so \( 453.24 \)

\[ yā'lageməlaq Gu'demə qen q'ā'xè \] I have been sent by Woodpecker to come \( 302.24 \) (\( yā'laga \) to send; -em instrument [no. 173]; -nas I by him; \( Gu'dem \) woodpecker; \( q'āx \) to come)

\[ wē'q'a, \ldots qens dō'qwałēx q'al'palā'sens nē'emō'kwēx go on, \ldots that we may see the hitting of our friends 296.31 \] (dō'qwału to be looking; qalp- to hit; -sens of our; nē'emō'k friend; -ēx postnominal dem. 2d pers.)

\ldots qas la'ōs ax'ē'dē that you go and take \( 465.34 \)

\ldots qas tap!ē'daŋōs that you eat (break the shells) \( 284.22 \)

\ldots qen le'xs'el'xens xuno'kwēx that I advise our child 290.13

\ldots qen č'kwē'sg'ada nē'ñe'mēk- and I take this blanket \( 292.3 \)

\[ wē'q'a l!ō'p!ēdeq'q qas hamx'ē'daʊsə go on, roast this and eat this 38.7 (l!ōp- to roast; hamx'ē'ə'dē to eat)

\[ le'xalēxēs q'okulōtē qa g'ū'xēs he called his tribe to come 23.2 \]

\[ ax'ē'dxēs q'ō'lats'ē qas g'ā'xē he took his kettle and came 20.8 \]

If the verb has the first form of the third person, and takes an object or instrumentalus, the final -s is followed by an -e.

\[ qa de'nx'ixidēsēsa gā'gak'!ak'!ā'laŋyu q!e'mέma that they sing the wooing songs 82.3 (de'nx'ixidē to sing; gak'- wife [no. 141, p. 498]; -k'āala noise [no. 144, p. 499]; -ayu instrument [no. 174, p. 507]; q!e'mέma song) \]

Verbs with object of the second person take the ending -aôl, corresponding to -aós in verbs with second person subject.

Monosyllabic verbs in -a take -u in place of -aē, and -ayōs or aōs in place of -aōs.

In the future the -e precedes the future suffix, and the endings are the same as usual, -ēl, -ēlōs, -ēles.

§ 63
that I may see you 263.26
and go home 450.20
that I go again 240.37
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.

In place of the suffixed temporal forms, we find also yi'xg'in, etc.

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).

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 -ē.

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.

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.

The same forms also occur without the subordinating suffix -x. In these cases the possessive element is suffixed to the postnominal demonstrative.

The conditional is formed from the same stem qa as the causal. It takes the ending ō. 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 ō, and is often accompanied by the suffix -lax (§ 28, no. 105), which expresses uncertainty.

Following are the conditional forms:

§ 65. Conditional

The conditional is formed from the same stem qa as the causal. It takes the ending ō. 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 ō, and is often accompanied by the suffix -lax (§ 28, no. 105), which expresses uncertainty.

Following are the conditional forms:

| 1st person | qanLō |
| Inclusive  | qansō |
| Exclusive  | qanuxō |
| 2d person  | qaōgō |
| 3d person, demonstrative, 1st person | qagō |
| 3d person, demonstrative, 2d person | qaōxō |
| 3d person, demonstrative, 3d person | qō |

qaō sąo hamx-ei'dza hamg-i'layuL lōL if you eat the food that is given to you. 258.33 (hamx-ei'd to eat, hamg-i'la to give food, -ayu passive [§ 36, no. 174], lōL to you)

qaō săo k-i'e'lax ha₇mā₇ paxōL if you should not eat 262.11 (k-i'e not, -lax uncertainty, ha₇mā₇ to eat, -lax uncertainty, oL you [§ 50.5])

§ 65
§ 66. Imperative and Exhortative

The imperative of inchoative verbs is generally formed with the suffix *g-a*; that of continuative verbs, with *-la*.

dā'salgrā dive! 461.23

The defective forms *gē'la come! hā'gra go!* belong here. We find also the double form *gē'lag'ra come!*

Often the imperative is introduced by a form derived from the interjection *wē go on!* which takes the imperative ending *-gra* or (in the future) *-g'il*. In other cases the *wē* takes pronominal endings. In constructions with *wē'gra*, the intransitive verb takes the ending *-x.*

wē'gra ṣnā'xumālax go on, cover your face! 185.35
wē'g'il la gwā'lalalax keep ready! 242.28
wā'entsōs qen wulā'oł let me ask you (= you [exhortative] that I ask you) 145.22

Sometimes *hā'gra* and *gē'la* are used in the same manner as *wē'gra*.

hā'gra xwā'nāl'udex go and get ready! 114.28

Exhortatives are formed with the suffix *-x*:

wē'x'ins wē'nax K. let us make war on K. 301.25
wē'gra i la'k!wēmasēs nā'qa'yōs strengthen your mind 13.8
gwā'lax i 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 ṣnēk' don’t say so! 144.35

It is quite likely that the forms in *-gra* 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 *wē'gra* and *gwā'la*. The transitive imperative seems to be expressed always by the future.

The ending *-nō* forms a peculiar emphatic imperative:

*gwāz*nō* don’t! 462.18

yā'l!ānō take care!

Probably this suffix has the meaning entirely, altogether, and is used as an imperative only secondarily. At least, the forms *dō'qwanō*, *g-ā'xnō*, 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, ëma- what, ëwi- when, g'ín- 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.

ëma'sas begwā'nem? what kind of a man are you? 147.24
ëmā'sōs lā'g'ala'tsaqōs? what is standing behind you? 37.21
a'ngwax'las? what is on you (=is your name)? 67.31
ëwi'den ëwa'tsīlā? where is my dog? 44.24
ëwīdzo'ls g'ë'x'ë'idē? where do you come from? 123.26
gayī'nsēla'ma'na? 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·leā'sas yā'nemaa? have you no game? 45.27 (k·leā's none; -as thou; yā'nem game; -a absent; a [interrog.])
plēplā'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^x^n 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.

ëya'x'da^x'n (address of several people) 219.17
lā'x·da^x'nlaē they went, it is said 266.27

§ 69. Adverbs

From what has been said before, it 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·ēēs not
ā- really
hal- quickly

The only independent adverbs that do not take verbal forms, so far as they are known to me, are plā'q almost, and the numeral adverbs formed with the suffix -plēn.
§ 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—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{al} &\text{'e}'x\text{'} & \text{to hunt sea-mammals} \\
\text{m} &\text{ed} &\text'e'\text{l}q & \text{to boil} \\
\text{k} &\text{'} &\text{t} &\text{el} &\text{ak} & \text{to strike}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o} &\text{'s} & \text{tree} & (= \text{standing on ground}) \\
\text{l} &\text{at} &\text{'e}' &\text{ml} & \text{hat} & (= \text{hanging face-cover}) \\
\text{q} &\text{'o} &\text{s} & \text{pond} & (= \text{water in it on ground}) \\
\text{x} &\text{u}' &\text{lg} &\text{w} &\text{is} & \text{shark} & (= \text{rough body}) \\
\text{m} &\text{en} &\text{a}' &\text{t} &\text{s} &\text{'} &\text{e} & \text{drum} & (= \text{striking receptacle}) \\
\text{\varepsilon} &\text{m} &\text{e}' &\text{k} &\text{w} &\text{u}' &\text{la} & \text{moon} & (= \text{round thing being}) \\
\text{\varepsilon} &\text{w} &\text{a}' &\text{l} &\text{x} &\text{k} &\text{'e} & \text{lynx} & (= \text{big toothed}) \\
\text{\varepsilon} &\text{\lambda}' &\text{w} &\text{a}' &\text{yu} & \text{salmon weir} & (= \text{means of standing})
\end{align*}
\]

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'k'âu'z' chest, ə'z'gudz'əz' foot of mountain, ə'nēgw'wil corner. Before vowels, the stem ə- becomes aəw-: for instance, in aəw'e'xasdē 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e}' &\text{l} &\text{dz} & \text{flesh} \\
\text{e}' &\text{l}k &\text{'u} & \text{blood} \\
\text{hap} & \text{hair of body} \\
\text{s} &\text{e}' &\text{y} &\text{z} & \text{hair of head} \\
\text{xaq} & \text{bone} \\
\text{l} &\text{'es} & \text{skin} \\
\text{k} &\text{'i} &\text{ld} & \text{tongue} \\
\text{q} &\text{el} & \text{rib} \\
\text{yōm} & \text{thumb} \\
\text{k} &\text{'i} &\text{l} &\text{'d} & \text{third finger} \\
\text{selt} & \text{fourth finger} \\
\text{a\\text{\text{nen}}} & \text{eyebrows} \\
\text{xawē'q} & \text{skull} \\
\text{nəz'x} &\text{u} & \text{vulva} \\
\text{ts} &\text{'t} &\text{e}' &\text{y} &\text{z} & \text{intestines}
\end{align*}
\]
Other names of parts of the body occur in two forms—as independent words and as suffixes.

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>xʷôms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>sëms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>p'ësp'ëyâl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>gâbelô'ëstâz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>gâ'gumê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>xʷ'ï'ndzâs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>g'ë'g'â</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>têk'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>a'ëyasô'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>g'ô'gwô'yâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>lëqu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>x'wâp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one side</td>
<td>a'-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few other nouns which appear among the suffixes also exist as independent nominal stems.

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'o'kula$la^d \quad \text{Tsle'lqwalolela}^2 \quad \text{la'xa}^3 \quad \text{ê'k'le}^4 \quad \text{a'wi'negwisa}^5

Lived it is said

Heat

at the above world.

G'o'x'\text{em}la^d \quad \text{Tsle'lqwalolela}^2 \quad \text{le'wis}^7 \quad \text{sâ'sem}^8 \quad \text{yîx}^9 \quad \text{Sô'paxaâs}^10

heat referred to

Heat

and his children, that Shining-down

It is said

that

Lô'11 \quad \text{Yâ'q!lentenn\text{e}yaxa}^{12} \quad \text{tsle'dâ'}q \quad \text{lo}^6 \quad \text{G'o'x'den} \quad \text{le'wa}^7 \quad \text{â'lo}^7

and First-Speaker the

woman and G'o'x'den and the last

xunô'x\text{e}sô'15 \quad \text{Dâ'doqwanag\text{e}sel}a.\text{16} \quad \text{k'le's\text{e}la}^7 \quad \text{g'a'xé}^8 \quad \text{gene'mas}^19

child his

Seeing-from-Corner-to-Corner. Not it is said came wife of

Tsle'lqwalolela, yîx^9 \quad \text{Lô'\text{e}selaga}^20 \quad \text{qa hê'\text{e}n\text{e}m\text{a}s}^21 \quad \text{qâ'samasô}^22

Heat, that Sun-Woman for that one being she go-making she

That it is said, Sun-Woman the

Hê'x'e'\text{idam}t\text{l\text{a'w}i's}^26

He't children, that began referred to it is said

Sun-Woman the

Hê'x'e'\text{idam}t\text{l\text{a'w}i's}^26

However,

yîx^9 \quad \text{Tsle'lqwalolela} \quad \text{le'w}i's^7 \quad \text{sâ'sem}. 

Hê'x'e'\text{idam}t\text{l\text{a'w}i's}^26

TEXT

1 \text{g 'ök= house; -ala with the special meaning inhabitant (§ 26, no. 91); -al is said, with demonstrative -e al (§ 32, no. 132).}

2 \text{tsle'le\text{wa} = hot; -ala (§ 26, no. 91); -öle (§ 26, no. 93).}

3 \text{ê to go; -a= pronominal vocalic objective (§§ 49, 59); the whole word serves as the vocalic locative (§ 61).}

4 \text{ê'k= high, above; -ê 3d person demonstrative (§§ 48, 56, 57).}

5 \text{-\text{e}= beach (§ 22, no. 45). This word is derived from the stem ë= something, and the suffix -\text{e}n\text{k}u (no. 183 a). The terminal -a indicates that it is one of many countries (§ 59).}

6 \text{g'\text{a}z to come; -em connective (§ 27, no. 105); -\text{le} (see note 1).}

7 \text{ë= and, with possessive 3d person, thing possessed belonging to subject (§§ 49, III b, 55).}

8 \text{\text{e}s\text{em} children [plural] (singular \text{u}nô'k\text{w}a, stem \text{u}nô'k); -e dem. (§ 36).}

9 \text{yiz that, consonant form preceding proper name (§ 59), objective form for apposition (§ 58).}

10 \text{a\text{p}= to shine, ray; -a= downs (§ 21, no. 19), -\text{e} on beach (§ 22, no. 45).}

11 \text{lo'\text{a} and, consonant before proper name (§ 59).}

12 \text{yô'q=ent= talk; -em face (§ 23, no. 54); -ê= nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 161). This takes the form -a= before objective -e (§ 50,6); -a= objective form introducing apposition, vocalic form before common noun.}

13 \text{\text{e}se= and, vocalic form before common noun (§ 50,11).}

14 \text{\text{e}l= recent; -e demonstrative (see note 4).}

15 \text{\text{u}nô'k\text{w}a, stem \text{u}nô'k= child (see note 8); -\text{e} his, placed after the noun, since the subject of the sentence \text{le's\text{e}na \text{d}r\text{e} \text{u}nô'p\text{h}s is \text{d}r\text{e}, while the possessor is Heat (see § 49, III b); -\text{e} pronominal indefinite before proper nouns (§§ 49, 59).}

16 \text{\text{d}o'q\text{u}= to see; \text{d}a'doq\text{w}es= to endeavor to see. The rest of the name is not quite clear.}

17 \text{\text{e}= not; -\text{e} (see 1). This is a verbal form.}

18 \text{g'\text{a}z to come; there is no -m here, because this is a new idea that is introduced into the tale; -e con-}

sonantic, pronominal (§§ 49, 59).

19 \text{\text{e}ne'm, stem \text{g}= wife; -\text{e}m (§ 36, no. 193 a); -\text{e}= poss. possessive before proper name (§ 59).}

20 \text{\text{e}=Heat; \text{le's\text{e}la sun; -\text{e}= woman (§ 36, no. 192).}

21 \text{qa on account of; \text{e}= that one; -t\text{e}= abstract noun, quality of; -m (§ 27, no. 103); -e= possessive third person.}

22 \text{g\text{a}s= to walk; -\text{a}m= to cause (§ 35, no. 158); -\text{e} cons. demonstrative (§§ 49, 59).}

23 \text{-a= definite object (§ 49).}

24 \text{\text{e}= that; \text{\text{e}m it is said (§ 32, no. 132); -\text{e} however (§ 27, no. 101).}

25 \text{\text{e}neq= straight (i.e., to come straight down); \text{e}= here subject; -a= indicates the apposition explaining the \text{\text{e}= that.}

26 \text{\text{e}= that; -t\text{e}d= inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -\text{e}= connective (§ 27, no. 103); after the inchoative this suffix requires always a connective -a= -\text{a} (see note 1); -\text{e}= and so (§ 27, no. 104).}
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50.4) Went, signifies here a new action: then.
49. Was told it is said.
48. "What your work moving on beach here, G'e'xden?"
47. "What tribe are you?"
46. "I am trying to get a magical treasure.
45. What things signify.
44. "What subject.
43. One person.
42. Then it is said.
41. "I went, signifies here a new action: then.
40. Then it is said.
39. Landward of the beach.
38. For-o.
37. Things.
36. Then referred to it is said and so he went.
35. On beach.
34. Hollow things.
33. Canoes.
32. Long.
31. He discovered the.
30. G'e'xden G'e'xden.
29. Bent-Bay its name.
28. Then it is said.
27. Laq.
26. Laq.
25. G'e'xden.
24. Then it is said.
23. He had back of them.
22. Then referred to it is said and so he went.
20. What your work moving on beach here, G'e'xden?"
19. "What tribe are you?"
18. What things signify.
17. One person.
16. If.
15. "I went, signifies here a new action: then.
14. Went, signifies here a new action: then.
13. Was told it is said.
12. G'e'xden.
11. Then it is said.
10. Then it is said.
9. Then it is said.
8. Then it is said.
7. Then it is said.
5. Then it is said.
4. Then it is said.
3. To the.
2. G'e'xden G'e'xden.

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19. "What tribe are you?"
18. What things signify.
17. One person.
16. If.
15. "I went, signifies here a new action: then.
14. Went, signifies here a new action: then.
13. Was told it is said.
12. G'e'xden.
11. Then it is said.
10. Then it is said.
9. Then it is said.
8. Then it is said.
7. Then it is said.
5. Then it is said.
4. Then it is said.
3. To the.
2. G'e'xden G'e'xden.
"Max'ëñoxxunux'x. 57 Hô'x'widôx 58 al'ê'wats'äxônu'x' 59 g'igungamä'ëx." 60

"We are killer-whales. It split this this hunting canoe of our chief here."

Lâ'lae 30 wuI'ßa"we 61 G'e'x'den lâx 38 t'lë'm'yâsëx'es 62 xwa'klunâx's 63
Then it is said was asked G'e'x'den about his material for sewing his canoe when it was broken. Then it is he told of cedar-withes. "Go get it."

dëwe'xa, 69 nê'la-xo'sëa 70 G'e'x'den. Lâ'lae 30 qi'sëida. 71 K'ë'sëlatla 72 cedar-withes," was told it is G'e'x'den. Then it is said was started. Not it is said, however,
gâ'laax 73 g'â'laax 74 dâ'I'laax 75 dëwe'x 76 qa's 77 t'slëwë'xe's 78 lâ'xa 3 long when he came carried the cedar-withes that he gave (with) to to the begwa'nem. Lâ'laeda 79 begwa'nem aâ'ts'lalâxa 80 dëwe'x. 66

It is said the men. Then it is said the man tried to break to pieces the cedar-withes.

"Why is the reason this weak?" Then it is said the man.

See note 33; -za (§ 64).

See note 58; -za (§ 64).

nél- to tell; -sa (instrumental, § 60) about.

dëwe'z cedar-withes, cedar-twigs.

hâ occurs only in imperative forms; -g' a imperative ending (§ 66).

az- to do, to take; -x'id inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -z a consonantal object.

-a invisible and indefinite (§ 59.2).

nëk- to say; -sa (§ 35, no. 159); -la (see note 1).

qan- to walk; -x'id inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -a terminal (§ 57).

See 17; -th, however (§ 27, no. 101).

gê- Long; pü'la from gë and -ala (§ 26, no. 92); -za (§ 64).

See note 61.

da to take; -la (§ 26, no. 91); -za prenominal vocalic object.

See note 69; here without indefinite -a, because he carries the material, so that it is now definite.

§ 63, subject of the subordinate clause agrees with the principal clause, therefore -s after the qa.

ts'ô to give; -ë after qa; -a instrumental.

See note 30; -ata a vocable prenominal subject.

az- to break, to crack; -x'ës across; -a to endeavor with reduplication and hardened consonant (see p. 498); -za vocalic prenominal object.

'ëmü what; -a possessive; -ë demonstrative.

'ën'I' very; -la (§ 26, no. 91); -g'h reason (§ 36, no. 176); -a interrogative; -a possessive; -k post-nominal demonstrative 1st person.

Te'laq- weak.

To'ëloaq- to send, always with instrumentalis.

Self- to twist; -za on beach (§ 22, no. 45).
Then it is said the man began to run. Not it is said, long when he came.

carry the twisted-on-beach. Then it is said the man began to sew the canoe.

Then it is said he rubbed on its face with the knife. Then it is said the chief of the killer-whales, that Moving-all-over-the-World, the harpoon killing-pointed canoes, and so said killer-whale, Place-of-getting-Satiated, for that man your face your Then Then Not killer-whales: however, future he house killer-whales, that was the name of the killer-whales: "It here will go my quartz-pointed harpoon to this G'e'xdem that he spear with this the whale; that (and so it is) the names of Place-of-getting-Satiated, Satiated, and (your) house (your) killer-whale on front will be (your)

Then will be your killer-whale will be future dish in house your; that and so it is killing instrument house your.

Life water and the quartz-toothed knife for your butcher-knife."

96 dze'lx- to Run; -x'dld inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
97 li'e- to Sew boards; -x'dld inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
98 wik- to Rub; -gend Face (§ 23, no. 54; also § 21, no. 85; § 20, no. 2); -sa prenominal intransitive vocative.
99 gwele'k-gum.
100 le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
101 xuedilaxa 101 ma'sto 102 la'xox 103 G'e'xden qa 104 sek'tlassoxa 105 ma'x'enoxu 98 "La'mox 99

102 gwa'la. 93 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
103 ma'sto 102 la'xox 103 G'e'xden qa 104 sek'tlassoxa 105 ma'x'enoxu 98 "La'mox 99

104 yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
105 ma'sto 102 la'xox 103 G'e'xden qa 104 sek'tlassoxa 105 ma'x'enoxu 98 "La'mox 99

106 he'em 95 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
107 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
108 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
109 Me'nlosela's 109 Ld 111 Le'mxes'gila'les 112 and Feeling-le'saila's.
110 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
111 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
112 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
113 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
114 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
115 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
116 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
117 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
118 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
119 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
120 Le'gEmsa; 97 g't; gama'yasa 94 ma'x'enoxu; 57, yix; He'ldza lag ilis.
Heath lived in the upper world. Heat came with his children,—Shining-Down and First-Speaker, a woman, and G’c’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 Ó’manis. At once G’c’xden went to Bent Bay. There he discovered ten canoes on the beach. He hid behind them landward from the canoes. Then G’c’xden jumped out of the woods. Then one person spoke. “What are you doing on the beach, G’c’xden?” Thus G’c’xden was told. Then he replied, “I am trying to get a magical treasure from you.” Then G’c’xden asked the man, “To what tribe do you belong?” The man answered him, “We are Killer-Whales. The hunting-canoe of our chief is split.” Then G’c’xden was asked what he used to sew his canoe when it was broken. He mentioned cedar-withes. “Go and get cedar-withes!” G’c’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’c’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’c’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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CHINOOK

By Franz Boas

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

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 (Ts’inu’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, Friederich Müller, Franz Boas, John R. Swanton, and Edward Sapir.

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>Semivowel</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semivowel</th>
<th>Diphthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>v o ő a e (e) ɨ y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>u o (ő) a e (e) ɨ ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũ ŵ ő Ă ġ ĩ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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-xlxxxviii; Hale’s Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.
linguo-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. $\dot{a}$ seems to occur only with $k$ sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short $a$. $\dot{a}$ is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoetic words. $\dot{e}$ 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 consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short $i$ and $u$ when preceding vowels have always consonantic 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></th>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Seminatal</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Semivowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>$\ddot{e}$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>$(q?)$</td>
<td>$q$</td>
<td>$q'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>$(g?)$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>$(g?)$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$k'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>$(d?)$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$t'$</td>
<td>$s$, $c$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$(l)$</td>
<td>$(y)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dento- alve-</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$ts$, $tc$</td>
<td>$ts'$, $tc'$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olar affricative</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</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>$-$</td>
<td>$(w)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$l'$</td>
<td>$l$, $l$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The alveolar s, e, 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 l 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 consonantic 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.  (5) Vowel changes.
(2) Laws of vocalic harmony.  (6) Metathesis.
(3) Laws of consonantic assimilation.  (7) Dieresis.
(4) Vocalization of consonants.  (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 consonantic 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 consonantic cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The e is inserted after the accented consonantic stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

- \( a-\text{te}^{'-}l-a-x \) he made it (a- aorist; \( t\)- he; \( l- \) it; \( -a \) directive; \(-x\) to do)
- \( a-\text{ge}^{'-}l-a-x \) she made it (a- aorist; \( g\)- she; \( l- \) it; \( -a \) directive; \(-x\) to do)
- \( \text{t}\text{e}^{'-}\text{kem}^{	ext{on}} \) ashes (t- plural gender)

2a. Accented short u, when followed by \( m, n, \) or \( l \) which are followed by vowels, becomes \( u\text{a}' \).

- \( \text{id}'\text{g}^{	ext{un}}\text{at} \) his salmon
- \( \text{tq}!\text{ulip}^{	ext{un}}\text{a}'\text{yu} \) youths

2b. Accented e and short a, when followed by \( m, n, \) or \( l \) which are followed by vowels, have consonantic values and affect preceding e and a in the same manner.

- \( \text{ic}^{	ext{a}}\text{yim} \) grizzly-bear
- \( \text{xu}'\text{pen}^{	ext{ie}} \) giving herself in payment to shaman
- \( \text{aqtu}'\text{wit}^{	ext{x}} \) he gives them to them

Accented i followed by an a or u vowel becomes \( \text{ay} \).

- \( \text{atci}^{	ext{i}}\text{ax} \) he makes him
- \( \text{mlopi}^{	ext{a}'}\text{l}x \) you will gather it

Here belong also the terminal changes of e in plural forms:

- \( \text{i}^{'\text{c}}\text{k}!\text{a}^{	ext{l}}\text{e} \) clam basket
- \( \text{to}^{	ext{c}}\text{i}^{'\text{c}}\text{e} \) frog

Compare with this the following cases, where \( n \) and \( l \) belong to consonantic clusters:

- \( \text{n}^{'\text{e}}\text{x}^{'\text{e}}\text{lo}^{'\text{k}}\text{o} \) he awoke
- \( \text{me}^{'\text{nx}^{'\text{i}}} \) a little while

In one case e accented changes to \( x \) before \( x \):

- \( \text{tlal}^{	ext{a}'}\text{x}^{'\text{uc}} \) birds

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.
§ 6. Consonantic Changes

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

1. A *k* following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative *ts*.

   *k̂atŝek* middle *t̂ōkŝek* middle daughter
   *iğ̂el̂x̂tcuk* flint *ŷōx̂il̂x̂tcuk* his flint arrow-point

2. When the vowel following the cluster *lx* is accented, the *x* is dropped.

   *êlx̂am* town *îl̂êe* country
   *âcîôlx̂am* he said to him *t̂cîolâma* he will say to him
   *uk̂ō̂lx̂ul* mouse *ûkol̂ō̂luks* mice

3. In words in which a *q* follows the accented syllable it changes to *k* 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 fortis:

   *l̂âqawwil̂q̂t* its blood *l̂âwwil̂q̂t* blood
   *êq̂el̂ creek* *t̂lâlêma* creeks
   *ûq̂âlêpt̂ckix* his fire *êq̂êlêpt̂ckix* fire
   *l̂âq̂ana* its beavers *êq̂âna* beaver

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the *q*, when the vowel following the *q* is short.

   *ôq̂ôl̂ fish-weir* *ôŷâẑâl̂ his fish-weir

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 *ʔ*,—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>Chinoook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wā'yaq</em></td>
<td><em>ôya</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lī'paqa</em></td>
<td><em>lī'pâa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>isem'êl̂g</em></td>
<td><em>iŝâm'êl̂z</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>êqê'paqte</em></td>
<td><em>êqê'paqte</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t̂ī'q̂ôit</em></td>
<td><em>t̂ī'q̂ôit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t̂q̂û'l̂e</em></td>
<td><em>t̂l̂ôl̂</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  his mother
  his nape
  nose-ornament
  beam
  his legs
  house

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the *q*.

   *êgt̂q* head *âī'aq* quick
   *êĉêl̂q̂êl̂q* porcupine *l̂t̂cûq* water
Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal $x$ and $x'$, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

Kathlamet    | Chinook
---|---
$imō'leku\text{max}$ | $imō'leku\text{ma}$
$tgā'lemax$ | $t!ā'lema$
$mā'lnix$ | $mā'lnē$

élks
creeks
seaward

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook $t$ to Lower Chinook $s$, as in—

Kathlamet    | Chinook
---|---
$tgā'totininike$ | $tgā'sosinike$
$anix'emō'txēm$ | $anix'\text{enemō'sx'em}$

boys
I fooled him

and from Upper Chinook $s$ to Lower Chinook $tc\text{t}$.

Kathlamet    | Chinook
---|---
$\text{e'mas}$ | $\text{e'matc}$
$anō'suwulxt$ | $anō'tctuwulxt$

shame
I went up on the water

§ 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 $u$.

\[ o'pl'ike \text{ bow} \quad \text{ōgu'pl'ikē my bow (with prefix -gē- my [§ 18])} \]

(2) $a$ following a $k$ sound is transformed into $o$ or $u$.

\[ ik!ō'ccke \text{ boy} \quad \text{ōk!ō'ccke girl} \]
\[ īkanī'm \text{ canoe} \quad \text{ōkunī'm canoes} \]

(3) An $e$ sound following a $k$ sound requires a $u$ before the $e$ sound.

\[ aLgē'pratē \text{ alder country} \quad \text{oqūē'pratē' alder-bark tree} \]
\[ Lē'ā'gīl \text{ a woman} \quad \text{ōē'gūl the woman} \]

(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.

\[ nā'xixxa \text{ she begins to burn} \quad \text{nō'xōlxa they begin to burn} \]
\[ ē'ktcxam he sang \quad \text{ō'kōtexam they sang} \]

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonantic clusters that form a stem.

\[ atcō'ktektamit he roasts her \quad \text{ōqct louse} \]
\[(\text{stem -ktekt})\]
§ 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 \( n\overline{o}^\prime p\overline{o}nem \) \textit{it gets dark} (from \( \overline{o}^\prime p\overline{o}l \) \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).

\( aks\overline{o}^\prime p\overline{e}n\) \( a \) he jumps  
\( aks\overline{o}^\prime p\overline{e}n\) \( a \) he jumps about

(instead of \( aks\overline{o}^\prime p\overline{e}n\) \( a \))

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 \(-g\overline{e}l\)\(-,\ -x\overline{e}l\)\(-,\) and \(-\overline{e}l\)\(z\); or the corresponding \(-g\overline{e}n\)\(-\) and \(-x\overline{e}n\) (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by \( o \), the \( l \) and \( n \) become \( \tilde{e} \), so that the prefixes assume the forms \(-\overline{o}g\overline{e}\tilde{c}\)\(e\), \( \overline{o}x\overline{e}\tilde{c}\), \(-\overline{o}\tilde{e}w\).

\( agi\overline{e}l\overline{x}\tilde{e}\)\(m \) she called him  
\( n\tilde{o}g\overline{e}x\tilde{c}\)\(e\)\(ma \) I shall call them
\( ax\overline{e}n\overline{o}\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(n \) he helped sing  
\( n\tilde{o}x\overline{e}\tilde{x}\overline{o}\tilde{t}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(n \) they helped sing

In other cases the combinations \( k\overline{u}l \) and \( k\overline{o}l \) are admissible, as in

\( \tilde{o}k\overline{e}\)\(l\)\(x\)\(\overline{u}l \) mouse  
\( \tilde{o}k\)\(u\)\(l\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{m} \) surf

2. The intransitive \( t \) of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes \( o \) before all \( k \) sounds, and also before adverbial \( l \) and \( n \) (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix \(-\overline{o}-\) (§ 26), when accented and preceding a \( k \) sound or a \( w \), becomes \( a \).

\( a\)\(n\)\(i\)\(o\)\(\overline{e}\)\(g\)\(a\)\(m \) I took him  
\( a\)\(n\)\(i\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\overline{w}\)\(a\)\(z \) I killed him

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

\( i\)\(g\)\(i\)\(\overline{o}\)\(\overline{w}\)\(a\)\(q \) (Kathlamet), \( a\)\(g\)\(i\)\(\overline{a}\)\(\overline{w}\)\(a\)\(z \) (Chinook) she killed him

Unaccented \( o \) does not change in this position.

\( \overline{a}^\prime n\)\(o\)\(\tilde{t}\)\(\k \) I steal her  
\( a\)\(y\)\(o\)\(\tilde{w}\)\(a\)\(\tilde{x}\)\(i\)\(t \) he is pursued 261.1

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, \(-a\)\(k\)\(o \) and \(-l\) combined form \(-a\)\(l\u00f8\(l\) \) (§ 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'ot</td>
<td>-x'oyut to bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-xelatck</td>
<td>-xelayutck 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 ĩ or ē.

āe she is (instead of a-āe) ē'l'xam country (instead of atciungo'mit he causes him to run (instead of atciungo'-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!

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

- tc! hardened becomes ts! s softened becomes c
- tc hardened becomes ts ts softened becomes tc
c hardened becomes s, ts ts! softened becomes tc!
- ts hardened becomes ts!

The hardened x becomes x. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICAL 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 consonantic 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
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 to do and to 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
  a-m-l-a-x-cy-\ddot{a}^\prime m-x & \text{ thou wert in the habit of taking it from her} \\
  a- & \text{ aorist (1, see § 17)} \\
  m- & \text{ thou, subject (2a, see § 18)} \\
  l- & \text{ it, object (2b, see § 18)} \\
  a- & \text{ her, second object (2c, see § 18)} \\
  -x- & \text{ indicates that it belongs to her (3, see § 24)} \\
  Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.} \\
  -cy- & \text{ stem to take (6)} \\
  -am & \text{ completive (7a, see § 29)} \\
  -x & \text{ usitative (7b, see § 32)} \\
  tc-t-a-l-\ddot{a}^\prime-t-a & \text{ he will give them to her} \\
  tc- & \text{ he, subject (2a, see § 18)} \\
  t- & \text{ them, object (2b, see § 18)} \\
  a- & \text{ her, second object (2c, see § 18)} \\
  -l- & \text{ to (4, see § 25)} \\
  -o- & \text{ direction from speaker (5, see § 26)} \\
  -ot- & \text{ stem to give (6)} \\
  -a & \text{ future (7, see § 32)} \\
  Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.}
\end{align*}
\]

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In
most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disap-
pear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

\[
\begin{align*}
  L-\ddot{a}-c & \text{ it is} \\
  L & \text{ it, subject (2a, see § 18)} \\
  -\ddot{a}- & \text{ direction from speaker (5, see § 26)} \\
  -c & \text{ stem to be, singular (6)} \\
  \text{§ 16}
\end{align*}
\]
Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

\[tE-n-xE-l-\bar{a}'-x-\bar{o}\] they will be on me

\[t(e)\]- they, subject (2a, see § 18)
\[n\]- me, indirect object (2c, see § 18)
\[-x(e)\]- indicates that they belong to me (3, see § 24)
\[-l\]- to (4, see § 25)
\[-\bar{a}\]- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)
\[-x\] stem to do, to be (6)
\[-\bar{o}\] future (7, see § 32)

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have (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.
   a. Subjective.
   b. Possessive.
3. Nominal stem, single or compound.
4. Suffixes:

\[W-\bar{a}'-lemlem\] Rotten-wood (a place name)
\[w\]- nominal prefix (1*)
\[a\]- subjective feminine (2 a*)
\[-lemlem\] stem rotten wood (3*)
\[\bar{e}'-\bar{m}\bar{e}-qtq\] thy head
\[\bar{e}\]- subjective masculine (2 a*)
\[-\bar{m}\bar{e}\]- possessive second person (2 b*)
\[-qtq\]- stem head (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. Modal Elements

1. \(a\). This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by 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 \(i\).
Whenever the a- stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by n-. The masculine i- preceding a vowel has consonantie 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:

\[a-L-E'-k'\text{im}\] it said (a- transitional; \(L\) it; \(-k'\text{im}\) to say)
\[a-n-o'-t\text{x}-u\text{it}\] I began to stand (a- transitional; \(n\) 1; \(-o\) directive; \(-t\text{x}\) to stand; \(-u\text{it}\) to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

\[n-\text{\textipa{e}}'-k'\text{im}\] he said (n- transitional; \(\text{\textipa{e}}\) he; \(-k'\text{im}\) to say)
\[n-o'-\text{x-o-x}\] they became (n- transitional; \(o\) they; \(-x\) reflexive; \(-o\) directive; \(-x\) stem to do, to be)

Transitive:

\[a-tcE'-t-a-x\] 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:

\[i-L-E'-k'\text{im}\] it said; Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)
\[i-m-\text{\textipa{a}}-t-k'!o\text{\textipa{a}}-m\text{am}\] you came home ibid, 132.15 (m -thou; \(-x\) (a)-reflexive; \(-t\) coming; \(-k'\text{loa}\) to go home; -(m)am to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

\[i-g-\text{\textipa{e}}'-x-k\text{loa}\] he went home ibid. 169.6 (\(\text{\textipa{e}}\) he; \(-x\) reflexive)
\[i-g-\text{\textipa{a}}-x-k\text{loa}\] she went home ibid. 191.8

Transitive:

\[i-g-i-o'-Z\text{icam}\] somebody told him ibid. 169.7 (q somebody; \(i\) him; \(-o\) directive; \(-Z\text{icam}\) to tell)
\[i-g\text{\textipa{e}}'-t-u-x\] she acted on them ibid. 217.16 (g\text{\textipa{e}} she; \(t\) them; \(-u\) directive; \(-x\) to do)

2. \(n\)-. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It takes the form \(n\text{\textipa{g}}\) 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.)

\[n\text{-}y-u'\text{ya}\] he went (\(n\) past; \(-y\) he; \(-u\text{\textipa{a}}\) to go)
\[n\text{\textipa{g}}-u'\text{ya}\] she went (the same before vocalic element; \(-u\) she, being contracted with \(-u\) into \(-u\))
\[n\text{-}t\text{-i-gil-}\text{\textipa{kEl}}\] he saw him (\(n\) past; \(-t\) he; \(-i\) him; \(gil\)-verbal prefix; \(-\text{\textipa{kEl}}\) to see)

§ 17
3. \textit{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 \textit{al-}.

\begin{align*}
a-m-\bar{o}'-k_{E}l-a & \text{ thou wilt carry her (a- future; } m- \text{ thou; } \bar{o}-\text{ contracted for a- her and } \bar{o}-\text{ directive; } -k_{E}l \text{ stem to carry; } -a \text{ future)} \\
al-\bar{o}'-mE-gt-a & \text{ she will die (al- future; } -\bar{o}-\text{ contracted for a- she and } -\bar{o}-\text{ directive; } -mEgt \text{ stem to die; } -a \text{ future)}
\end{align*}

Before vowel:

\begin{align*}
al-\bar{o}'-mE-gt-a & \text{ she will die (al- future; } -\bar{o}-\text{ contracted for a- she and } -\bar{o}-\text{ directive; } -mEgt \text{ stem to die; } -a \text{ future)}
\end{align*}

In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).

\begin{align*}
a-te-i-gE'l-kEl-a & \text{ he will see her (a- future; } -tc- \text{ he; } -i- \text{ him; } -gEl- \text{ verbal prefix; } -kEl \text{ to see; } -a \text{ future)}
\end{align*}

4. \textit{g-}, before vowels \textit{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).

\begin{align*}
& \text{ga-y-u'i/a he went (see analysis under 2)} \\
& \text{gal-u'i/a she went (see analysis under 2)} \\
& \text{ga-te-i-gE'l-kEl he saw him (see analysis under 2)}
\end{align*}

\textit{n-} may be used in place of this prefix.

5. \textit{na-}, before vowels \textit{na-}. 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. \textit{k-, g-}. This prefix has nominal significance, and designates the one who is, does, or has.

\begin{align*}
k-tgE'-ka-l & \text{ those who fly (k- nominal; } -tgE \text{ they; } -ka \text{ to fly; } -l \text{ always)} \\
k-ck-t-a-xo'-il & \text{ those two who always make them; (ck- they two [transitive subject]; } -t- \text{ them; } -a- \text{ directive before } -x; -xo-il \text{ to work always)}
\end{align*}

This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating the one who has.

\begin{align*}
g-i-ta'-ki-kEl-al & \text{ those who have the power of seeing (i- masculine, } -ta- \text{ their; } -ki- \text{ indicates that there is no object; } -kEl \text{ to see; } -al \text{ always)} \\
g-i-La'-ma^t & \text{ the one who is shot (i- masculine; } -La- \text{ its; } -ma^t \text{ the condition of being shot)} \\
k-La'qewam & \text{ the one who has shamanistic power (} -La- \text{ its; } -qewam \text{ shaman's song)}
\end{align*}
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'ko' a* day (Kathlamet), *wē's* country (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like *Waplō'tcei* salal-berreries on stump. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form *ā* 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 consonant, 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, *Nakōtā'it* (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></th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>n</em>-</td>
<td><em>n</em>-</td>
<td>-lce-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive dual</td>
<td><em>nt</em>-</td>
<td><em>nt</em>-</td>
<td>-nt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive plural</td>
<td><em>ntc</em>-</td>
<td><em>ntc</em>-</td>
<td>-ntc-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td><em>tx</em>-</td>
<td><em>tx</em>-</td>
<td>-tx-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive plural</td>
<td><em>lx</em>-</td>
<td><em>lx</em>-</td>
<td>-lx-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person singular</td>
<td><em>m</em>-</td>
<td><em>m</em>-</td>
<td>-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person dual</td>
<td><em>mt</em>-</td>
<td><em>mt</em>-</td>
<td>-mt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person plural</td>
<td><em>mc</em>-</td>
<td><em>mc</em>-</td>
<td>-mc-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 18
3d person singular, masculine . . .  $\text{tc} -$  $i -$  $-i -$  
3d person singular, feminine . . .  $g -$  $a -$  $-teu -$  $-ga -$  
3d person singular, neuter . . . .  $L -$  $L -$  $-L -$  
3d person dual . . . . . . . . . .  $c -$  $c -$  $ct -$  $-ct -$  
3d person plural . . . . . . . . . .  $t -$  $t -$  $(\bar{o} -, n -, a -)$  $t -$  $-g -$  
Indefinite . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  $q -$  

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 $q$) is followed by $g$ or $k$, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

\begin{align*}
a-L-k-L-\bar{a} '-wa' & \text{it killed it} (a- \text{transitional}; L- \text{neuter subject}; -k- \text{prefix giving the preceding } L- \text{its transitive character}; -L- \text{neuter object}; -a- \text{directive}; -wa' \text{stem to kill}) \\
a-t-k-L-\bar{o} '-eg-am & \text{they took it} (a- \text{transitional}; t- \text{they}; -k- [as above]; L- \text{neuter object}; -eg \text{stem to take}; -am \text{completion}) \\
a-n-L-\bar{o} '-eg-am & \text{I took it} (\text{same as last, but with } n-1 \text{as subject, which does not take the following } -k-) \\
\end{align*}

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.

\begin{align*}
a-L-g-i-\bar{o} '-eg-am & \text{it took him} (\text{same as above, but with } L- \text{rr as subject, followed by } -g - \text{instead of } -k - \text{before } i -, \text{which is masculine object}) \\
a-lg-e'-t-a-x & \text{they do them.} \\
\end{align*}
(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 $-\tilde{o}-$ (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the $t$ is followed by $g$.

\begin{itemize}
  \item $a-y-\tilde{o}'-xun\tilde{e}$ he drifted 24.15 (a- transitional; $y$- for $i$- before $\tilde{o}$ HE; $-\tilde{o}$- directive; $-xun\tilde{e}$ stem to DRIFT)
  \item $a-t-ge'-xen\tilde{e}$ they drift 38.10 (a- transitional; $t$- they; $-g$- inserted after subject; $-e$- carries accent [§ 5.1]; $-xen\tilde{e}$ stem to DRIFT)
\end{itemize}

(b) When the subject $t$ is changed to $\tilde{o}$ 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 $\tilde{a}$ following the $g$.

\begin{itemize}
  \item $n-\tilde{e}'-k'im$ he said 107.2 (n- transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; $\tilde{e}$- he; $-k'im$- stem to SAY)
  \item $n-\tilde{o}-g\tilde{o}'-koim$ they say 266.5 (n- as above; $-o$- third person plural before $k$ sound; $-g$- following third person plural before $k$ stop; $\tilde{o}$ inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; $-koim$, $-k'im$ stem to SAY; $o$ inserted according to § 7.3)
\end{itemize}

(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

\begin{itemize}
  \item $t-g-\tilde{a}'-qtq-a-kc$ their heads 165.9 (t- plural; $-g$- for $tg$- their; $-\tilde{a}$- vowel following possessive [§ 23]; $-qtq$ stem HEAD; $-a$- connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; $-kc$ plural suffix [§ 38.1])
  \item $l-g-\tilde{a}'-xauyam-t-ikc$ their poverty 13.18 (l- neuter; $-g$- for $tg$- their; $-\tilde{a}$- vowel following possessive [§ 23]; $-xauyam$ poverty; $-t-ikc$ plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])
\end{itemize}

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.
§ 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*:

\[ a\text{-}c\text{-}t\text{-}\breve{o}\text{-}y\text{-}a\text{m} \] they two arrive (a- transitional; *ct* third person dual; -\breve{o} - directive; -i stem to go; -am to complete motion)

ct-\breve{o}qoa\text{il} they two are large

Examples of the use of *c*:

\[ c\text{-}xila'itx \] they two remained

\[ a\text{-}c\text{e}'x\text{-}a\text{-}x \] 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*:

\[ a\text{-}tce'\text{-}t\text{-}u\text{-}k\text{''}L \] he carried their two selves 26.20 (a- transitional; tc- he [transitive]; -e carries accent; *ct* them [dual]; -u- directive; -k\text{''}L stem to carry)

\[ a\text{-}LGE'\text{-}ct\text{-}a\text{-}x \] it did them two (a- transitional; LGE- neuter subject; -ct- they two)

Examples of the use of *c*:

\[ a\text{-}k\text{-}c\text{-}\breve{o}\text{lx}\text{-}a\text{m} \] she said to these two (a- transitional; k- she; c- they two; -\breve{o}lx to say; -am complete)

(3) In all possessive forms.

\[ L\text{'}\text{-}ct\text{-}a\text{-}qc\text{\-}0 \] their two selves' hair 77.3 (L- neuter pronoun; -e carries accent; *ct* their [dual]; -a- vowel following possessive [ § 23]; -qc\text{\-}0 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 \breve{o} 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*:

\[ a\text{-}t\text{\-}v\text{'}x\text{-}a\text{-}x \] they came to be on him (a- transitional; *t* they; \breve{v} him; -x indicates that they belonged to him; -a- directive; -x stem to do, to be)

\[ a\text{-}tc\text{e}'\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}x \] he did them (a- transitional; tc- he; e- carries accent; -t them; -a- directive; -x stem to do)
Plural ə-:

\( n-ə'x-o-x \) they became (n- transitional before vowel; -ə they before k sound; -x reflexive; -o- directive; -x stem to do, to be)

a-e-g-ə'-xuina they placed them in the ground (a- transitional; e- they two; -g- marks preceding e- as transitive subject; -ə- them [before k sound]; -xuina stem to stand [plural])

a-g-t-d'-xuina they placed them in the ground (a- transitional; c- they two; -g- marks preceding c- as transitive subject; -d'- them [before k sound]; -xuina stem to stand [plural])

Before k stops, a -g 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'tanē Indians
naua'itk 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-, qame-, 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.

\( t-am-l-ə't-a \) I shall give them to thee (t- them; -am I— thee; -l- to; -ət 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 -te- of the masculine, takes an ɨ 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 pronouns introduce an e before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by m and y, this e is lengthened to ä 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 k 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 -te-, 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:

- i-te'-'ts!emen o my wooden spoon 115.18
- o-gu'-'xamuke my dog 16.11
- L-ge'-'qacqac my grandfather 211.1
- s-ge'-'xamin my (dual) toy canoe 115.21
- t-ge'-'xawök my guardian spirits 211.4
- i-më'-'xal thy name 72.26
- o-më'-'pute thy anus 114.1
- L-më'-tata-iks thy uncles 10.12
- c-më'-kxetict thy nostrils 113.20
- te-më'-'xèqlax thy hunter's protectors 234.10
- i-ä'-'ok his blanket 74.14
- u-yë'-'tcinkikala his head wife 74.16
- L-iä'-'nemenke his wives 74.16
- c-iä'-'kulglast his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5
- t-iä'-'xalaitane-ma his arrows 10.16
- i-teä'-'yul'l her pride 74.11
- u-gë'-cgan her bucket 115.11
- L-gë'-cgane-ma her buckets 115.12
- c-gä'-xa her two children 14.4
- t-gä'-'po'të her arms 115.24
- i-Lä'-qula their camp 73.15
- u-Lä'-xl'ulun their eldest sister 73.15
- Lä'-wuq their younger brother 74.15
- c-Lä'-amtket its double spit 93.10
- Lä'-ulema their houses 227.23
- t-Lä'-xilküç their bushes in canoe 47.10
- i-ntä'-'xantin our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4
- Le-ntä'-mama our two selves' (excl.) father
- i-tnä'-kikala our two selves' (incl.) husband 76.12
Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

\[ e'-tca-mxtc \] my heart 12.26  
\[ LE'-kxE-ps \] my foot 41.20  
\[ se'-k-xest \] my arrogance  
\[ tr'-kłu-ql \] my house 24.4  
\[ ū'-mī-la \] thy body  
\[ sā'-mī-xest \] thy arrogance  
\[ tā'-mē-ps \] thy foot  
\[ ă'-ya-qcoh \] his skin 115.24  
\[ L-ă'-ya-qtq \] his head 73.13  
\[ c-ă'-ya-qtq \] his two heads 14.11  
\[ t-ă'-ya-ql \] his house 15.12  
\[ ĝ'-tca-qtq \] its head 223.8  
\[ se'-kya-xest \] her arrogance  
\[ tr'-kya-ql \] her house 89.7  
\[ ĝ'-la-te!o \] its sickness 196.6  
\[ ă'-la-qst \] its louse 10.21  
\[ LE'-la-ps \] its foot 191.20

\[ § 23 \]
§ 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.

\[ a-g-a-x-\delta'-pc-am \] she hid her own 216.5 (a- transitional; g- she; a- her; -x- indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; -\delta- 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.

\[ a-m-L-\tilde{a}'-x-eg-am \] you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (a- transitional; m- thou; L- it; a- her; -x- indicates that it belongs to her; -eg 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.

\[ n-\tilde{e}'-x-a-x \] he does himself; i.e., he becomes (n- transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; \tilde{e}- he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x stem to do)

\[ a-m-x-\tilde{a}'-n-\text{el}-gu'L-tck \] you expressed yourself to me; i.e., you told me 97.10 (a- transitional; m- thou; -x- reflexive; connective e with secondary accent becomes \tilde{a}- before n [§ 5. 2b]; n- me; -l- to; -guL stem to talk; -tck 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.

\[ n-\tilde{e}'-L-x-a-x \] 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)
§ 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—

\[ a-g\v'\-l\-q\-tk \]

somebody placed him near by (\( a\)- transitional; \( q\)- some one; \( \v\)- him; \( l\)- to; \( -q\)- 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—

\[ a-l\-g\-g\v\'\-l\-te\-x\-em \]

it sings for him 260.17 (\( a\)- transitional; \( l\)- it; \( -g\)- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; \( i\)- him; \( -g\v\)- on account of; \( -te\-x\-em \) 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.

\[ l\-\v\-l\-\o\-c \]

it was to (in) her 71.6 (\( l\)- it; \( a\)- her; \( l\)- to; \( -\o\)- directive; \( -c \) stem to be)

\[ a-c\-k\-l\-\v\-l\-\o\-k\-l \]

they two carried it to him 29.9 (\( a\)- transitional; \( c\)- they two; \( -k\)- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; \( l\)- it; \( \v\)- him; \( l\)- to; \( -\o\)- directive; \( -k\-l \) stem to carry)

The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this -\( l\), has the form \( \o \) (§ 21). In this case the -\( l\)- changes to -\( \v\)- (§ 9.1), and the \( \o \) is then weakened to \( w \).

\[ a-g\-t\-a\-w\v\-m\-ak\-u\-x \]

they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (\( a\)- transitional; \( g\)- somebody; \( t\)- them; \( -a\)-) probably connective; -\( w\)- for \( \o\)- them; -\( \v\)- for -\( l\)- after \( o\); \( -m \) stem to hand [?]; -\( ak\) about; -\( x \) usitative)

2. -\( n\)- IN, INTO.

\[ a-tc\-a\-\-l\-e\-n\-g\v\-n\-ait \]

he threw her into it 173.6 (\( a\)- transitional; \( tc\)- he; \( a\)- her; \( l\)- it; -\( n\)- into; \( -gen \) stem to place changed to \( g\v\-n \) on account of accent [§ 5. 2\( b\)]; -\( a\)-\( it \) to be in position)

\[ s\-\v\-n\-p\v\-t \]

she closed her eyes 47.18 (\( s\)- they two; \( \v\)- her; -\( n\)- in; -\( p\v\)- stem to close; -\( t \) perfect)

3. -\( k\)- ON.

\[ a-l\-g\-\o\-t\-x \]

she stands on it 191.20 (\( a\)- she; \( l\)- it; \( -g\)- on; \( -\o\)- directive; -\( t\)-\( x \) stem to stand)

\[ a\-\-l\-e\-n\-k\-a\-t\-k\-a \]

it comes flying above me (\( a\)- transitional; \( l(e)\)- it; \( n\)- me; -\( k(a)\)- on; -\( t\)- coming; -\( k\-a \) stem to fly)
"m-a-n-k-o'-tx-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (m-thou; a- her; n- me; -k- on; -o- 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-ō'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (mc- ye; -g-[§ 19.1]; a- her; n- me; -gEl- on account of; -ō- 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-ā'-L-xSl-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-a-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-ō'-tx-wit somebody stands near it 238.4 (a- transitional; q- some one, transitive subject; L- it; -gEm- near; -ō- directive; -tx stem to STAND; -(u)it to be in a state [§ 29])
   a-L-x-L-gE'm-ā'apko-x it steamed itself near it (a- transitional; L- it; -x- reflexive; L- it; -gEm- near; -ā'apko 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-ā-ā'it they two stood near each other 228.25 (c- they two; -xEm- near; -ā- stem to MOVE [?]; -ā-it to be in a position)

6. -x- ON the GROUND.
   ē'-x-ō-c he is on the ground 39.18 (ē- he; -x- on ground; -ō-directive; -c stem to BE)

7. -'El-. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.
   -'El-kīEl to see
   -'El-gē'El-āko to uncover
   -'El-tātke 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.

\[a-tc-\text{i}-\text{o}^-\text{c}-\text{g}-\text{am}\] 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 -ō- before stems beginning with \(w\).

\[a-tc-\text{i}-\text{a}^-\text{t}-\text{wa}^t\] he killed him 23.20 (-a- directive; -wa\(^t\) stem to kill)

\[tcE-u-\text{u-}\text{wu}'\text{t}^-\text{aya}\] he will eat me 212.15

\[a-tcE^-t-a-x\] he did them 9.5 (-a- directive; -x stem to do)

\[a-tc-\text{a}^-\text{y}-\text{a}-\text{qe}\] he bit him 9.9 (-a- directive; -qe stem to bite)

\[a-q-i-\text{a}^-\text{t}^-\text{o}^-\text{n}^{-\text{im}}\] some one laughs at him 184.3 (-a- directive; -\(t^-\text{n}^{-\text{im}}\) stem to laugh)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which \(\text{o}\) 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 \(a\).

\[tc-i-\text{n}-l-\text{a}^-\text{x}-\text{o}\] he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal -ō for future -a, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive -a- before the stem -x had remained -ō-)

\[a-tc-t-\text{a}^-\text{x}-\text{o}^-\text{m}\] he reached them 191.12 (terminal -ōm for -am)

This explanation does not account for a form like naiga't\!l\text{o}^-\text{m} she reaches him, in which the change from am to -ōm follows the fortis which stands for \(tg\). (See § 29.4.)

The directional -ō- is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.
Intransitive imperatives:

\[ m'\text{E}'-\text{tx}-\text{uit} \quad \text{stand up!} \quad 211.21 \quad (m- \text{ thou}; \text{ -tx to stand}; \text{ -uit suffix} \quad [\S \text{29.1}]) \]

\[ m'\text{E}'-\text{x-\text{a-x}} \quad \text{do!} \quad 15.25 \quad (m- \text{ thou}; \text{ -x reflexive}; \text{ -a directive}; \text{ -x to do}) \]

\[ m'\text{E}'-\text{lx-a} \quad \text{go to the beach} \quad 175.16 \quad (m- \text{ thou}; \text{ -lx to the beach}; \text{ -a future}) \]

Transitive imperatives:

\[ e'-\text{cg-am} \quad \text{take him!} \quad 43.8 \quad (e- \text{ him}; \text{ -eg- to take}; \text{ -am completion}) \]

\[ d'-\text{latck} \quad \text{hft her!} \quad 15.7 \quad (a- \text{ her}; \text{ -latck to hft}) \]

\[ d'-\text{lx-a} \quad \text{carry her here!} \quad 15.24 \quad (a- \text{ her}; \text{ -lx to the beach}; \text{ -a future}) \]

\[ s\text{E}'-\text{pena} \quad \text{jump!} \quad 16.3 \quad (s\text{E}- \text{ them two, namely, the legs}; \text{ -pena to jump}) \]

2. \(-t-\) designates direction toward the speaker.

\[ a-k\text{-}l\text{-}e'-t-k\text{L-}\text{am} \quad \text{she brought it} \quad 124.24 \quad (-t- \text{ toward speaker}; \text{ -kL stem to bring}; \text{ -am completion}) \]

\[ a-L\text{E}'-t-ga \quad \text{it comes flying} \quad 139.1 \quad (-t- \text{ toward speaker}; \text{ -ga to fly}) \]

\[ a-L\text{E}'-n-k\text{a-b-ga} \quad \text{it comes flying over me} \quad (-k- \text{ on}) \]

3. \(-t-\) potentiality, \text{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.

\[ t\text{c-}L\text{E-t-x} \quad \text{he can do it} \quad 61.8 \quad (-t- \text{ potential}; \text{ -x stem to do}) \]

\[ q-t\text{E}'-t-p\text{i\text{a-Lx-ax} \quad \text{somebody can gather them} \quad 94.15 \quad (-t- \text{ potential}; \text{ -piaLx stem to gather}; \text{ -x usitative}) \]

4. \(-k\text{i-}\) 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.

\[ a-q-i-L-g\text{em-\text{o'-kte-x}} \quad \text{somebody pays him to it} \quad 261.23 \quad (-g\text{em- with}, \text{ near}; \text{ -o- directive}; \text{ -kte thing}; \text{ -x usitative}) \]

\[ a-t\text{c-a-g\text{em-k\text{i'-kte}}} \quad \text{he paid her} \quad 161.9 \quad (-g\text{em- with}; \text{ -ki- eliminates first object}; \text{ -kte thing}) \]

\[ a-L\text{L-k-L-\text{o-kct}} \quad \text{it looked at it} \quad 256.8 \quad (-\text{ o- directive}; \text{ -kct stem to look}) \]

\[ a-L\text{E}'-\text{ki-kct} \quad \text{it looked} \quad 218.9 \quad (-\text{ki- eliminates object}; \text{ -kct stem to look}) \]

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element \(-t\) occurs also as the stem to come, and the forms \(a'\text{n\text{o}}, a'\text{\text{l\text{o}}\text{i}}\), it went, suggest that \(-\text{o}\) 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 \(-t-\)
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 -xel- and -xem- (§ 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-, -xel-, -xem-, 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. -p! motion into.
3. -wulxt motion up.
4. -tcu motion down.
5. -lx motion from cover to open.
6. -ptck motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance—

n-ō't-p! he comes in 211.18 (-t toward speaker; -p! motion into)
a-ō'-pa he goes out 46.8 (-ō- directive; -pa motion out of)
-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-ō'-tc-wulxt I travel up in canoe (-tc 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-tc-a-i-ne-mō'k!-ōya-kō he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; i. e., he chokes him (-n- in; -mōk- throat; -ōya to be between; -akō around)
Here belong also the compounds with $t!/\ddot{o}$ well

$\ddot{e}$-$t!/\ddot{o}$-$cg$-$am$ hold him well! 44.15 ($t!/\ddot{o}$- well; $-cg$ to take, hold; $-am$ completion)

The idea around ($-akô$) does not seem to occur independently, and is therefore treated in the next section.

**Suffices (§§ 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. $-\ddot{e}$ 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.

$a$-$y$-$\ddot{o}$-$L$-$a$-$it$ he sits, he is 212.16 ($-\ddot{o}$ directive; $-L$ stem to sit)

$a$-$k$-$L$-$a$-$qâ'$-$n$-$a$-$it$ she laid it 44.9 ($a$ directive before $q$; stem $-qen$ [accented before vowel becomes $-qâ'$-$n$] 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 *-txʷ* to stand: *me'-tx-uit* stand!
- From stem *-ckʷ* hot: *a-ɬ-ʊ'ck-uit* it is hot 174.13
- From stem *-x* to do: *lx-a-x-ʊ'it-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-l-g-o-lₜ-ł-amit* it causes her to sit 249.3 (combined with *-a-it*)
- *a-te-ɬ'ktcikt-amit* he roasted her 94.4

After a terminal *o*, the two vowels *o* and *a* are contracted to *ʊ*.

- *a-te-i-u-ngʊ'-mit* he causes him to run (= he carries him away)

3. **-x'it**, with intransitive verbs, to be caused; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-tck* (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.

- *a-l-u-wa'-x'it* it is caused to be pursued
- *a-n-o-qun-ɑ'it-x'it* I was caused to lie down 45.5
- *a-y-ʊ-la'-teku-x'it* 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-te-i'-t-kl-am* he came to take him 26.6
- *n-i-xa-t-ngʊ'-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 *ʊ*-, this change is made, even though the *a* before the *k* sound is substituted for the *ʊ*.

- *a-te-t-a'-x-ʊm* he did them reaching (he reached them)
- *a-q-l-g-a'-ɬ-ʊm* some one met it 117.24

This *ʊ* is retained even where the *-t* is substituted for *-o*.

- *n-a-i-ga'-t!-d'äm* she reached him (for *naiga'tqam*)

After *l*, *n*, *a*, *e*, *i*, *ʊ*, *u* this ending takes the form *-mam*.

- *ly argc'mam* go and take it 25.26
- *eγ'ktinəmam* go and search for him 25.14
- *nxoq'il'ema'm* I shall go to shoot birds
- *aLgʊqix'əmam* they invited them 98.19
- *aqxiktegō'mam* one gives her in marriage 250.19

The form *aγ'ə'yam* he arrives, from *a'yʊ* 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. **-ako** AROUND. Preceded by *-am*(*it*) (2); followed by *-e* (11), *-it* (1).

With *-l* it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

- *m-î-t-êl-m-á'kô* you distribute him among them 154.4
- *n-ê'-x-l-akô* he goes around him 88.24
- *n-î-xk'înì-akô* he wraps it around himself 138.9

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered by the word AROUND.

- *a-n-ê'-x-k-akô* I get the better of him
- *a-q-i'-êl-gê'êl-akô* cover is taken off 329.6
- *n-î-xê'qaw-akô* he dreams 22.11

Preceded by *-am*(*it*):

- *a-q-i-xl-á'.mit-akô* some one was made to be around him

Followed by *-it*:

- *a-l-awê-á'y-aku-ît* he inclosed them

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. **-tck** TO BEGIN. Preceded by *-a-ît* (1), *-ako* (5); followed by *-am* (4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

- *n-á'-wi-tck* she dances (*á'-wi-l* she dances always)
- *n-kîlê'wa-tck* I begin to paddle (*n-kîlê'wa-l* I am paddling)

7. **-l** repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by *-m*(*am*) (4), *-em* (9), *-a-îtx* (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

- *a-g-i'-ô'-l-êl* she shook him 72.24
- *n-ê'-k-lê'-l* he crawled about 95.14
- *a-tg-i-o-mêl-á'l-emam-x* they went to buy him 260.15 (*-âl* on account of accent preceding *l*)

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

- *ê-ctxu-l* what is carried on back
- *ê'-têxem-al* what is boiled 185.7
- *k-têz'-ka-l* those who fly 60.5

After *n* as terminal sound of the stem, the *l* of this suffix becomes *n* (see § 8).

8. **-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 *t*, *m*, *x*, *u*, it appears in the form *-nil*.

- *k-cêl-a'-ê'-ôm-nil* always arriving
- *a-çg-i'-çê-im-nil* they two took him here and there

§§ 30, 31
lk-c-il-pē'vu-nil she blows it up 238.16
lq-ē'-ctxo-nil he will carry him on his back 110.9
k-tlk-t-o'-lā't-nil one who always shoots (disease) 200.16
a-te-l-ē̅č'-m-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-ō'-tipa he dips it up  n-l-ō-tē'lipL I dip it up often
a-g-ī-ō'-lapa she digs it out  a-k-l-ō-lā'lepL she digs it often
a-γā'-m-xg-akō I am before  a-yam-xg-ā'lākL I am always before you
a-lk-t-ā'-wul̲ it eats them  i-k!ē'-wuleql food

Following an m or n the inserted sound is generally n.

a-lk-c-ī-k-lkā'n-akō it steps  a-lk-c-ī-k-lkā'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 -x (11).

a-te-l-kōlē'toLqo-im-x he always stood on them severally 98.6
a-lg-ī-ō-tepō'tem-x she hides it everywhere 199.18
a-l-x-ā'-x-um-x they always did here and there 228.8

10. -a-itx habitually. Always terminal; often preceded by -em (9), and -L (8).

a-l-x-ū'ltō-l-a-itx she always bathes 256.14 (probably with -L [8])
a-γ-ū-tru-itx-a-itx he always stood 109.2
a-lk-l-ō-lā'lepL-a-itx they are in the habit of digging continually 74.18

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

11. -c customary. Preceded by all prefixes except -ē (14).

a-lk-t-ō'-k-ul-x it is customary that they carry them 267.16
a-l-x-ū'tam-x it is customary that she goes bathing 245.11

12. -t perfect. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by -ē.

tg-ī-ā'-wa-t they have followed him 139.2
tc-ī-ge'n-xaō-l-ē 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-ī-o-cg-ā'm-a I shall take him
q-ō-piā'lx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix -am takes the form -ōm (see p. 605), namely, after k sounds, which would normally require o

§ 32
in harmony with the directive -o- that has changed to -a-, the future is -o.

tc-i-n-l-à'-x-ò he will make him for me 70.6

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally -ya.
m-xa-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-ì-gō'-ptcg-am-ē finally he came up to the woods 166.8

It occurs very often with the meaning ACROSS.

a-te-á'-k-xone he carried her across on his shoulder 27.8
mc-ì-gō'tel-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 ikā'naX the chief, lkā'naX a chief.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ì'kala man</td>
<td>òxō'kuil woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iklā'sks boy</td>
<td>òktlō'sks girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq'lō'lipx youth</td>
<td>òxō'tlau virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò'plā'au widower</td>
<td>òp'plā'au widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq'øyō'qxt old man</td>
<td>òq'øyō'qxt old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēla'ētix male slave</td>
<td>òla'ētix female slave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

- **badger** -penpen (-p!z'excac, Kathlamet) L; feminine **skunk**
- **bear**, black -i'tsxut (-sqeq'ntxoa, Kathlamet)
- **bear**, cinnamon -ti'ek
- **bear**, grizzly -cā'jim
- **beaver** -č'ina, -goa-inē'ne (-qā'nu, Kathlamet)
- **bird** (sp. ?) -tew'yam
- **bird** (sp. ?) -pō'epōē
- **bird** -qsō'tlotlot
- **bullfrog** -q'ıante'xexe
- **deer** -mā'cen (-lā'lax, Kathlamet)
- **coyote** -ti'ac'lapas
- **rat** -qā'alapas (Kathlamet)
- **buffalo** -tō'iha
- **crane** -goa'sqoas
- **crow** (mythical name) -laq'tō'
- **duck** (sp. ?) -we'quāc
- **eagle**, bald-headed -ninē'x'Ō
- **elk** -mō'lač
- **a small fish** -qalē'xlex
- **fish-hawk** -łlcat
- **grass-frog** -q'ıenō'neq'en
- **gull** -qō'qoqōnē
- **hawk** -tē'tēłē
- **heron** -q'ıoa'sk'ıoi, -qulqul
- **horse** -kē'utān
- **humming-bird** -tsentsen
- **blue jay** -qē'cgeč
- **kingfisher** -pō'tselal
- **lizard** (?) -kine'pet
- **mallard-duck**(male)-cimē'wat
- **mink** -galelax, -pō'sta (-kō'lass-ıt, Kathlamet)
- **mountain-goat** -ci'xq
- **mussel**, small -tkwē' (matk)
- **mussel**, large -nā' (matk)
- **otter** -nanámucks
- **owl** -qoq'łqoöl
- **oyster** -ł'ıxox
- **panther** -k'ıoa'yawo
- **pike** -qoqo
- **porcupine** -älqelq
- **rabbit** -skē'epxoa (-kanaźme'-nēm, Kathlamet)
- **raccoon** -q'oala'a's (-lä'tt, Kathlamet)
- **raven** -koałé'xoa
- **salmon**, fall -qeləma
- **salmon**, spring -qu'nat
- **salmon**, steel-head -goanē'x
- **sea-lion** -qē'pix'ł
- **sea-otter** -lā'kē
- **shag** -paowē
- **shark** -kā'yicx
- **skate** -aiā'iu
- **snake** -tciāu
- **sperm whale** -mok'utxi
- **squirrel** -kī'utān
- **sturgeon** -nā'qōn
- **sturgeon**, green -kalē'nač
- **swan** -qelo'oq
- **turtle** -laxoa
- **whale** -kölē
- **lynx** -puk
- **wolf** -ł'ı'mam
- **woodpecker** -qsto'konkon

(3) Small animals are feminine, as: 

- **beetle** -bīc
- **bird** (sp. ?) -pē'qeicue
- **bird** (sp. ?) -te'čnakoančkoč
- **sea-bird** (sp. ?) -łqekč
- **sea-bird** (sp. ?) -cylle'x
- **chicken-hawk** -nē't dét

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crow -k'łunō (-t!ā'ntsə, Kathlamet)
killer-whale -gələ'mat
dogfish (see shark) -q!əd'icə
eagle -tələktələ'k
fawn of deer -q!ə'xəp
fish (sp. ?) -nə'wən
fish (sp. ?) -kə!ətəqə'
fish (sp. ?) -ə'lelo
flounder -p'kiəx
frog -cve'eē
halibut -ləc!ələ'c (said to be borrowed from Quinault)
louse -qct
maggot -moa
mallard-duck (female) -goə'x-goəx
mole -ce'ntan
mosquito -p'ənəts!əktəs!ək
mouse -kə'łəxul (-əō, Kathlamet)
newt -qosə'na, -latsə'menmen
screech-owl -cəfuχ

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:
bird -lələ'x -(-p!ə'c!əp!əc, Kathlamet)
dog -kə'wisəx (-k!u'k!ut, Kathlamet)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:
-nu'kətə smallness
-ə'(k!ə)siəl sharpness
-xalətə flatness
-p'ik heavy weight
-tsəlxən large belly
-wə expense
-q!ətəzəl badness
-q!ələ'təxənə meanness
-ləq'ələtəx'ətə quiet
-yləlilm pride
-kə'ələc(əəmit) fear
-kə'kəxul homesickness (subject of transitive verb)
-kanətə life
-tsə'tza cold
pheasant (?) -nə'cətxuic
pigeon -gəmən
porgy -qələt!ə'məx
porpoise -kə'ətekətə
robin -tsə!ə'stəsəs
salmon, calico -ləaatəx
salmon, silver-side -qəwən
salmon, blue-back -tsoyəha
seal -ləxəu (-qə'səoax, Kathlamet)
sea-lion, young -xəəo
skunk -pənəpən (masculine BADGER)

snail -ts!əmə'nəxan
snail -ts!əmə!ək!əxan
snail -lə'xətan
snipe -ə'xəsa
teal-duck -mənts!ə'kts!ək
trout -pələ'lo
trout (?) -q!ə'xonə
woodpecker (female) -kələpə
woodpecker (male) -ntciəw'i'ct
wasp -p'ə

shellfish (sp. ?) -kə!lə'tə

crab -qələ'xələ (= one who crawls much)

§34
-t'œnukit blackened face
-t'(ki)matc'k spots, painted face
-t'cنق stench
-‘q!es sweet smell
-‘ts!enën sweetness
-‘t!l bitterness
-‘t!ëmam ten
-‘k!amënak hundred
-‘t!ëwil experience (from t!ô good)
-‘(ke)t!ô skill
-‘t!ôxôtskin

The following are exceptions:

Feminine
-‘xiti smokiness (= cataract of eye)
-‘lô hunger (subject of transitive verb)
-‘mëô what is chewed
-‘qôtck cold in head

Neuter
-‘xax sadness
-‘patseu red head
-‘k!a!l custom
-‘k!i!lau taboo

Plural
-‘(ki)pâlau witchcraft
-‘katakox cleverness

(6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle is generally masculine, as:
-‘luzalëmax what is eaten
-‘txéma what is boiled
-‘txul what is carried

Exceptions to this rule are—
-‘o‘mel purchase money
-‘låa‘pøna what has been brought to him

(7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:
-‘yul!l pride (from yûl!l)
-‘g!lq!up cut (from lq!up)
-‘gël!men!lmen syphilis

(8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns.

Masculine are, for instance:
-‘mà’ma pewter wort
-‘m!a body
-‘qtq head

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-cql mouth, beak, bill
-mist beak
-tuk neck
-maçe heart
-to breast
-wan belly
-itex tail
-pote arm
-pâ'pat net
-teitêl brass buttons
-kupku'p short dentalia
-qâ'lxal gambling-disks
-l'atâl gambling-disks
-qâ'â'lq'al short baton
-gô'mxôm cedar-bark basket
-l'uwalkl'uwalkl mud
-qle'gotot fever
-puçunx large round spruce-root basket (f. small round spruce-root basket)
-cte'è'ct clam basket
-mal bay, sea, river
-sô'k blanket
-łk'au cradle
-qêl creek, brook
-ktxem dance of shaman
-lq digging-stick
-sam dish
-pqôn down of bird
-qêl fish-trap

Feminine are, for instance,
-k'îa thing
-qat wind
-eñelqel polypodium
-câ'eq eq pteris
-pô'èpô'è elbow
-texô'texôl lungs
-se'qeq buck-skin
-k'îyè'k'îyè finger-ring
-ga'cag sealing-spear
-ñwiswís breaking of wind
-lk!ênlk!ên open basket
-lèxlex scales
-lëmxlem rotten wood

cî'ke friend
-pô'il grease
-ô'nx ground, earth
-lan short thong, string, pin for blanket
c'gan cedar (f. bucket, cup; n. plank)
-tsôr harpoon-shaft
-msta hat
-tô'l heat
-k'îk hook
-kâ'pa ice
-l'page boil, itch
-l'kxon leaf
-môxex log, tree, wood (f. kettle)
-łk'âlx mat
-pâ'kxal mountain
-sik paddle
-s'apa roe
-pa-it rope
-nxat plank
-gô'cas sky
-texa point of sealing-spear
-kâ'wok shaman's guardian spirit
c'êbó horn spoon
-mak'te spruce
-qâ'nake stone (f. large bowl-der)

-łspux forehead
-ula ear
-atex tooth
-ñatex chest
-mô'k'ê throat
-kutex bark
-pute anus
-kei finger
-pxa alder-bark
-ô'm bark
-pilêkê bow
-ô'jetsen bow
-pâ'ute crab-apple
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:

- **ckucku'c** testicles
- **sxöst** eyes, face
- **ckulkulö'ł** spear
- **cemtk** spit for roasting
- **cx'qxö** double-pointed arrow
- **cpä'ix** blanket made of two deer-skins
- **ctcël'ämäq** castorium
- **c*ödä'l** ground-hog blanket, made of two skins

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:

- **ckä'kolë** eel
- **cënqëütqë't** hawk
- **se'ntepep** shrew
- **seq'ëtalöö** butterfly

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:

- **tgamila'leq** sand
- **te'psö** grass
- **tkë'tma** property
- **töcü'c** gravel, thorn
- **qulë'ula** egg
- **paa** nape
- **list** tail of fish
- **wit** leg
- **pc** foot
- **qlq** armor

- **gu'nxkun** salal-berry
- **skl** sinew
- **tcin** sinew
- **ätö** stump, foot of tree
- **qal** fish-weir
- **te'lx** sun
- **mös'tan** twine of willow-bark
- **peam** piece of twine
- **tëcät'nix** wedge
- **plx** well

- **gqaoq** blanket
- **a'teau** grease
- **skuie** mat bag
- **tò** milk, breast
- **tcuq** water
- **këku'l** pitch wood

§ 35
In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

- t'ä'la'-is codfish
- t'me'na' flounder
- tts!e'laq grasshopper
- t's烟 smoke
- t'-skö tattooing
- tem'ä'ema prairie

§ 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:

- õpenpen badger
- õ'pqunx large round spruce-root basket
- õ'cegan cedar
- õ'm'ëcx log, tree, wood

One example at least of the reverse relation has come to my notice:

- õgõ'nake large bowlder

In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

- õkunë'm canoes

There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form:

- õkunë'm canoes
- s'amë'ksös toy canoe
- õmë'ceks basket, cup

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally 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 t-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>t'kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>tk'aluks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>t'ämëmekc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgin</td>
<td>tgo'cëhinëk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>tq!ø'q̕oxut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tq!ø'q̕ot̕ikë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by l-. Thus we find for women both l'ämëmekc and t'ämëmekc; for common person txalä'yuëma and txalä'yuëma.
(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are *t-* and *l-*.

Examples of these are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beak</td>
<td><em>e'-mist</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td><em>i=wan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird (sp.?)</td>
<td><em>i-pō'ēpoē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td><em>e-zō'k</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek</td>
<td><em>i = mēltan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td><em>i-goō'eqoač</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td><em>e-mō'cēn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bird</td>
<td><em>ēnts!x</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td><em>e'-qōt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorsal fin</td>
<td><em>e'-gala</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td><em>iqtce'lau</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pectoral fins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td><em>ō'-kulaitan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td><em>ō-pā'wil</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken-hawk</td>
<td><em>ō'-npi'te</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coat</td>
<td><em>ō-q!ō'e'lxap</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
<td><em>ō'-ts!ikin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flounder</td>
<td><em>ō-lā'to-is</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td><em>ō-k!unxā'tē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>board</td>
<td><em>le'-egan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td><em>l-lā'lex</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albatross</td>
<td><em>i-tā'mela</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-work clam basket</td>
<td><em>i'-ck!alē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large cedar-bark basket</td>
<td><em>i-qō'mxōm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grizzly-bear</td>
<td><em>i-cā'yim</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyelashes</td>
<td><em>a-zō'čewa'lxē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bailer</td>
<td><em>o'-pqunx</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-work basket</td>
<td><em>ō-lk!e'nk!en</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round basket</td>
<td><em>ō'-qumat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long baton</td>
<td><em>ō'-kōma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td><em>ō'-eglu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket</td>
<td><em>ō'-eglu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antler</td>
<td><em>l-e'tame</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain-goat blanket</td>
<td><em>l-qua'q</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The sign = indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.
(3) There are a few cases in which the article определенное местоимение о- 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'łęęk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>ikanı'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>u-te!aktełňk</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-ktě'luwa-itk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone arrow-point</td>
<td>i-gó'ma(tk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short baton</td>
<td>i-qlał'qal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black bear</td>
<td>i-i'tsxut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buck-skin straps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedar</td>
<td>e'-cgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elk</td>
<td>i-mölak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>e'-němeke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pro-
noun, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bay</td>
<td>e'-mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small bluff</td>
<td>i-kak!ał'lat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>e'-qěł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>e'-te!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>ő'kulaitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td>ő-pał wilz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>ő'-nułcin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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><strong>owl</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-gōlqo'luks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>crane</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-gōāqo'ceke</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>large cedar-bark basket</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-qōmuxo'muke</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tillamook Indian</strong></td>
<td><strong>T!ilë'muks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dog</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-këwé'ceks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>coat</strong></td>
<td><strong>L-q!ēlxá'puke</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fawn</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-q!ècxá'pukés</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>twine</strong></td>
<td><strong>lanë'ceks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sea-lion</strong></td>
<td><strong>i-gipë'x'luks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eight</strong></td>
<td><strong>kstoxtkë'niks (eight persons)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>moon</strong></td>
<td><strong>l-klmë'naks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>egg</strong></td>
<td><strong>l-qluâ'wulá'aks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>monster</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-qetxâ'wukés</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>turtle</strong></td>
<td><strong>laxoâ'yîkë</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>albatross</strong></td>
<td><strong>L-tamâlë'yîkë</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dead, corpse</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-menalô'stiks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dusk</strong></td>
<td><strong>l-lëqâ'luks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wolf</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-cëntu'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mole</strong></td>
<td><strong>u-kolâ'luks (lx changes to ī; see § 6)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mouse</strong></td>
<td><strong>tsöyö'stëks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>evening</strong></td>
<td><strong>tsö'yust</strong></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><strong>pigeon</strong></td>
<td><strong>t!amâ'niks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fly</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-möstgâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>box</strong></td>
<td><strong>leqâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>open-work basket</strong></td>
<td><strong>lkek!enkâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>deer</strong></td>
<td><strong>l-masâ'niks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>skunk</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-penpâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>badger</strong></td>
<td><strong>i-penpâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>squirrel</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-kâluâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pelican</strong></td>
<td><strong>L-teuyâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>grizzly bear</strong></td>
<td><strong>l-cayâ'muke</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lance</strong></td>
<td><strong>squillâ'nuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>clam basket</strong></td>
<td><strong>L-ch!alâ'yuke</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>frog</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-qaatxë'nxë'yuks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>frog</strong></td>
<td><strong>t-cuë'yuks</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38
The plural of *i-po'?poe* (a bird), is *t-počpō'yuks*. Here the accent remains on the *o*, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the *ē* becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also *l-lā'lex* BIRD, plural *t-lalā'xuks*, in which word the 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>ō'omē'cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flounder</td>
<td>ō-pkē'cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round basket</td>
<td>ō'-pjunx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>*ē'*qōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyelashes</td>
<td>i-t!ē'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinnamon bear</td>
<td>i-t!ē'kk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>*ē'*ō'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken-hawk</td>
<td>ō'-nptic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well</td>
<td>ō-p'lx</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-q!eyō'qut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shag</td>
<td>i-pa'qowē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>i'-kala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with possessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

- ear *ō'-utea*
- his belly *iā'-wan*
- mouth *i-cql*
- head *i-qtq*
- cheek *ē'-melqtan*
- fin *ē'-gala*
- his father *L-iā'ama*
- his elder brother *iā'-xk!un*
- his younger brother *iā'-wux*
- his maternal uncle *iā'-tata*

Here belong also:

- lid *i-sā'melks*
- five *qu'ñem*
- ten of them *i-tā'-lēlam*
- six *te'xem*
The ending -tike instead of -(i)ke is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all ka'nauwe  
kanauwetiks all persons  
few me'nx'ka  
mE'nx'katikc a few persons  
many (their number) lgá'pela  
lgá'pletikc many persons  
several le'xawé  
le'xawetikc several persons

Analogous are the forms of—
up river ma'ema  
t-maemá'teke those up river  
poor (his poverty) lá'xauyam  
lgá'xauyamtikc the poor ones  
his younger brother iâ'weux  
iâ'-wuxtikc his younger brothers

Still a different connective element appears in—
man i'-kala  
i-kâ'lamuukc 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-qá'cócënicke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>u-tcaktcá'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gull</td>
<td>i-goné'goné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raven</td>
<td>i-qoale'xa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>u-k'onó'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>i'-kala</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 é'x'tëmaé sometimes (éxt one; -ma distributive; -é adverbial); kaná'mtema both (kaná'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-k'tél'uwà-itik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone arrow-point</td>
<td>i-gó'matk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisels</td>
<td>lqayá'tëma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>willow</td>
<td>t-te'lu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>t-te'lá'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geese</td>
<td>t-k'élal'álá'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>i-qwís'gē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>t-e-mxté'ma iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whale</td>
<td>i-kolé'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>lolución'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pike</td>
<td>t-qogó'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seal</td>
<td>ká'pxóma, á'pxóma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother!</td>
<td>ka'pxó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast (female)</td>
<td>t-gá'-tómá (their—)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A peculiar form is ogō'xōc pile, plural orō xōcemα, 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:

Irregular is also the change in vowel in qē'qēl creek, plural tā'lema.
A number of words take the ending -ma with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel -ؤ- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>⚫-nēmēk'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground-hog</td>
<td>⚫olā'l'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baton</td>
<td>i-q'ā'lq'al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>o-qō'nak'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>⚫-e'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandson!</td>
<td>qā'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prairie</td>
<td>te-maz'ē'ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably -mē'a.

Another series of words take -ؤ- as connective vowel, sometimes -wē- or -oē-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son!</td>
<td>a'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young seal</td>
<td>a'-xōē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widow whose hus-band has been dead a long time</td>
<td>a-kē'lial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island</td>
<td>le'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister!</td>
<td>a'ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>a'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>town</td>
<td>e-lēx'am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>tō'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here belong also:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>i'-k'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prairie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the irregular forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>log</td>
<td>⚫-mē'le'k'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common man</td>
<td>l-zā'y'al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrior</td>
<td>l-tō'xoy'al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In at least one of these words the origin of the -ؤ is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word house is -quē in Kathlamet, and would naturally form the plural tquē'ma, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form tōlē'wē'ma.

(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-inè'nè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>i'-potè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm-pit</td>
<td>i-kemelâ'pix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut of blubber</td>
<td>i-gitè'txala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>i-kamò'kxuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>i'-qxacga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buoy</td>
<td>ò'-gxun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh-water clam</td>
<td>ò'-sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coal</td>
<td>ò-gò'lxatsx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab-apple</td>
<td>ò-pà'utc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>ò-kei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>i-kanî'm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in -nàna, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parent-in-law</td>
<td>č'-qisix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister's son</td>
<td>i'-lax'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's sister</td>
<td>ò'-po'tsxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>ò-tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (children of brother and sister)</td>
<td>L-gà'mge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>virgin</td>
<td>ò-hò'tlau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>i-ci'kec</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-xk'lun</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!</td>
<td>(address) a'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter's child!</td>
<td>(address) qèc</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-kà'naax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>L-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>i-q'àlìpx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweetheart</td>
<td>L-gòlìx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable -yu- 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>-öyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rise</td>
<td>-xalayutck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to notch</td>
<td>-ts!ā'yuLx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>-wāyutck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to awaken</td>
<td>-öutc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in -c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x'i'ta these things</td>
<td>x'i'tac these men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qō'ta those things</td>
<td>qō'tac those men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>d-Łd'huil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>L-li!d'sks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (some one's)</td>
<td>L-xa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>L-ic!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slave</td>
<td>ē-la'itix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ē'-qot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be</td>
<td>-ō-Ł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>-y'e-tsax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>-txuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to die</td>
<td>-ō-m egret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>-ā-va Ł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-ā'ne.mkć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-qá'sōšiniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-cōlal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-čtyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x-čl-tix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x-xēnēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x-xēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-tēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-qōct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aō younger brother!</td>
<td>mā'ma father!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āts younger sister!</td>
<td>āq son!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā'pēxō elder brother! elder sister!</td>
<td>āc daughter!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāc grandchild! (said by man)</td>
<td>cike friend!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā'e grandchild! (said by woman)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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 ēlx LAND, COUNTRY—ilē'ē COUNTRY (the x disappears because the vowel following ēx carries the accent) Lgōle'lzēmk PERSON, ć'lxam TOWN, §§39, 40
t'e'lx'em people. From the stem x'e we have iqoate'xexe 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. -k'e-. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix -ki, -gi, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

\[\text{o'qiw}!\text{up a cut}\]
\[\text{iqe'lxem menlmen something rotten}\]
\[\text{tyile'mat} \text{k store}\]
\[\text{ogwe'xat} \text{e alder (=} \text{wood for dyeing)}\]
\[\text{ik!e'wul} \text{elq food}\]
\[\text{e'k'it payment for a wife}\]
\[\text{ik!e'wak} \text{torch, flower}\]
\[\text{tk'ipalal'wul word}\]
\[\text{tkim'o'cx'em toy}\]
\[\text{ik!et'e'nak game}\]

2. -q'e-. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive -x-.

\[\text{ogogo'nklatk club (from -x-gunk to club)}\]
\[\text{lgile'tametet comb (from -xel-teiam to comb one's self)}\]
\[\text{lgile'te'weuwa hat (from -xenl'te'weuwa to hang a round thing on top of one's self)}\]
\[\text{iqats!e'lxak panther (from -xts'e'lxako to have a notch around)}\]
\[\text{ogqo'sida'yu lxak ants (one's self)}\]

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with -gi-, -ki-, -k'ei-, -q'e-, -q!e-, contain these prefixes, for instance:

\[\text{igeluxcutk arrow-head}\]
\[\text{igemxatk burial}\]
\[\text{igelote elk-skin}\]
\[\text{ogwe'nak plank}\]
\[\text{ok!wetelak dried salmon}\]

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

\[\text{ogqewi'qe knife}\]
\[\text{ogwelal'wulx maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)}\]
\[\text{iqeyo'qut old}\]

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by—

\[\text{iqek!e's brass, but}\]
\[\text{ik!e'sa gall (both from k!es yellow)}\]
\[\text{iqe'p!al doorway (probably from -p!a into [ =that into which people always enter]}\]

§ 40
3. na- is a local prefix.
   naxoa'p hole (from lxoa'p to dig)
   na'vēlim the country of the Tillamook (from 'vēlim)

4. -tē a suffix signifying tree, wood.
   oguē'pxatē alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. -th 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 possible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem -tk 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—

   i'pōtīk forearm
   igē'luxtcutk arrow-head
   iwaa'nemaktē belly-cut of a fish
   uleme'tk bed may be derived from -ēlx ground, and may mean put down on the ground
   ikalxel'emaktē 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.
   ō'-pxa alder-bark
   ō-gwe'-pxa-tē alder
   l-ge'-pxa-tē alder-woods
   -al-ō'-pxa to dye in alder-bark
   l-q-L-al-ō'-pxa dyed cedar-bark

-ts!ēlx to notch.
   i-qa-ts!ēlx-ak what has a notch around itself (= panther)
   ō-qo-ts!ā'yulx-ak those with notches around themselves (= ants)
   -s!-x-ts!ēlx-akō to make a notch around a thing

-k!anxā'tē drift-net.
   ō-k!unxā'tē drift-net
   -xen-k!anxā'tē-mam to go to catch in drift-net

-nauxā'itk net.
   -xe-nauxā'ityē to catch in net

-wiuc urine of male.
   l-ō'-wiuc urine
   -xa-wiuc to urinate
   o-wiā'c-matk chamber

§ 40
-kxamit to pay attention.
  i-ka-kxamit mind
  a-kxamit to pay attention

-gunk to club.
  ò-qò-gu'nk-la-tk club
  x-gunk to club

-tciam to comb.
  l-qē-tecam-ē-tē comb

-lxē to crawl.
  l-qa-lxē'-la one who crawls much (= crab)

-utea ear.
  ò'-utea ear
  x-ww'utea-tk to hear

-lxel(em) to eat.
  i-ka-lxēl-matк dish

-śoic to break wind.
  -xēlśoic-qc to break wind (perhaps for -śoicśoic)
  ò'-świc-qc wind broken

-lx around neck.
  lx-ōt it is around the neck
  i-qē'-lx-ōt necklace

-tēwa to bail out.
  x-tēwa to bail out canoe
  o-śi-tewa'-lx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-kamōt property.
  x'emōta to barter
  t-kamō'ta property

-kema(tk) baton.
  ò'-kumatak baton
  xematk 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'ēm to play, to fool.
  t-ki-mōcx'ēma toys

-mēcx wood.
  ē-mēcx tree
  ò-mēcx kettle
  xēl-meqci to gather wood

-pla to enter.
  i-qē'-plal doorway

§ 40
-letewa to put hollow thing on top of something.

l-qe-letewawä'-ma hat

-qet louse.

ō-qet louse

-qe-qcta to louse

-kwtek to net

c-kwtek-mā'tk net-shuttle

-xel-qe'-kwtek to net

-teciakt to point.

-gen-teciaktē to point at something

qî-tecî'aktē-l pointer (= first finger)

-mq to spit.

-ō-mqo-it to spit

-ō-mq-a to vomit

l-mq-tē saliva

-kta "thing, something, what.

-i-kta thing, something, what

-gem-ō-ktti 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-yuLl̄l pride 74.11 (from yuLl̄l proud)

tk!l̄waxena torches 27.22 (from wax light, to shine)

ik!l̄wax flower 165.27 (from wax to bloom)

êwaxō'mi copper (from wax light, to shine)

ik!wacō'mi fear 213.10 (from k!wac afraid)

'igi'lq!up cut 46.2 (from lq!up to cut)

'igē'l!men!men syphilis (from l!men soft, rotten)

nats!e'x piece 69.3 (from ts!ex to tear)

nalloa'p hole 23.7 (from lloa'p to dig)

nalō'lō something round (from lō'lō round)

-xā'pēnič a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from pā'nič to give in payment for services of a shaman)

-gē'staq!lōam to go to war 270.1 (from staq! war)

r-xq!am to be lazy (from q!am lazy)

ne-āxaxome to notice 40.14 (from xāx to notice)

cē'klek!ep it boils (from k!ep to boil)

-xā'qiq!l!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:

\[c\text{-}ge\text{-}mō\text{lak}\text{-}tcxict\] my elk nose 193.19 (e- dual; -ge- my; -mōlak elk; -tcxict nose)

\[t\text{!agēla\text{'ktē}\] woman’s utensils (t- plural; -agēlak woman; -ktē things)

\[i\text{-}k\text{!ani\text{-}y\text{'}l\text{\acute{x}am}\] myth town 216.8 (i- masculine; -kanam myth; -l\text{\acute{x}am 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:

\[i\text{qats\!'l\text{\acute{x}ak}\] having a notch around itself, i.e., with a thin belly (= panther)

\[o\text{qots\!'\text{\acute{y}ul\text{\acute{x}ak}\] those having notches around themselves (= ants)

\[i\text{tcē\text{'yau\text{'}a\text{'}yaqtq}\] snake’s head (= dragon fly)

\[\text{\acute{e}\text{\text{"{gulel\text{\acute{x}}}}\] going into the water (= mink)

\[o\text{tcō\text{'itxul\] dip-net maker (= spider)

\[egē\text{\acute{wam}\] the sleepy one (= a fish [sp.])

\[o\text{kō\text{'lxul\] thief (= mouse)

\[i\text{k\text{'u\text{'th\text{'ut\] the one who always breaks (bones) (= dog [Kathamet 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:

\[\text{\acute{o\text{\text{"{k\text{\acute{x}ola\text{'}o\text{\text{"{wun\] a male silver-side salmon 109.3

\[e\text{\text{"{e\text{\text{"{kil\text{'}i\text{mō\text{lak\] a female elk 264.3

\[e\text{\text{"{k\text{\acute{x}ala\text{'}i\text{mō\text{lak\] a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix \[\text{\acute{o\text{-}\], 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.
(1) Modal element.
Visibility, or existence in present time ẍ-
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 -q (-o—a)

In the forms with consonantiac 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; -a- for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present, Visible</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>ẍ'ik</td>
<td>ẍ'ak</td>
<td>ẍ'îlik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>ẍ'iau</td>
<td>ẍ'au</td>
<td>ẍ'îla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>ẍ'ix</td>
<td>ẍ'ař</td>
<td>ẍ'öla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>&quot;licable&quot;</td>
<td>ẍ'îlik</td>
<td>ẍ'îliche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>ẍ'îclesa</td>
<td>ẍ'îta</td>
<td>ẍ'îtac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>ẍ'îclesa</td>
<td>ẍ'îta</td>
<td>ẍ'îtac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past, Invisible</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>qöLa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>qix</td>
<td>qax</td>
<td>qöLa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>qöcta</td>
<td>qöta</td>
<td>qötac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>qöcta</td>
<td>qöta</td>
<td>qötac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'i'k</td>
<td>ōxā'k</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'i'au'</td>
<td>ōxā'u'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'i'x'</td>
<td>ōxā'x'</td>
<td>x'ix'ō'la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Plural, human beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'ō'cta</td>
<td>x'ix'ō'ta</td>
<td>x'ix'ō'tac, x'ix'ō'lac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past, Invisible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>qaqā'u'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiqē'x'</td>
<td>qaqā'x'</td>
<td>qiqō'la'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Plural, human beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiqō'cta</td>
<td>qiqō'ta</td>
<td>qiqō'etac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'ixë'k algō'tk'lam x'i'la lg'eyō'qxōt it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6
ōqil'ō'xōl ōxā'u' ō'lxtāt Ōqil'ō'xōl, this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (ō- she; -lx to the beach; -t perfect)
x'ix'i'au amigā'tōm this one whom you met 185.12 (a- transi- tional; m- thou; i- him; -gatq to meet; -am completive)
anī'wa'qiqiau'x ktermēgā'bu'lk I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (-wa' to kill; qiqiau'x probably for qiqiau'; k- the one who; te'ēm— he me; -xgako to go about; -l with suffix -ako by metathesis -alu'lk)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

nal'ē'ma ūk alū'l'tcin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (nal- I her to her; -ēm to give food; -a future; ūk alū'l'tcin (fish head)
atcil'ē'em ikamō'k̪xuk qō'la lg'wusu' he gave a bone to that dog
187.12 (atcil'ēl- he him to it; ikamō'k̪xuk bone; lg'wusu' dog)
k̪u'cal'ā x'i'k nē'mal up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found ti'ke, ti'k, li'k 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.
Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in -k.
At least this is a possible explanation of the form x'ix'e'vik.

x'ix'i'gik mka'nax teemá'xó this here is what will make you rich
218.1 (m- thou; -kánax chief, rich man; teem- he thee; a-
directive before x; -x to make; -o future after x)
v'tta tciuwa'ya x'ix'e'vik what can this one do! 134.25
i'! x'ix'e'vik! oh, this (miserable) one! 41.10, 147.1
tgá'ma² x'ité'vik these are shot 213.20 (tgá- their; -ma² being shot)

To this form may belong the demonstratives ô'kuk, yó'kuk, ya'xkuk,
x'ix'o'kuk, qiqo'li, 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 system-
atric way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before.
The forms expressing present have the element x', those express-
ing past q-. Both occur with the two vowels -I- and -o-, which,
in this case, seem to express this and that. Their locative char-
acter is expressed by the suffixed locative element gó. Thus we
find—

x'ígó  x'o'gó
qígó qógó

a'lta a'lo iau'a x'ígó naxoa'p algá'yax ul'ê'ë now they went thus
to this place where they had dug up the ground 23.7 (a'lta
now; a- transitional; 1- indefinite; -ô to go; iau'a here thus;
na- place; lxoa'p to dig; a- transitional; lg- indefinite transi-
tive subject; -ay- for -i- masculine object; -a- directive; -x to
do; ul'ê'ë ground masc.)

x'ígó Nagal'ímat, gó tga'kwa ìqó'ta-y-ê'ka here at Gal '[ímat
is their custom thus 240.25 (na- place; gó there; tga'-their; kwíil
custom; ê'ka thus)

i'!xkëwa tal i'ók q'lat agñ'naax nevertheless there I am loved 39.5
(i'axkëwa there thus; tal! nevertheless; q'lat to love; a-
transitional; -ân me [accented ô]; -a directive; -x to do)
tela'a, qa'ä'da x'ógu ne'xax see! how I became here 178.8
a'lta lpil qígó LEK w nê'xax now it was red where it was broken
185.20 (lpil red; LEK w to break)
pál ik'pa qígó mā'lnë it was full of ice there seaward 44.24
(pál full; ik'pa ice; mā'lnë seaward)
alë'xelategux qígó nòpó'nëmx he would arise when it was night
165.6
qógù utcà'latxala ayà'xelax utcà'nix there the wedge was bad
161.8 (ì- masculine; -tca- feminine possessive; -q'latxala bad-
ness; ayà'xelax hers is on her; utcà'nix wedge)
§ 44
a'ctop! gö qögö gitanö'kstx tlöž they entered that little house 29.14
(a'ctö they two go; -p! into; gö there; gitanö'kstx having their smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea in this manner are ya'kwa,
yau'α, ɛ'wa, qéwa, ya'xkëwa.

Related to these is the interrogative qă'xëwa. 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'α (=yau-wa) position
near the person addressed. The form ɛ'wa seems to correspond
to the demonstrative position near the third person, while ya'xkëwa
always refers back to a place previously designated: thus just at
that place.

iakwa' göye' a'texax here he did thus 65.21 (göye' thus; âtc- he
her; -ax to do)
Nëkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17
Në'k'ikst ɛ'wa vé'wułë he looked there into the house 130.17 (në-
he, intransitive; -k'i designates lack of object; -kst to look;
vé'wułë inside of house)
iă'xkëwa Në'xankö there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17
iă'xkëwa ayuquna'ćtix't there (where he was shot) he fell down
62.22

The forms in -wa are used often to express the idea here—there:
ɛ'wa ɛ'nata, iau'a ɛ'natai here on this side,—there on that side
201.12
iakwa nō'ix ā'ezat, iau'a ta'nuta Nō'ix ā'ezat 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 agă'yutk iqč'sqēs, ia'kwa ɛ'natai agă'yutk kā'sa-it here on one
side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4
Lă'yapc iakwa', —iō'kuk īă'melk his foot there,—here his thigh
174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different direc-
tions or places.
iă'ma iau'a mō'yima; näkct iau'a ma'ōemē īxtā'yim only there (up-
stream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.
Iau'a aeqixa'luqettgux, iau'a aeqixa'luqettgux here they two threw
him down, here they two threw him down; i. e., they threw
him down again and again 26.8

§ 44
They turned over each other again and again 127.4

As stated before, the forms in -uk seem to have adverbial meaning. Following are examples of their uses:

Following are examples of their uses:

Quite isolated is the form ia'xkati, which appears with great frequency. The ending -ti is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the parallel Kathlamet form gip'd'tix' there, and nō'lke'tix' for a little while. It signifies the position near the third person, there.

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in -uk, is ia'xkayuk here.

Related to this form may be yukpā' here and yukpā'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 -ta (see § 55).
It will be noticed that the element *iax* (*yax*) occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in *x'ix'ó'yaax*, *gó'yaax* and the interrogative *qa'xēyaax*.

As initial element it occurs in *ya'ixkuk*, *ia'ixkayuk*, *ia'ixkēwa*, *ia'ixkati*.

It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal *yax* of the Kathlamet demonstrative and with the first element in *ia'ixka* *he alone*, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(3) Demonstrative Pronouns of Kathlamet. In Kathlamet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Kathlamet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Kathlamet 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.

**Kathlamet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near 1st person</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tayax</em></td>
<td><em>tavā'x</em></td>
<td><em>lalā'x</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near 2d person</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural, persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yā'xauē</em></td>
<td><em>tata'x</em></td>
<td><em>lalā'ike tatā'ike</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near 3d person</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural, persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yax'i(yax)</em></td>
<td><em>wax'i(yax)</em></td>
<td><em>lax'i(yax)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these forms, Kathlamet has two very short forms, *gi* and *tau*. 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 *tau* is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram *dau*, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

*its'a'itslēmōm* *gi a'mēgt* her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Kathlamet Texts)

*Lā'emma* *gi Le'ctcin Lā'tgatek* only this stump drifts down 92.5 (ibid.)

*qātc piè k'ā iɡō'xoax* *gi igu'nat?* why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (ibid.)

*qā'mta *i'dya tau igi'atk!oā'mam?* where went he who came home? 162.7 (ibid.)

*iklōtā'mit tau aqagē'lak* this woman carried him away 163.1 (ibid.)

The element *gi* appears also presumably in *tānkī* *something*. § 44
(4) Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet. The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

\[ \text{gipā' here} \quad \text{gopā' there} \]

both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix -pa.

\[ \text{gipā' gi txā'geqemapa ayame'lge'tga here to these our wedges I} \]
\[ \text{shall put you} \quad \text{114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (txā- our; -geqem wedge; -ma plural; -pa to; ayame-I to thee; -gi- indicates absence of object; -tk to put; -a future)} \]

\[ \text{gipā' cxy'lgo'x here the two were grown together 17.1 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{icxe'la-itx kō'pa they stayed there 10.6 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{kopa' igiri'go-ity then he awoke 21.8 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{imō'laqk gōpā' cā'xalīx an elk is up there 71.5 (ibid.)} \]

In place of gipā' the stronger form gipā'tīx is found.

\[ \text{gipā'tīx siā'xōstpa right here on his face 76.14 (ibid.)} \]

Compare with this form—

\[ \text{ixō'yam ēxpadīx} \]
\[ \text{they arrived in that land 17.14 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{iōquē'wulīt iqā'menoppā'tīx he climbed a pine there 11.14 (ibid.)} \]

Corresponding to the forms yukpe't, yukpe'temā, in Lower Chinook, we find here gipe't, gipe'temāx.

\[ \text{gipe't a'yalaqt up to here its thickness 189.5 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{Lxp!əctenmīx le'laqcō gipe'temāx braided was his hair to here 131.10 (ibid.)} \]

Often yax'i' (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

\[ \text{yax'i' aqalā'x there (was) the sun 109.3} \]
\[ \text{ya'xi mā'īntx igē'kta there seaward he ran 172.11} \]

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in -wa is represented by ā'kua, ē'wa.

\[ \text{iqcxe'Lau ā'kua itcō'xoa here thus he made her a monster 224.3 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{(iqcxe'Lau monster; itcō'- he her)} \]
\[ \text{lān laxi ā'kua exō'la? who is that here thus talking? 51.9 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{lān who; exō- it by itself)} \]
\[ \text{ictō'ixa ē'wa îlak!ō'ilītx the two went down there thus to the lake 18.95 (ibid.)} \]

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive -ta.

\[ \text{māket ā'wimax itcā'iqtax two these thus their length 189.4 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{(māket two; itcā'- her; -iqtax length)} \]

Another adverb is found in this dialect, tē'ka thus here.

\[ \text{tē'ka gi atxōqō'ya!} \]
\[ \text{here we will sleep! 109.4 (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{tē'ka atxā'ayā'wulalema here we will play! 167.17 (ibid.)} \]

§ 44
(5) Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wishram (by E. Sapir).

Near 1st person . . .
Masculine  | Feminine  | Neuter  
---|---|---
[da'wy(a(x)]  | [da'ua(x)]  | [da'ula(x)]
[da'ya(x)]  | [da'wa(x)]  | [da'la(x)]

Near 2d person . . .
[ya'xdau]  | [a'xdau]  | [la'xdau]
[ya'xda(x)]  | [a'xda(x)]  | [la'xda(x)]

Near 3d person . . .
[ya'xia]  | [a'xia]  | [la'xia]  

Near 3d person (formed from ya'xdau) . . .
yakā'xdau  | akā'xdau  | lakā'xdau  
Dual  | Plural  
[da'uda-ite]  | [da'uda-ite]  
[da'eda-ite]  | [da'da-ite]  
[da'(u)da-ite]  | [da'(u)da-ite]  

Near 2d person . . .
[eda'xdau]  | [da'xdau]  | [la'xdauaitc]
[eda'xda(x)]  | [da'xda(x)]  | [a'xdauaitc]

Near 3d person . . .
[eda'xia]  | [a'xia]  | [la'xia]  
[eda'xia(x)]  |  | [a'xia(x)]

Near 3d person (formed from ya'xdau) . . .
[da]  | [da]  | [la]  
[da]  | [da]  | [la]  

Note.—It is somewhat doubtful whether ya'xdau should be so read or as ya'xdau. (x) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is deictic in value.

-ka may be added to demonstratives in -ite.

Elements -tla and -tlite are perhaps "diminutive" forms of demonstrative pronominal stem da this and personal plural -dle.

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(n) da'ba here</td>
<td>dapt</td>
<td>dabā't little ways further on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stem kwō  kwō'ba there  kwōpt  kwōbā't
[(yax da'ba 48.16)\(^1\)]

Stem ia'xi  ia'xiba yonder  ya'xpt  ia'xā't further on
[ia'xi away, off]

Stem di  dika here  di'gat (18.17)
[(dika dabā' 92.11) (-pi also in qa'n t e i p i how long?)]

\(^1\) References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, Wishram Texts (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnolog. Society).
Locative towards, on...side

Stem gi

i'wa thus, there

Note.—Compounded with gi are also da'ngi some-thing; qa'tgi some-how; qx'a'matgi some-where (96.11).

Related to di'ka and di'gad is perhaps digu'tcix per-haps (96.17); also di'iwi like.

In -xi we have, besides ya'xi, also (aga) du'xi oh, well! (60.4).

Note.—Ya'xa indeed (also in qucat i'axa as it turned out); au (perhaps =aw', a'wa, and related to Chinook ya'wa) in da'n au ayamlu'da what, pray, shall I give you? (154.6); ya'a'wa how-ever.

Note also kwó'bixix right there, not very far.

-a'dix forms: a'ngadix long ago; ixtka'dix (192.2); ina'tkadix (192.5).

With stem dau: kwó'dau and; du'ukwa just as before; qx'i'dau thus.

§ 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
ma'ika thou
di'xa he
a'xka she
la'ska it

nta'ika we two (exclusive)
tcxia we two (inclusive)
tcxaike your two selves
tcxaike their two selves

ta'ixa we (exclusive)
txa'ika we (exclusive)
txa'ika we (exclusive)
txa'ika you

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

na'mka I alone
ma'mka thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form mi'ca 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'ema I alone
txa'ema we alone 134.16

These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

na'-ima I alone
ma'-ima thou alone
lxa'-imadike we (incl.) alone

la'imadike, da'-imadike, a'-imadike they alone

§ 45
Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following:

Shortest form:
\[ na(x) I \quad ya(x) \text{ he} \quad da'-ite \text{ they} \]
\[ la'-ite \text{ they} \quad \text{(Wishram Texts 48.4)} \]
\[ a'-ite \text{ they} \]

Inclusive:
\[ nai'ita I \text{ too} \quad ya'xtla \text{ he too} \]
\[ la'-ite \text{ they too} \]
\[ a'-ite \text{ they too} \]
\[ Ixai't'ike \text{ we too} \]
\[ da'-ite \text{ they too} \]
\[ a'-ite \text{ they too} \]

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person \((ya'xia)\) 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

\[ na-\text{i-ka I} \quad ya-\text{x-ka he} \]
\[ na'-\text{i-t'a I too} \quad ya-\text{x-t'a he too} \]
\[ na'-(i)-ya I \quad ya'-\text{x-ia he} \]

These elements \(-i-\) and \(-x-\) are probably identical with Chinook \(-l-\) and \(-x', -x\) in \(x'l', x', x'\).

**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 onomatopoetic 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:

oxiwi'yul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm they danced, kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm, 167.5 (here kumm indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)

hömm, iquā'nat é-nilá'kux hömm, I smell salmon 67.3

a'lt'a, pemm, temōtsgā'nuks gō iā'yaqeq now pemm, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (pemm indicates the noise of flies)

tcx, tcx, tcx, tcx, gō ikamelā'leq 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:

*texup, texup, texup, texup a\ell'\ell'ax lā'kē\ell'ëwax* the torch flickered (literally, made *texup*) 50.24

*l.\ell'\ellq, l.\ell'\ellq, l.\ell'\ellq, l.\ell'\ellx nē'\ell'ax iskē'\ell proa, 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; ts'ik'tsik 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:

- *hē'liē* to laugh
- *hō'liō* to cough
- *pō* to blow
- *t!eq* to slap
- *t!āk* to break a piece out
- *tō' tô* to shake
- *ćiō* to rattle
- *cāu* low voice

- *texex* to break
- *texup* to flicker
- *tēxōap* to gnaw
- *k!ut* to tear off
- *xwē* to blow
- *lēp* to boil
- *lēq* to crackle
- *lēlēp* 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:

- *iā'ēil* proud
- *wāx* to pour out
- *pāl* full
- *temē'ēn* clear
- *tell* tired
- *tēl̩pāk* loud
- *gu'tgut* exhausted
- *gē'egēc* to drive

- *ku'llkul* light (of weight)
- *k!ā* silent
- *q!am* lazy
- *q!ul* fast
- *lō\ell'lō* round
- *lēl* to disappear
- *lāx* to appear
- *lēoap* 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—

- *wâx* to pour out (blood) 68.1
- *pō* to blow once 66.25
- *tell* tired

- *wā\ell'xwâx* to pour out (roots) 43.2
- *pō'pō* to blow repeatedly 129.20
- *tēll'tell* to be tired in all parts of the body

- *k!ut* to tear off 89.25

§ 46
A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on account of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies repetition. Such are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hé'lé to laugh</td>
<td>gu'tgut exhausted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'hó to cough</td>
<td>ku'lkul light (of weight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó'tó to shake</td>
<td>lólo round</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending -ma. These are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pát full 39.1, distributive pát'ma 229.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuk! straight, real 24.12, distributive wuk!ma 107.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cpéq gray, distributive cpé'qema</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temé'n clean, empty</td>
<td>k'í'c to disappear, nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá'menua to give up</td>
<td>k'í'wa'c afraid 90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqúx to wish 129.27</td>
<td>uáp to find 140.1, 138.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stúq! war 272.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'íwan hopeful 134.8</td>
<td>k'íwa'uk!wan glad 38.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lúx sideways 267.3</td>
<td>lúx'lux to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is -x to be, to become, to do, to make. -ó(-í?) 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 wáx to pour, k'í'c nothing.
ING, k'lomm 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'ueau naxa IP' llkə' Lē she told him in a low voice 40.21
lux nu lā'tax'it it fell down broken 49.2
lke'pilkəp atciō'egam 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.

(weā 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)

hē'hē 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

(dell 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

ciō noise of rattles 22.5

cell noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; cī'lecell rattling of breath of one choking 150.7

cā'ca to break, to wreck 198.7

cā'w low voice 162.11; cā'ueau 40.21

cēx noise of flying birds 137.14

ts'lex (tc'lex, tc'lux, tsex) 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; ts'lexts'lex 45.19; nats'lex a piece of flint flaked off 69.3
tcxep, tcxep to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; tcxe'ptcxep 28.8

tcx noise of footsteps on sand 75.3

tcxoa'p to gnaw; tcxoap 175.23

gumm a noise under water 217.16

gōm noise of something heavy falling down 27.9

kumm noise of dancing 167.5

gq'e'cgxe to drive 15.5

k'ut to tear off 89.25; k'u'tku't to clear up (sky) 249.4

ku'tcxă to sneeze 64.24

qułl noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground 65.13

qla'łq!al to beat time

q!é door creaks 66.14

xx to blow 113.20

qā'xa to rub 65.9

xwē to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13

lekw to break 165.19; le'k!ek 68.16

le'k!ek to burrow 95.13

lex to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; !e'x!ex to tear 145.20

le'x!ex noise of scratching 153.7

lap noise of shooting 272.20

lux to come out 49.2, 201.1; lu'lx!ux to pull out (of ground) 138.9

lk!pek!lp to grasp in talons 137.15

lk!d!p to squeeze 9.8; lk!d!p!d!p with eyes run out 29.20

lq!d!p to cut 114.3

lxoa'p to dig 23.5; lxoa'p!lxa!p 115.15

l!l! to titter 177.15

l!eq to hit, to strike 156.23

l!eq, l!äx to crackle 38.1, 185.8

l!lep under water 14.8

(2) Descriptive words.

pāl full 39.1; pālma 229.24

wāx to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; wā'xwax

43.2

wāx to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26

k!d!omm no noise

k!d!ya no, none

k!d!e no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28

q!el strong; q!e'q!el hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12

tem'e'n empty, clean

te'te to stop doing something

tuwa'x to light, shine 12.1 (see wāx)

ku'lkull light of weight 199.9

k!am, k!em no, none 37.15

lep to boil 173.1

§ 46
lō'lo' round 186.23
lāk spread out 178.7
l'men to break into small pieces, soft 130.4; l'men men 17.9

(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.

iū'li'l proud 93.16
pet quiet 177.24
p'alā' quietly, safe 198.4
tell, tāl tired 62.14; t'il'tell tired all over (= rheumatism)
tq'ëx to like 129.27
tlayā' well, healthy 165.21
tses cold 41.9
tse'stsex unwell, feeling uncomfortable
tcxap to hesitate 27.15
q'lāt to love 41.6
xāx to notice, observe 75.17
lekh!, lāk! weak 212.21
tel'ke!ek almost choked 151.1
lāx lonesome 22.3

gu'tgut exhausted
k'ëx cloyed 46.24; k'ëxk!ëx grease smell 137.7
k'ā 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
ql'am lazy 138.4
l'ō'ya stingy (?) 139.11
l'ā to fear 212.11
l'pāq to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.
lē'el black 25.11
k'lās yellow
cpeq gray (dry?) 109.10
tkōp white 124.25
ptēix green 30.21
lpīl red 185.20
ts'emm variegated

(5) Miscellaneous words.
iāc e to let alone 187.13
ux to take a chance
wuk! straight 24.12; wuk!ema' 107.20
pe'na k afoot 217.8, 107.6
pā'ne to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7
pā to divide; pā'pa 248.4
pāx unlucky 264.13

§ 46
pōx foggy 37.4
pux lukewarm
pō'xoie to make a mistake
mel wet 37.5
mane'x to learn a secret 200.10
tā'menua to give up 61.18
tke'ltkel dull
tk!ē to sit looking on
tlā'nuwa to exchange 228.8
nekō to keep, to retain 277.14
stāq! war, attack 272.5
stuix to untie, to unwrap 135.13; stu'xstuix 116.10
(tclāx around a point)
tsk'!es to stoop
tcl!pak strongly 164.9, 110.1
k!au to tie 123.19; k!au'k!au 118.6
qoā't reaching 48.6, high water 198.24
qu to hang, to fish with gaff-hook 27.16, to put on garment, to
dress 136.23
q!e'cqc!ec dry 14.19 (= thirsty) 21.1
(q!oa'p near 40.9)
q!ul low water 198.26
q!ul fast; q!ul ē'egam hold fast 44.15 (see qu)
xuē't half full 166.8
xōp streaming
lāx sideways 267.3, afternoon 63.18, to miss 13.19; lā'xlax to rock
129.2, to deceive 65.19
lu'xlux slick
lu'xpamē 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'qlāq zigzag, also plural
for the other meanings
lāx to appear, become visible 23.13; lā'xlax to emerge
lēx to cohabit 228.16; lē'x'ilēx to prepare corpse for burial 253.3
lō calm 25.18
luwā' freshet
lap to find 261.8
l!āp 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 t!aya' well should be classed, and a few others which are placed
in parentheses in the preceding list.
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:

\textit{ai'aq} can\footnote{Evidently the original significance of this word is quickly; for instance, \textit{ai'aq nö'ya} (if you tell me to go) \textit{I go quickly}, i.e., \textit{I can go}.}

\textit{xa'oxal} can not

\textit{qöi} will

\textit{që'xtcë} without reaching the desired end

\textit{ka'ltas} in vain, only

\textit{qä'doxuë} must

\textit{atsuwa'} probably

\textit{lx} may (implying uncertainty)

\textit{k!öma} perhaps

\textit{lo'nas} I don't know (expression of uncertainty)

\textit{pöc} contrary to fact

\textit{pret} really

\textit{näket} not

\textit{na} interrogative particle

\textit{lëqs} almost

\textit{galà'tcx'i} hardly

\textit{å'nqqa(të)} already, before

\textit{a'ltà} now

\textit{å'iqgë} later on

\textit{kawa'ka} soon

\textit{anà'} sometimes

\textit{nau'i} at once

\textit{lë}, \textit{lë'lë} a long time

\textit{q'laste'n} for the first time

\textit{tcax} for a while

\textit{wixt} again

\textit{kule's} once more

\textit{ala'tëwa} again in this manner

\textit{gu'a'nse'm} always

\textit{wa'x} next day (\textit{wux'i'} to-morrow; \textit{kawë'x} early)

\textit{q!'o'nëp} near

\textit{te'lpåk} quickly

\textit{lawa'} slowly

\textit{(ai'aq} quickly)

\textit{txul} too much

\textit{mañiq'ë'ë} too much

\textit{tlë'qëa} just like

\textit{ä'la} even

§ 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:

*wuska* a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—37.12

*nixda* please, just try to 130.3

*teax* since this is so, do (or let us) 24.10

*tayax* oh, if he would! 22.4

*hō'ntein* be quiet

*teal* well! introducing a new idea

(qā't!ōcem look out!)

(nau'itka indeed!)

(tgt!ō'kti good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: qā't!ōcem is probably derived from t!ō well; nau'itka, perhaps from nau'i at once; tgt!ō'kti, from t!ō well and -ktu 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 onomatopoeic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

ā, ā, ō oh!

*adě* surprise 29.13

ē pity for hardships endured 187.19

nā pity 116.15

annā' pain, regret, sorrow, pity 22.4, 161.13

ahaha' pain 177.16

anā'x pity 153.8

hē call 12.2, indeed 38.22, 186.8

hē a long distance 28.3, 123.13

hō, hohō', ohō' surprise at the success of an action 24.3, 25.22, 67.14

lixuā' disgust 46.26

haśō'm, haō' now I understand! 39.27, 100.23

nā disapproval 145.12

nāq'l contemptuous rejection of an offer 124.11

hohō' derisive rejection of a remark 23.25

ahā' ridicule, disbelief 166.23

ehehiū' derision 45.1

§§ 48, 49
lē derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1
iā' reproach for foolishness 117.9
nāxtax anger 186.16
tcē that is nothing! 47.4
kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)
kōe 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, klōmm silence. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute Complement</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'lelelelelelele</td>
<td>noise of flight of an arrow 62.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu'lelelelele</td>
<td>noise of flight of cormorants 77.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'tsetsetsetse</td>
<td>cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'nawulewulewulewule</td>
<td>cry of gull 88.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wō</td>
<td>bark of dog 23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā</td>
<td>cry of child 185.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā</td>
<td>cry of a person weeping 118.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāūūūūū</td>
<td>low voice 162.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukuku</td>
<td>voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cka</td>
<td>and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'la</td>
<td>and (connecting nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tce'ī</td>
<td>a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction qiā'x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tce</td>
<td>or 276.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tale</td>
<td>although it is so, still 44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāl!</td>
<td>although I did not expect it, still 74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'olel</td>
<td>although I did not intend to, still 13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>then 135.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ltā</td>
<td>now 135.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taua'ltā</td>
<td>otherwise 134.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manix</td>
<td>when 253.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiā'x</td>
<td>if 127.20 (qē, qēc?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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* and *small* 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aql̥'cgam pi'cix le'l̥wvelk l̥wvelk green mud was taken 30.21
l̥'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 kā'ltac il̥ā'yuł̥l k̥l̥̄a'q̥ewam 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.

gē'late'la a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

mōkst two  si'namōkst seven  ka'nawwe all
lōn three  k̥st̥'x̥kin eight  kapē't enough
la'kit four  kui'tst nine  q̥m̥x part
qu'ı̂'nem five  te̥d̥ severai  mank few
tî'x̥em 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 -č. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, ēla'lōn its third one (m.) 217.21, ałā'lōn 'f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, č'lałōnē 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 -ke. mōkst two may also take the dual prefix č-

To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form *kanem each, all, together*, which occurs alone only in its distributive form *kanā'myema* 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: *kanemq̥a'nem five together* 201.22, īkanemq̥a'nem-mi̯ks 176.8. With mōkst two it seems to lose its m: skapašmōkst both 76.14. In this form it appears also in ka'nawwe all.
§ 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 \(-\tilde{e}\). This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

\[\text{i\text{"u}}\text{Lqt} \text{it is long}; \text{i\text{"u}}\text{Lqte} \text{long}\
\[\text{c\text{'nata}} \text{the one on the other side}; \text{c\text{'natai}} \text{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 consonantic changes 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 consonantic 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 \(\tilde{x}\), 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 \(dj\), 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!, (q, k)</td>
<td>(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qx</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>(qx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!</td>
<td>k!, (kx)</td>
<td>g</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>x</td>
<td>(x)</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-affractive 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!ac- in il-k!a’c-kac child is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable -kac; little child, baby appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as ilk!a’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>i-k!e’tc</td>
<td>i-ba’qxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-gE’tc nose (aug.)</td>
<td>i-k!e’tc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i’l-pc foot</td>
<td>i’l-ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 53
Normal | Diminutive | Augmentative
--- | --- | ---

i-\text{q}wvi't leg | i-\text{k}hwi't | a-go'xl
a-q'lo'xl knee | a-k'tu'xl | 
\text{a-me'l}uqtan cheek | a-me'luk'tlan | 
i-\text{me}l\text{e}xt\text{g}u'lamat tongue | 
\text{i-mi'ct} lips | i-mi'st | 
i-kw\text{e}xa't mouth | i-k'\text{w}xa't | 
wa'keen finger | wa'ksln | 
is-\text{q}xu's eyes (dim.) | ic-\text{q}xu'c | 
id-me'qco face-hair | id-me'kso | 
i-k'wa'yt crown of head | i-gwa'yat | 
\text{a-tck'x'n} shoulder | a-tsk'lie'n | 
wa-qxa'te breast | wa-kxa'ts | 
i-k'\text{xa't} tooth | i-k'la'ts | 
i-q'a'qetaq head | i-ga'qetaq | 
\text{ic-k!a'lk}al hip-joints | is-k'\text{a'l}kal | 
is-q'wa'gw\text{ost} jaws (dim.) | is-k'wa'gwast | 
\text{a-mu'q'wal} paunch, stomach | a-mu'gwal | 

Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

Normal | Diminutive | Augmentative
--- | --- | ---

\text{it-q'u'teu} bones | \text{it-q'u'tse'em} dog (literally, eater of small bones) | 
\text{i-te'i'au} snake | \text{i-tsi'au} | i-dji'au | 
\text{i-tsi'ktsik} wagon (dim.) | \text{is-tsi'ktsik} buggy | i-dji'kdjik heavy truck | 
\text{i-cgi'luke} wolf (aug.) | \text{il-sk'i'luks} new-born wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30) | 
\text{da-ga'c} yellow | a-qx-k'i'c gold | 
\text{i-cga'n} cedar board | \text{wa-sk'a'n} box | 
\text{i-k'la'lamat} stone | \text{i-ga'lamat} | 
\text{a-k'la'munaq} sir | \text{a-ga'munaq} | 
\text{il-k'a'ekac} child (dim.) | \text{il-k'a'skas} | 
\text{a-t'l'\text{q}gilak} good, strong woman | \text{a-du'qgilak} strap-ping big woman | 

1 Cf. \text{wa-q'a'te} Thorn, dim. \text{wa-k\text{xa't}s} (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 owing 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!o'its very little* [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily -k!a'its small). The case of *i-qua'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><em>i-te'l!on</em> eagle</td>
<td><em>il-t!on</em> bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-te'l!aq</em> cricket</td>
<td><em>il-t!aq</em> grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-q!apa'lwac</em> turtle</td>
<td><em>is-k!a'psalwas</em> lock (of door)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a-te'a'la</em> grindstone</td>
<td><em>a-ts!a'la</em> 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'luk*), 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!yks* ankle
- *a-p!u'xp!ux* elbow-joint
- *i-p!u'xe* cotton-tailed rabbit
- *a-t!anxa* crow (contrast *-gail bigness*)
- *i-cka'larv* raven
- *i-sk!yly'ya* coyote (cf. *i-sk!w61atsintsin* swallow)
- *i-s!u'ly* cotton-tailed rabbit
- *a-gu'sgus* chipmunk
- *a-p!una'tsektsekt* mosquito (cf. *-hena 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 inherent diminutive force).
with diminutive s). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

- **i-ga’nuk** beaver  
- **ic-kcku’ct** testicles (contrast **is-qxu’s EYES**)

**BLA**

- **wa-ts’u’ha** blue-  
- **ic-gwó’lala** gun

- **i-cé’lqcElq** porcupine  
- **wa’-ite** tail of mammal

- **ic-ga’kwal** eel  
- **ic-li’ct** fish-tail (contrast **is-p’i’ost 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>-qcE-n</td>
<td>-k’a’c-u-c paternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga’c-u (vocative)</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gak-an</td>
<td>-ga’k’-u-c maternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga’g-u (vocative)</td>
<td>ter’s child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gi-an</td>
<td>-k’i-c paternal grandmother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’a’tcEtin salmon-head gristle</td>
<td>Sip’a’-glatsin Big Gristle (Wishram Texts 66.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-k’sa’tk’uts backbone of fish</td>
<td>Sip’a’-ksalquts 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’tkʷatgwax adipose fin</td>
<td>Sapaq-a’tkʷatgwax 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’nus** a little; **sák’ to whistle; sa’u sau to whisper** (contrast Lower Chinook **càu**); Lower Chinook **k’ta** 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:
Non-diminutive

tcic cold

ma’ca to spoil

gut to break up (earth) by digging

Possibly also—
wax to pour out
lk’up to cut

Diminutive

(ts’tunus) a-itsā’s just (a little) cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)

ma’sa to be ashamed

k’utk’ut to pluck

wax to set on fire; to bloom
lk’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’wala’sup fast running occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements -tea- her and -eda- of them two appear as -tsa- and -st’a- in i-tsa-q’wala’sup she runs fast (Wishram Texts 66.9) and i-st’a-q’wala’sup they two run fast (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to is-p!i’ast tail of bulb, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element cd- and the post-positive local element -ha at appear as st- (? better st!-) and -p!a. Thus:

staimap!a’ 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 gaqiulat!a’-ulx he was tossed up (Wishram Texts 84.26) and gateiulat!a’melq he swallowed him by sucking him in evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem -tada- to throw away; silu’skwax it trembles (Wishram Texts 116.10) and gasi’timk’na-ukwatsk he looked around (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (-skw- and -k’na-ua-) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual s-), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix -tksk, doubtless the diminutive form of -tck up from position of rest; gats(s)altsgi’ma he laid her belly up (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (-tsgi) and incorporated pronominal subject(-ts-) and first object (dual -s-).

We have already given -tksk 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’teguxvida it will tilt up, literally, it will spontaneously move out up from its sitting

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position (Wishram Texts 184.10) and _tsu_ (from _-teu_ down) in _ililu'stu_ (water) moved down into the (hollow place). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given _-k'el_- (from _-gel_- directed toward) in _ga-tssi'k!elutk_ he looked at him and its reflexive correlative _-xel_- (from _-xel_ in _gasi'xelutk_ he looked; _-sk!em_- under in _iniask!emlak'dateu_ I threw it down under her is doubtless diminutive to _-gem_- next to (cf. _-teu_ and _-s-tsu_ above).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of _ts_ (for _te_, third person masculine subject transitive) and _s_ (for _e_, 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 _te_ and _e_ appear as _ts_ and _s_; the _ts_ by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. Examples are: _v'wi_ _gatssu'x isi'e'nqxøq_ he looked at his fish-line (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element _-s_- of _gatssu'x_ refers to the diminutive dual object _is-i'e'-nqxøq_ his fish-line, while the pronominal subject _-ts_- he agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; _galsu'kłam_ (_-ls- 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; _gasengatk'a'gwa'x gas k'tènak!wá'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-tènak!wá'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: _gaksi'lutk_ 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'-lkau_). 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'bëna_ she jumped; _gasixmi'lqwa_ he turned a somersault (Wishram Texts 82.18); and _gats(s)_altsgi'ma_ he laid her, belly up. The
most 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 is-qwu’s the two eyes. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is gatsi’k!elutk he looked at him, literally, he put the two small (eyes) down toward him, the -te- and -gel- appearing in their diminutive forms -ts- and -k!el- to agree with the object -s-; gasixim-k!na’-ul’atsk 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 I struck him with it is inige’ilteim. If the verb stem -teim 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!el- the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: inige’ilteim I hit him with it; inige’ltsim I hit him (a child perhaps) with it; inik!el-teim I hit him with it (something small), and inik!el’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!a!l’ema creeks has a fortis t! on account of the dropping of q in the stem -qel, 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, *č'elqelq*; Chinook, *č'elqelq* porcupine.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

- *itsa'antca-y-ōgō'lal* the waves are too bad (too great)
- *itsa'antsa-y-ōgō'lal* the waves are a little bad

I have also:

- *č'cgan* cedar
  - *i-sgE'nema* young cedars

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

- *ge'nem isgE'nema* small young cedars

without strengthening of the *g* of *ge'nem*. 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 *č* and *s* may exist between *l* and *ts*.

- *iā'qoa-il* large
- *iō'lqat* long
- *l!ex* to split large planks
- *lxoa'p* to dig
  - *iā'qoa-its* small
  - *iū'tsqat* short
  - *ts!ex* to split small pieces of wood
  - *tsxoa'p* to gnaw

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

- *ksemm* taxi *tk!unā'temax* ő'xoaxt small are those little salmon 98.8
  - (Kathlamet Texts)

Here the *s* in *ksemm* indicates smallness, and *tgunā'temax* salmon has been changed to *tk!unā'temax*.

**Syntax** (§§ 55-56)

### § 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 representatives 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, without any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the
pronouns 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 its 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:

- ayô'maqt îlî'pak! emâna dead was their chief 37.1
- attê'mam lgôlé'lxemk it came a person 11.15

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

- alktô'p'êna lâ'ê'wam qô'la lâ'nê'wa he utters his song that first one 196.7
- tgi'ek'xanatô ikanâ'tê temêwâ'lema they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10
- algô'ctôx lâ'gil qax ôô'kul she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21

Examples of inverted order are the following:

- êqctxe'luu atequngô'mit lemeâ'wux a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5
- ka qô'za iau'â k'limtu' alktô'p'ênâ'x lâ'ê'wam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9
- êmâ'cen algiâ'ê klâ'qê'vam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i.e., the shaman) 199.11
- aqui'îmek tkâ'â'muku atqô'qex ôlêx'kul five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19
- êtô'k algu'lelô'tx kktôp'ênâ'n télê'mem a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

- lâg' ateâ'yax he took him out 133.13
- stûx ateâ'yax he untied him 135.13
- ûhu' nê'xax he made ûhu' 49.3
- lék'u nâ'xax it (fem.) broke 70.24
- l'lâpp â'yô he went under water 14.16

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

- â'ka alxâ'x thus it does 239.16
- nau'i alô'meqte it faints at once 239.6
- näkct algiâ'waâ they did not kill him 99.18
- ya'xkatô atqê'p'tx 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.

- The demonstrative character of gō appears in sentences like—
  mō'ya mā'atlōlē gō go there inland! 13.1
  a'lla gō-yōō' lax now (when) there the sun 13.5
  Lō'nas gō iqēteamē'tē ḫkēx perhaps a comb is there 13.20
  gō nō'yam dōō' lax 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:

- The post-position -pa. This post-position takes the place of gō of the Lower Chinook. It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).
  iqēk' loā'mam te'ctaqłpa he arrived at their two selves' house 91.13
  iłclōlā' etamit laxi Lē' tēt' tēcu'qopa g' oā' p he placed it that one at the water near 121.4
  q!at igi'yuxt tēcamxtepa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs—
  kō'pa there 216.9
  giqā' here 250.14

- The post-position -pet is not quite free in Kathlamet.
  qipe'temax to those places 131.10
  qi'łēpāt as far as the ground 67.12

- The post-position -ta. iō'ya i'vata ca'xalata he went there, then upward 219.2

- The post-position -at from e'wa iā' pōtcā' t iqā' wulgt lax ili'xōx then from his anus blood came out 184.5.

- The post-position -te like.
  L'a lkač'emā' nate iłcā'lkulē like a chief was her resemblance 247.6
  siā' xōst la ltemenā' kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boas, Kathlamet Texts.

§ 55
In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the ordinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression deserve 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 of the prefix -ki- (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, or by the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends in 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; -x to do) signifies he is, the continuative tense, n-ē'-x-a-x (n- modal; -ē- he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x to do) signifies he becomes, the 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 position in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

\[ \text{alksō'pena it jumped} \] (literally, it jumped the two [feet]) 9.6
\[ \text{ātkcinčenā'cē they kneel} \] (literally, they kneel them two) 270.6
\[ \text{sā'npōt she closed her eyes} \] (literally, they two were closed in her) 48.10

They occur also with other verbs:
\[ \text{melnelcā'ma you will comb me} \] (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)
\[ \text{ateca-ā'qemāx he shouted at him} \] (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him 236.9)
\[ \text{anlē'ltchō I oil him} \] (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.
\[ \text{nē'nxlayu he deserts me} \] (literally, he removes himself from me)
\[ \text{ayaxel'iōmēqt she forgets him} \] (literally, he on account of her forgets his own) 167.16
\[ \text{ninexelqīx I burn him} \] (literally, he catches fire from me)
\[ \text{snenpō'xuit I close my eyes} \] (literally, they two are closed in me)
\[ \text{mcagelā'etā-ē you cure her} \] (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
most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle *ma'nix* which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

*ma'nix aqi'elgelax ik'e'utan* when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1
*ma'nix li'e'mama, mi'telō'ta* when they come, give it to them 66.22

\[\text{mixenli'kā yōgo inē'tuk ma'nix agemō'lekta} \] bend your neck when some one will roast you 107.21 (mi- you him; \(-\text{en} \) reflexive; \(-\text{lkl}'ik\) to bend, plural \(-\text{lk}'ayuk; i'tuk}\) neck; \(-\text{lekta} \) to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms *qē, qēa, qiā'x* occur, which perhaps express nearness and absence. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle *pōs* is used.

\[\text{qō nēketx mai'kōta imē'q'atxala, pōc nēket ē'ka atel'lxax if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us} \]
139.19 (nēket not; mai'kōta thou; i-q'atxala badness; ē'ka thus; te- he; -lx us; -a directive; -z to do)

\[\text{qia nāket qaq ōō'kuil, pōc nāket aqiā'waē if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (qaq that, feminine; ōō'kuil woman; qē- somebody him; -a- directive; -waē to kill)} \]

\[\text{tāyā' qia' mkli'elmen good, if you dive} \]
12.12

\[\text{qiā'x qoā'p ilē'ē tcx'i pōs amli'lxam aqiō'egam when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it} \]
44.2 (qoā'p near; ilē'ē land; tcx'i then; amli- you it; -ō- directive; -lxam to say; aqi- it him; -o- directive; -egam to take)

\[\text{qiā'x itcā'yan, tcx'i miā'xō if it is a snake, then you shall eat it} \]
194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle *na*, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

\[\text{tendā'xo-ix na tge'ēltigeu? are (they) known to me my slaves?} \]
117.10

\[\text{nēket na tnē'trix? do I not know it?} \]
66.2

\[\text{ē'ktalle lgiā'xō? what will he eat?} \]
22.20 (ē'ktale what; -lx may be; lgi- it him [masc. object corresponding to ē'ktale])

\[\text{qā'xēwa ā'ēō? where did they go?} \]
23.14

\[\text{la'ksta x'inō'ila? who is that?} \]
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.

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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 denominating 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 denominating 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 denominating 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.

\[
cikxa'imat ci't'ix yak\textendash sa'tpa \text{half of it lies in his mouth 4.3}^1
gak\text{\textacircumflex{\textk}{\textl}}kakxa'ima ilka'ckac akni'mba she put the child in the canoe 2.11
\]
\[
agadi'mama da'uyaba wi'lx they will come in this land 6.17
gayu'yan ixtp\textendash o' wi'lx he arrived at one land 6.28
\]
\[
\text{iteqxe'm en aqxa\textendash}t\text{\textacircumflex{\textk}{\textu}{\textx}{\texte}p\text{\textendash}a} I am sick in my breast 12.27
\]
\[
galci'upmt it! o'xwate\textendash kp\text{\textacircumflex{\textk}{\textu}{\textx}}\text{\textendash}t\text{\textacircumflex{\textk}{\textu}{\textx}{\texte}pa he hid it in the bushes 18.25
\]
\[
gal\textendash u'ya yaxka'ba he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say galiglu'ya he went to him with local prefix -ge\textendash l-)
\]

\[
^1 \text{References are to Wishram Texts.}
\]

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gadiq'elxi'uba icia'giatanya'k'cratpa wamł!w'xiba they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24 galu'xuni yaga'itpa vi'mut it floated in the great river 48.7 akn'i'ya wa'tektlī'ītga'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'cxa't and akn'i'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; kwō'ba there; iā'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:

c.tar'ya i'nadix q!u'isenba gatecge'lgelx across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them 8.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)

galiktō'ptck gatecge'lgelxpa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5

e'vi galixox gayaxa'limaxpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6

ma'sa galixox q!u'mba gagixux 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 -iämt, -iëmt) 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:

iektē'lgwiptck wimalia'mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2

nigšla'ba iciagitcia'mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)

gac'xk'wa'tetgšlia'mt the two returned to their house 2.12
gayuk!wi'xaiłaini'miëmt he swam to the person’s canoe 18.23
mxatetskcam wimalia'mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18 (literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)

gatelu'k'ul itq'lid'i'mt iltcqoa 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:

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a'semimelul'tka a'tpxiamnd aq'unax 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 denoming words are:

na'ikabam' amtklni'dama ilqagi'lak for my sake you two will go and get me the woman 62.25

ya'xtau łaⱡ̓a'k̓aba'ma lgiubi'te'ema that (fish) he obtains for himself 186.4

gaqx̣ó'gw-ga'x its!i' nónks wilxpama animals were taken belonging to the country 16.13

etm̓ó'ket gactu'ix ntcə'ik̓a'bama two of our men (literally, us-for) went on 216.16

da'nbama q̓e̓d̓'aun mxu'lał what for do you speak thus? 132.24

tl̓g̓a'tq̓w̓om buxa'n qa'xbama he has come I know not where from 128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)

k̓a'ya kv̓o'babama iḍ̓e̓lx̣am tedux̣t he had not made people belonging to there 44.23

gi'gw̓albam' itk'itit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)

Less commonly bama may precede. An example is—

bam' ̣ilx̣ewulx̣ aklugwi' itk'la'lamat he carries rocks for (i. e., in order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. ilx̣ewulx̣ 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'-itcka a'lEm' acəłidi'na in order that he might kill them 54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)

bama ca'pca'p q̓ux̣un̓n̓il ika'ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice (literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made the-ice)

When accented (ba'ma''), it is used after predicates to mean EVER SINCE. An example is—

nk̓a'c̓ačebama' k̓a'ya qxanteix itetcg̓e'mem 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—

axk' e'negi amegiu'xa lglo'p with it you will cut it off 12.4

lglo'p galg̓i'ux aq̓e'n̓eke e'n̓egi they cut it off with the stone knife 18.5

galklo'q̓a'l̓ak̓e'n e'n̓egi he counted, them with his finger 18.19

it'a'ma ngi gayu'ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe 38.21

iga'benac e'n̓egi gatelu'x he made them out of young oak 4.13

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Less frequently ngi may precede. Examples are—

\[ xa'u xau gaxu'x ng' ilke'z'n they combed themselves with the hand 78.10 \]

\[ ayal'a'llamat ngi wa'nux his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9 \]

\[ a'meni made out of, less frequently with. It is perhaps the Yakima -ami. Examples are— \]

\[ sā'g'u ilk'a'llamat a'meni aki'xax it is entirely out of stones 82.13 \]

\[ isk '!u'ly' a'meni isga'k!aps agsu'xwa a hat is made out of coyote 182.7 \]

\[ alk'wa'dit a'meni aqiu'xwa it is made of tule 182.9 \]

\[ itq '!ut'ec' a'meni tsê'xt'sex gaqw'u'x ilk'a'munaq they split trees by means of antlers 182.14 \]

6. -pt up to is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems: 

\[ dapt up to here; kwō'pt up to there, then, enough; ya'xpt up to yonder. Probably etymologically identical with this element is -bEt, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are— \]

\[ gate'le'mquit lq'avwulqit gagiu'la'dabit he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11 \]

\[ galikta'tek'pet p!a'la igit'xox when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18 \]

\[ le'E(p)bEt atex'u'xwa ani'gelgā'ya when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20 \]

\[ nk'a'ckachEt when I was a boy 188.8 \]

\[ aga'läx alaxu'xwa yaqta'di'wi galixux galaq'qbet the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27 \]

When rhetorically lengthened to -bāt, this post-position has a general cumulative significance; with verbs it is best translated as many as. Examples are—

\[ gwe'nemabä'd ilgwō'mex antk!wa'läqwidu I shall be absent as much as five days 122.12 \]

\[ kwō'pt natedupgabenayabät that many (ropes) as he had apportioned 188.6 \]

\[ qa'ntcipt alktza'tgway' atclulx'amabät he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19 \]

7. diwi (emphatic dā'wi) 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—

\[ ick'a'li diwi dato'i'p striped like a basket 166.2 \]

\[ iya'lxq ilgwö'likx diwi his body (was) like a person's 166.17 \]

\[ naika dā'wi itce'lglulit exactly like my appearance 104.10 \]

§ 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 \( t!ë \) is formed \( it!ë't!ë \) hawk

- \( qoël \) \( iqoëlqoël \) owl
- \( pôë \) \( ipôëpôë \) (sp.?)
- \( qës \) \( iqësqës, oëcëc \) blue jay
- \( qoäs \) \( iqoäsqoas \) crane
- \( qonë \) \( iqoneqone \) gull
- \( tsep \) \( ē'tsentsen \) humming-bird
- \( goëx \) \( ogoëxgoëx \) female mallard-duck
- \( tc!åk \) \( utc!aktc!ak \) eagle
- \( tsôas \) \( otsiā'stías \) robin
- \( quł \) \( ē'qułqul \) heron
- \( lōt \) \( iqso'lottōt \) (sp.?)
- \( ts!ěk \) \( ōmunts!ě'kts!ěk \) teal-duck
- \( koaë \) \( otiē'nakoaēkoaē \) (sp.?)
- \( txeçon \) \( tçe!pçextçeçon \) sprigtail ducks
- \( qéł \) \( çenqëłqëł \) hawk

(2) Mammals.

From stem \( pen \) is formed \( ō'penpen \) skunk; \( ĭ'penpen \) badger

- \( .näm (?) \) \( ĭnannā'muks \) otter
- \( kōtc \) \( ukō'tkcōtc \) porpoise
- \( tep \) \( se'ntetep \) shrew
- \( cēlq \) \( ĭcēlqcēlq \) porcupine

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(3) Other animals.

From stem *qo* is formed *e’qoqo* pike

- *lōx*  
  - *iλo’xlox* oyster
- *lēx*  
  - *iqlē’xlex* a small fish (see *lēx* scales)
- *xē*  
  - *iqlōx’txē* bullfrog
- *men*  
  - *ōlatsē’menmen* newt
- *lō*  
  - *seq’alolō* butterfly

(4) Plants.

From stem *ma* is formed *emā’ma* pewterwort

- *qēl*  
  - *ō’qlēqel* polypodium
- *cāq*  
  - *ucā’qcaq* pteris

(5) Parts of body.

From stem *p’ōx* is formed *upl’ōxp’ōx* elbow

- *tcxol*  
  - *utcxō’tcxōl* lungs
- *kuc*  
  - *ckucku’c* testicles

(6) Terms of relationship.

From stem *ga* is formed *iā’gaga* his mother’s father

- *gac*  
  - *iā’qacgac* his father’s father
- *cga*  
  - *oyā’cgaqga* his mother’s mother
- *k’ē*  
  - *oyā’k’ēk’ē* his father’s mother
- *ma*  
  - *lā’mama* his father
- *ta*  
  - *lā’tata* his mother’s brother
- *k’āc*  
  - *ik!’ā’cke* boy

(7) Miscellaneous terms:

From stem *pāt* is formed *iql’pat* net

- *tcēl*  
  - *ē’tcēl* brass buttons
- *seg*  
  - *ōse’qseg* buck-skin
- *tsēx*  
  - *tsēx’tsēx* gravel, thorn
- *k’toyē*  
  - *ok’toyē’k’toyē* fingering
- *gac*  
  - *ogō’cgac* sealing-spear
- *kup*  
  - *iḳupku’p* short dentalia
- *qāl*  
  - *iql’al* gambling-disks
- *lk’al*  
  - *iql’al* gambling-disks
- *qāl*  
  - *iql’al* short baton
- *qwis*  
  - *ō’qwisqwis* breaking of wind
- *qōm*  
  - *iql’om* cedar-bark basket
- *lk’en*  
  - *ō’lk’enlk’en* open basket
- *qula*  
  - *lqulā’ula* egg
- *lēx*  
  - *ō’lēx’lēx* scales
- *l’uwal*  
  - *ē’l’uwal* mud
- *lēm*  
  - *ōlēmōlēm* rotten wood (-*lēm* rotten bark)
- *qot*  
  - *iq’ē’qotqot* 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 or 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’ltat* (1) *itsanō’kstx* (2) *ōlk!ē’nlk!ēn* (3) *agīā’lōtk* (4) *ik!ēnā’tan* (5) now (1) she put (4) potentilla-roots (5) into (4) the smallness of (2) a clam basket (3) 43.22

*ōhō’* (1) *i’tci’qōqcèn* (2) *lia’xawym* (3) ! *ōhō’* (1) my wife’s relative’s (2) poverty (3) ! i. e., oh, my poor relative ! 67.21

*tāqē’* (1) *ē’ticəo’* (2) *iā’lknilē* (3) just like (1) a bear’s (2) similarity (3) 275.11

*qulē’tc* (1) *iğō’ḻgēli* (2) *tcāxt* (3) *Iō’i* (4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i. e., Ioi has lied again 163.14

*ōlō’* (1) *akta’x* (2) *tē’lē’em* (3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16

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ka'naunwē (1) te'lu'axuke (2) o'tam'xō (3) all (1) birds (2) their chewed thing (3) i. e., all birds eat of it 40.18
t'a'ke (1) o'yate!ax (2) nixă'lax (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came to be on him (3) i. e., then he became sick
qa'da (1) itxă'dałqt (2) q'tgă'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. Ayă'pxela (1) icimē'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 are derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently compounds.

§ 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 consonant 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 considerably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single

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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 -q 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
-ā'mka only, alone
-ā'newa first
-ɛxt one (for animals and inanimate objects)
-é'rat 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 ā'yō he goes, ā'lo it goes) reappears in
ayō'ya I go
ayō'ix he is in the habit of going
nō'ya I go
nō'yam I arrive
nē'gemoya he goes along it
nīgelō'ya I go for a purpose, i.e., I go hunting
ayo'wulxt he goes up
-xel| ō'ma other, different
-wa to pursue
-ā|wax to pursue tr. 62.12
-xā|wa to run pl. intr. 276.9
-xē'|wa|ko to follow around
-u|wā'x-it to flee (=to be pursued) 223.10
-u|wā'ko to demand 157.19
-ā|wax to kill sing. obj.
-ō|wan belly 186.6 (= pregnant)
-ā|wulx to swallow 46.12
-ā|wintsx to melt
-u|wē'|x-it to go, unripe 93.26
-pena to jump
-o|pena tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13

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-palau to talk
   -o||palawul to address some one tr. 213.15
   -ki||palau substantive to bewitch (=word) 62.16
-o||pia'lx to gather, to pick 245.5
-o||peqla to scratch 26.21
-o||pe 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||pōn/it to put up 29.8
-pōl darkness, night
   -pōlakli dark 29.8
   no'pōnem it gets dark 23.5
-ō||pēcut to hide 9.10
-o||ptca to lead by hand 130.6
-o||ptcx to mend
-o||pëna 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||mēтек to find, gather up 162.21
-l|mē'ctx to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.
-o||mēqtl 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||mēqt to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6
   -o||mēqtit thirsty 71.1
-mēq to vomit, to spit
   -ō||mēqo-it to spit
   -ō|mēya to vomit 13.6
e'||mēyajql qualmish
-xml|mō'sx'em to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18
-ō|t to give 164.6
-t to come
   -tē to come 15.18
-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 -gatgōm) to meet 94.11

§ 60
-gel |ta to leave 250.8
-\text{gel}'|\text{ta} to leave 250.10
-\text{e}'|\text{ta}|\text{ql} to leave sing. obj. 123.15
-\text{e}'|\text{ta}|\text{ql} to leave pl. obj. 128.7
-l|\text{ta}|\text{tke} to leave to somebody 177.5
-k|\text{ta} to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
-l|\text{tagt} to meet 164.26
-o|\text{t\text{cena} to kill pl. obj. 23.22
-l|\text{t\text{qo}} to oil, to grease; tr. with two objs., the direct obj.
-l- standing for GREASE
-xel|\text{t\text{om} to accompany 135.20
-o|\text{t\text{uke} to suck
-tk to put down
-\text{o}'|\text{tk} to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
-\text{xem}'|\text{tk} to stake 30.16
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{gak\text{do}} to put down around (=to step) 240.29
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{cin|tk} to put first (=to begin)
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{x} to give away
-tx to stand sing.
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{x}uit to stand 184.20
-
-\text{g}'|\text{t\text{x}} to stand on, to strike 191.20
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{x}uitc\text{cu} to fall down
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{x}uit\text{mit} to place upright 48.5
-\text{o}'|\text{t\text{x}uit\text{tck} to make ready 42.17
-xel|\text{t\text{x}uit\text{tck} to get ready
-team to hear
-x|t\text{te\text{imaq} to understand 165.16
-l|t\text{te\text{imaq} to hear 24.18
-o|\text{t\text{cena} to lay down 98.6
-o|\text{t\text{c}eq\text{lk}} to be crosswise 266.13
-gel|\text{t\text{cim} to strike, to hit 66.4
-tct to move on water
-o|\text{t\text{ct}ct\text{cu} to go down river by canoe 277.3
-o|\text{tct}ct\text{amit} to push into water 74.22
-o|\text{tct}\text{x\text{om} to finish 46.23
\text{nace}'|\text{tct}\text{x\text{om} to finish one's own (breath), to faint
-o|\text{t\text{cke} to wash 39.23
-o|\text{tsqat} short
-xel|o|\text{tx} to observe 25.1
-o|\text{t\text{c}x\text{em} to boil 23.4
-c to be somewhere sing.
-o|\text{c to be 219.7
-\text{u}'|\text{c to be in 151.3
-\text{k}'|\text{c to be on 39.12
-\text{x}'|\text{c to be on ground 39.18

§ 60
-\|ci to roast in ashes 185.4
-\|ctx to carry on back 114.20
\-cg to take
  -\|cg\am to take 134.1
  -\|cg\elx to take to water 116.24
  -\|cg\am to take away
  -gel|ge\|cg\am to help 28.6
  -\|cg\aliL to play 17.4
-\|sko\it warm 174.13
-\|ckta to search on beach 88.4
-\|ck\uL to turn over fire
-'\|nata on the other side, across
-\|naxl to miss something that is needed
  -\|naxL\atck to lose 43.17
-\|naxl\ to wipe
-n\ to tie (?)
  -k!\|n\ako to tie around 253.2
  -\|n\ako to tie around 115.24
-ng\ to run sing.
  -xa\|ngo to run 23.23
  -xa\|\ ngo to come running 28.3
  -\|ng\mit to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
  -\|ngu\ to flutter
-k\ to see
  -\|\k\ to see sing. obj. 115.1
  -\|\k\ to see pl. obj. 66.11
-k\ to fly
  -\|k\ to fly
  -t\|ka to come flying
  -t\|ka\mam to arrive flying and coming
-k\m to say 127.17
-g\xa to swim
  -\|gu\xa to swim 14.15
  -gel\|g\xa|x\ to swim across 217.11
\g\xa (-\?\?) to sweep
  -\|gu\xe 172.5
-k\ to go home, to pass
  -\|k\ to go home 25.9, to go past
  -xa\|t\|k\ to come home 212.2
-k\ (-k\?)
  -\|k\ to order 129.29
-g\n another
-\|k\ to throw away 17.11
-\|k\man 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
-ktug to enslave
-o\kte to carry 66.4
-kte\x (-qz'e\teax) to cry 275.2
-o\kte\o\ to hold in hand 271.10
-o\kteikt roasted, done 134.10
-o\kteikt\am\mit to roast 93.26
-o\kte to harpoon 92.9
-o\keto to see 217.22
-o\ket\am to go to see 187.10
-o\ket (probably the same as -kte above) to carry 38.18
-xo\keto to lie down, to sleep 76.20
-xalo\keto\go to throw down 16.8
-o\kte\o\ to make net 95.4
-o\kut to carry 129.19
-t\kut to bring 127.13
-t\kut\am\t\o\ to arrive bringing 67.6
-kut to tell
-x\l|gul\itek to tell 37.17
-x\kut\o\ to 41.4
-k\le\va to paddle 135.1
-o\klo\pa to miss 271.13
-k\la to haul, to pull
-x\k\la 117.19
-g\a\k\la to haul here
-k\lo\t\o\ to glue
-a\q to meet
-ga\|\o\t\o\ to arrive meeting 117.24
-a\q\amt (-a\q\am\mit?) to look 218.11
-a\qamst to drink
-l\qam\x to shout
-qana\it to lie
-o\quna\it to lie down 16.23
-k\qana\it to lay on top of
-o\quna\it\x\it to fall down
-q\a\'ya\q\it between
-o\qa-t\t\ large
-q\e\na orphan
-t\e\m to give food
-l\t\e\m to give food 22.10
-t\t\e\m to come to give food.
-g\e\|\o\it\m 240.28

§ 60
-öya between
-öya to put between into 172.20
-aöya mit to leave meanwhile 93.26
-aöya time between (= days) 175.9
-aövewul to invite 176.18
-tövewul to invite here 41.6
-aöwilx to hit, to strike 65.12
-aöptit to sleep 255.16
-aöpk to steam on stones 97.25
-aqot to bathe
-xötot to bathe sing. 12.8
-xölyut to bathe pl.
-aöte! to awaken sing. 137.23
-aöyute! to awaken pl.
-aönim to laugh at 184.3
-aqe to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
-aqeti to be satiated 172.12
-qta to count
-qásxít to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20
-o xun to drift
-o xtk to steal 163.12
-o x'tkin to search 12.5
-xgö to be transformed
-xgömit to transform 30.23
-a|x tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
|xöm to arrive
-a|xotck to begin to do (= to work)
-xauwe many
-xiyal common man -(xal?)
-xina to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
-xenaxít to stand pl. 235.19
-xomem to show 41.2
-xen to help sing 235.5
-o xoqte to invite 60.4
-xölilt dizzy
-xol! to finish
-o xtk to swim (fish) 63.13
-xgakoko to surpass 245.13
-a|xs to cut
-l to move
-o|la to move
-xll to shake intr. 156.14
-o|latck to lift 25.21
-lap to do;
-a -laxta next 60.8

§ 60
-o\lEktc to roast 124.19
-o\l\xam to say to tr. 13.17
-lemāt next to last
-la to sit, to remain
  -o\l\ait to be, to sit 22.10
  -gem\l\ait to wait for 128.5
  -xe\l\ait dead pl.
  -k\l\ait to be in canoe
-o\l\ata to pull back 38.13
  -\l\ā\la\xait to fly about
-\lxik crooked
-o\l\qat long
-o\l! (-o\l\q) to win, to surpass 30.15
-lqla to strike
  -ge\lqla to stab 89.1
  -\lxel\l\lqla to hammer
-\lxel\lxel\l em to eat
-\l\lala foolish
-\l\lxel\lex lean

§ 60
### CHINOOK TEXT

**The Shamans**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gitā'kikelal</th>
<th>They have power of seeing</th>
<th>e'wa</th>
<th>thus</th>
<th>the ghosts.</th>
<th>Ma'nix</th>
<th>&amp;alō'niks,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that one first some one really makes him</td>
<td>gilā'xawòk;</td>
<td>last some one really makes him</td>
<td>aqla'x;</td>
<td>pāt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lā'nēwa;</td>
<td>aqla'x; pāt gilā'xawòk;</td>
<td>klīmta;</td>
<td>aqla'x; pāt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one who has a guardian spirit;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilā'xawòk;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā'tsek;</td>
<td>aqla'x; gianu'kstx;</td>
<td>lā'xawòk;</td>
<td>Aqē'ktaôx;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lā'anaték;</td>
<td>lā'i'nax;</td>
<td>ma'nix;</td>
<td>lā'i'nax;</td>
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<tr>
<td>itē'aq'latxala;</td>
<td></td>
<td>a'lawə'la;</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qō'la; Lā'nēwa;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ma'nix;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *kēl* to see, a transitive verb used with the prefixed element *-ēk*—(§ 25.7); *kē* is introduced to make the stem *-kēl* intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal -l (with connecting weak vowel al) indicates an action characterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem *kikelal* is treated as a masculine noun, POWER OR SEEING (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive *-tā*—(§ 23), and is transformed into a personal noun by prefixed *-g*—(§ 17.6).

2. a- aorist (§ 17.1); *g- third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); *al vowel lengthened under stress of accent; -x usitative (§ 32.11).

3. *ē'wa* thus, then (§ 44.2).

4. t- third person plural (§ 21); *mēwal* GHOST, a stem introduced after the older stem *-mēwal* had been tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; *-m*a distributive ending, always used with the stem *-mēwal* (§ 38.2).

5. ma'nix, temporal conjunction when.

6. lā'nēwa, Temporal indicating human beings (§ 38.1); a- special plural.

7. ḥ- noun first; l- neuter pronoun (§ 18).

8. ḥ- noun, subject Some one (§ 18); l- object it (§ 18); ḥ- directive, for 6 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. pāt really, adverb.

10. l'kawōk guardian spirit; -l' neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the k changes to x (§ 6.1); g- transforms the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).

11. klīmta' last, afterwards, behind. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

12. kā'tsek middle. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

13. l- aukstf smallness, with possessive pronoun masculine third person, and personifying prefix g- (see notes 1, 10).


15. a- aorist; g- some one; t- him; stem presumably -tā; the preceding k seems to be adverbial on (§ 25.3), because when accented it takes the form *ge*; and, because, after 6, an 6 is inserted following it: for instance, aququ'la'tax 197.5 Some one pursues them; the verb has, however, only one object. It never occurs with directive -tā.


17. lā'i'nax chief, rich man; lā'i'nax chieltainness (§ 7); lā'i'nax indefinite, a chief.

18. t- wine sickness. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.

19. k'q'atxala badness. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun *ul'pak*.

20. Intrusitive verb with indirect object; a- aorist; y for i between vowels (§ 17.1), he (namely, badness); t- here (namely, trial); -x indicates that the badness belongs to the trial (§ 24); t- to (§ 25.1); -a- directive before k sound (§ 10); -x stem to do, to be.

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666
qax \(21\) u'xat\(22\) ka \(26\) q'o'la \(25\) iau'a \(27\) klimta \(11\) a1ktöp'\(19\)na\(x\) \(28\) that trail, and that one then behind he utters it.

Lə'te'wam. \(24\) Cka \(26\) me'\(n\)x'i \(29\) nöpö'nemx \(30\) ka \(26\) atögo'la-\(ix\), \(31\) tate!

his song. And a little while it is dark and they treat him, however,

ayu'k'telil \(32\) io'xet \(33\) ka \(26\) aqita'\(t\)om \(34\) ilə'xanatə \(16\) q'o'la \(25\) grə'date'la \(35\) the morning comes and some one reaches it.

Aqio'egam \(36\) ilə'xanatə \(16\) Nəxotə'kox \(27\) ta'gə'xawok \(38\) gitə'kikelal. \(1\) some one takes its his life. They return their guardian spirits those who have power of seeing.

Extema \(39\) mə'k'əli \(40\) ałə'xəi \(41\) e'xtema \(39\) e'xəi \(42\) ałə'oix \(42\) ka \(26\) \(36\)

Sometimes twice are between, sometimes once is between and

aqi'telotxax \(43\) ilə'xanatə \(16\) xiqo' \(44\) nəxotə'koməx \(45\) qa'tə \(46\) \(38\) those ones gives to them

Tə'ya \(47\) alxə'x \(48\) grə'date'la \(35\)

Well he becomes one who has his sickness.

Ma'nix \(5\) aqia'wax \(19\) ilə'xanatə \(16\) ge'late'la \(35\) atge'ix \(12\) gitə'kikelal \(1\)

When some one pursues his soul one who has his they go those who have the power of seeing.

Ma'nix \(5\) aqia'wax \(19\) ilə'xanatə \(16\) ge'late'la \(35\) iau'a \(27\) qiq'E'teqta \(50\)

When some one pursues his soul then to the left one who has his sickness;
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qix²
that
trail
it went; they say
those who have the
power of seeing:
LO'meqta
he will die, nevertheless!
Ma'nx
Ma'nx
ian'ya
qinsuama
ayqix
they say

il'a'xanaté:
"O, tla'ya qla'xó."
his soul:
"Oh, well some one will make
him."
Aqiga'omnix
some one reaches it when
the hole
Emeta-itx
themelo'ctike.
Ma'nx
alklæmctx
gite'ta
and

qó'la
that water, then not (any) how well some one makes him.

ka'nuwe
tgái'qewama
talæg'ila'itx,
näket
L'páx
aqli'

Lap
Find some one does it his life
qó'la
It has drunk it

Aqio'cgamux
il'a'qoa-il
qix
ikanaté
Nóxotí'kux
tgái'xawok

qita'kikelá.
It is large that life,
They return their guardian
spirits

tgái'kua
Nate'tañuc
ka
ian'o'kstx
ne'xelax
Nögö'go'omnix

51  a aorist; -Lo neuter subject; -q directive; see note 2.
52  a aorist before vowel; -q plural before k sound; -qo introduced before k stop (§ 19.2b); -k im-, qim to say, in which -q is introduced in harmony with preceding o (§ 7); -q usitative.
53  a Lo neuter subject; -q directive; stem -m Eq ñ dead, -a future.
54  See § 50.
55  a aorist before consonant y, which stands for intervocalic -w third person masculine subject (see note 51).
56  q indefinite subject; -Lo neuter object; -q directive before k sound; -x stem to do; -q future for -a after k sound (§ 26.1).
57  a aorist; q indefinite subject; -q third person masculine object; -qa adverbial prefix (?); -x stem to meet; -ım for am after k sound, completion of motion (compare note 34).
58  ma prefix for local names (§ 40.3); Ltaap onomatopoeic term, to drink; -e suffix.
59  Stem -at; masculine; on account of accented vowel following the cluster -at, the ñ is dropped (§ 6.2); -e suffix.
60  See § 44.
61  a aorist; -kk neuter transitive subject with following k sound (§ 19); -Lo neuter object, implying water (see note 65); qunet stem to drink, here modified by accent into -quam; -a itx always (§ 31.10).
62  See note 4. The stem -mEq ñ Éqst dead was used occasionally by the narrator; -t plural; -iE Eq plural ending (§ 38.1).
63  See note 61. This form stands for aLLKE'Enmetx.
64  Demonstrative adverb (§ 44).
65  Stem -teuq; neuter.
66  See § 47.
67  See § 44.
68  Adverb indicating an action performed, but not attaining the desired end.
69  Indefinite numeral (§ 51).
70  See note 24. Here the stem -qewam is retained in its original form; tga plural, possessive third person plural; -ma plural.
71  a aorist; -t third person plural intransitive subject; -Lo neuter object (see note 31).
72  mEqst not, with rhetoric emphasis nóket.
73  Attribute complement.
74  a aorist; q indefinite subject; -q masculine object; -a directive before k sound; -x stem to do.
75  a third person masculine singular continuous; -a directive before k sound; qoa-Lo stem large.
76  Demonstrative adverb of the groups e'na, iau'a, in'kwa (§ 44).
77  Plural in na stem -Etamue (§ 21).
78  Intransitive verb; n aorist; -t contracted from i-i he his (§ 12); -x reflexive; -t to; -a directive before k sound; -x stem to do, to be.
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

Ex’at’ni ne’qatxem1 nai’ka2 tge’q’le’yuqtfik.e.3 Tq’eq’lax4 qateiuuxo5-
song

One he sang conjurer’s I my ancestors.

One hundred he owned

watcpu’ix.6 laxanako’ngut7 iia’lxam.8 Noxuui’koax9 ta-itei10 te’l’xam8
songs.

They assembled those people

Laxanako’ngut said his town. They assembled those people

ta’x11 te’laqlep12 ya’xi13 iqe’q’txam.2 Lakt14 lpolema15

that that the one who sang conjurer’s songs.

Noxuui’yutekuax16 ta-itei10 te’l’xam.8 A’qa17 nig’e’mx18 ya’xi13

They danced those people. Then said that

Iqe’q’txam:2 “A’qa17 Lxat’o’guala19 La’xi13 Lq’el’yuq’qt14 alxe’tel’o’te-

one who sang old man, he will go to see

xama.”20 Igoxuui’xoax-it21 te’l’xam.8 “Q’a’mta22 Lq23 alte’xama24

the dance.” They thought the people: “Whence may be he will arrive

1 Stem -it1 one; feminine ar’it; neuter L’it; plural t’it; forms indicating human beings t’it, ar’it, L’it, t’it.

2 Stem -e’xam: the preceding -k- (heard here generally -q-) probably on; ne’- transitional masculine (§17).

3 naki I, independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following noun.

4 -q’e’yot OLD PERSON; -t plural; -x’- my; -ke plural, human beings.

5 This form is not otherwise known.

6 qa a very frequent verbal prefix in Kathlamet, either transitional, or a shrunken form of aqa then contracted with transitional -i-; te- he, transitive subject; -e’im him; this verb may correspond to Chinook tek’xwau’likc he helped her sing (Chinook Texts 144.3).

7 laxanako’ngut is a Nehalem town, called in that language Nes’oka: perhaps derived from ongut a small bay with steep banks, and L’o’n’ outside.

8 -i masculine; -l’- indefinite possessive; -lxam town, from stem -lg. The neuter or indefinite possessive pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed te’l’xam with t plural prefixes.

9 Stem probably -ko (Lower Chinook -ko); no transitional, third person plural; -xu reflexive after vowel; -x’o stem; -x usitative.

10 Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see §44).

11 Demonstrative plural, referring to t’ual house.

12 Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem -qu’l: with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped.

It has always the plural prefix t- ta- refers to the same person as the possessive in iia’l’xam (see note 8); -pa at (§55).

13 ya’zi, wu’rti. La’zi demonstratives (§44).

14 Numerals for human beings the form la’k’tikc is used.

15 wap’oll night; -l- indefinite pronoun; -p’ol night, dark; -lax distributive plural.

16 ne’- ig’o transitional third person plural (§17); -u reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in the plural; the u is introduced after preceding -e; stem -w’e to dance; always ending with -l expressing repetition, or -ek expressing probably an inchoative (§31); -x usitative.

17 This is the most common connective and then (see note 6).

18 ni’- masculine transitional; -kiim, accented, -q’tm to say; -x usitative.

19 -l- indefinite; -sa reflexive; the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.

20 -a- future; -l- indefinite; -x reflexive; -x him; -e’ coming; t’ikc to look on; -am to go to — -a future.

21 Ig’o transitional third person plural (§17); -x reflexive changed to -u after preceding -s; -l’o’ to think; -a-ii suffix expressing rest.

22 qa where; -mta suffix, not free; whence, whither.

23 Lq enclitic particle, may be.

24 -a future; -l- indefinite; -e’ to come; -mam for -am after vowel to arrive (§29); -a future.

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Perhaps night Clatsop
"Perhaps then old woman. became people. some old he she again a"

They rested. "Perhaps war the old woman and a little"

It was dark then she slept. Near morning star she arose

Then something was (there). She heard the noise of a crack opening something was the door at. She thought that

the old one: "Perhaps war the old woman."

Then she woke them. and remaining quiet those

They arose. They arose.

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13 Perhaps related to -lō- to think (see note 21); compare mēlō'xuan te'i qō'ą'pi'į do you think it is near? 26.5.
14 Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).
17 na- locative prefix (§ 40); qē'lem stem for a place name south of Columbia river; Tqē'le'muks the people of Naqē'lem (Nehelim), the Tillamook.
18 l- plural: -ā- his; -kē'lak roasted, dried salmon; -k̈ adverbial ending; where there are their roasted salmon, the native name of Clatsop. In the Clatsop dialect the name tā'tsep has the same meaning; -ā- their; -tsep roasted, dried salmon.
19 A'-q̈- transitional and directive; -p̈- night; pō'em it is always night (see § 8).
20 Again corresponding to Lower Chinook we.č.
21 qē'q'ayak the middle of a thing.
22 u- nominal prefix (§ 17); ţē- feminine; -p̈- night; -pa at. in.
23 Onomatopoetic particle verb.
24 A'-q̈- transitional intransitive third person plural; -x̂ reflexive; -â- changed from o after ā; -ẑ to do.
25 A'-q̈- transitional intransitive third person plural before k sound (§ 19); qē'wil to rest; -x̂ suffix (§ 29).
26 I- indefinite; qā'q̈-lak woman.
27 as, ac connective conjunction, sometimes used for while.
28 nōl! a little; nōl'lič adverb.
29 i-l- indefinite transitional; -o- directive; qōpit to sleep.
30 Nearly, near by; also qō'ą'pi'į almost.
31 Stem -kēlil.
32 qil- see note 6; -x̂ reflexive; -q̈-t̂q to arise.
33 t̂q̈- what; lān who; tā'nik something.
34 A'-q̈- transitional third person masculine; -x̂ reflexive; -o- directive; -x̂ to do.
35 I'-q̈- it him; -l- is probably the prefix to (§ 25); stem -c̈emaq to hear; the terminal -aq may also be a suffix.
36 An onomatopoetic particle.
37 I-.masculine; e'i'q̈ doorway; -pa at.
38 A particle verb (see p. 46).
39 I- transitional; -q̈- some one; -mtc inclusive plural; -l̂ to come; -x̂ to do; -ŝm to arrive.
40 A suffix; -ntc-1 them; -u directive; -q̈-t̂q plural; -q̈-ət̂q to awaken; -ŝm distributive; each one (?); -ŝ future.
41 I'kl- it them.
42 Perhaps q̈- quiet; distributive qa'nen̂a; -k̈atix adverbial suffix; compare Chinook ia'z̈atki right there; q̈-əp̈katí quite near.
43 A'-q̈- transitional third person plural; -r̂o- reflexive after o; -q̈-t̂q to arise.
44 Compare see note 54; I'-t̂q plural; -l̂q̈ uk to arise; this word contains the inchoative -tek, and may be the stem -l̂ to move.
Itgë'quiga\(^{56}\) tga'qamatox.\(^{57}\) Iqlo'lxam\(^{58}\) laxi\(^{13}\) loxä't: 1 "Wär\(^{59}\) a'xä\(^{60}\) They took their arrows. He was told that one: "Light do it.

wu'xi\(^{13}\) a'tol.\(^{61}\) Wax\(^{59}\) ileko'x\(^{2}\) laxi\(^{13}\) lgoale'lx.\(^{63}\) A'qa\(^{17}\) tänköi\(^{43}\) that fire." Light he did that person. Perhaps something visible became the door at. Perhaps its largeness its face.

Läx\(^{59}\) igë'xox\(^{4}\) icë'qepa.\(^{17}\) Lxuan\(^{25}\) a'wima\(^{64}\) fcëta'qi-läx\(^{65}\) sial'xôst\(^{66}\) that like the moon like. They said those people: "A monster.

Lä\(^{67}\) Lktemenäkste.\(^{68}\) Igugoa'k'äm\(^{9}\) ta-itei\(^{10}\) töl'lxam: 2 "Iqexel'to'au\(^{70}\) they like the moon like. He said that the one who sang the conjurer's song: "A monster is it?"

Lä'xka\(^{73}\) la'x\(^{13}\) lqle'yotq\(^{4}\) ilxetel'otxam\(^{20}\) Igemcito'eq\(^{74}\) man.\(^{7}\) He that old one he came to see the dance he came to give you food.

Qöct\(^{75}\) igë'pxl\(^{76}\) ya'xi'vax\(^{77}\) igixelotxam.\(^{78}\) Tiämäq\(^{79}\) itqtelôx.\(^{80}\) Behold a sea lion that he came to see the dance. His shots they made on it, there it died. Far up that town, nevertheless.

Inué'wulf\(^{8\text{t}}\) ya'xi\(^{13}\) igë'pxl.\(^{76}\) A'qa\(^{17}\) itgixel'lemux\(^{55}\) ta-itei\(^{10}\) it went up that sea lion. Then they ate those people, those who had come to see the dance. They saw the dance that song at.

K'oa'tqë' Lä'yu'lemax\(^{28}\) a'nya\(^{89}\) laxanako'ngut\(^{7}\) näip\(^{1}\) tge'q'lewyq.\(^{2\text{t}}\)

Thus then supernatural long ago Laxanako'ngut I my ancestors.

tîke.\(^{4}\)

\(^{56}\) igë'-THEY THEM; -që' after o changed to -qi; stem -qa to TAKE.

\(^{57}\) i- plural; igë'-THEIR; qamatox ARROW.

\(^{58}\) igë-SONE ONE HIM; -o- directive; -louxm to SAY.

\(^{59}\)柔和 feminine particle verb.

\(^{60}\) Imperative of transitive verb without subject; ò- feminine object; -x to DO; -o- future.

\(^{61}\) ò- feminine; -tôl FIRE.

\(^{62}\) Probably i- transitional; -l-; i- indicating preceding transitive subject; -ë- HER; -xO to DO.

\(^{63}\) Probably from the stem -lëPLACE, COUNTRY.

\(^{64}\) ò-ina THUS; distributive ò'wima (?)

\(^{65}\) ò- masculine; cêta- THEIR TWO SIDES, relating to the following dual noun FACE; -qalax LARGENESS.

\(^{66}\) ò- dual; òid'; HIS; -sôt FACE, EYES.

\(^{67}\) ò- just like.

\(^{68}\) In Chinook ak'le'men is used for MOON. After the death of a man named K'le'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'le'mi instead (see lke'man'\(\^\text{ks}\) Kathlamet Texts 27.3). The word at this place corresponds to the plural of the Lower Chinook, and should read perhaps lke'men'\(\^\text{ks}\) (see Chinook Texts 245.18); the ending -\(\text{t}\)è LIKE (see § 55).

\(^{69}\) igu- transitional third person plural; -gou- inserted before stem in k; -k'äm to SAY; see note 18.

\(^{70}\) Stem -qctê'x Lox.

\(^{71}\) al- future before vowels (§ 17); ò- HE; -lx- US; -qël COMING TO; -pq INTO; -a- future.

\(^{72}\) òi interrogative particle.

\(^{73}\) la'xka, a'xka, la'xffa HE, SHE, IT.

\(^{74}\) ò- transitional; lgyen - IT YOU; -lõ to COME; -qëm to GIVE FOOD; -am to ARRIVE.

\(^{75}\) An exclamation.

\(^{76}\) Stem -që'pxl.

\(^{77}\) Demonstrative, see § 44.

\(^{78}\) igi- transitional intransitive; -zêl reflexive on behalf of themselves; -ö- directive; -louxm to GO TO SEE.

\(^{79}\) l- plural pronoun; -iô- HIS; -maq THE ACT OF SHOOTING.

\(^{80}\) igilël-SOMEBODY THEM ON HIM; -ö- directive; -xO to DO, TO MAKE.

\(^{81}\) Perhaps better go-pa' THERE AT.

\(^{82}\) ò- masculine; -ö- directive; -maq TO DIE, singular.

\(^{83}\) Both words contain the adverbial ending -lê.

\(^{84}\) From a stem ò- to GO to GO; -wulf to.

\(^{85}\) òi- THEY HIM; -zêl'ëmum used here as a transitive verb; more commonly intransitive òilek'ëmum THEY AT, IN REFERENCE TO HIM; òilek'ëmum.

\(^{86}\) See note 20; -ôlétsë TO WITNESS A DANCE; ò- third person plural; òilek'telôx is nominal, probably the ones who had their WITNESSING; ò- men actors; ò- masculine; -ta THEIRS.

\(^{87}\) See note 2; 'louxm the conjurer's SONG THAT IS SONG; -pa at.

\(^{88}\) Lä- THEIRS; -yulema supernatural BEING.

\(^{89}\) In Lower Chinook d'ngatê.
WISHRAM TEXT

By Edward Sapir

COYOTE AND IT6I'E'XYAN

 agora  kwo'tpt  gayu'ya  isklu'lya  wi'tla  Na'2wit  gayu'yan

he went  Coyote  again.  straightway  he arrived going;

he heard  Coyote  always  they (indef.) are always swallowing them down

galixE'ltemaq  isklu'lya  gwani'sim  qtulatla'melq  ide'lxam

the people

1 A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, i., 31, 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.

3 kwó'tp, then, at that time, is regularly used with preceding agora to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem kwó- (or kwa-) that (= Chinook g6 there) and local suffix -pt up to (so 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 39), and kwódam and (note 46). -pt also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. dapt as far as this (related to da'ba, this-is-here, as kwópt is to kwóbc), and gayo't, as far as that yonder, from not off yonder). See also note 56.

4 ga- (gal- before vowels) = tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. -y = 3d per. masc. subj. int., referring to isklu'lya, before consonants it would appear as -i, while gal- would then appear as tense prefix (ga-y = gal-i; see notes 9, 26, 32, 47). -u = directive prefix away from speaker. -ga = verb stem to go.

5 i- = masc. noun prefix with which -y in gayu'ya is in agreement. -isklu'lya = noun stem coyote, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Klickitat split'lya. Chinook has another stem, -tlu'lpas.

6 Composed of wi'tla again and deictic particle -x: cf. da'uya (note 54) and da'uynaz this. wi'tla is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from wi- m. masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 33), and -la, emphatic particle added to pronouns, too, also (see note 21). According to this analysis wi'tla(x) was originally formed from *wi as ya'sltla(x) he too from ya-x. He. Originally it must have meant that (masc.) too, but was later generalized in meaning.

7 Rhetorically lengthened form of nu't immediately, right away. When thus lengthened to nuwit, 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 -ga we have its shorter form -y, -i (as in yu't he goes; cf. also note 61). To this is suffixed verb suffix -am arrive while — ing, go (or come) to do. — Several verb stems have two forms, — one in -a, and one without this -a (e. g., -pa and -p to go out; cf. galu'pa she went out with at'pa she comes out).

9 gal- = tense prefix ga- before vowels. -i = 3d per. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). -le = — indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element -x and local verb prefix -to, into. -temaq = verb stem to hear. galixE'ltemaq means literally to himself heard. To hear some one is expressed by -x-temaq with prefixed transitive subject and object pronominal elements.

10 Adverb not capable of analysis.

11 q- = indefinite transitive subj. -t = 3d per. pl. obj. tr., referring to ide'lxam. -u = directive prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" -u even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). -latamelpq is example of rarely occurring compound verbs. -lat-le is "diminutive" form of verb stem -ada to throw down, away (in this case its meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate -late to pull back); melpq is best explained as verb stem -melq (or -mcp) to vomit with prefixed -t of frequentative or continuative significance (that -t is not really part of stem is shown by form iktulatata'maq he swallowed him down); pull back + vomit may be construed as vomit backward, deaw to one's self and swallow. -t = tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, he heard ... they swallow 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 gateqie'E'kele ... ik'tax (note 43) he saw it ... it is.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——43 673
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

itcEl'Eyan,  Qxa'dam14  gayu'y15  ik'n'm16  na'wit  gateige'1ga17
Merman,  Whither it went  the canoe  straightway he got hold of it
itcEl'Eyan;  gateiulat'a'mElq18  ka'nawi19  dan.20  "Na'it!21  a'g22
Merman;  he always swallowed it down  every thing.  "Me too now
atanulat'a'melEqna,23  isklU'lya  galixlu'xwa-it.24  Aga kwop't
he will swallow me down,"  Coyote  he thought.  Now then
gayu'y  isklU'lya;  gateigE'1ga  yap'ail25  ik'a'munaq.26  Aga kwop't
he went  Coyote;  he got hold of it  its bigness the tree.  Now then

12  3rd = 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with -i- in preceding verb.  -Eyam (-Ey- is inorganic) = noun stem village (wEt'gwa'm village is formally masc. sing. of IdE'gwa' people);  -Eyam is evidently related to -lg (see note 33).
13  as in note 5.  -E'yam = noun stem Merman, protector of fishermen (see Wishram Texts, p. 40, note 2; p. 42, note 2; p. 256, note 2); no etymology suggests itself.  Syntactically itcEl'Eyan is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by q- of preceding verb.  This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, itcEl'Eyan should go with lctulat'a'mElq.
14  From interrogative stem qwa- (or qa-), seen also in qa'lo'ba  what-in?  where?  qa'tia of what kind?  and qa'ii what-where=how?  -damt = local suffix toward found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. ca'lu'damt toward above, giyua'damt toward below).  This -damt is evidently related to local noun suffix -ant to, from.  Qxa'damt here introduces indirect question, and may best be translated as no matter what.
15  = gayu'ga.  Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel.  For analysis of form, see note 4.
16  as in note 5.  -k'nim = noun stem canoe.  This stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have *wiknim (see note 33); its Chinook cognate -k'nm shows original disyllabic form.  See also note 37.
17  -ga = tense prefix as in note 4.  -tc = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following itcEl'Eyan as subject.  -i = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to ik'n'm of preceding clause as object.  -gEl = verb prefix of adversarial force, toward (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive -u- of most transitive verbs.  -ga = verb stem to get hold of, seize; it is possibly identified with verb stem -ga stick to, its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive nominal prefixes and verb prefix -gEl.
18  ga-tc-i- as in note 17, -tc here referring to following dan.  -u-latala'mElq as in note 11.
19  ka'nawi all, every is most probably compounded of the two together (found in such numerical forms as ain Elq and the like, with unexplained -m, in k'xElmvnitik all three people) and old 3d per. masc. demonstrative pronoun *si (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrified words as wEt'la and ka'nawi), but specialized, like its corresponding fem. wa- as 3d per. noun (see note 33).  These old pronouns *si and *sa are best explained as substantivized from pronominal elements -i- (masc.) and -a- (fem.) by means of demonstrative element w- (or u-); this latter element is probably identical with -u- in demonstrative stem da'-u- (found also as da'; see note 54), and with Chinook -t- in demonstratives near 3d per. (tEl, xEl, Ela, tEla).  ka'nawi must originally have meant something like all (of) that (masc.), but, like wElt'a, was later generalized in significance.  ka'nawi is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to ka'nawi 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 gateiulat'a'mElq.  Its correlative ca (Kathlamet ka) referring to persons, who, anyone, somebody, is always neuter in gender.  He swallowed everybody down would be gateiulat'a'mElq ka'nawi can.
21  Elided from na'lit'a (see note 15).  Composed of 1st per. sing. pronominal stem na'- (seen also in na'-ika) and emphatic suffix t-l'a, too, also (see note 6).  All independent pronomins in -ka can be changed to emphatic pronouns by merely replacing -ka by -t'a (e. g., ya'tka he becomes ga'pt'a he too).  Syntactically na'lit'a 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.  -tc = 3d per. masc. tr. subj.  -n = 1st per. sing. tr. obj.  -u-latala'mElq as in note 11 (-E before -q is inorganic).  -E'm = connective before future suffix -a; verbs that are connectivae or facultative in form would regularly use this connective -E'm- before certain suffixes (such as future -a, causative -ak, infinitive -nil).  -a = tense suffix of future time; in Wishram verbs regularly form their future by prefixing -a- or -al- (before vowels) and suffixing -a.  It is somewhat difficult to see why this form should be facultative; one would rather expect atanulat'a'mEyam.
24  gal-i-as in note 9.  -t- = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (to) himself thought.  -tul(u')w = verb stem to think.  -tul(u')i- = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; it is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by -an (iztu'xwa he thinks).
25  ga- = ki-ga.  -i = masc. noun prefix, determining gender of noun stem -gail.  -ga- = 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculinie noun ik'a'munay.  -gail = abstract noun stem bigness.  yap'ail ik'a'munay 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 here determined by presence of true verb (gateige'1ga) as predicate.
26  as in note 5.  -k'a'munay = noun stem tree, stick, wood.  This word is difficult of etymological analysis, yet can be no simple stem; -k'a- is undoubtedly to be reckoned as noun prefix (cf. Ik'a'munat rock, perhaps from verb stem -a- to move) (before vowels) and suffixing -a.  It is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" form of verb stem -gail to fly, up in air (as first element in compound verbs); cf. Ik'xul'telu'a he whetted it with ic'telu he filed it, and Wigul'wa-da-ulT I threw it up on top (of something) with iniula'da-ulT I threw it up.
HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

La'x27 gali'xòx.28 Gatchig'e'łga ite'l'ęxyan, gqiulat'a'me'seq.29 in sight he made him- himself. He got hold of merman, they (indef.) swallowed him down.

Nà'wit iltcq'ó'ba30 gi'gwál31 isklu'ly ga'lixi'maxitan32 wi'l'ya.33 Straightway in the water below Coyote he arrived falling on the ground Aga kwól'pt gatchig'e'kel34 lagbla'd35 ide'il'ama; lagbla'd36 akn'm37 Now then he saw them their multitude the people; their multitude the canoes axu't38 kwó39 gi'gwál itlcq'ó'ba. Aga kwól'pt gatchig'e'kel40 they are there below in the water. Now then he saw it isklu'ly ite'l'ęxyan yagò'menil41 qxwól42 iki'ax.43 Aga kwól'pt Coyote Merman his heart hanging it is. Now then

27 Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical form of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its form-giving auxiliary.

28 g̱iš- as in note 9. -s- reflexive element. -s- (modified from -u- because of preceding and following velar consonants) = directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive -s- replaces directive -u-, but there are several verbs that retain it even when reflexive in form. -s- = verb stem to do, make. -s-u- to do to one's self, make one's self, is regularly used to mean become. For other forms of verb stem -s- see notes 43, 53, 64, and 66.

29 ga- as in note 4. -q- = indefinite tr. subj. -s- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj. -w-lat'a'meleq as in note 11. Forms with indefinite -q- subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

30 it- = 3d per. neut. noun prefix. -t- = inorganic consonant, serving as glide between l and c. -c̱gi̱- (= c̱gi̱-) v. is velarized to d by preceding g = noun stem water; its shorter form -c̱q- is seen in itla'c̱q the water of the two (Wishram Texts 190.14). -la = local noun suffix in, at (see also notes 33, 39, and 60).

31 Adverb; -al is probably not part of stem, for it is found also in correlative ca'x'al above.

32 g̱iš- as in note 9. -s- = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to preceding iškt'uv̱lya. -ilema = verb stem to put down, put on ground, lay down (as tr.); lie down (as intr.); probably composed of -s- on ground(?) and -ima put (cf. ga-ya-x-1ama-te he put himself into the water [Wishram Texts 2.5]); whenever indirect object with -s- is introduced, -ilema becomes -x̱ama- (e.g., ga-k-a-k-a-x̱ama she laid it down on it [Wishram Texts 2.11]). -eš = quasi-passive suffix; -x̱ama-šil- = be laid down, lay one's self down, fall down to ground. -am = verb suffix arrive —ing (cf. note 8).

33 wi- = 3d per. masc. prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require wi- (cf. note 35); those that have more than one syllable have l- (see notes 5, 13, 16, 20); for probable origin of wi- see note 19. In Chinook wi- has entirely given way to i-, except as archaism in some place-names and in songs. -i- = noun stem land: seen also in wil'ya'm village, id'el'sam people (see note 12); probably also in early fishing station and id'el'sam staging for fishing. -s- as in note 20.

34 ga- as in note 4. -s- = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -s- = 3d per. obj., referring to following ide'il'ama (before verb prefix qg- 3d pl. plural obj. -s- is replaced by -u-, -g- then becoming -gi̱-; in other words, -t- before qeš is treated analogously to when it comes before -qeš). -gi- = plural form of -qeš (see note 40) out from enclosed space (cf. ga-x-1ama'ba it flowed out of her [Wishram Texts 94.4]); analogously to -qeš (see note 17) directive -u- is here replaced by -g-; -g- = verb stem to know (cf. l-k-a-x̱u'kul he knows them [Wishram Texts 176.10]); -qeš-g- = to know from out one's (eyes), hence to see, get sight of.

35 l- = 3d per. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem -bland. -s- = 3d per. pl. possessive pronoun prefix, referring to ide'il'ama. -bland = noun stem multitude, great number. lagbla'd id'e'il'ama is construed like ya'q̱il itka'mu'manag (see note 25).

36 As in note 35, except that -s- = 3d per. femin. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with -ga-of note 35), referring to akn'm. -s- = 3d per. fem. persoanl prefix; though many fem. dissylabic stems have wa- (e.g., wala'la pond), it is here replaced by analogy of iki'n'- (see note 16), as in related nouns l- and a-, wi- and wa- generally pair off respectively. -ašam as in note 16. Logically ai'n'ak canoes is plural, morphologically it is fem., being so referred to in ayx̱i (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is wa'me'nu maggot's, masc. wi'me'nu maggot.

37 As in note 35, except that -s- = 3d per. fem. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with -ga-of note 35), referring to akn'm. -s- = 3d per. fem. intr. subj., referring to akn'm. -s- = verb prefix on ground, on bottom (?) -u- = directive prefix. -s- = verb stem to lie, sit, be placed, corresponding in use to Chinook i-; this verb stem allows of no formal modification by means of tense affixes.

38 Composed of demonstrative stem kwós- (see note 3) and local suffix -ba (see note 33); that-in is there.

39 As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. is is- = 3d per. masc., referring to yagò'menil, and that -eš is unmodified.

40 ya- = i-ya- as in note 25, l-defining heart as masc. in gender, while ya-refers to ite'l'ęxyan. -jóenil heart seems to be verbal in form. -enil being usitative suffix; yagò'menil may also be used predicatively to mean he is alive.

41 Particle verb, for which iki'ax serves as auxiliary.

42 -s- = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to yagò'menil. -ki-ax to be is another tensesless verb (cf. note 38). It is best, though somewhat doubtfully, explained as composed of verb prefix -ki-, which shows lack of
gaqiu'lxam isk'u'lya: "Ya'xdau ite'l'xyan yagòmenil." Aga
they (indef.) told Coyote: "That Merman
is his heart." Now
kwo'pt Lq'o'p gate(ix)q; mat Lq'o'p gali'xo'x ite'l'xyan yagòmenil.
then cut he made it; cut it made itself Merman
is his heart. Now
Agá kwó'pt ká'nawi gaték'xyan yu'tck sá qu'45 aknü'm kwó'dau
Then on you it all they each floated up out
entirely the canoes and
teach of water
ide'l'xam kwó'dau isk'u'lya.
the people and Coyote.
Aga kwó'pt gali'kim7 isk'u'lya: "Lga pu qà'ma ma'ima
Now then he said Coyote: "Perchance would how you alone
ite'l'xyan qxi'dau amdu'xwa ide'l'xam? Da'uya wi'gwa55 aga
Merman thus you will do to them the people? This
day now

object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem -t to do (cf. Eng. he does well, i.e., gets along well);
-à would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook ik'è-x he is and Wishram
ik'ì-xà he is, has become). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to gate(g)kek', see note 11.
43 ga-as in note 4. -q = indef. tr. subj. (cf. note 29). -i = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to isk'u'lya.
-ù = directive prefix. -ìam = verb stem to say to with personal object. This verb form is logically passive.
44 Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 2d person, composed of simple form of independent
3d personal pronoun + demonstrative element -x (cf. also ordinary forms of independent 3d personal
pronoun yagòx and similarly for other genders) + demonstrative stem -duu (-da + -ù), for which see
note 54. Syntactically yagòduu, here used substantively, agrees in gender with yagòmenil, to which it
refers. There is no expressed predicate in this sentence, yagòmenil (it is) his heart being so used.
45 Particle verb, to which following verbs gate(x)q and gal'xóx, both from verb stem -x to do, serve
as auxiliaries. Lq'o'p doublets has onomatopoetic force.
46 See note 64.
47 As in note 28. Cut it-made-itself = it became cut.
48 ga-as in note 4. -ì = 3d pl. per. pl. intr. subj., referring to aknü'm, ide'l'xam, and isk'u'lya as combined
plural subject. -ì = regular replacement of directive -ù whenever intr. subj. -ù would theoretically
be expected to stand before it. -ìmi- (or -iuni-) = verb stem to float, drift. -yu- = distributive suffix
each separately (gateg'xenil'tek would mean they floated up in one body). -ìck = local verb suffix
up to upper, up from position of rest (cf. also gal-il'-lä'qek he moved himself up from sitting
position, he arose [Wishram Texts 4:6]; gal'-kta-tek he rose (sticking his head) out of water
[op. cit., 10.5]; combined with -ba out of interior, -ìck appears as -pìck from water out to land
(gateg'xenil'ypìck they each floated on to land); for change of -ba to -p cf. gatex'ba with tágx'pìc
[Wishram Texts 94:7]). This -ìck should be distinguished from -ìck of causative significance, whose
function it is to deprive verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form of their continuative
force (e.g., yuwi'l'á he is dancing, gauwi'l'átemíck he was dancing (but is no longer doing so).
49 Adverbial in force. Logically sa'qu (rationally lengthened to só'qù to emphasize idea of totality)
often seems to be used attributively with nouns (translated as all), but grammatically it is best
considered as adverbial, even when there is no expressed predicate.
50 Composed of demonstrative stems kwó- (see note 3) and daw- (see note 54). Its original significance
was evidently that (which precedes and this (which follows).
51 gal-l-as in note 32. -kìm = verb stem to say (without personal object; cf. note 58).
52 Adverb of modal significance, serving to give doubtful coloring to verb.
53 Adverb of potential and conditional significance; in formal conditions introduced by ema'íñ if, it
often has contrary-to-fact implication. This use of modal particles in lieu of verb modes is characteristic
of Chinookan.
54 Evidently contains interrogative stem ga- what, seen also in qua'dam (note 14). -ma can not be
explained. This word has been found only in such passages as here, and is very likely felt to be archaic.
Iqa pu qa'ma occurs as stereotyped myth-phrase in transformer incidents (cf. Wishram Texts 6:13,
38:6, for similar passages).
55 Forms in -ai'ma alone may be formed from simplest forms of personal pronouns (subject intr.
icorporated); e.g., na'ima I alone, ma'ima you alone, ya'ima he alone. It is doubtful, however,
whether these forms should be considered as intransitive verbs from verb stem -ai'ma. Since personal
plurals in -ildike (e.g., la'ímadlîk they they occur) it seems preferable to consider them as formed by
suffixed -ma alone? (cf. qa'ma note 50) from independent pronoun stems in -ai (as in na'ika, note 57,
and na'ita, note 21); this -ai-is in these forms found also in 3d persons (e.g., la'íma it alone, as
contrasted with la'ixa and la'itä). Chinook na'mka I alone, analyzed by Boas as intr. subj. pronoun +
verb stem -îmska, is probably best explained as simple independent pronoun in -a (na, ma, and corre-
kwö'pt\textsuperscript{66} xqi'dau amdu'xwa ide'lyam. Na'i'k\textsuperscript{57} isk'u'lya yamu'lyam.\textsuperscript{58}

that far thus you will do to the people. I Coyote I have told you.

Kwa'ic\textsuperscript{59} da'uyaba\textsuperscript{60} wi'lx akgadi'mama\textsuperscript{61} ide'lyam. Kwö'pt

Soon in this land they will arrive. Coming the people. Then

alugwagi'\textsuperscript{62} ma, 'Qxi'dau 'Ex\textsuperscript{53} gatei'ux\textsuperscript{64} isk'u'lya ite'E'xyan.'

they will say, 'Thus exercising supernatural power

Kwö'pt a'ga ite'E'xyan pla'1\textsuperscript{65} amxu'xwa.\textsuperscript{76} 66

Then now Merman being quiet you will make yourself.'

sponding forms for other persons occur not rarely in Wishram) + \textit{m(a)} + ka just, only (cf. lu'\textit{uka just three}).

Adverb composed of relative particle \textit{qui} (cf. \textit{qui} as relative pronoun in Wishram Texts, 1881) and demonstrative stem \textit{dau}- this (cf. note 54). \textit{qu'i'dau} thus means literally as, like this.


Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 1st person, composed of demonstrative stem \textit{dau}- (= \textit{da}, as in \textit{da'ba here} + \textit{u-}, see note 19) and simple form of 3d per. independent pronoun in -a (masc, ya, fem. a, neut. la, du, \textit{eda}, pl. da). Forms without -\textit{a} (e.g., da'ya) occur, though much less frequently; deletive -\textit{x} may be added without second change in meaning (e.g., da'uy\textit{wa} or da'\textit{ya}). -\textit{dau} also occurs as another element in demonstrative pronouns showing location near 2d person (e.g., ya'\textit{dau} that masc., note 43b). \textit{da'u'ya} is here masculine because in agreement with masc. noun \textit{we'i'gwa}. Chinook seems to preserve do- only in isolated adverbs like ta'ke then (= \textit{da'ka just this or that} [cf. Wishram \textit{da'uka just so}].)

\textit{wi}- = masc. noun prefix, with \textit{u-} because noun stem is monosyllabic. \textit{gwa} = noun stem day. da'u'ya we'i'gwa this day is regularly used as stereotyped phrase for today; \textit{dau' a'ga'la)x this sun is also so used.

Analysis given in note 3. Here kwö'pt, with well-marked stress accent, preserves its literal meaning of that far, thus much, apa kwö'pt being regularly used, outside of narrative, to mean enough. Chinook kape'\textit{t} enough is doubtless related, but ka- can not be directly equated with kwö-, which corresponds rather to Chinook \textit{gii} (see note 3).

Ordinary form of independent personal pronoun, composed of stems in -\textit{a} (for 1st and 2d persons) or -\textit{a}-\textit{y}- (for 3d persons) and suffixed particle \textit{ka} just, only, found also suffixed to numerals. \textit{na'a} is here grammatically unnecessary, but is used to emphasize subject of following verb form.

\textit{iyamu'liam}. \textit{i-} = tense prefix of immediate past time. \textit{gam-} = combination of 1st per. sing. subj. and 2d per. sing. obj. \textit{a-} = directive prefix. \textit{iyam-} = 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.

Thus Klickitat loan-word.

\textit{da'u'ya} as in note 54; masc. because in agreement with masc. noun \textit{wi'xi}. \textit{ba} = local noun suffix in regularly suffixed to demonstrative pronoun preceding noun instead of to noun itself.

\textit{a-} as in note 53. \textit{d-} = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to ide'lyam. \textit{gwa} = element regularly introduced after 3d per. pl. intr. \textit{d-} before \textit{d-} to come and, before verb stems beginning with k- sounds, after 3d per. pl. intr. \textit{a-} (cf. note 62). \textit{d-} to come consists of \textit{d-} = directive prefix \textit{hither}, toward speaker, correlative to directive \textit{u-}, and \textit{a-} = verb stem to go. \textit{mam-} = form of -\textit{am-} (see notes 8 and 32) used after vowels. \textit{a-} as in note 53.

\textit{ak} = tense prefix of future time employed before verbs (\textit{ak}- and \textit{a-} used analogously to \textit{pul} and \textit{ga}). \textit{u-} = 3d per. pl. intr. subj. used, instead of \textit{a-}, before verb stems beginning with k- sounds (as here \textit{gim-}). \textit{guw-} = \textit{gu-} as in note 61, \textit{u-} being inorganic, due to influence of -\textit{u-} preceding k- sound (cf. note 53). \textit{gim-} = verb stem to say; \textit{kim} (as in note 47) is used when accent immediately precedes, \textit{gim} when suffix (here \textit{a-}) is added and accent is pushed forward. \textit{a-} as in note 53. In Chinook \textit{ugwaga} = appears as -\textit{o-go} (\textit{gwa} regularly becomes \textit{go}); alugwagi'\textit{wa} is paralleled in Chinook by \textit{ogogoe'\textit{ma}}.

Particle verb to use supernatural power, transform, to which following gatei'ux serves as auxiliary. It is one of those very few Wishram words in which glottal catch is found (other words are -\textit{tei} or \textit{t'ici} bluejay, \textit{dalat'a}t perhaps).

\textit{ga} as in note 4. \textit{d-} = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to isk'u'lya. \textit{e-} = 3d masc. tr. obj., referring to ite'E'xyan. Observe that subject noun regularly precedes object noun, their order being thus analogous to that of incorporated pronouns with which they stand in apposition. \textit{u-} = directive prefix. \textit{e-} = verb stem to do (to).

\textit{p'a'la}. Particle verb, with which following \textit{amzu'ixa} serves as auxiliary. \textit{p'a'li amzu'ixa} quiet you-will-become (i.e., you will stop, desist).

\textit{a-} as in note 53. \textit{m-} = 2d per. sing. obj. with following reflexive element (see -\textit{i} in notes 9 and 28). \textit{a-} as in note 28. \textit{u-x-x-a} as in note 53.
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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, flat-floored 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,\textsuperscript{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.
It possesses 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 con-
sonants 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 inspirational sonant stops b and v. 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 b and v occur only as
a rule before õ, 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:

\footnote{1 Roland B. Dixon and Alfred L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, in American Anthropologist, n. s., v, 1-26.}

§ 2
The vowels are quite variable. One of the most characteristic features of the use of vowels is the fondness for the $\ddot{o}$, $\ddot{a}$, and $\ddot{u}$ sounds. The vowels are as follows:

$$
\begin{align*}
\ddot{u} & \\
u & \ddot{u} \\
i & \ddot{i} \\
e & \ddot{e} \\
\ddot{a} & \ddot{e} \\
a & o \\
\ddot{a} & \ddot{a} \\
\ddot{\ddot{u}} & \ddot{\ddot{u}} \\
\ddot{\ddot{i}} & \ddot{\ddot{i}} \\
\ddot{\ddot{e}} & \ddot{\ddot{e}} \\
\ddot{\ddot{a}} & \ddot{\ddot{a}} \\
\ddot{\ddot{u}} & \ddot{\ddot{u}}
\end{align*}
$$

§ 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 $\ddot{n}$. By far the greater number, however, begin with a consonant, most commonly $t$, $k$, $b$ or $p$, with $h$ and $w$ also very common. The most frequent initial vowels\(^1\) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
ld, lb, lt, lp, lk, lts, ls & \quad xb, xl, xk, xts, xp \\
kd, kb, kl, kt, kts, kp, ks, kn, km & \quad sd, sb, sl, sk, sts, sn, sm \\
tl, tk, tp, tn, tm & \quad nd, nb, nk, nt, nts, np, ns, nm \\
pt, pb, pk, pt, pts, ps, pn & \quad nd, mb, mt, mts, mp, ms, mn
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) 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.
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 consonant 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, 

\[ \text{amam} \text{ that one (subj.)} + \text{-kanand} = \text{amaŋkan} \text{ and that one} \]

\[ \text{mōm} \text{ he} + \text{wete} = \text{mōnwete} \text{ he alone, he himself} \]

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,

\[ \text{ba}-, \text{be}-, \text{bo}-, \text{bō}-, \text{bu}- \quad \text{wa}-, \text{we}-, \text{wi}-, \text{wo}-, \text{wō}-, \text{wu}-, \text{etc.} \]

The significations of these are in most instances general, and in some cases very obscure; but it is probable that in each series, the \( a, o, ō, \) 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,

\[ \text{hap}, \text{hop}, \text{hōp}, \text{hup} \quad \text{tas}, \text{tes}, \text{tos}, \text{tus}, \text{etc.} \]

and here again, in the \( a, o, ō, \) 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, \( \text{bahap-}, \text{bopho-}, \text{wōkt-}, \text{yedip-}, \text{hapus-}, \text{bōyt-}, \text{etc.} \) This
tendency is most marked in the case of the o-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 i-stems, either e or a; and the u stems are very variable. In every case, however, except in the case of the o-stems, any vowel may occur in the prefix, those noted being merely the most frequent. In all cases, i-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 o after a becomes u:

*pâ'kúpem* instead of *pâ'kópem*

or in the change of p to b after n:

*öpe'kanbém* instead of *öpe'kanpem*

There are also several instances of the insertion of t or i for euphonic reasons; as, for example,

*yaiyô'tsopin* instead of *yayô'tsopin*
*tê'yollebüssin* instead of *têyollebüssin*
*ko'doidí* instead of *ko'dodi*

**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.

§ 5
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 ń 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
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 ĭ), and the retention of the euphonic 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,

\[ \text{witōswitōsōntsoia} \] 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 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,

\[ \text{paka'nkanto} \] springs (distributive), from \[ \text{paka'ni} \] spring
\[ \text{yaha'ham mai'dōm} \] good men \( (\text{yaha'm} \) good), the reduplication
here expressing the plurality of the noun
\[ \text{oki'tidom} \] getting home one after another \( (\text{oki'tidom} \) 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-
ral are indicated by suffixes. In the verb, plurality, or rather iteration, is expressed by duplication or reduplication. In the pronoun the 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.

¹nisë̆kti hed̓timenmapem, literally, OUR WHAT-NOT-SHALL-DO (our nothing shall do), instead of WE 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—

- hös-bini spider-web (hösi buzzard; bini net)
- ba’l-sawvi head-plume (bat [?]sawvi grass)

In other cases, the euphonic i is retained, as in—

- toli’-waka calf of leg (toli’ leg; waka’ meat)

When a connective is used, this is invariably m (or n, 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,

- sü’-m-buku dog-tail (sü dog; bu’ku tail)
- hi’ni-m-butu eye-lash (hi’ni eye; butu’ fur)

Inasmuch as m 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 -he; as,

- obë little stone (ob stone)   sü’bë little dog (sü 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,

- külo’k-nono a lot of women, all the women
- mai’dü-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 -bomö and -loko; as,

- mai’dimëmbomö all the men, the crowd of men
- tsä’mëmbomö a bunch of trees, cluster of trees

In the case of both these latter forms the connective m 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,

- bu'k-mud-\(pe(m)\) tailless (bu'ků tail)
- hi'n-kol-\(pe(m)\) eyeless (hi'nů eye)
- pai'-wůi-\(pe(m)\) foot-less (pai, paiyi' foot)

The last of these suffixes, -\(wůi\), is simply the stem of the negative \(wůn\) no. The stem -kol- also appears in the word ko'lon none.

5. **The suffix -dôkô** is used to express the idea of **ONLY a, MERELY, etc.** It is generally added directly to the stem, but occasionally requires the connective \(m\); as,

- onô'-dôkô merely a head
- tsakâ'-\(m\)-dôkô only pitch

**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.

**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 \(tê\)-, which normally indicates actions done 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'-kín* 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. **i̊n-** 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-, ie-** action performed with the foot.
   
   - *is-dot-sono-tsoia* he kicked it over
   - *is-wa-wa-koi-tsoia* he scraped away with feet
   - *ie-dot-o-kō* foot-ball

5. **ka-** actions performed with the flat hand, or sometimes with the flat side of something (also used as stem).
   
   - *ka'-bák-dau-dom* prying off shingle with hand
   - *ka'-dák-kín* 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. **ki-** actions performed with the fingers.
   
   - *ki'-bák-dau-dom* picking off scab with finger
   - *ki'-tus-to* to break twig in fingers
   - *ki'-ūsū-pi* rub (with fingers)

7. **ō-** actions performed with the head (also used as stem).
   
   - *o-ba't-to-dom* breaking a stick with the head
   - *o-pō'-pök-dom* shaking water out of the hair
   - *ō'-pul-dom* to root up (as a hog), to dig up with horns
   - *ō'-moto* to put heads together
   - *ō'-mít-on* to look into a house; i.e., stick head down in through smoke hole

§ 11
8. **sö-** actions done with the arms (also used as stem).
   *söhu'n-bök-tso'ia* he jumped at to seize in his arms
   *sö'-wo-dom* lifting in arms

9. **tê-** actions performed with or upon the foot (also used as stem).
   *tê'-as-pin* to pull toward one with the foot
   *tê'-hul-dom* stamping upon
   *tê'-lap-sito* to shove something sharp through the foot
   *tê'-pes-ton* to step on and mash something soft and wet
   *tê'-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 — *ô-* with o'no head, and *hî-* with hî'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-, bö-, 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-don* to dig up something rounded, as potato, stone
   *ba'-yau-kîn* to throw a stone through the floor
   *ba'-sin* to scrape dirt out of a hole
   *be'-dek-kîn* to throw a stone downward and pierce something
   *be-ke't-sito* to throw past; i.e., throw, and not hit
   *bö'-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'-kîn* to put down something round or bulky
   *bö'-töi-don* to bounce up, as a ball, rock
   *bö-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'ldon to wash or dig a gopher out of a hole
ba'-top-to to break small stick with fist
bo'-top-kīn 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'-köp-kin to force a stake into the ground
ba'-yal-dau to split or break to pieces with wedge and hammer
bo'-yo'1-kin to smash a cup with a stone
bō-yō'1-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'-tu-don to drive up cattle
ba-tsa'p-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't-dāu-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'l-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'-tsō-pin to take something off a high shelf

12. si-, sī- actions performed with the end of a long thing.
sī'-dak-dau to scrape out a basket
sī'-dak-dau to poke away with a stick
sī-kē'-yo-dom drying meat (cutting it in slices?)
si-ta'-no-dom shoving 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 scraping something dry out of a basket
si-ka'la-ma-kokan 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-, wö-, 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)
wü'-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).

ya'-äs-dau to strike a thing with end of spear and slide it along: to hit with fist, and move
ya'-bak-dau to knock bark off tree by stroke with arrow or bullet
ya'-dat-kin to put knife in sheath
ya'-moto to pile up boards on end
ye-ää's-sito to drag one's self across on a pole
ye'-dek-ton to shoot through anything, and pierce

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ye'-hap-kit-in to lower a window
ye'-sito to take a boat across a river (?)
yo-do'-sito to knock across with end of stick, as ball with a billiard cue
yo-ho'p-doii-dom shoving a pole up through a crack
yô-kot-tôn to cut in two with edge of shovel
yô'-nôn to flow, as water in a ditch
yô-tôi'-to to drive the fist through a curtain
yô'-lûp-sito to stick a knife or nail into one
yô'-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'-âs-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-doii-dom pulling on socks

§ 13
$\text{vn'}$-kot-doi-dom breaking off a piece of something soft, like bread, by upward motion
$\text{vn'}$-not-kin to pull and bend down
$\text{vn'}$-pol-da\text{u} to pull brick out of wall
$\text{vn'}$-tā'-tā-moto-pi to hug in arms
$\text{vn'}$-tō'k-da\text{u} to pull off a button
$\text{vn'}$-yal-kin to pull off a sliver downwards
$\text{vn'}$-pol-dau to pull brick out of wall
$\text{vn'}$-td'-td-moto-pi to hug in arms
$\text{vn'}$-to'Jc-dau to pull off a button
$\text{wl'}$-yal-kin to pull off a sliver downwards

$\text{im'}$-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

$\text{wū}$-$\text{wū'}$-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.

§§ 14–16
Suffixes indicating number, iteration, reciprocity.
Nominalizing suffixes.
Participial suffixes.
Suffixes giving general ideas of motion.
Suffixes indicating negation, inability.

§ 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-da'-'kas I fell (from a tree)
   me'-'da-to-tsoia he took down, it is said

2. -dau separation, off from.
   bā'-'kas-dau to knock a shingle off with a hammer
   yē'-'dis-dau-tsoia she slid off, it is said

3. -dik(no) against, up to, alongside of.
   lōk-dikno-mā'-'kas I shall crawl up to
   siu-ta-dikno-dom pushing or rolling it up against something

4. -doi upward.
   ka-pwi'lim-doi-no-dom rolling a log up hill
   o-no'-'doi-tsoia he went along up, it is said

5. -ki(t) down, on ground.
   hu-ko't-kit-dom cutting to pieces (by bearing down on knife)
   sō'-'wō-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
   ō-koi'-tsoia he went away, it is said

7. -mi(t) down into a hole, into a house, into a box.
   ha's-mi't-asi I slid into a hole
   ō-mi't-dom going into the house

8. -moto together, toward each other.
   ka-ta'-moto-dom squeezing between hands
   ō'-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. -pin toward the speaker.
   ö-pi'n-tsoia he came toward
   hu'n-moi-pi-pin-kit-toi-tsoia they came by degrees back down
   toward from hunting, it is said
   hë'-ap-pin-pin-tsoia she slid toward, little by little, it is said

11. -si(p) out of, out from.
   ö-si'p-tsoia they got out (of the boat)
   has-si'p-asi I slid out (of the house)

12. -sito across, through.
   la'p-sito-dom crawling through (a hole in the fence)
   ö-si'to-ye-wë'-büs-ma-pem one who shall continually travel back
   and forth across

13. -ta on top of, off the ground.
   tus-bô-tâ'-dom standing by the smoke hole on the roof
   wô'-ta-nû it lies on top of, said only of a long or flat thing
   tôp-ta-tsoia he jumped upon

14. -tso round and round, over and over, over.
   la'p-tso-no-ye-dom crawling around something
   lök-tso-pin-wë-bissim they kept crawling over toward speaker

15. -wai apart, asunder, stretching out.
   hë'-sas-wai-to-tï-dom causing to fall apart
   ka-tâ'-wai-to-dom flattening out by patting between hands

§18. Modal Suffixes

These suffixes may be divided to good advantage into two sub-
classes,—those which are modal in the general sense of the term, and
those which are temporal.

16. -n infinitive.
   biüs'in to be
   dön to seize or hold in mouth
   ö'sip-in to go out

17. -us reflexive.
   pë-bo's-us-tsoia he ate himself entirely up
   yapai'-to-us-dom talking to himself
   wa's-wëye-us-tsoia he swore at himself
   n'i'-us I myself

18. -ti causative.
   wîlë'-u-kit-ti-koi-tsoia he caused to run away down
   bu-dut-no-ti-paii-kan he made water to rise
   wô'no-ti-dom killing (causing to die)

19. -p, -pa, -pada imperative.
   ö-nô'-p go!
mē-p give (me)!
o-nō'-pa go!
hata'm-pada do ye search for!

20. -ta future imperative.
wō'no-ta it shall die, let it die!
tse-ta' let them see!
ma-ta'-si let me be!

yahā'-bo let it be good!
wō'no-kōn-kūdo 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!
helā'i'-to-pē let us gamble!

23. -de interrogative.
oka'-de mōyē'm is he hungry?
wō'no-ti-ma-kā-de-s shall I kill?
suda'ka-de is it sweet?

24. -benē(e) obligation, must.
ō-koī'-bēnē mīnstē'm ye must go away
so'-doī'-ben must bring, carry on shoulder
ō-noī'-ben-ma-p do not go away!

25. -lut obligation, compulsion, intensive.
ō-no-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-koī'-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'-doī-natsē-no can you lift it (a long thing)?
wile'-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-helā'-kū-kan he may have tied them up to
ok-he'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 wôlî many, which is used similarly for this purpose. The examples available, however, only indicate its meaning as above.

§19. Temporal Suffixes

30. -ka incompleted action (present).
   ö-koî'-ka-si I am going away
   o'kasi (ok-ka-si) I am hungry
   wë'ye-don-kô-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 ö-koî-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 incompleted action (future).
   ökoî'-ma-ka-s I shall go away
   ö-yë'-ma-dom will be going
   ko-bë'-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-mâ'-pem one who shall be mourning; hesâ'dom ma-ka-de-s what shall I be, do?

32. -as, -has completed action (past).
   ok-â's-asî I was hungry
   yok-â's-has min I struck you
   adom as ö-koî-ka-s so I went away
   nik as kai'-kô-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. -paai completed action (remote past).
   ok-paai'-kan he was hungry long ago
   â-paai'-kan he said long ago

34. -tsoi completed action (mythic past, known indirectly).
   ökoî'-tsoi-a he went away, it is said
   wi-dô'k-dau-tsoi-a he tore off, it is said

§19
35. -wea, -ea incomplete 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-wé'ano you see
tö's-bo-kit-eam he stands

36. -weu, -yeu, -eu completed action. Used only in direct quotation.
tse-hé'-ye-weu-kan he looked around
kai-yé'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.
dōn'í'-no-men-yak-es I did not hold
ok-ya'k-en'no ai'söi you were hungry, I think
homō' ö-ko'i'-yak-en whither they had gone

38. -büs, -bis continual.
sō'le-büs-im kept on singing
hī'sse-büs-tset while continuing to weave
tso'-wē-büs-pe-di 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
wē'ye-bös-weten after having told everything
wilē'-ko'i'-bös-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-oôn-kanim he carried him there, i.e., finished the act of carrying
ö-dikno-û-kanim he arrived

41. -hēkit inchoative, to just begin.
pī'yi-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
43. *-hehē* only, just.

    kilā-nan-na-mōni-hehē' only when nearly dark
    bō-yōk-sip-dom-hehē' only selecting

44. *-poto* almost, nearly.

    batā'-poto'-tset nearly catching up with her

§ 21. *Suffixes Indicating Number, Iteration, Reciprocity*

45. *-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)
    yapail'-to-dom talking to each other
    sī'mak-to-dom talking to each other
    hē'-sas-wài-to-tī-dom causing to fall apart
    tsā'-tsa-to trees
    sī-kala-to-men-wet not bothering each other

§ 22. *Nominalizing Suffixes*

46. *-pe* forms nomina actoris, and also indicates place of action.

    hō'k-pai-to-pe a fighter (*hō'mpaito* to fight with the fists)
    mōng kūlē hē'-doi-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 maiv'dū 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'pem tsa, la'-lam-im tsa long stick
    opi't-pem woło'm, opi't-im woło'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-helu’-kō-kasi I may be hungry; i. e., I am one who has the quality of perhaps being hungry
piye’-to-kō bathing place; i. e., having the quality of being appropriate 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-kō-di at the place to which he carries people
hōbō’-kō-dom a householder; i. e., one who has the quality of having a house
tetō’ si’m-kō-dom big-mouth-having; i. e., being one having the quality of having a large mouth
yepō’nī-kō-pem having a chief

48. -ma forms verbal nouns.

han-ō’-koi-s-ma what I carry off
nikī bi’s-ma-s-ma my future abiding-place
wō’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 pronominal 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. -do(m) present participle.

ō-koi’-dom going away
mū’-hun-e-pin-i-moto-dom gathering together from hunting
tsē-do’m seeing

50. -tset(e) when, while.

hesū’ pai-ti-tset while, when, dressing (causing to be dressed)
okit-(t)tset when he arrived
hī’sse-būs-tset while she stayed there weaving

51. -mōni when, at the time when.

ō-koi’-s-mōni when I went away
lo’l-mōni when crying

52. -wet(e) after having, having (past participle, immediate past).

o’nkoitin-wet having caused to conquer
tsēdā’-da-weten having breakfasted

§ 23
wo'nō-ti-men-wet not having killed; i. e., not having caused to die (wo'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.

wilē'-koi-wonom having run away
pō'p-koi-wono-pem the one that had burst out
tu's-kit-wono-dī 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
bī'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'-yen to come, come toward
lō'k-doi-ye-bis-im kept crawling up
hu'n-mo-kōi-to-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-koĭ'-men-wet not having gone
ba-pol-doi-men-tsōno-dom not being able to dig up
tse-me'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-büss-ma-pem* one who shall be unable to be always running about
- *han-wo-tsö-no-wê-bis-dom* continuing to carry over
- *wo-hop-mit-hudoi-to-we-bis-im* kept almost inserting long thing into
- *lap-no-ye-wê-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-hul'n-bök-tsoia* he jumped at it to seize it in his arms (*sö-* action done with arms [§ 11 no. 8]; *hun-* to capture [?]; *bök* to seize; *-tsoia* it is said [§ 18 no. 34])
- *dö'n-wi-kap-pin-tsoia* she dragged toward in her mouth (*dön* 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'vi* river)
- *höbo'boto* every house, or camp (*höbo'* house)
- *ya'manmanto* 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,

ama'm ye'pitsom those two men
möpa'tso my two daughters
möing kii'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 -som 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.

ye'psöm men, husbands (ye'pi man, husband)
mai'düsem men (mai'dü man)
kii'lesem women (kii'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, -tsom), although the plural suffixes are more uniform, the first and third persons being alike, with the second quite similar. In com-

§ 28
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>nì</td>
<td>nì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>mì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular</td>
<td>mõm</td>
<td>mõm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td>nìsām</td>
<td>nās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual</td>
<td>mìmām</td>
<td>mām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person dual</td>
<td>mōsām</td>
<td>mōsām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>nìsēm</td>
<td>nēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>mìmēm</td>
<td>mēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td>mōpām</td>
<td>mōsēm</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>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular, dual, and plural</td>
<td>-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular, dual, and plural</td>
<td>-n</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,

\begin{align*}
\text{mi'ntsem okmā'nkano \ ye two will be hungry} \\
\text{minso'm okmā'nkano \ ye all will be hungry}
\end{align*}

§ 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 -\textit{m}. The following examples will render the use of the subjective as used with nouns sufficiently clear:

\begin{align*}
\text{sū nī has wō'kas I hit the dog (with a stick) (sū dog; nī 1)} \\
\text{sūm has vik dō'kan the dog bit me} \\
\text{mai'düüm a o'kö̤n the man is hungry} \\
\text{visā'\textit{m} has mai'\textit{dū} vō'nōtiankas we killed the man} \\
\text{mī kulū'dī öno'beñe atso'\textit{ia} thou must travel at night, she said} \\
\text{i'cyōkaš min I am kicking you}
\end{align*}

While all nouns and all independent pronouns, except the first and second persons singular, form the subjective regularly in -\textit{m} (the objective being the simple stem), the two forms referred to reverse the process, and are, besides, irregular. As shown in the

§ 29
above examples, the subjective and objective forms of the pronoun in the first and second persons singular are, respectively, nī, nīk and mī, mīn. 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:

sū'kī būkū' dog's tail
mōim ma'i'dūmbomōkī ī'tusyo those people's roast
nīkī hōbō' my house
mi'nnīkī sū has wō'nōtias I have killed your dog
nisā'kī kā'đō 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,

homō'nik sūm makā'dē whose dog is this?¹

This possessive suffix may in some cases be added after a previous locative, as in the form

sā'-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:

-ći general locative, in, on, at.

mo'mći in the water
beč'itōći 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.
höbō'bi in the house, at home
kav'bi on the ground
noko'm ni'kødí ka the arrow is in me
tu'skrituonödi at the place where he had stopped
önɡ kanai'bi under the rock

-na, -nak illative, to, toward; sometimes reduplicated.
  o'lōkokna toward the smoke hole
  ânì'na hither (this-toward)
  mì'nna toward you
  kūlā'nana just before dark, toward night

-nan ablative, from, away from.
  höbō'nan ökoi'tsoia he went away from the house
  tikte't'nan from a little distance
  tuswō'yepenan from the place where he stood

-ni instrumental, with, by means of.
  sū has tsā'ni wō'kas I hit the dog with a stick
  mō'ki on'o'mbutū'ini wōma'ktikōtsoia she measured with her hair

-kan comitative, in company with, together with.
  nì'ki sūkan ökoi'as I went away with my dog
  kūlēkan ödī'k notsoia he arrived in company with the woman
  mì'nkan ökoi'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>First person singular</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nī</td>
<td>nīk</td>
<td>nī'ki</td>
<td></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>nisē'm</td>
<td>nisē'</td>
<td>nisē'ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>mī</td>
<td>mīn</td>
<td>mī'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual</td>
<td>mì'ntsem</td>
<td>mì'ntse</td>
<td>mì'ntseki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>mì'nsöm</td>
<td>mì'nsö</td>
<td>mì'nsöki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular</td>
<td>mō'jem</td>
<td>mō'ye</td>
<td>mō'yeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person dual</td>
<td>mō'itsom</td>
<td>mō'tso</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

nī'wete I myself, I alone
mo̯'n̄wete 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:

nī o'kasi or o'kasi I am hungry
mī okan̄kan̄o or okan̄kan̄o thou art hungry
mōye'm okan' or okan mōye'm he is hungry
nisā'm okan̄kas or okan̄kan̄i nisā'm we two are hungry
mī'ntsem okan̄kan̄o or okan̄kan̄o mī'ntsem ye two are hungry
mōtsom okan' or okan mōtsom they two are hungry
nisē'm oke'nkes or oke'nkesi nisē'm we all are hungry
mī'n̄sōm okan̄kan̄o or okan̄kan̄o mī'n̄sōm ye all are hungry
mō'som okan' or okan mō'som 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, §31
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 Achoméwi, 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
yö'-kas & \text{ min I am hitting thee' } \\
yō'-a'nkano & \text{ möye' thou art hitting him } \\
nisā'm & \text{ min yō'-a'ńkas we two are hitting thee } \\
mō'tsom & \text{ nik yō'-kan they two are hitting me } \\
yō'-a'nkano & \text{ nisā' thou art hitting us two }
\end{align*}
\]

With a nominal object, the method is the same:

\[
\begin{align*}
sū & \text{ wō'nōtikas I am killing the dog } \\
\end{align*}
\]

With a nominal subject, the pronominal suffix is always used:

\[
\begin{align*}
sūm & \text{ has mo'ðü dō'-kan the dog bit the man } \\
\end{align*}
\]

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,

\[
\begin{align*}
yō'-kas & \text{ nī min I am hitting you } \\
yō'-a'nkano & \text{ mī möye' thou art hitting him } \\
\end{align*}
\]

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
in use, corresponding to this and that, and indicating position near or remote from the speaker. For the former, *uni'* is used, and for the latter, *amā'.* Somewhat rarely a third form, *anī',* 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uni'm mai'düm yahā'maka} & \text{ this man will be good} \\
\text{amā'm süm that dog} & \\
\text{anī'm mai'düm that (far off) man} & \\
\text{amā'kan wōnōtisoa} & \text{and he killed that one} \\
\text{ānī'nan from here, hence} & \\
\text{amā'di there, at that place} & \\
\text{amā'ki sū that person's dog} & \\
\text{mō'īm mai'düm this, that man} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 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:

\[
\text{mōm mai'düm has kaka'n i'syōtiusdom this man it was causing} \\
\text{to kick himself; i. e., he was the man who was kicked}
\]

Interrogative pronouns, on the contrary, are common. Which is expressed by *homo',* and who by *homo'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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{homo'mōl makā' bū'spem in which (house) do you live?} & \\
\text{homo'nīm makā' who are you?} & \\
\text{homo'nīk sūm makā'dē whose dog is this?} & \\
\text{hesi'm makā'dē what is it?} & \\
\text{hesa'mōnī kadā'kmenom makā'dē why doesn't it rain?} & \\
\text{hesa'ti etō'spem . . . how strong . . . ?} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 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
suffix -pe. Apparently any verbal stem may thus be used in this form to qualify or describe a noun; as,

- o'k-pem mai'düm hungry man (literally, hungerer man)
- eto's pem mai'düm strong man (eto'skasi I am strong)
- di'pdipem pā'ka smooth board (literally, slider board)
- lala'mpem tsa 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 (?) -m. The majority of these forms are made from verbal stems ending in a vowel. Examples of this type of adjective are:

- tetē'm sūm large dog
- kē'yim hōbō' old house
- tēm sūm 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, kē'yimakas I SHALL BE OLD. Some stems, however, appear not to be used, except as forming these nominal forms, as adjectives. Either of the nominal forms of these stems (that in -pe or in -m) takes all regular nominal locative 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.

- kē'yidi in the old one
- tētē'ni with the big one

In some cases both the -pe and the -m forms are used with the same stem; as,

- la'mim tsa, lala'mpem tsa long stick

In these cases, the form in -pe is generally, but not always, reduplicated.

§ 35. Adverbs

Adverbs may be formed from adjectival stems by the suffix -t; as,

- yahā'm good
- wasā'm bad
- tetē'm large
- yahā't well, nicely
- wasa't poorly, evilly
- tetē't much, greatly, very

Other adverbs, such as those of time and distance, etc., seem to be from independent stems.

- ti'kte slightly, somewhat, a little
- hadā' far away
- be'nek to-morrow
- bēi again
- bēi'duk by and by
- lē'wo a little, partially

§ 35
§ 36. Connectives

With the exception of kan AND, connectives in Maidu are all formed from the auxiliary verb a 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'ukan so, and so
- a-meT but
- a-mendoM if not, and if not
- a-mo'ni, amo'nikan then, and then
- a-tse'T, atse'Tkan while, and
- while
- a-we'ten, awete'ankan then, thereafter, and then

§ 37. Interjections

There are quite a number of interjections in Maidu, the following being those most commonly in use:

- héi halloo!
- sõ look! well!
- a exclamation of disgust
- ettu' 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
in speaking of the stems of the second group; and as for the former, all 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 has been given in § 37. Except for these interjections, the only other stem taking no affix is the simple conjunction kan and. This, moreover, although it may, and often does, stand independently, is at 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:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{bēi (bē'bin, bē'bō)} & \text{ again, also } \text{hū'koi still, yet} \\
\text{bēi'duk by and by} & \text{ lc'wo a little, partially}
\end{align*}\]

A considerable number of adverbs are formed from adjectival stems by the suffix -t; as,

\[\begin{align*}
\text{yahā'm good; yahā't well} & \text{ tetē'm large, great; tetē't much, greatly}
\end{align*}\]

Adverbial ideas, however, such as can, must, perhaps, almost, wholly, 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:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{hī to smell; hī'ku nose} & \text{ mai to speak; mai'dū Indian;} \\
\text{bō to blow; bō'wo wind} & \text{ mai'ki boy}
\end{align*}\]

In other instances noun and verb appear to be formed from the same root; as,

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ho'ni heart} & \text{ ho'nsiptsoia she breathed} \\
\text{ho'nwē breath} & \text{ ho'nkodom coughing}
\end{align*}\]

§§ 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 tē</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>
<tr>
<td>fire sā</td>
<td>stone ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt bā</td>
<td>road bō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud yā</td>
<td>raft nō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow kō</td>
<td>mortar-stone ā</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 ā'ā</td>
<td>yellow-hammer wolo'loko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle kā'kā</td>
<td>robin tsī'statatkō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quail yāk yū</td>
<td>fly emē'lulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nest tū'tū</td>
<td>shoulder dā'daka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib tsī'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 wūl'ūlī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass popo'</td>
<td>smoke hole olo'loko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow pine bōbō'</td>
<td>thunder wū'mtūmē</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 ki'wi
face mūsū' nipples mini'
eye hi'ni armpit kōwō'
mouth si'mi belly kamī'
teeth tsā'wa hip mā'wa
tongue ē'ni penis kōsī'
ear bonō' leg tōlī'
neck kū'yī liver kula'
foot pai'yī bone bō'mi
nails tsibī' dung pītī'
blood sēdē' fat hō'ti
sinew paka' skin posā'la
tail bukū'

MAMMALS

grizzly bear pā'nō coyote wē'pa
brown bear mō'dē field-mouse yosō'
derer sūmī' ground-squirrel hilō
fox hawī' chipmunk wi'sla
gopher hemē' mole yū'tdūlī

BIRDS, FISH, INSECTS

fish makō' grasshopper tō'li
salmon māyī' angle-worm kāyī'

MISCELLANEOUS

woman kūlē' pack-basket wōlō'
baby konō' snowshoe tsūwā'
house ū'yī meat wakā'
coals hemī' sun pokō'
smoke sukū' evening kūlū'
arrown-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 sōn- referring in some way to the head, as in sō'ntsēsopindom, head-first; and dā'daka shoulder, i. e., head-shoulder)
beard sim-pani (perhaps from sim mouth, and pan-, a stem occurring in pantsoia they made rope)
wrist ma-kulā' (from mā hand and [?])

wild-cat hi'n-tsepi (from hi'nī eye, and [?])

otter mo'm-pano (from mo'mī water, and pā'no grizzly-bear)
rat ń'm-sape (from ń' rock, and [?])

jack-rabbit tsī'n-kutī (from tsī robe, and kutī animal)
shite-poke wak-sī (from the verbal stem wak- to cry)
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 homo' which, and homoni 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 tem</td>
<td>large tetei'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small tibi'</td>
<td>long la'lami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good yahai'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad wasa'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short nu'si</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old ke'yi</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 eto'spe</td>
<td>weak le'lepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy woholpe</td>
<td>light he'kpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thick koilpe</td>
<td>thin toto'pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short nu'spe</td>
<td>wide da'pdape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black seu'seup</td>
<td>sour tsutsukpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green tititpe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COLOR NAMES

red la'klakpe
white da'ldalpe

NUMERALS

The numerals belong to this first class of adjectival stems, and are as follows up to ten:

| one su'ti        | six sai'tsoko |
| two pe'ne       | seven to'pwi  |
| three sa'pwi     | eight pe'ntcoye |
| four tsouyi      | nine pe'tio    |
| five mao'wika    | ten ma'soko   |

§ 40
The numeral adverbs are formed by the suffix -nini; as, sū’tēnini once, pēnē’nini twice, etc. Distributives are formed by reduplicating the final syllable; as, sū’tītī one each, pē’nēnē 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-vowel-consonant. Many occur in pairs or groups, with similar or nearly 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 forms and a few as yet unanalyzable dissyllabic stems. The following list shows the tri-literal stems which have at present been determined, and indicates both the systematic character of these stems and also the pairing or grouping spoken of above. In some cases the meaning of the stem is yet uncertain, owing to the small number of instances in which it occurs. Tri-literal stems, as a rule, take 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
-dis- 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; -hōp- to stretch; -hup- (?)
-has- to slide; -hes- to scratch; -his- to make basket; -hōs- to scare (?) -hus- (?)
-hat- (?); -hel- to perforate; -kol- to bore (?) -kōl- to roll; -kul- (?)
-kup- to move with friction (?); -kop- to move with friction (?); -kop- (?)
-kes- (?)
-kat- to strike; -ket- to graze; -kot- to divide; -kut- to divide
-lak- (?); -lek- (?); -lok- (?); -lok- to creep; -buk- to creep
-*ol- to cry
-*lap* to crawl (?); -*lep* (?); -*lip* to cry out; -*lop* to move with friction (?)
-*los* (?)
-*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
-*jes* to cramble
-*pat* (?); -*pit* (?)
-*sal* (?); -*sil* to shake
-*tul* to break flat thing
-*tek* to jump (?); -*tsik* (?)
-*täm* (?)
-*tap* to squeeze (?); -*top* to break; -*töp* to jump; -*tup* to break
-*tsap* to tear, rip
-*tas* to slap (?); -*tes* to strip off; -*tos* (?); -*tös* (?); -*tus* to break
-*tsot* to rip off
-*usu* to rub
-*wak* 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ā-} & \text{ to say} & \text{mō-} & \text{ to drink} \\
\text{a-} & \text{ to be (auxiliary verb)} & \text{mō-} & \text{ to shoot} \\
\text{ap-} & \text{ to slip, slide} & \text{o-} & \text{ (?)} \\
\text{bō-} & \text{ to blow} & \text{ō-} & \text{ to go, travel} \\
\text{bōi-} & \text{ to leach acorns} & \text{pē-} & \text{ to eat} \\
\text{bū-} & \text{ to stink} & \text{pū-} & \text{ to sew} \\
\text{dī-} & \text{ to swell} & \text{taw-} & \text{ to twist (?)} \\
\text{dō-} & \text{ to bite, seize with teeth} & \text{tō-} & \text{ to burn} \\
\text{hō-} & \text{ to smell (?)} & \text{tsei-} & \text{ to see} \\
\text{hōi-} & \text{ to spread apart (?)} & \text{tsōi-} & \text{ to divide in strips} \\
\text{kai-} & \text{ to fly} & \text{yaw-} & \text{ to break flat thing} \\
\text{k’āi-} & \text{ to be called, named} & \text{yū} & \text{ (?)} \\
\text{kō-} & \text{ to have, possess (?)} & \text{yu-} & \text{ (?)} \\
\text{kūi-} & \text{ (?)} & \text{mō-} & \text{ to take, seize}
\end{align*}
\]
Special mention ought to be made, in speaking of stems of this type, of the connectives. The simple connective and, indicated by kan, has already been referred to in speaking of the unchangeable stems. All other connectives seem to be formed from the auxiliary verb a to be, by the addition of various verbal suffixes. A list of these connectives, any of which may take the simple connective kan as an additional suffix, follows:

- ado'm so, thus
- amë't but
- amë'në then

Verbal stems which, although dissyllabic, yet appear to be unanalyzable, are not nearly as numerous as the other types. Some of the more common ones follow:

- hë'no- to die
- këlö'- to rotate
- o'ëno'- to conquer
- òpè'- (?)
- pedë'- to steal, to answer
- -puril'- to roll
- -tul- to crush
- -ribil- to wind around
- wil- to run
- wö'no- to die

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 b, w, and y series seem to be the clearest and least doubtful, and to offer the fewest apparent exceptions. The h series is quite puzzling; the i form (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 e and n forms (he- and hun-) 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.

§ 41
There once lived, it is said, Big Springs on this side of the houseless ones bark hut owning. They lived, it is said. That one and one daughter possessing person old people it is related. There and she.

Sō’tim 1 neno’mmaidūm 2 bū’sstsoia. 3 Wiso’tpin 4 he’nantē 5

1 sō’tim one (-m subjective).
2 neno’mmaidūm old people; nē’no, nē’nope the usual adjectival 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’t’di man, Indian, perhaps from root ma’t’ to speak; -m the suffix of the subjective case.
3 bū’sstsoia (from the stem bū’s-, bū’s- to live. To remain, to continue in one place); -soi 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, -n (-kan), is rarely used with -soi. This may be a contraction from -tsai-ōn?.
4 wiso’tpin 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’nantē on this side of. Analyzable as follows: he- a demonstrative stem (confined chiefly to the northwestern dialect) meaning this; -n- the nominal locative suffix meaning from; -ē 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 kum’me’cun a houseless person; kun- the name applied to the semi-subterranean, circular, earth-covered lodges; -men the negative or privative suffix; to this 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; hō alone 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; -do the suffix of the present participle; -m the subjective suffix. The whole might be rendered owners of a bark hut.
8 ma’t’sem they. This is apparently a form synonymous with mō’sem or mō’sem. The final m is the subjective suffix.
9 amā’kan and that one; amā’ the demonstrative pronoun that, referring to the old people, here in the subjective case amā’m, the m being changed to ū before k, in accordance with the regular rule (see § 4, kān and).
10 sō’ti one. Here in objective case (cf. note 1).
11 pa’kūpem a person having a daughter; po, po daughter; -kū the same as -kō, the suffix meaning having the quality of possessing; -pe the suffix used generally to form the nomen actoris, etc.; -m the subjective suffix.
12 matso’i’am it is related. This frequently appearing form seems to come from a verbal stem ma-to relate, to tell; -soi- the quotative suffix of completed action; -a- the suffix of the third person, generally used with -soi. 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; -kan the conjunction and.
14 mō’i the, that. The independent form of the third personal pronoun. This is used very frequently almost as a demonstrative. Here mō’i, instead of mō’m, because of the following k.
15 kūlē m woman, girl (here subjective).
16 ṭē’kanbenini every time, always. It is difficult as yet to analyze this completely or satisfactorily; ṭē’ occurring alone means all; -kan seems to be derived from kan, meaning also all, each, every; be is the same as -pe (the p changing to b after n); the final suffix -nini appears to have a temporal significance; as also in le’wontini once in a while (from le’wo some).
kū̱lū'nana'monihē'ki'17  piye'tonokōm 18  sō'tim 19  kū̱lū'nana'ma'at'20
evening-toward-when-
amost
bathing

wọn'd'mentsoia.21  Amā'nkan 22  tū'itsoia.22
That one and
slept, it is said.
That one and
dreamed for her-
sell, it is said.

Nēdi'wēbissim 24  kakā'nim 25  pō 26  Nēdi'wēbissim 24  mōpī'kno 27
Dreaming kept on
every
night
dreaming kept on
same one

nēdi'dom 28  nēdi'ŭstsoia.23
dreaming
dreamed for her-
sell, it is said.

Piye'tonope'ńkan 30  oki'tmenpem 31  ō'kdatsoia.32
One who has gone
bathing and
one not returning
it dawned, it is
said.

One that and
mor'n'i.ng

31 kūlū'nana'mana'at'. 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 wọn'd'mentsoia did not lose, miss; wọn'd' seems to mean to lose, to miss, and must be distinguished carefully from wō'no, which means to die. The - tôsi is the usual quotative, completed action, with the suffixed form of the third personal pronoun.

22 tū'itsoia slept (from the stem tū-' to sleep); -tsoia (see above).

23 nēdi'ŭstsoia dreamed for herself, it is said; nēdi'v is a dream, nēdi'm-mađidū a dreamer, one of the two classes of shamans. The use of the reflexive suffix-s as here is not wholly clear. It probably means she dreamed for herself. This construction—a participle followed by a verb, or a continuative followed by a verb—is one of the most frequent.

24 Nēdi'wēbissim kept dreaming. The reflexive is not used in this case. The suffix -bissim is formed from the verbal stem bis-to remain, to continue, and is the usual continuative suffix employed, giving the sense of to keep on. It is very generally joined to the verbal stem by -wē, which is of uncertain meaning.

25 kakā'nim every. A reduplicated form of kan'm each, all.

26 pō 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. pō'ocio midnight.

27 möpī'kno that same one; mö is the independent form of the third personal pronoun. The suffix -pī'kno seems to be intensive, and to mean the same. The very. It is here objective.

28 nēdi'dom dreaming (here the present participle, formed with -dom).

29 Piye'tonokōm one who went bathing; Piye'to'no- cf. note 18; pēng the suffix of the nomen actors, -pem becoming -pēh before k; the suffix -kan is the common connective.

30 Ama'nkan that one and bathing went, it is said.

31 ō'kdatsoia it dawned. The verbal form ō'kda- is related closely to ō'k' day.

32 bē'nektō in the morning (sometimes merely bē'neck). The suffix -to in use here is obscure. It occurs in a number of similar cases, with apparently a temporal meaning.
makö 34  fish
halä'pwenet 33  carried having
ősö'pindom 36  coming out of
toward house.
oki'tsòa, 37  Arrived, it
is said.
Möbë'ik önà 38  Her father to
bohü'isitsoia. 39  A wetë'nak an 40  bō'sstsoia.
39bō'döö'kinüdom 41  bō'sstsoia.
33 That one
mayä'ken 42  say they
tsai'men 44  by and by
tsem'nepe(m) 45  one unseen
oki'tkös soia 46  arriving-quality,
which had, it is said.
Pü'iyanan 47  Outside, from
mayä'ken 43  it was
okö'köinpintsoia. 48  A'änk am 49  mayä'ken 43
Then
47 It was

34 makö fish (here objective).
35 halä'pwenet carrying. We have here the use of one of the troublesome prefix-stems, ha-
36 Taken by itself, -lap is a verbal stem signifying to CRAWL on HANDS AND KNEES, or TO SIT, KNEES ON
37 ground. Combined with ha- it means TO CARRY, perhaps TO Drag, generally by a cord or rope, here
38 CARRYING FISH ON A STRING. The suffix -wetëa is a temporal suffix meaning after having.
39 bō'sstsoia coming out of toward the house. The verbal stem here is bō-to go, to travel, to
40 which are added two directive suffixes, -si out of (the water), and -pin toward. In -dom we have
41 the regular present participle.
42 oki'tsòa arrived, came back. Oki- cf. note 31. While this is sometimes heard oki'tsòa, as a rule
43 the second t is elided.
44 möbë'ik önà her father to. With relationship terms, the simple third personal pronoun is often
45 used in place of the regular possessive case, as here we have mö- instead of möö't. Bë'tik önà is appar-
46 ently analyzable into bë't- a stem meaning again, another (bë'tim again; bë'tëb another; bë'tëkki
47 new), and the familiar suffix -kö having the quality of possessing. The final suffix -ëa is the locative
48 suffix meaning toward, expressing the motion of the gift from the girl to her father.
49 bō'isitsoia handed over to, it is said. In bo- another of the prefix-stems appears. This usually
50 seems to signify ACTIONS DONE WITH A BULKY OR ROUND OBJECT. Its application here is obscure,
51 unless the fact is thought of as a bulky thing, in which the string on which the fish are strung is held.
52 The main stem, -bë'i, is uncertain in its meaning, this being the only place where it occurs. In
53 conjunction with bo- however, it has the meaning given above. The suffix -sëo is one of the directive verbal
54 suffixes, meaning across, over.
55 A wetë'nak an and after having been thus. All conjunctions, except kan and, are formed in Maidu
56 from the auxiliary verb a to be. Here with the suffix -wetë(n) we get the idea of sequence, usually
57 expressed in English by and then. The -kan is, of course, the simple conjunction and
58 bō'döö'kinüdom sitting. In this case the initial syllable bō- is in all probability the same prefix-stem
59 which appeared in bō'isitsoia, in this case changed in accordance with some obscure vowel-harmony.
60 bō- as a simple verbal stem means, on the other hand, to BLOW, as the wind. The prefix-stem bō-
61 here is used as a stem, taking the suffix -doll, a verbal directive meaning UPWARD, and often appears thus without
62 further addition; as bō'döö'kös ëë sat. It is not clear how the idea of sitting comes from the elements
63 bō- and -doll, unless we assume that the idea is of a round thing (the knees?) sticking up (as one sits on one's
64 haunches). The suffix (or suffixes) -kën is not clear. It is of quite frequent occurrence, but is still uncer-
65tain. -dom is the usual present participle.
66 ami'm that one (subjective form of the demonstrative).
67 mayä'ken it was. This frequently-appearing form seems to be derived from the stem ma- to be,
68 with the suffix -pak, which indicates past time.
69 tsai'men after a while. Derived from tsai another, and the suffix -men-not the negative, with
70 which it is identical in form, but a suffix indicating TIME OF, which is used in the names of seasons, etc.
71 (yö'men summer, flower-time; ku'mmën winter, earth-lodge-time, i. e. the period during
72 which the people live in the earth-lodges).
73 tsem'nepe(m) one who is not seen. The verbal stem here is tse- to see, with the negative suffix
74 -men, and the -pe of the nonen actors. It would seem to mean, therefore, one not seeing, but is em-
75 phatically declared, in this instance, to be passive. No formal distinction of the passive has yet been
76 noted in Maidu.
77 oki'tkös soia had the quality of arriving, it is said (from oki- to arrive, to reach; cf. note
78 31). The use of the suffix -kù has already been sufficiently explained.
79 pü'iyanan from outside; pü'ya means, in general, the outside, without the house. The suffix
80 -nàn is the usual locative, meaning from, away from.
81 okö'köinpintsoia lowered head little by little down toward, it is said. In this instance we have
82 the use of the prefix o- indicating actions done with the head. The verbal stem is -köi-, meaning to
83 lower, to depress (küissto- to set, as the sun, i. e., to go down over the edge of the world). The
84 reduplication of the stem here indicates that the action took place slowly at intervals. The suffix -pin
85 is directive, meaning toward. The ñ before the p is probably phonetic.
86 A'änk am then. This is a connective formed from the stem a- and the suffix -kanim, meaning to
87 finish, complete an action.
lo'kîn'pinwèbissim 50 lo'kîn'pinwèbissim 50 ts'â'lwono 51 tâ'o'hâ'dom 52

crawling in kept crawling in kept one side

sâ'wô'no'na 53 opî'tinodom 54 pâ'i'iyam 55 i'nkina 55 opî'tsipdom. 56 Awete 57

fire behind filling up door base to filling out. Then

tsiwha'ken 43 kû'le'm 58 j'înkan 58 ono'm 59 sâ'ntsedô'nudoku 60

looking straight, it was girl head projecting

Lo'kisipbissim 61 tsai'men 44 lo'kisipbo'stsoia? A'înkanim 49 mû'îm 66

Crawling out continued by and by crawled wholly out, Then he

*: lo'kîn'pinwèbissim kept crawling into, toward. The main stem here is lo'k- to crawl on hands and knees, or on belly (lo'kîdi-lsoa crawled up). This stem is here apparently combined with âno to go, travel (from â, 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 -wèbissim is the continuative already explained; cf. note 24.

: tsâ'lwono on one side of the house; tsan- is a stem referring to the side of anything, as tsâ'na (tsan-â'na) 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.

: tâ'o'hâ'dom coiling around. The verbal stem is here tâ'o- meaning to coil, to twist, to turn, as in o'ntsôîtsôîkóm one who is curly-headed (o'nô head). The force of -ha is not known. The final suffix is the present participle -dom.

: sâ'wô'no'na toward the place opposite the door; sâ is the term for fire; the area back of the fire, i.e., the other side of the fire from the door, is called sâ'wô'na, and is the place of honor. The final suffix -nu is the locative, meaning to, toward.

: opî'tinodom filling up. The stem opî-, meaning full, seems analyzable into -pl-, a stem entering into several verbal forms (as hopîl'wàitodom filling and bursting; hopîl'dom pinching something like a berry and bursting it), and a prefix (?) o- of uncertain meaning, possibly the prefix o- indicating actions done with the head (?). The suffix -ino following is probably -no, the suffix of generalized motion, with an euphonic i.

: pâ'i'iyam inkina to the threshold; pû'iyam, meaning really the outside as contrasted with the interior of the house, is often used for the door, that which leads to the outside; -inki means the base, bottom, of a thing; -nu is the locative toward.

: opî'tsipdom 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.

: awete'n then; cf. note 40.

: kû'le'm j'înkan from beside the woman. This should probably be written as two words, although in speech the two nouns are very closely run together. Kû'le' is the usual term for woman, and -nik is the locative meaning from.

: ono'm head (the subjective form with the -m).

: sâ'ntsedô'nudom projecting, sticking up. As yet not analyzed satisfactorily. Sâ' appears in a number of verbs as a stem whose meaning is doubtful. The -nu is probably euphonic, while -dö may be the common stem tsâ- to see. The following suffixes appear to be -dö, meaning upward, and the vane suffix -nô or -nû, usually indicating simple motion (sâ'wâl'dolosoa crawled upward; sâ'wâlkâdolosoa standing upright).

: tsâ'no'wâ'chisstsoia kept looking steadily at, it is said. The stem here is tsâ- to see, which, with the suffix -kôn (perhaps related to -koi away), has the meaning to look at, to gaze on. The continuative suffix -wâ'chis gives the idea of steadfastness and fixity of gaze.

: bû'syatan after having stayed. The stem bûs- has already been referred to. The suffix -yatôn is best translated by after having. The suffix -yatôn is best translated by after having.

: wâ'kispestsoia crawled out, it is said. The stem tsâ-kô has already been discussed. The suffix -sil out of has also already been referred to in note 56.

: wâ'kispebishopim kept crawling out. Here the continuative -wâ'chisstem is shortened to -bissim.

: lo'kispebishopim crawled wholly out. It is said. The suffix -bissim gives the idea always of thoroughness, completion (see § 20, no. 39).

: mû'îm iie (in the subjunctive form).
mo'onna 67 o'tnootoa'ia 68 Lo'kmitnofve'bissim 69 lo'kmitsoia. 70 Atse't. 71 Meanwhile said having crawled down into it is said.

kule'rn 15 bi'ystssoia 3 u'mi'di 72 hob'a? di. 7 Bse'men 44 we'yetsoia. 73 By and by spoken, it is said.

"Oko'tapö 71 ak'a'nas 75 niki 76 atso'ia. 77 said she, it is said. Amö'nï 78 "Ho" 79 "All right,"

atso'ia. 77 "Ama'm 42 be'nek 33 ono'makasi 80 be'nek 33 ono'tapö 81 said (he) that one to-morrow go-shall-I to-morrow go away, let us.

ak'a'nas 75 nik 82 atso'ia. 77 Amö'nï 78 mën 83 ne'noumai'dum 2 "He'u 84 "Yes,"

ono'benë 85 go-ought saa' 86 atso'ia. 77 Amö'nï 78 tsa'men 44 bi'ysvyatan 62 stayed after having

67 mo'onna to the water; mo'oni is water. The terminal euphonic i is dropped always before locative suffixes such as this; -na toward.
68 o'tnootoa'ia went into, it is said. The stem here, ak-, is apparently a derived stem from the common 6- to go. (May not this be a contraction from 6mit- to go down into?) The addition of the suffix -no of generalized motion does not seem to add strength.
69 lo'kmitnofve'bissim kept crawling down into. We have here the suffix -nil, meaning into, down into a hole, cavity, etc., which, as it was suggested, may appear in contracted form in the preceding verb. Again, the addition of the suffix -no seems to add little, although here perhaps emphasizing the continuity of the motion. In -rc'bissim we have, of course, the usual continuative.
70 bi'ystsoia crawled down into, it is said. Here -nil-tsoia coalesces to -nilsoin.
71 atse't meanwhile. A connective formed from the auxiliary verb a- to be by the temporal suffix 4st, meaning while, at the time when.
72 ame'l'di in this; ame' is the demonstrative indicating objects near the speaker; -di is the locative suffix meaning at, in, on.
73 w't'yetsoia spoke. Of the many verbs of speaking or saying, w't'yon is one of the most commonly used. The stem is in reality w't-, often reduplicated as w't'w't-. The suffix -ye is one of those verbal suffixes of so general a meaning that no definite translation can be given for them.
74 ak'al'tapö let us go away. Here 6- to go is the stem, to which is added the directive suffix -to away from; a further suffix, -ta, which generally seems to indicate motion upward or along the surface of something; and finally the expository suffix -pu.
75 ak'a'nas said. The stem a- to say is probably related to the stem ma- of similar meaning. The suffix -kon is the ending of the third person of a verbal form (see § 19, no. 30). The terminal -as is the indication of the perfect tense, here suffixed directly to the verbal form, and not standing independent (see § 19, no. 32).
76 niki (to) me. Instead of the more usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun, nik, what is apparently an emphatic form is here used, distinguished from the possessive ni'ki by a different accent and long terminal i.
77 atso'a said, it is said. The stem 6- to say here takes the regular quotative past-tense suffix. Instead of the usual ending of the third person, a-, as here, the form atso'kam is sometimes used. As compared with ak'a'nas above, the position of the tense and pronominal suffixes is reversed.
78 amö'nï then. Another connective formed from the auxiliary with the suffix -mën, apparently best translated by when; hence when it was so.
79 hâ well! all right! yes!
80 ono'makasi I shall go. Here, from the stem ak-, the general verb to go, to travel, aöö is formed. Of which the first form of the personal singular of the future, the mën being the suffix of the future tense, the ka a suffix still somewhat obscure (see § 19, no. 30), and the -s(i) the suffix of the first person singular.
81 ono'tapö let us go (a form parallel to oko'ala ato's see note 74), but formed from ono'as).
82 nik (to) me. Here the usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun is used, instead of the emphatic niki' (see note 76).
83 mën me (the). The subjective form of the third personal pronoun singular, used here as a demonstrative.
84 ho'â yes!
85 ono'benë ought to go. The suffix -ben or -benë conveys the idea of must, ought.
86 saa' (?) I am unable to explain this.
Amā'í mō′ni 78 Amā'í 42 momi 88 hēnō'tsoia 89 That one morning in water went to get, it is said.

mō′ni 78 mōkō′thotsoia 94 Amō′ni 78 mē′tsoia 94 him her many-very saw, it is said. Then fish gave, it is said.

Amō′ni 78 tsa′nān 95 momi 88 hēdō′i-wet 96 carried up having on other side
tsoia, 97 Okī′twenen 98 momi 88 set down, it is said.

ha′pśitosioa, 100 then mē′datosioa, 101 Amā′ni 42 mē′nkesto 33 took, it is said.

Then same place at tō′i′kitsoia, 106 Sāwo′nonaki 107 opī′tinodom 54

tō′i′kitsoia, 106 An′kaninm 49 mōkā′ndi 105 variously the other side's filling up

An′kaninm 49 mo′kā′ndi 105 tō′i′kitsoia, 106 Sāwo′nonaki 107 opī′tinodom 54 filling up

As explained before (note 53), sāwo′nonaki is the term applied to the portion of the house opposite the door. With this we have here the locative suffix -na, meaning toward, and the possessive suffix -ki. This use of the possessive is curious, and it would seem that some word like space, area, ought to be understood.
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

pū'yanaki 108 109
doorward

located completely;

it is said.

opi'tsiptsoia
filled completely;

it is said.

Awete'ankan 49
Then and

be'iböm
again

mō'i'ni
she (the)

kūlē'm
15
girl

i'kinan
beside-from

tsēko'nwēbisstsoia.
looked straight continually,

it is said.

Awete'ankan 40
Then and

ti'ktena bū'ssdom
little while staying

bū'ssweten
staying after

ti'ktonp'siptsoia.
crawled after, it is said.

Lū'ksipēbissim
Crawling out kept on

lō'ksipbo'stsoia.
crawled wholly out,

it is said.

Hanō'lekanantena'doidi
Honey Lake from country in

Amo'nikan 119
Then and

mō'ji
she (the)

kūlē'm
girl

we'yetsai
spoke, it is said.

"Sū
"Well!" going-I"

ōno'si
121
Then off went up, it is said.

ātsō'i.
77
Amo'nikan 119
Then and

mō'im
he (the)

neno'im
old man

He'ū
"Yes" 84
ātsō'i.
77
Then said (he), it is said.

"Ettū'123
min 124
(for) you

basā'kō'125
staff

yā'tisi'126
make-1"

ātsō'i.
Then said (he), it is said.

A'ankanim 49
Then

basā'kō'125
staff

yā'titsoia.'126
made, it is said.

A'ankaninikan 127
Then and

piwi'128
roots

kan129
magic (and)

108 pū'yanaki DOORWARD. A similar construction to that in note 107. For pū'ya', see note 55.
109 opı'tsiptsoia FILLED UP COMPLETELY. IT IS SAID (see note 54).
110 be'iböm AGAIN (from the stem be'ib- meaning AGAIN, OTHER, and the suffix -bō of unknown meaning).
111 mō'i'ni SHE (THAT ONE). Subjective of the third personal pronoun singular, here used as demonstrative.
112 Phonetic change of -m to -̂n before k.
113 I'mk battered FROM BESIDE; ink'i, meaning BASE, with the locative suffix -nan, meaning FROM.
114 I'kinan FROM HERE; i'kten, meaning BASE, with the locative suffix -nan, meaning FROM.
115 I'mk battered STAYING A LITTLE WHILE; i'kten alone has the meaning of SLIGHTLY, SOMEWHAT, A LITTLE; i'kten has a temporal meaning, A LITTLE WHILE (is this -no the locative?); the verbal stem is basā' TO STAY, TO REMAIN, and has here the present-participle suffix .
116 bū'ssweten AFTER STAYING (from the same stem bū'ss-, with the common suffix -weten, meaning AFTER, AFTER HAVING).
117 lō'ksipēbissim CRAWLING UP, IT IS SAID. The directive suffix -ōn here also has the general suffix of motion -na (-m)."118 Hanō'lekanantena'doidi IN THE HONEY LAKE REGION. It is not clear yet whether Hanō'lek 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 -nan is the usual locative FROM, apparently meaning THIS SIDE FROM, i.e., between here and Honey Lake. The -te is a suffix of uncertain meaning, apparently nominalizing the locative form preceding it. The -ń is from -m before k, and is the connective. Kū'do, kodo, is the usual term for PLACE, COUNTRY, WORLD, and frequently takes a euphonic į before the locative -di AT, IN.
119 Amo'nantena THAT PLACE FROM TOWARD; amo'n the demonstrative THAT, with the locative -nan FROM, meaning THIS SIDE OF THAT PLACE, i.e., between there and here; the same suffix -te, as in the preceding word; and finally the locative (exactly the reverse of -nan) -na TOWARD, i.e., the snake crawled off toward some spot between here and Honey lake.
120 ēno'doitsoia WENT OFF UP, IT IS SAID; ēno' TO TRAVEL, TO GO; ēdoi the directive upward (north is apparently always up to these Maidu).
121 Amo'nikan AND THEN.
122 sē! WELL! (an exclamation).
123 ēnō'isI AM GOING (from the stem ēno'- GO, TO TRAVEL). Here the suffix of the first person singular is suffixed directly to verbal stem, without the -a which is generally used (see § 19, no. 30).
124 ēnō'si OLD MAN. Here apparently refers to one or other of the parents; from context later, this seems to be FATHER. See note 2.
125 ēnō'is STOP A MOMENT! WAIT!
126 basā'kō A CANE, STAFF. This appears to be from a stem bas'-, which seems to mean WIDE SPREADING, SPREADING APART, from which, with the suffix -ō, 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.
127 yā'tisI I AM MAKING. The stem yā'- means TO CREATE, TO MAKE (Ko'do'gipep the EARTH-MAKER, CREATOR), and, with the causative -ti, 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, ka.
128 A'ankaninikan and THEN.
129 piwi' ROOTS (OBJECTIVE).
130 kan AND.
basî'kômostsû'undi 130
staff (cane) end-on

o'loloki 134
smoke hole at

wôdôũnitma'nkano 138
throw-down-you shall

min 124
you

min 124
something mysterious

sâmo'estodi 139
fireplace-centre into

atsoi'a. 77
said (he), it is said.

Amô'nikan 119
Then and

Awete'nkan 40
ôno'doitsoi'a. 118
Then and went off up, it is said.

---

130 basî'kômostsû'undi on the end of the staff. Basî'kô staff; -m the connective; ostsû'mi the end, point. The locative -di has the force of at, on.

131 widâ'tpai'soi'a tied to, it is said. The prefix-stem wi-, indicating actions done by force, generally by pulling, is here combined with the stem -dat-, which, in its more common form, -dâ-, is of frequent occurrence. It has a meaning alone of to knock, apparently, but with wi- has the meaning to tie. The suffix -pai means against, upon, i.e., to tie or allow to, on.

132 ūni' this (objective), the demonstrative pronoun.

133 odi'knodom arriving, when you arrive (from -t to go, and -dikno against, up against; hence to reach, to arrive); present participle suffix -dom.

134 o'loloki at the smoke hole. From o'loloko is the smoke hole of the earth-covered lodge. The terminal euphonic vowel (here o instead of the more usual i, probably depending on vowel-harmony) is dropped before the locative -di.

135 tô'sdadom standing up (present participle). From tô- a stem meaning to stand; the suffix -da indicates motion upward or position aloft; hence standing up by the smoke hole.

136 tsê'hetsonoweten looking-over (into)-after having looked over into. From tsê- the stem of the verb to see, here with a suffix, -hehe, which is obscure. The suffix -sone, 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 -sone is the common suffix indicating after having.

137 wôdô'minodom throwing down into. The prefix-stem wô- here refers to the staff, as a long thing; wôdô'm meaning to throw or drop a long thing. The stem dôm is obscure. The directive suffix -mi, meaning down into a hole, hollow, etc., follows, with the -mo of general motion, and the participial (present) suffix -dom.

138 wôdô'mnikitma'abdoyou shall throw down. The same stem as above; wôdô'm 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 sâmo'estodi in the center of the fireplace; sâ is the term for fire; sâmô' the fireplace, apparently si-mô' fire-stone; esto, often used independently, means the center or middle of anything, here with the locative -di.

140 sikâ'latset while, at the time when he bothers; sikâ'la'- has the meaning of to bother, to trouble, to hurt, its analysis is not yet clear; sî'-is a prefix of uncertain meaning (sî'tes- 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'hûni with something mysterious, bad (magically); o'hô is anything which is evil in its effects, or by magical means works harm to a person. The instrumental suffix -mi requires no explanation.

142 opo'kitbôs I might make headache; o po' is a headache (probably from o-, the prefix referring to the head; and -pop-, meaning to strike); opo'kit- to cause a headache. The suffix -bô 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 -bô.

143 odi'knodom don't bother, hurt (sikâ'la', cf. note 140). The negative -men is often used thus to indicate negative imperative.

144 da'nkano you say (from â- 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 MICHELSOn)
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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.
§ 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 Iowa River at a place in Tama county, Iowa. They call themselves Meskwaki' Red-Earth People, and are known to the Ojibwa and others of the north as Utagami People of the Other Shore. Among their totems is an influential one called the Fox. It is told in tradition 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, Wa'go 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 leave 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 is caught by the ear, it is of the feeblest sort. Sometimes $l$ is substituted for $n$ in careless speech. Vowels are not always distinct, especially when final. There is weak distinction between $w$ and $y$, both as vowel and as consonant.

Externally the language gives an impression of indolence. The lips 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 inaudible: 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, and 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:¹

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<td>g</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c, s</td>
<td>p, 'p, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t, 't, d</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ a soft glottal stop resembling a feeble whispered cough. It occurs before initial vowels: [a'tci/ lacrosse stick.

[ The intervocalic is presumably a spirant with glottal stricture.—T. M.]

't 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 'a provided when he came is to be pronounced nearly as 'af provided 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!

'h 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’hwawa‘ 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’nahwa‘w 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: kahoe‘ 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 wdpA wdbA to look at.—T. M.
g 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: "gou" 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: "kwaw" woman.

c like the voiceless 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: "sk" only.

s a hissing surd articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The air-passage is narrow and without stop: "sesi" 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: tciv'c or tsciv'c heavens and earth!

t a pure dental surd articulated with the point of the tongue against the upper teeth and with sudden stress: tet'pis" 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'daw" 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"taw" bow.

l a lateral liquid sometimes heard in careless speech. It often replaces the nasal n after ù, 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: wâ'bigulw" for wâ'bigunw" 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: ni"n" I.

m a bilabial nasal consonant like m in English: matn" 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: pyaw" 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: wâ'ban j morning light.

'p like p, but with the difference of having first to expel a puff of 
breath before coming to complete closure: ä''pyâte i when he 
came.

y like the voiced spirant y in you, yes. It is uttered without stress:
wâ'teiyâ'ni whence I came.

w bilabial liquid like the English w in war, water: wâwi'gewâ'g i at 
their dwelling-place.

Vowels

ü 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: ü'wiyâ' a

somebody.

u like the u-sound in full and book. The vowel is short, open, and 
faintly rounded. It is the short of ü: pyâ'tusâ'w a he comes 
walking.

ê like o in words like no, slope, rose. The vowel is long and slightly 
less rounded than ü; the ridge of the tongue is not so high and

not so far back as for ü: â'môw i honey.

o like o in fellow and hotel. It is the short sound of ê: nôtâ'gosi'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:
nâ'husâ'w a he can walk.

â 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: mAn i this.

â 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: wâ'hamôn i

mirror.

ä like a in father, alms. The tongue lies low, back, and passive; the 
lips open listlessly and only slightly apart: màhan i these.
ä longer than the a in sham, alley. The ä 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 ä; 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: mà'nàw a there is much of it.

ê 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 rist there is not clear and sharp: nàhê' t hark!

e like the vowel-sound in men, led, let. It is a shorter sound of ê: pe'mì oil, grease.

î 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: nì'n a I.

i like the i in sit, miss, fit. It is the short of î; it is even shorter as a final vowel: äi' cimì' te i 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   | kwí'jena - exactly |
| gw   | ã'gw i no          |
| 'kw  | ì'kwàw a woman     |
| hw   | keci'kahwàw a he stabs him |
| 'hw  | ma'hwàw a wolf     |
| sw   | me'dàsw i ten      |
| cv   | me'cwà a rabbit    |
| tw   | ì'twà i ouch       |
| mw   | ì'mwàw a he eats him |
| nw   | nò'tenw i wind     |
| pw   | pwà w i not        |
The following true consonantic clusters occur:

- sk cā'sk only
- ck mā'cīkī'w grass
- stc tēstcū'ē 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: aiyān'ā opossum
- Ai like the diphthong in turn with the r slurred; a'sai skin
- ēi like the diphthong in day, play; nahēi' now then!
- āi like the diphthong in soil, boy; mā'īnāhwa'w a he went at him
- au like the diphthong in shout, bout; hau halloo!
- ŏu like the diphthong in foe, toe; paño'ū 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 ő, ū, ā, and ĩ, 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 ą, ĭ. Rhetorical emphasis can render almost any vowel long—so long that the vowel-sound usually develops into a diphthong, as āgwē'i why, no, of course! (from ā'gwī no).

Change of quantity is often due to position. Long vowels are likely to suffer loss of quantity at the beginning of long combinations: nā'kē again becomes na'ka in the phrase na'katcāmegutā'gi again.
IT CERTAINLY SEEMED AS IF. Long vowels also shorten when placed before a stressed syllable: \( a'kîgî \) on the ground becomes \( a'kîgâ'hî-nâbî'tcî \) when he looked down at the ground.

Diphthongs undergo change of quantity. The accent of a diphthong slides downward from the first vowel, and the loss when it comes is in the breaking-off of the second member: \( a'saî \) buckskin, \( nè'tasâ'mî \) my buckskin.

Consonants show evidence of quantity also. In general, the quantity 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 \( ò: \) \( mî'mîwâ \) pigeon, \( nî'na \) 1.

A syllable consists (1) of a single vowel-sound, \( â; \) (2) of two or more vowels joined together into a diphthong, ‘\( wî'î \) what?; and (3) of a vowel-sound in combination with a single consonant or a cluster of consonants, the vocalic sound always following the consonant: \( nî'tcî \) my kind. Two or more vowels coming together, no two of which are in union as a diphthong, are broken by an interval between: \( ìhî'owâ'tcî \) 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, \( kî'nî \) thou; for words of three syllables, stress falls on the antepenult, \( kîwî'yeînî \) 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 -mi’-, 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’in’i for i’n’i that; nahēi’ for nahi’ hark; nenīwetigē’i for ne’nīweti’gē oh, ye men! pyāgō’u for pyā’gū 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.
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:

\[\text{i'ni wāyātu'geme}'y^u\] and so in truth it may have been, for \[i'ni yātu'geme}'y^u\]

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 \(ā\):

\[āhu'gu'kahi̇gāwā'te^i\] when they made a bridge is the conjunctive for \(ku'kahi̇gāwā'y^i\) they made a bridge
\[āhu'ke'piskwātawāhōni̇we'te^i\] which they used as a flap over the entry-way [cf. 354.22] is a subordinate form of \(ke'piskwātawā' hônamō'y^i\) they used it for a flap over the entrance

[I am convinced that \(hu\) 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 (\(wīge\) also; cf. \(kīwe\) beside \(kīwi\) [§16]). Thus \(wīgiw^a\) he dwells 220.22 (-\(w^a\) §28). Observe that we have \(wīhuwīgēwāte^i\) where they were to live 56.5 (future conjunctive, §29) beside \(āhuwīgēwātc\) where they lived 56.23 (for -\(wāte^i\); aorist conjunctive, §29); \(āhuwīgi-wāte^i\) where they lived 94.21; \(āhuwīgiyāy\) where we (excl.) were living 216.1 (aor. conj. §29); \(āhuwīgītc\) where he lived 42.20 (§29); \(āhuwīgīntc\) where he was staying 182.8 (§34). That is to say, \(hu\) is
found after wi- as well as ū-. Now, it should be observed that we have hu after ū- in some stems regularly; in others it never occurs. As h is unquestionably used as a glide, we are at once tempted to regard the u as a morphological element. But a direct proof is wāwīginitchin4 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 h is absent. Now, this u is found in ā'kiv-i-wigewātē when they went to live somewhere 66.15 (ū—wāte, § 29; kivī is an extended form of kī, an initial stem denoting INDEFINITE MOTION, § 16; 'k for k regularly after ū).—T. M.]

Other additions, like h, w, y, are clearly glides:
ā'hucētcē whence he came, the independent form of which is u'tɛwā he came from some place
ā'huñāpāmītcē when she took a husband, a temporal form
for unā'pāmīwā she took a husband
ō'wīwānī his wife (from owī-anī)
owī'tāwawānī his brother-in-law (from owī'tā-anī)
kētāsī'yūlīwā he crawls up hill (from ketāsī-ūlāwa)
kī'yuwāwā he is jealous (from kī-āwūwa)

Consonantic Accretion

A frequent type of accretion is w or y with k, forming a cluster:
tcā'kwīwīnāwā he is short-horned (from tcāgī-wināwa)
tcā'kwāpyāwā it is short (from tcāgī-āpyāwī)
sāsī'gā'kyāwā he scattered it (this is just the same in meaning as sāsīgā'kāwā)

Intervocalic Consonants

The most common accretion is t.1 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''kweitepyā'gi top of the water
Between e and A: netA'a'panā'ni I laugh
Between A and ū: ā'wātō'wā he carries it away
Between ū and u: pyā'tušā'wā he came walking
Between ū and ū: pū'tūtā'wā he crawls in

1 t serves as a connective in an inanimate 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 -isū- cited below.—T. M.]

When the vowel of the second member is i, then t usually becomes tc:

Between i and i: pi'tcisā'wā it (bird) flew in
Between a and i: kepa'tcigā'ni cork, stopper
Between a and i: kuqwa'tcisā'wā it (bird) tries to fly
Between a and i: kiwā'tcitoāhi'wa he is lonely

Sometimes n has the value of an intervocalic consonant. It often occurs immediately after the temporal particle ā:

tcāgānā'towācetī'gī PEOPLE 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.

ānā'patalag ī when they saw them 206.18 as contrasted with ātāpā-
patalag 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'pawācet ī he dreamed 206 title; 210.17 (ā— tc ī [§ 29]) contrasted with ānā'ā'pawācet ī then he had a dream 212.3;

ū-ā'pawācet ī 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 ā 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'pēmīnawatetanag ī then he went carrying it in his hand 194.12 (ā—ag ī [§ 29]; pēmī- awa- (āwa) [§ 16]; t- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

Between i and ā: ke'tcināpyāywācet when they drew nigh 152.2 (ke'tcī- intensity; pyā- motion hither; yā- to go; ā—wācet ī [§ 29]; -i lost by contraction [§ 10])

Between ā and ā: a'icināpamegucet ī as he was thus seen 76.6 (-tc for -tc ī [§ 10]; ā—tc ī [§ 29]; īcī- thus; āpa- same as āpa to see; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; petegināpi'kān ī thou shalt (not) look behind at me 382.9 (peteg ī behind; -i'kān ī [§ 30])

[Is ā'pānāpamāwācet ī they lost sight of him 180.19 for ā'pānā-
pamāwācet ī (§ 12)? The analysis would be ā—āwācet ī (§ 29); pānā-
(§ 16) to miss, to fail to; āpa- to see; -m- (§ 29). Similarly

§ 8}
ä'panāpatāmātisuyānī YOU HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE SIGHT OF YOUR BODILY SELF 382.7 (ä—yanī [§ 29]; -tisu- [§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, pyātcisāwā he came in flight. Here -tc- and -s- are regarded as intervocals. Such is not the case. It stands for pyātci-isā + wā, as is shown by pyātci-ne'kawāwā he comes driving them home (§ 16). The secondary stem -ne'ka- follows (§ 19) pyātci-. A vowel is elided before another (§ 10); hence the final -i of pyātci- is lost before -isā- (§ 19). Similarly -te- seems to be added to pyā-. Note, too, ä'pītīgātē when he entered the lodge, compared with pītcisāwāgi they came running in (pīte-: pīte-: pī- = pyūt-: pyūt-: pyū-. In short, pīte- stands for pītei-). I cannot 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: Asā'wesī'wā he is yellow
Between i and ā: pyā'tcisā'wā he came in flight (isū [§ 19])
Between a and ā: ne'masō'wā he is standing up
Between u and ā: pyū'tusā'wā he came walking (usū [§ 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:

na'nālī'cimā'wā he carefully lays him away
pa'nmē'mamwā 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 kewāpame'ne I look at thee, with newā'paimawā I look at him; āwāpaimāte he then looked at her 298.20; note also newāpamegwā he looked at me 368.19; contrast wāpame'kū look ye at him 242.19 with wāpaiminwā look thou at me 322.3. Other examples for me are kepyātciwāpame'nē I have come to visit you 242.11; āwāpawāpameguteī was she watched all the while 174.17; pūnīmē'kū cease disturbing him (literally, cease talking with him [see § 21]) 370.18.]

§ 8
There is some evidence to show that a similar device was used in
conjunction with \( t \) and \( n \), but at present I have not sufficient ex-
amples to show this conclusively.

On further investigation it appears that the device of inserting a
vowel to prevent consonant-clusters foreign to the Fox runs through-
out the language. The vowel is usually \( e \), but always \( a \) before \( h \) and \( hw \). There is an initial stem \( nes \) to kill; compare \( ãnesêtu\) then
he killed him (\( ã—âte \) § 29). Contrast this with \( ãnesegut\) then he
was slain (\(-gu-\) sign of the passive [§ 41]); \( nesegwa\) 190.3 he has
been slain (independent mode, aorist, passive [§ 28]; \(-w\) lengthened
for \(-w\)); \( nêsseguta\) he who had been slain 190.8 (passive partici-
pal; \(-gw-\) as above; \(-t\) [§ 33]; change of stem-vowel of \( nes \) [§§ 11, 33]).

Other illustrations are \( kusegw\) he was feared 56.14 (\(-s-\) [§ 21]),
contrasted with \( kušaw\) he feared him (\(-aw\) [§ 28]); \( ku\'tamw\) he
fears it (\( 't\) [§ 21]; \(-amw\) [§28]); \( à\'to\'kenâc\) then he wakened her
104.18 (for \(-tc\); \(-n-\) [§ 21]; per contra \( à\'tô\'kîtc\) then he woke up
168.11); \( à\'tâgenâc\) he touched him 158.5; \( mî\'kemegutcin\) he by
whom she was wooed 142.6 (passive participial; \( mî\'k\) [§ 16]; \(-m-\)
[§ 21]; \(-gu-\) [§ 41]; \(-tcin\) [§ 33]); \( mî\'kemâw\) he wooes her (\(-aw\)
[§ 28]); \( àmî\'kemâc\) when he wooed her 148.6 (\( ã—âte \) [§29]);
\( kôgenâw\) he washes him (\( kôg-\) [§ 16]; \(-aw\) [§ 28]; contrast \( kôgïw\)
he mires). For \( a \) as the inserted vowel observe \( pîtahwâw\) he buries
him (\( pît-\) [§16]; \(-huw\) [§ 21]; \(-aw\) [§ 28]); \( kaska\) \( haw\) \( a\) he accom-
plishes an act (\( kask-\) [§16]; \(-h-\) [§ 21]; \(-amw\) [§ 28]); \( à\'pîtahwâwâc\) then
they buried him 160.2 (\( ã—âwâtc\) [§29]; \(-j\) elided).—T. M.]

§ 9. Variation of Consonants

Some consonants interchange one with another. The process is
marked among those with forward articulation. \( s \) and \( c \) inter-
change in:

\[ \begin{align*}
  me\'se\'kwâ\'w & \text{ she has long hair} \\
  me\'câw & \text{ it is large} \\
  Mûse\'sîbô\'w & \text{ large river (name for the Mississippi)} \\
  me\'cîmi\'n & \text{ large fruit (word for apple)}
\end{align*} \]

\( 't \) and \( c \) interchange:

\[ \begin{align*}
  me\'tahwâ\'w & \text{ he shot and hit him} \\
  ñme\'cwâw & \text{ he shot and hit him}
\end{align*} \]

\( 't \) and \( s \) interchange:

\[ \begin{align*}
  ne\'\acute{t}amâwâ\'w & \text{ he killed him for another} \\
  ne\'sâw & \text{ he killed him}
\end{align*} \]

[For the interchange of sonant and surd stops see § 3.—T. M.]
§ 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:

\[ a + \ddot{a} \text{ becomes } \ddot{a}: \text{n}i'\text{n}a\ddot{c}i'\text{it}^2 \text{ I in turn (for n}i'\text{n}a \ddot{a}'\text{ci}^\circ \text{)} \]
\[ a + \ddot{a} \text{ becomes } \ddot{a}: \text{n}a'\text{k}a'\text{py}\ddot{a}\text{te}^i \text{ again he came (for n}a'\text{k}a\ddot{a}'\text{py}\ddot{a}\text{te}^i \text{)} \]
\[ i + a \text{ becomes } a: \text{py}\ddot{a}'\text{w}a\text{y}a\text{yo}^\circ \ddot{a} \text{ they came to this place (for py}\ddot{a}'\text{w}a\text{y}a\text{yo}^\circ \ddot{a} \text{)}; \text{n}a'\text{g}a\text{w}a'\ddot{k}i^\circ \text{w}^i \text{ it is a sandy place (for n}a'\text{g}a\text{w}a'\ddot{k}i^\circ \text{w}^i \text{)} \]
\[ i + \ddot{a} \text{ becomes } \ddot{a}: \text{it}e'\text{p}\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}\text{te}^i \text{ they go there (for }\text{i}'\text{tep}^i \ddot{a}'\text{h}\ddot{a}\text{te}^i \text{); nepa'}\text{-nata}'\text{y}^i \text{ they go to fetch water (for ne}'p^i \ddot{a}'\text{nata'}\text{y}^i \text{)} \]
\[ i + i \text{ becomes } i: \text{k}a'\text{ci}^\circ \text{w}^i \text{ what does he say? (for }k\text{a}'\text{ci}^\circ \text{i}'\text{w}^a \text{); }\text{i}'n\text{ipi}^\circ \text{y}^\circ \text{w}^e \text{ so it was told of yore (for }\text{i}'n^i \text{ ip}^i \text{i}'\text{y}^\circ \text{w}^e \text{)} \]
\[ i + a \text{ becomes } a: \text{n}a'\text{w}a\text{sku}^\circ \text{te}^i \text{ in the center of the fire (for n}a'\text{w}^i \text{ A'}\text{sku}^\circ \text{te}^i \text{); }\text{ag}\text{n}a'\text{mata}^\circ \text{te}^i \text{n}^i \text{ he did not eat it (for }\text{ag}\text{n}^i \text{ A'}\text{mata}^\circ \text{te}^i \text{n}^i \text{)} \]
\[ i + \ddot{a} \text{ becomes } \ddot{a}: \text{a}^\circ \text{e}^\circ \text{g}^\circ \text{ape}^e \text{ and often (for }\text{a}^\circ \text{e}^\circ \text{g}^\circ \ddot{a}'\text{pe}^e \text{); watac}^\circ \text{q}^\circ \text{w}^i \text{ nen}a'n \text{ the reason why I did not tell thee (for }\text{w}^i \text{t}^i \text{ A'}\text{g}^\circ \text{n}^i \text{ -nen}a'n \text{)} \]
\[ i + u \text{ becomes } u: \text{negut}^u'\text{k}^\circ \text{ate}^i \text{ on one of his feet (for }\text{ne}'\text{gut}^i \text{ u}''\text{k}^\circ \text{ate}^i \text{)}; \text{te}^i \text{g}^\circ \text{pe}^\circ \text{yu}^\circ \text{te}^i \text{ away from the edge of the water (for }\text{te}^i \text{g}^\circ \text{pe}^\circ \text{yu}^\circ \text{te}^i \text{)} \]

The two vowels in contact may assimilate into a diphthong:

\[ a + \ddot{a} \text{ becomes } \ddot{a}: \text{ne}'\text{ci}^\circ \text{k}^i \text{aiyo}^\circ \ddot{a} \text{ alone here (for }\text{ne}'\text{ci}^\circ \text{k}^i \text{ a}'\text{y}^\circ \ddot{a} \text{)} \]

The result of the assimilation of two vowels may produce a sound different from either:

\[ e + a \text{ becomes } a': \text{py}^\circ \text{u}^\circ \text{nu}^\circ \text{taw}^\circ \text{w}^i \text{t}^a'\text{y}^\circ \text{w}^u \text{ if he should come to me here (for }\text{py}^\circ \text{u}^\circ \text{nu}^\circ \text{taw}^\circ \text{w}^i \text{t}^a'\text{y}^\circ \ddot{a} \text{)} \]
\[ i + a \text{ becomes } a': \text{ma}^i \text{a'}\text{ti}^\circ \text{ci}^\circ \text{k}^i \text{ic}^\circ \text{y}^\circ \text{w}^u \text{ he might overtake me here (for }\text{ma}^i \text{a'}\text{ti}^\circ \text{ci}^\circ \text{k}^i \text{ic}^\circ \text{y}^\circ \ddot{a} \text{)} \]

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
either an initial or a final part. Nevertheless, hypothetical equivalents are offered as attempts at showing what the pure original forms probably were. Hypphens between the parts mark the places where probable changes take their rise:

\[ i + e \] becomes \( e \): pe'megá'w\(^a\) he dances past (from pemí-egá\(^a\))
\[ i + á \] becomes \( á\): ma'netóweg\(é\)n\(^i\) sacred garment (from ma'netówi-ágen\(^i\)); cö'kswáge\(n\)\(^t\) smooth cloth (from cöskwí-ágen\(^t\))
\[ i + a \] becomes \( a\): pema'hoqó\(^a\) he swims past (from pemí-ahogó\(^a\)); ta'gwahótó\(^w\)\(^a\) he is trapping (from tagwi-ahótó\(^w\)\(^a\))
\[ i + ã \] becomes \( ã\): maci'skíwápó\(^w\)\(^i\) tea, i. e., herb fluid (from ma'ci-skíwi-ápó\(^w\)\(^i\))
\[ i + ã \] becomes \( ã\): pe'megó\(^w\)\(^a\) he dances past (from pemi-egá\(^w\)^a)
\[ i + d \] becomes \( d\): irá'netdwi-\(a\)g\(é\)n\(^i\) sacred garment (from iríAnetdwi-\(a\)ge\(n\)\(^i\)); co'skwhgé\(m\)\(^n\)\(^i\) smooth cloth (from cöslwi-\(a\)g\(é\)n\(^i\))
\[ i + a \] becomes \( a\): pema'hógo\(^w\)\(^a\) he swims past (horapemi-\(h\)ógá\(^w\)\(^a\))
\[ i + g \] becomes \( g\): i-gwa\(ñ\)otó\(^w\)\(^a\) he is trapping (from tagwi-ahótó\(^w\)\(^a\))
\[ i + ã \] becomes \( ã\): niA'ciskpó\(^w\)\(^a\) tea, i. e., herb fluid (from niA'ciskpó\(^w\)\(^a\)); wá'ciskó\(^w\)\(^a\) wine, i. e., sweet fluid (from wá'ciskó\(^w\)\(^a\))
\[ i + d \] becomes \( d\): niA'ciskd\(^w\)\(^a\) it fell the other way (from niA'ciskd\(^w\)\(^a\)); wá'ciskd\(^w\)\(^a\) wine, i. e., sweet fluid (from wá'ciskd\(^w\)\(^a\))
\[ i + d \] becomes \( o\): pe'mbó\(^w\)\(^a\) she passes by with a burden on her back (from pemí-\(b\)ó\(^w\)\(^a\)); wá'ciskó\(^w\)\(^a\) wine, i. e., sweet fluid (from wá'ciskó\(^w\)\(^a\))
\[ i + a \] becomes \( a\): pemí-pó\(^w\)\(^a\) he passes by (from pemí-pó\(^w\)\(^a\))

[On the other hand, we find pemipahó\(^w\)\(^a\) he passes by on the run (from pemí-pahó\(^w\)\(^a\)).—T. M.]

Assimilation occurs between sounds not contiguous:

kícwíni'cwíhá'w\(^a\) after he had two (for kícini'cwíhá'w\(^a\))

§ 11. Dissimilation

Vowels often undergo dissimilation. A very common change is o or u to wá. The process takes place in the formation of participles from words having o or u as initial vowels:

\[ u'tce\(^w\)\(^a\) \] he came thence; wá'tce\(^i\)\(^a\) he who came thence
\[ u'tó'kí'm\(^i\) \] his land; wá'tó'kí'm\(^i\)\(^t\) he who owns land
\[ u'gwís\(i\)'n\(^i\) \] his or her son; wá'gwís\(i\)'\(^t\)\(^a\) one who has a son
\[ u'kâtc\(^i\) \] his foot; wá't'kâtc\(^i\)\(^a\) one that has feet (name for a bake oven)
\[ u'wíwí\(^n\)\(^i\) \] his horn; wá'wíwíwí\(^n\)\(^i\)\(^t\) one with small horn

The vowel u becomes wá when preceded by a consonant:

ku'sigá'w\(^a\) she plays at dice; kwá'sigá'\(^t\)\(^a\) she who plays at dice
mu'wí\(^w\)\(^a\) he goes outside; nwá'wíwá'p\(^e\)'\(^x\) he always goes outside

The vowel u can also become wá:

\[ u'wí'gewá'w\(^i\) \] their dwelling-place; wáwí'gewá'\(^y\)\(^i\) at their dwelling-place

§ 11
[It should be observed that ū appears as ā under certain conditions. I cannot determine at present whether this is a phonetic process or whether there is a morphological significance. As an example I give pyāwa² HE COMES; compare with this ā'pyātc⁴ WHEN HE CAME; ā'pyāwāte⁴ WHEN THEY CAME; pyānu' COME THOU! pyāgo'² COME YE!—T. M.]

§ 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: ā'wāwpwāgesi'te⁴ then she began to wail (from āwāpī-wāgesite⁴); ā'Kyāwāte⁴ and he grew jealous (from ā'kī-yāwāte⁴)

*o* drops out: āwā'wīswā'te⁴ he singed his hair (for āwāwīso'-wāte⁴)

*u* drops out: ā'sīswā'te⁴ she fried them (from āsisu'-wāte⁴)

Words sometimes suffer loss of initial vowel:

skotā'g⁴ in the fire (for skotā'g⁴)

tōcko'tāmwa'y⁴ at their fire (for tōcko'tāmwā'g⁴)

kwī'gāgō⁴ nothing (for kwī'gwigāgo⁴)

nā'gwāte⁴ then he started away (for nā'ngwā'te⁴)

The loss often includes both initial consonant and vowel:

cwā'tc⁴ eight (for ne'cwāci'g⁴)

a'ka'niqīce'gw⁴ all day long (for n'kaniqīce'gw⁴)

The second member of a consonant-cluster frequently drops out:

ā'pā'winawā'te⁴ when he did not see him (for ā'pwā'winawā'te⁴)

pe'muta'mwā² he shot at it (for pe'mwuta'mwā²)

The elision of *n* takes place before some formative elements:

ā'pā'gici'g⁴ when it (a bird) alighted (a subordinate form of pā'gici'nw⁴ it [a bird] alighted)

nā'nā'hici'māw⁴ he laid him away carefully; nā'nā'hici'nw⁴ 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
\( A'c^i \) take her along (for \( a'wac^i \))
\( a'wâpâtâ'hogû'tc^i \) then he started off carrying her on his back
- (for \( a'wâpâwâta'hogû'tc^i \))

The second part of a stem often suffers loss from the effect of having been slurred over:
\( kîwâ'iyâtei'tc^i \) after he had gone (for \( kîciwâ'iyâtei'tc^i \))
\( kî'ke'kâ'nemâ'tc^i \) after he had learned who he was (for \( kî'cike'kâ'-nemâ'tc^i \))
\( â'pwâ' nëwâ'tc^i \) when he did not see him (for \( â'pwâ'winâwâ'tc^i \))
\( â'pwâ'câmâ'tc^i \) when he did not feed him (for \( â'pwâ'wicâmâ'tc^i \))

To slur over part of a pronominal ending causes loss of sound there:
\( uwi'-nemô''i \) his sisters-in-law (for \( uwi'nô'môhâ''i \))

Removal of the grave accent one place forward causes elision of final vowel:
\( ne'ka'nîtepê''k^i \) all night long (for \( ne'ka'nîte'epe''kî'w^i \))

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:

\( ò'san^i \) his father; \( ò'seg^i \) at his father's (lodge)
\( u''kâ'tâ'n^i \) his foot; \( u''kátê'g^i \) 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:
\( u'wâ'na'gw^i \) hole; \( uwâ'nâgô'g^i \) at the hole
\( mâ''ka'kw^i \) box; \( mâ''ka'ku'g^i \) at or in the box
\( me'tegw^i \) tree; \( me'tegu'g^i \) at the tree
\( kî'cesw^a \) sun; \( kî'cesô'g^i \) at the sun, suns
\( ne'nusw^a \) buffalo; \( ne'nusô'g^i \) buffaloes

The suffix \(-gi\) affects inanimate nouns ending in the diphthong \( ai \).
The first vocalic member lengthens into \( å \), and the second drops out:
\( u'piskwa^i \) bladder; \( u'piskwâ'g^i \) on or at the bladder
\( u'tawâwga'ear; u'tâ'wâgâ'g^i \) at or in the ear

\( § 12 \)
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:

\[ u'w\text{an}a'gw^1 \text{ hole; } uw\text{a}'nag\text{o}^n \text{ holes} \]
\[ ma'ka'kw^i \text{ box; } ma'ka'k\text{o}^n \text{ boxes} \]
\[ me't\text{egw}^i \text{ tree; } me't\text{eg}o^n \text{ trees} \]

A k-sound stands before the terminal wa of some animate nouns. To shift an o into the place of the w is a device for creating a diminutive:

\[ ma'kwa^a \text{ bear; } ma'k\text{o}^a \text{ cub} \]
\[ a'caskwa^a \text{ muskrat; } a'cask\text{o}^a \text{ a little muskrat} \]
\[ ce'g\text{agw}^a \text{ skunk; } ce'g\text{ag}o^a \text{ should be the proper diminutive, but it happens to be the word for onion, while kitten skunk is } ceg\text{ag}o^\text{h\text{a}}^a, \text{ a sort of double diminutive.} \]

The substitution of o or u for w occurs with great frequency:

\[ p\text{agw}^aw^i \text{ it is shallow; } p\text{ag}o^w^i \text{ the place of shallow water (the name for St Louis)} \]
\[ n\text{icwi}'kw\text{awa}^aw^i \text{ two women; } n\text{ic}\text{o}'kw\text{aw}^aw^i w^a \text{ he has two wives} \]
\[ me'ckwi^aw^i \text{ blood; } me'ckusi^w^a \text{ he is red} \]
\[ w\text{i}'pegw\text{a}^w^i \text{ it is blue; } w\text{i}pe'gusi^w^a \text{ he is blue} \]

§ 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:

\[ pe'n\text{am}a^w^a \text{ he imitated the turkey-call (from } pen\text{awa-m\text{u}wa}) \]
\[ ma'kw\text{am}a^w^a \text{ he imitated the cry of the wolf (from } ma'kw\text{awa-m\text{u}wa}) \]
\[ ki\text{utu}'gim\text{a}^w^a \text{mipe}'n^a \text{ thou wilt be our chief (ugim\text{a}^w^a \text{ chief) } } \]
\[ n\text{aturu}^w\text{h}w\text{itu}^w^g^e \text{ he may have sought for him (independent mode } n\text{atu}'n\text{ah}w\text{aw}^a \text{ he seeks for him) } \]

§ 13
he must have come (independent mode 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
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:

\[ \text{pōni} \text{ is an initial stem signifying no more, no longer: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making pō'niwa. The group means that one has previously been engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for one camps, one goes into camp. So much for the simpler form of a combination.} \]

An initial stem, \[pāg-\], has the general sense of \text{striking against something}; \[-ā'kw-\] is a secondary stem denoting \text{resistance},
and so *pągą wavelength- 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 *pągą wavelength- 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 *pągą wavelength- 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:

*pyą́ width- he comes; *pyą́ mįga' twi it comes  
*i'neni'wa man, he is a man; i'neni'wi bravery, it has the quality of manhood  
*A'nemó' 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'dąm walks- corn, *A'sąmą walks- tobacco, *męcımı walks- apple.

The idea of plurality is expressed both in the noun and in the verb Subjective and objective relationship 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—

-\textit{tug} in \textit{py\^{a}l}'\textit{tu}g\textit{e} HE PROBABLY CAME, which conveys the notion of doubt or uncertainty; while -\textit{\textipa{\textsc{ape}}} in \textit{py\^{a}l}'\textit{w\textipa{\textsc{ape}}}\textit{e} 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:

-\textit{mina} in \textit{\textipa{\textsc{a}d\textipa{\textsc{a}}-m\textipa{\textasciitilde{n}}}a} CORN denotes FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY; and -\textit{\textipa{\textsc{gani}}} in \textit{p\textipa{\textsc{kес}}\textipa{\textsc{es}}\textipa{\textasciitilde{\textipa{\textsc{n}}}i} GUN (literally, exploder) is expressive of TOOL, IMPLEMENT, INSTRUMENT

\textbf{DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 15-54)}

\textbf{Composition (§§ 15-24)}

\textbf{Verbal Composition (§§ 15-21)}

\textbf{§ 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—

\[u^\prime te^i\] whence
\[i^\prime c^i\] hence
\[t^\prime agw^i\] together

Furthermore, an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative, and express an independent statement, though not always with exact sense:

\[u^\prime te^i w^a\] one has come from some place

Two or more initial stems follow in a definite order:

\[w^\prime a^i p^u s^\prime a^i w^a\] he begins to walk (\[w^\prime a^i p^u\] to begin[initial stem]; -\[u s^\prime a^-\] to walk[secondary stem])

\[w^\prime a^i p^i p^u y^\acute{a}^i t^u s^\prime a^i w^a\] he begins to approach on the walk (\[p^i y^\acute{a}^-\] movement hither[initial stem between \[w^\prime a^i p^u\] and -\[u s^\prime a^-\]; -\[t^-\] § 8])

\[w^\prime a^i p^i p^u y^\acute{a}^i t^e te^i c^i te^i e^i p^u s^\prime a^i w^a\] he begins to approach walking in a circle (\[t^e t^e p^u\] 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
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 \(aw-\) to be; \(ap-\) to untie; \(agw-\) to cover; \(anem-\) von way; \(api-\) to sit; \(cawi-\) to do; \(hanem-\) to continue to; \(kaski-\) ability; \(kici-\) completion; \(kiwi-\) (an extended form of \(k\)) movement in an indefinite direction; \(mai'kiwi-\) future; \(matci-\) to move; \(maiwi-\) to go to; \(me ci-\) largeness; \(nagi-\) to halt; \(pem-\) movement past; \(pyi ti ci-\) (an extended form of \(pyi\)) 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:

\textit{aski-} early, soon, first.

\(a'\text{a}skime'puq\) when it had first snowed 70.10 (\(a\)- temporal augment; \(me-\) initial stem common with words for snow, ice, cold; \(me'pu-\) to snow; \(-g\) for \(-gi\) suffix with a location sense; \(-i\) lost before initial vowel of following word)

\(akhaskanwilg\) while the snow was first on 70.10 (\(a\)- as above; \(h\) glide; \(-i\) of \(aski-\) lost before vowel; \(-anw-\) secondary stem, denoting state, condition; \(-gi\) as above)

\textit{cå-} freedom of movement, passage without friction or impediment.

\(cå'pawåw\) he cries out sending his voice through space

\(cåpu'niga'n\) a needle (literally, an instrument for piercing through with ease)

\textit{cåsk-} is used in several ways. In a special sense it denotes horizontality, straightness.

\(cå'skå'kuså'w\) he walks erect [\(uså\) §19]
cůskā'pyāci'nwɑ he lies at full length (−cîn- secondary connective stem [§ 20]; −wɑ [§ 28])
ců'skāpyāwɑ is it straight (−wɑ § 28)

Another sense, closely related to straightness, is that of smoothness, lack of friction, ease of movement.
ců'skawōwɑ it is smooth, slippery
ců'skwicī'nwɑ he slips and falls
ců'skōnā'wɑ he slips hold of him
acūskōnāte he slips hold of him 182.11

Hanemi to continue to.
āhanemipyānātei he continued to fetch them home 38.6 (ā- as above; pyā- initial stem meaning movement hither; -n- inter-vocalic, instrumental [see § 21]; -ā- objective pronominal element; -te 3d person singular subject; the form is an aorist transitive conjunctive [see § 29])
āhaneminesātei he continued to kill 38.5 (ā- as above; -nes- initial stem to kill; -ā- objective pronoun; te 3d person singular subject)
āhanemicinesānetamuwāte they will continue to derive benefit from them 376.10 (wī — Amuwāte [§ 29])
āhanemūmeguwātei they kept riding 192.7
āhanemāmuwātecī they continued to fly for their lives (−ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -u—wāte [§ 29])
āhanemi'a'gōsipahōmi'ga'kīi he continued to climb up hurriedly 96.19
āhanenitetepēcāsānītei he continued to whirl over and over 288.14 (tetep[-]for tetepi-] allied with tetep- below; -te- [§8]; -āsā- from -āsā- [= -isā §19]; -nētei [§34])
pācāhanemīnē'kwā'lamini te gradually the sound grew faint 348.22
āhanemīwāpuśawātei then they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (ā- as above; wāpī- initial stem, meaning to begin, loses terminal i before vowel; -usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning locomotion by land with reference to foot and leg [§19]; -wātei 3d person plural animate subject; the form is an aorist intransitive conjunctive [see § 29])

k. Ask(i)- implies potency, ability, efficiency, and gets the meaning of success, triumph, mastery.
ka'skīhā'wɑ he succeeds in buying him (−āwɑ [§ 28])
ka'skimenō'wɑ he is able to drink
ka'skini'mānā'muwɑ he can lift it (−Amuwɑ [§ 28])
ka'skimā'wɑ he succeeds in persuading him (−m- [§ 21.6]; −wɑ transitive independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [see § 28])

§ 16
k'askmdwd'- he can see him (-naw- to see, cf. änawâte' then [the man] saw 174.13; á' pwâwinänwugute' but he was not seen 158.1; änawâwite'p they would see habitually 182.14)
á' pwâwikaskimadanetc' on account of not being able to overtake him 168.12
á' pönïkäske'tawâwâte' they could no longer hear their calls 192.6

kâ:s(â)- denotes the idea of obliteration, erasure, wiping.
kâ'sišâ'mwâ he erases it (-h- instrumental [§ 21]; -amwâ transitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object [§ 28])
kâ'si'gwâhâwâ he wipes his own face
kâ'si'gâcî'nwâ he wipes his own foot

kï- indicates the general notion of indefinite movement round about, here and there.
kiweskâwagâpê' they are always off on a journey 272.14 (for kïwe- see § 17 end; -wag- for -wâg' 3d person plural animate, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28]; -âpê' frequency of an act [§ 14 end])
kï'wisâ'wâ it (a bird) flies round about (-isâ- [§ 19])
kï'witcîmâ'wâ he swims round about (-tcîm- [§ 19])
kï'weskâ'wâ he goes a-journeying somewhere
kï'wâmô'wâ he sought safety here and there (-â- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -ô- [§ 40]; -wâ [§ 28])
kiwâ'bamî'wâ he went about looking at one and then another (wâbâ same as wâpa in kîmawîwâpatâpen' let us go and look at it 284.8 [mâwi- below; kî—âpêna, § 28]; û' kîcîteëgîwîpamâte' and after looking for all [his ducks] 286.16 [kîcî- p. 766; teâgi p. 771; û—âte' § 29; -m- § 21.6])

kî'c(i) expresses the completion, the fulfillment, of an act.
kî'cawnâwâ he has finished (a task, an undertaking)
kî'cetâ'wâ it is done cooking (tâ- secondary connective stem, inanimate, signifying heat [§ 20]; -wâ [§ 28])
kî'ci'tô'wâ he has finished making it
kî'cipyâ'wâ he has already arrived (pyâ- [§16])
kî'cinêpôhi'wâ he has since died
kîcîtecîpe'tawâwâte' after they had built a great fire 158.21 (-wâte' [§29])
kîcîkîgânute after the feast is done 156.6
kîcîtegîpyâ'nîte after their arrival 90.13 (teâgi all; pyâ- to come; -nîte' [§ 34])
kîcîtegîketemînâgute' after he had been blessed by them 184.4 (-gu- [§ 41])

§ 16
four days had passed since he had eaten 182.3 (for nyâ'ô' cf. nyâw [§ 50]; pwâ for pyâwi not [§ 12]; -wiseni eat; -tei [§ 29])

ā'kicìtâgamâowâtcı after they have touched and tasted it 184.17 (ā—amâowâtcı same as a—amowâtcı [§ 29])

kicipytîomâtcı after she had fetched home her burden 162.16 (pyâ—initial stem movement hither; -t—[§ 8]; -m—[§ § 21, 37]; -ô—secondary stem expressing conveyance; -â—pronominal animate object; -tei 3d person singular animate [§ 29])

kög- refers to an activity with a fluid, most often with water, in which instance is derived the idea of washing.

kögê'nikâ'wâ she is at work washing clothes (-gâ—[§ 20])
kögî'netcâ'wâ he washes his own hands
kögendi'wâ he washes him
kögîge'nânô'wâ he washes his own forehead
kögâ'wâ he mires (in the mud)
ā'kögênâtcı when he bathed her 300.15 (n—instrumental; cf. also § 8; ā—âtcı [§ 29])
nâ'kâkögênâgı she also washed it 178.21 (for nâkâ âkögênâgı; ā—âgı [§ 29])
kâwîgâtcıkâgênâwâ you are to clean it (the dog) well with water 178.15 (kî—âwâ [§ 28])

mâwi— to go to.

kîmâwicâcâ'penâ let us go and hunt 90.9 (cicî initial stem to hunt; kî—penâ we inclusive, future independent mode, intransitive, used as a mild imperative [see §§ 28, 35.8])
kîmâwinepâpenâ let us go and spend the night 90.10
ämâwinepâwâtcı they went to a place where they spent the night 30.5 (ā—wâtcı [§ 29])
ämâwicâketahwâtcı she went to dig for them 152.19 (-hw—[§ 37]; ā—âtcı [§ 29])
ämâwiga'kenaminâtcı they started off to peel bark 150.15 (-nîtcı [§ 34])
ämâwiketeâtcı he went to look over the bank 182.9
ämâwimâpamâtcı he went to have a look 182.7 (ā—temporal particle; wâpa—same as wâba cited under kî--; -m—[§ 21]; -âtcı for -âtcı transitive aorist conjunctive, 3d person singularanimate subject, 3d person animate object [§ 29])
ämâwinanâtcı he ran to catch him 182.11 (nâ—presumably the same as nâ—[§ 21.8]; -n—[see § 21])

me— snow, ice, cold.
ā'asâkîme'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (explained under aski--)
mi'lk- conveys the sense of occupation, employment in the performance of some activity.

mi'ke'tcäwi'w a he works, is busy
mi'keta'maw a he is occupied with a piece of work (−t− [§ 21]; -amw a [§ 28])
mi'keme'kwa'w a he goes a-wooing ('kwä [§ 18]; -w− [§ 37])
mi'ke'tcihö'w a he is engaged in an attempt to heal him
mi'kwä'nemä'w a she dotes upon it—her child

nA[g(i)]- denotes the change from an activity to a rest, and is best translated by words like halt, stop, pause.

na'giw a he stops moving
na'gici'nuw a he halts on the journey (−cin- [§ 20])
na'gi[pahö]w a he stops running (−pahö- secondary stem meaning rapid motion [§ 19]; -wa intransitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person animate subject [§ 28])
teägänag[gi]päwät e they all came to a halt 50.24 (for tcägi [all] à−; -gäpä- [§ 19]; ä−—wät e [§ 29])
änagiwät e they stood 50.7 (aorist intransitive conjunctive [§ 29])

nägA- to follow after.
äpitcinänaganät e when he went in following after it 70.13 (pit- initial stem meaning movement into an enclosure; pitci a collateral form [see below]; -n- intervocalic instrumental; -a- pronominal object; -tc 3d person singular animate subject)
änagA[Ag] t and he followed it (ä− as before; -t- intervocalic element indicating that the object is inanimate, here simply that the verb is transitive; -Ag 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person singular inanimate object [§ 29])

pA[s(i)]- implies the notion of swift, lively contact.
pa'siti'yä'kwä'w a she spanks him
pa'si'gywä'kwä'w a he slaps him in the face
pa'sigu'mä'kwä'w a he barely grazes his nose (−gum- [§ 17])
pasimyä'sö'w a it (an animate subject) fries (−sü- [§ 20])
pa'setä'w i it is hot (−tä- [§ 20]; -w i [§ 28])

pe'kwi- density, thickness.
ä'pe'kwisaka'k i when it was thick with growth 70.12

pem(i)- expresses the notion of movement by, past, alongside.
pe'me'kä'w a he passes by 278.1 (−kä- [§ 20])
pe'megä'w a he dances by 280.5 (−egä- secondary stem of second order, meaning movement of one in dancing [§ 19]; −wa 3d person singular animate, independent mode)
pe'minägä'w a he passes by a-singing

§ 16
pe‘mipahō’wɑ he passes by on the run (-pahō- secondary stem of second order, denoting speed [§ 19])
pe‘mutiū’wɑ he crawls past (-ūtʊ-, -ōtʊ- to crawl [§ 19])
ä pemitepikūkahugunite’i they went swimming by side by side 184.3 (-hugu- same as -hogō- [§ 19]; -nite’i [§ 34])
pemisāwɑ 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‘musū’wɑ he started off on a walk (-usū- secondary stem to walk [§ 19])
pe‘muwāgesi’wɑ she began to wail
ä pemiuwūpusāte’i then she started to begin to walk 194.19 (-a- and -te’i explained before; -wāp- for -wāp’i- inception [§ 16]; -usā- secondary stem of second order, to walk [§ 19])

pyā- signifies movement hitherward.
pyā’wɑ he comes
pyā’tac’i’wɑ he fetches home game
pyāte’kwāvā’wɑ he brings home a wife (-’kwā- woman [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])
pyā’tāskā’wɑ it falls this way
pyā’tcine’kwāvɑ’wɑ he comes driving them home (for pyāte’- cf. pītci- under pīt-; -ne’ka- [§ 19]; -āwɑ [§ 28])
pyā’twāvā’miq’i’twɑ it comes a-roaring (pyāt- collateral with pyā-; wāvɑ [§ 20]; āmīqatwɑ [§ 20]; -wɑ [§ 28])
pyāndwɑ he has brought home 58.5 (-n- intervocalic; -ā- 3d person singular animate object; -wɑ as before)
ä pyāte’i when he had come 68.25 (-a—te’i [§ 29])

pi(t)- conveys the sense of movement into an enclosure.
pī’tase’nwɑ it blows inside (-ā- [§ 19]; -sen- [§ 20]; -wɑ [§ 28])
pī’tcwenā’wɑ he leads him within
pī’tac’kwɑ’wɑ he buries him (-hw- [§ 21]; -āwɑ [§ 28])
pī’tigā’wɑ he enters
ä pītci’kawānic they trailed (a bear into woods) 70.12
ä pītigāte as he entered 326.10 (-gā- [§ 20]; -ā—te’c [=te’i § 29])
ä pītigānanate’c then he took her inside 42.20 [-gɑ- variant of gā; -n- instrumental [§ 21]; -ā—ate’i [§ 29])
pītci’sāwɑq there came running into 142.10 (-isā- as in pemisāwɑ; -uɑ’ for -wɑ’i 3d person plural animate, intransitive independent mode [§ 28])
pon(i)- also expresses the notion of cessation, but with more of the idea of the negative temporal element no more, no longer.

pō'negā'w a he is no longer dancing (-egā- as before, p. 768)
pōne'nāgā'w a he has ceased singing
pōne'senyā'w a he has done eating
pō'nepyā'w a he is no longer a drunkard
pō'nimā'w a he has stopped talking to him (-m- [$21])
ā'pōninātwāwāte they stopped hearing the sound 152.1
āgwıpōni'kūguwāteći never shall they be left alone 186.2 (āgwī—n' not [$29]; -gu- [$41]; -wāteći [$29])
ā'pōniwāteći they halted 164.13, 192.9

sāg(i)- implies the notion of exposure, manifestation, visibility.

sā'gise'nuvi it sticks out (-sen- [$20]; -w i [$28])
sā'gitepāci'nuw a he lies covered all over except at the head (-cin- [$20]; tepā head; -w a [$28])
sā'giwinā'gāpā'w a 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'hogō'w a he floats with the head only out of the water (-hogō- [$19])
sā'gikumā'w a he exposes his nose to view (-kum- same as -gum- [$18])

sAg(i)- has a transitive force with the meaning of seizing hold.

sagecānā'w a he holds him by the ear (-cā- ear [$18]; -n- instrumental [$21])
sagine'e'kānā'w a he leads him by the hand (-ne'ka- [$19]; -n- [$21])
sagi'puwā'w a he bites hold of him (-pw- [$21])
sagāne'e'kwānā'w a he grabs hold of him by the hair (-'kwā- head [$18])
ā pe'kwisasaka'k i when it was thick with growth 70.12; (ā—'k i [$29])
āsagine'e'kānāteći he then held her by the hand 134.13 (-n- [$21]; ā—āteći = -āteći [$29]; -ne'kā- as in āsagine'kāskāteći 214.10)
āsagikānāteći she grabbed hold of one by the leg 202.2

tā(wi)- has to do with the sensation of physical pain.

tā'wite'pācī'nuw a he fell and hurt his head (tepā- head; -cin- [$20]; -w a [$28])

§ 16
tä'witana'sitāgāpā'w it hurts his feet to stand (−gāpā− [§ 19])
tā'we'kwā'w it his head aches (−kwā− head [§ 18])

tcāgi all, entirely.
tcāgitēn'gā' she took off all 224.1 (n− [§ 21]; ā—left out [§ 12]; ā—gā[§ 29])
kičtcāgip'yān' there all had arrived 90.13 (kici- and p'yā- initial stems [§ 16]; -nitc for -n'itc 3d person plural, animate [§34])
inā'tcāgip'yān' thus all had arrived 172.20 (inā- thus)
kičtcāgitēn'mi'nəg' after he had been blessed by all 184.5 (kici completion; gu [§ 41]; ā—omitted; -tc [§ 29])
ā'tcāgesu'tc after he was burnt all up 30.3 (sū- secondary stem meaning HEAT, animate [§ 20])
ā'tcāgihāwā' they slew them all 8.16, 10.2 (−h− [§ 21]; ā—āwātc [§ 29])

tetep- movement in a circle.
atetepetcāsa'tōtc he started himself a-rolling 288.13
tetepusān'u walk around in a circle 376.12 (see 158.1) (−usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning to WALK [§ 19]; −n̂u 2d person singular imperative, intransitive [§ 31])
āwāp'itetepusā'tc he began to walk around in a circle 256.9 (wāpi—see next stem)
wāp(i)- signifies the idea of COMMENCEMENT, INCEPTION, INCHOATION.
wāpina'husā'w it is beginning to know how to walk (nah to know)
wāpikē'mi'yā'w the rain is beginning to fall
wā'pwyis'en'w it is starting to eat (compare niwiseni do let me eat 184.10)
āwāpā'kwam'Atgā' he became sick 156.9
wīwāpimātecai'yāwic'imegowā'tc they shall begin to have to put up with their insolence 184.18 (wī—wātc [§ 29])
āwāpusā'tc he started off on a walk 126.3, 23; 278.8; 280.2 (−usā− [§ 19]; ā—tc [§ 29])

tuci- whence, away from.
wātcikesi'yāg'isāwā 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).
uctiwāp from this time on 34.14 (literally, beginning whence; wāpi—see preceding stem)
*wī- expresses the sense of ACCOMPANIMENT, ASSOCIATION, COMPANIONSHIP.
wī'dāmā'w it he accompanies him (−d- for -l-; see below)
wī'tcāwā'w it he goes along, too

§ 16
wī'pāmā'wā he sleeps with him
wī'pumā'wā he eats with him (pu- [§ 21]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -wā [§ 28])
wī'kumā'wā he invites him to the feast
wīlāmāteā him whom he accompanied 70.14 (see text at end)
wi'puminw eat thou with me 266.19 (pu- act done with mouth
[§ 21]; -m- indicates animate object [§§ 21, 37]; -inw imperative,
2d person singular subject, 1st person singular object [§ 31])
pep- winter, snow, cold.
ā'pepōg in the winter-time 150.5 (ā'pepōg 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, ā, a, ā, ā, follow each other in this order. I would remind
the reader that there is considerable fluctuation in these vowels,
especially between a and ā; ā and a. The variation of a and ā is
slight; that of ā and ā 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'tetečā- distant.
āa'te'tečikāweskāteča he went on a distant journey 74.5 (ā—teč [§ 29];
kiwé- [§ 17], allied to kiwi- [see under ki- above]; -sk- [§ 21];
ā- [§ 19])
a'tetečahāteča she went far away 38.1 (ā- dropped [§ 12]; ā—teč
[§ 29]; hā- from hā- an initial stem meaning to go)
A'te'tečāwēgiswāteča they lived far away 160.14 (ā- dropped [§ 12];
wēgi is an initial stem, to dwell)

awi- to be.
awiniteča they were 50.18 (ā- lost [§ 12]; -ni- [§ 34]; hence -teč
[§ 29] may be used for a plural)
āwiteçig they who were 358.8 (participial; -teçig [§ 33])
āwiyānč where I am 366.2 (for ā-āwiyānč; ā—yānč [§ 29])

āmī- to move.
nā'kālāmēwāteča again they moved on 166.12 (for nākč ā- [§ 10];
-h- a glide [§ 8]; ā—wāteč [§ 29])

1 From here to p. 793, addition by T. Michelson.

§ 16
āpi to untie.

āpinahAmwə she unties it 162.2 (Amwə [§ 28])

āpinahAmwəpe'ə she always unties it 162.3 (for Amwə ã- [§ 10]; -āpe'ə [§ 14])

āhāpihag then he untied it 334.16 (for ã-Ag' [§ 29]; -i lost before an initial vowel [§ 10]; -h- first time a glide [§ 8]; second time instrumental [§ 21])

See also 160.19; 170.4; 172.10, 14; 290.22, 25; 292.5

āwa' to carry away.

āwanāwag' they were carrying them away 198.5 (-n- [§ 21]; -āwag' [§ 28])

āhāwanəte then they were carried away 26.3 (ā—etc' [§ 41]; -h- a glide [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

āwąpi'āwatōvāte they set to work carrying it 212.21 (ā—wātc' [§ 29]; -i lost by contraction [§ 10]; wąpi- an initial stem, to begin; -tō- [§ 37])

wihawatōyān I would have taken it with me 230.12 (for wī- with the subjunctive see my note [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; -tō- [§ 37]; -yān' [§ 29])

āhawanāte she took him 38.2 (for ā—ātc' [§ 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.

wihagōsīyān' I shall have to do the climbing 90.19 (wī—yān' [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

āhagōsīte he climbed up 94.16 (for ā—tc' [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8])

See also 96.19; 274.24

AcAmē to give to eat.

AcAmi give it to him to eat 252.1 (-i [§ 31])

āAc'camequte 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.

agwihe'kə cover him up 294.18 (-h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -kə [§ 31])

wihagwitcin' for him to cover himself with 294.21 (evidently a participial; see § 34 near the end; -h- is a glide [§ 8]; wī- is irregular, as is its use with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29)

Amw- to eat.

amwitū he that eats me 272.19; 274.3, 7, 12 (for -ita [§ 33])
b. Amwa\textsuperscript{a} then he ate him 274.15 (\textsuperscript{a}–\textsuperscript{atc} [§ 29])

\textit{wih} Amw\textit{a} get\textit{e} we (excl.) shall eat him 58.11 (\textit{w}i–\textit{age}t\textit{e} [§ 29]; -\textit{h}– [§ 8])

\textit{k\textbar} Amw\textit{i}'\textbar Kan\textit{e} don't eat me 96.4 (for \textit{k\textbar}t\textit{a} A–; -\textit{i} Kan\textit{e} [§ 30])

See also 26.10; 58.24; 96.10, 11, 17; 166.3; 266.20; 274.5; 330.22

\textit{Anemi}- you way.

\textit{anemicicag}a go ahead and hunt for game 294.8 (\textit{cic\textbar}a- from \textit{cic\textbar}a- to hunt for game; -\textit{g}a [§ 31])

\textit{\textbar} Anem\textit{a}p\textit{ite}c there he sat down 352.24 (\textit{\textbar}–\textit{tc} [§ 29]; \textit{Anem}– for \textit{Anemi}–[§ 10]; \textit{Ap}– is an initial stem, to sit; -\textit{h}– [§ 8])

\textit{Ap}– to sit.

\textit{wih} Ap\textit{ite}c he shall sit 16.18 (\textit{w}i–\textit{tc} [§ 29]; -\textit{h}– [§ 8])

\textit{nemenw}\textit{ap}\textit{i} I am content to sit down 370.12 (\textit{ne}– [§ 28]; \textit{menw}– is an initial stem denoting PLEASURE)

\textit{hapite}c let him be seated 370.11 (\textit{h}– is glide [§ 8] after a final vowel; -\textit{tc} [§ 31])

\textit{\textbar}\textit{tc} Ab\textit{it}c\textit{e} he sat down 172.15 (\textit{\textbar}–\textit{tc} [§ 29]; for confusion of \textit{b} and \textit{p} see § 3)

See also 370.7, 8, 9; 316.16

\textit{Askwi}– to save.

\textit{\textbar} A\textbar skwi\textit{n\textbar es\textbar atc}i he saved them from killing 8.12 (\textit{\textbar}–\textit{atc} [§ 29]; \textit{nes}– is an initial stem, to \textit{kill})

\textit{as\textbar k\textbar un\textbar Am\textbar \textbar n\textbar i} I saved it (for \textit{\textbar} As\textbar k\textbar un\textbar Am\textbar \textbar n\textbar i; \textit{\textbar}–\textit{Am\textbar n\textbar i} [§ 29]; -\textit{u}– for -\textit{wi}– [§ 12]; -\textit{n}– [§ 21])

\textit{cagw}– to be unwilling.

\textit{\textbar cag\textbar w\textbar n\textbar em\textbar u\textbar te}c he was unwilling 24.22 (\textit{\textbar}–\textit{tc} [§ 29]; -\textit{ane}– [§ 19]; -\textit{m}– [§§ 21, 37]; -\textit{w}– [§ 40])

\textit{cag\textbar w\textbar n\textbar em\textbar ow}a she was unwilling 170.1 (-\textit{o}– [§ 40]; -\textit{w}a [§ 28])

See also 14.4; 34.10; 144.11

\textit{caw}i– to do.

\textit{\textbar caw}i\textit{w}a he is doing 288.15 (-\textit{w}a [§ 28])

\textit{\textbar acaw}in\textit{ite}c he was doing 322.1 (\textit{\textbar}–\textit{nite}c [§ 34])

\textit{\textbar acaw\textbar wig\textbar w\textbar n}i what he did 342.4, 5, 8, 10 (\textit{\textbar}–\textit{gw\textbar w}n\textit{i} [§ 32]; my translation is literal)

See also 16.16; 24.20; 66.7; 76.5, 7; 250.7, 9; 280.8, 11; 356.16

\textit{cic\textbar a}– to hunt for game.

\textit{py\textbar at\textbar c\textbar ic\textbar c\textbar aw}a he comes hitherward hunting for game 92.7 (\textit{py\textbar at\textbar c}– is an extended form of \textit{py\textbar a}–, an initial stem denoting MOTION HITHERWARD; -\textit{w}a [§ 28])

§ 16
cicāg° go seek for game 296.2 (cicā- for cicā-, as pyā-g° come ye for pyā-; -g° [§ 31])
cicāt° he that was hunting for game 38.8 (-t° [§ 33])
   See also 38.14; 78.15

cim to tell.
   ācimeguwātc i what they were told 356.14 (ā—wātc i [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8];
   -gu- [§ 41])
   ācimegute° what he was told 358.22 (ā—tc i [§ 29])

hä to go.
   wihāwAG i they shall go 338.10 (wī- [§ 28]; -wAG i [§ 28])
   kih° thou wilt go 284.21 (kī- [§ 28])
   wihāmigAtw i it will start 224.4 (wī—w i [§ 28]; -migAt- [§ 20])
   kihāpw° you will go 20.20 (kī—pw° [§ 28]; -ā- for -ā-, as in
   kī'pyā pw° you will come 20.16)
   See also 22.18; 122.11, 18; 170.20; 338.9, 10, 13; 356.15, 17

haw- to dwell, to be (not the copula).
   hawiv° she is 108.6 (-w° [§ 28])
   āhawitc i she remained 10.14 (ā—tc i [§ 29])
   āhawitc i he was 10.18
   hawik° remain ye 48.23 (-k° for -g° [§ 3]; -g° [§ 31])
   See also 12.19; 22.20, 21; 68.9

hi- to speak (to).
   hiw° he says 26.12, 14 (-w° [§ 28])
   āhite i he said 26.19, 20, 21 (ā—tc i [§ 29])
   āhinetc i he was told 26.11 (ā—etc i [§ 41]; -n- [§ 21])
   āhinātc i he said to them 10.6 (ā—ātc i [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])
   See also 8.7, 11, 14, 18; 10.22; 14.6; 16.4; 96.8; 110.9; 216.6;
   218.2

i- to say.
   kaciw° what does he say 242.15 (for kac i iw° [§ 10]; -w° [§ 28])

ici- thus.
   wi'cināgusinetc i she wished to look thus 104.4 (wī—nītc i [§ 29];
   -nāgu- [§ 18]; -si- [§ 20])
   ā'i citāhātc i thus she thought in her heart 102.1 (ā—tc i [§ 29]; ic-
   for ići- [§ 10]; -ilā- [§ 18]; -hā- [§ 20])

kātu- sorrow.
   ā'kātusigān° I felt grieved 158.8 (ā—yān° [§ 29]; -si- [§ 20])

kāw- to crunch.
   ā'kākawATAG he crunched it 124.9 (for ā—AG i [§ 29] by contraction
   [§ 10]; -kā- reduplication [§ 25]; -t- [§ 21])

§ 16
ōnā'kākawameqvitc̓ then it [the possessed object, i.e., his head] crunched and ate him up 96.8 (for ōn̓ t̓ a- [§ 10]; a̓ -tc̓ [§ 29]; kā- [§ 25]; m- [§ 21]; e [§ 8]; gw̓ i- [§ 34])
ā'kāk̓̓āmow̓ atȇ then they crunched them (the bones) up 296.5 (a̓ -amow̓ ȃ tc̓ [§ 29]; t- [§ 21]; kā- [§ 25])
See also 124.4, 15; 294.10

k̓a̓n- to speak.

kanawin̓ speak thou 180.4 (wi- [§ 20]; n̓ u [§ 31])
ā'kanōnetc̓ i was addressed 8.5 (a̓ -etȇ [§ 41])
See also 174.11, 13; 176.2, 20, 23; 180.6, 7, 11

ke'k- to know, find out.

w̓ ike'kānemātȇ he desired to find out concerning her 46.9 (for wi̓ -ātc̓ [§ 10, 29]; ā̓ ne- [§ 19]; m- [§ 21])
āgwi ke'kānemag̓ i̓ n I did not know concerning him 160.8 (āgwi not; āg̓ i [§ 29]; n̓ for ni̓ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; ā̓ omitted [§ 29])
āhānemāke k̓ahuw̓ atc̓ he continued to find them out 298.15 (literal translation; for ā̓ -ātc̓ [§ 10, 29]; a- [§ 8]; hw̓ - [§ 21]; hānemi- 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'kepetunānānitȇ she would close his mouth with her hand 324.9 (a̓ -ānītc̓ [§ 34]; e- [§ 8]; tun- [§ 18]; ā̓ as e- [§ 8]; n̓ [§ 21])
ā'kepōgw̓ ata̓ g̓ after he had closed it by stitching it with cord 288.13, 18 (for ā̓ -ag̓ i [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; t- [§ 21])
See also 138.12; 142.7; 290.9; 332.10

ke'tci- intensity.

ā'ke'tcipenutȇ he went at top speed 168.5 (for ā̓ -tc̓ [§ 10, 29]; penu- is an initial stem, to go)
ā'ke'tcimaiyōtȇ i she then began to wail with sore distress 170.20 (a̓ -tc̓ [§ 29]; maiyō- is an initial stem meaning to wail)
See also 186.8; 188.17; 200.5; 284.19; 310.22; 314.11

k̓̕ıc̓̕ (i)- to cut off.

ā'k̓̕ić̓̕ıc̓̕ıc̓̕ıev̓̕ȃtc̓̕̕ȇp̓̕ i̓ from them he would cut off both ears 8.13 (for tc̓̕ ̕ āp̓̕ ȇ [§ 10]; ā̓ -ātc̓̕ [§ 29]; ā̓ pȇ [§ 14]; kic̓̕ [§ 25]; e- [§ 8]; c̓̕ a̓- [§ 18]; ec̓̕- [§ 21])
nāk̓̕ ̕āk̓̕ıc̓̕ıgu̓mdcv̓̕ȃtc̓̕̕ȇp̓̕ i̓ and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for nāk̓ ȃ ā̑ [§ 10]; nāk̓ ȃ again, and; gum- [§ 18]; ā̑- same as e- [§ 8]; the rest as above)
See also 8.17, 18; 10.4, 5

§ 16
to feel gently.

"ʔikimenäte then he let his hand steal softly over her 322.21 (for "—"atei [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

wikimenäte wishing to pass his hand gently over her, he began to feel her 326.5 ("at" [§ 29]; for the use of wī- with the subjunctive see my note to §29)

kini- to sharpen.

wikinihāwə 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—"awə see my note [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

ki'kimenihāwə you shall sharpen him (it) 108.2 (ki—"awə [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

ä'kimenhātei then he sharpened him 108.3 (ä—"atei [§ 29])

wāsikinimikmāyāgi made sharp at the point 356.13 ("kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

kip- to fall.

ä'kipisāntei then they fell through the air 332.4, 5 (ä—"ntei [§ 34]; -isā- from -isā- [§ 19])

kisk- to cut up.

ä'kiskecutei then he was cut up 166.3 (ä—"utei [§ 41]; -e- [§ 8]; -c- [§ 21])

kiskecamwə he cut it off (amwə [§ 28])

kiwā- to turn back.

kiwātāwə let us go back 72.3 ("tāwə [§ 6] for -tāwe [§ 31])

ä'kiwātei then he turned back 94.4 (ä—"tei [§ 29])

ä'pemikiwāte so he started to turn back 210.1 (for ä—"tei by contraction [§ 10]; pemī- [§ 16])

kiwānū go back 208.15 (prolongation of -nu [§ 31])

See also 166.9, 22

ku- to fear.

kusegwə he was feared 56.14 (-s- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gwə [§ 41])

ku'tamwə he feared it 214.20 ("t- [§ 21]; -amwə [§ 28])

See also 120.8; 190.21; 214.1; 284.20

ku- to feel of.

ä'kutenātei then he felt of her 46.9 (ä—"atei [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

maiyo-, maiyu- to weep.

maiyamaiyōhāwə it was common for him to make them cry 16.9 (maiya- [§ 25]; -h- [§ 21]; -āwə [§ 28])

§ 16
äwápimaiyute then he began to weep 330.14 (ä—tc [§ 29]; wäpi- [§ 16])

See also 12.13; 110.16

mä'kwie- futuroe.

ämä'kwite then he went into her 322.21

See also 56.17; 312.18, 24; 322.23; 324.7, 8, 16, 17

mänä- multitude.

mänäwag many 40.1

äwápimänäwáté they began to be numerous 52.9 (ä—wáte [§ 29]; wäpi- to begin [§ 16])

See also 52.1; 54.1, 18

mätu-, mäto- to plead.

ämämätomeguyátc then they began to be entreated 152.10 (for ä—wáte [§§ 12, 29]; mä- [§ 25]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

ämämätomegute then he began to be plead with 162.12 (for ä—tc [§§ 10, 29])

ämämätumegute he was entreated 184.10

ma- futuroe.

nepyätcimanäwa I have come to have sexual intercourse with her 44.24 (ne—äwa [§ 28]; pyätc- an extended form of pyä- motion hitherward [§ 16])

ähanemimänätä then he went first into one and then into another 56.14 (ä—ate [§ 29]; hanem- to continue to [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])

ämanegute then she had sexual intercourse with 160.20 (really a passive; ä—tc [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

maAd.1, maAda- to overtake.

ämädanegute as he was overtaken 168.5 (ä—tc [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

äpyätcimätañète they came and overtook him 196.4 (literally, he was overtaken; ä—etc [§ 41]; pyätc- an extended form of pyä- motion hither [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])

ätacinatàñète as many as there were, were overtaken 12.3 (taci- is an initial stem meaning as many as)

mec- to capture.

wikaskimecènàte he would be able to capture him 24.6 (wi—äte [§ 29]; kaski- same as kask- ability [§ 16]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

mäcènenètc they that had been taken 12.12 (participial [§ 33]; hence the change in the vowel stem [§ 11])

ämècenètc then he was captured 14.9 (ä—etc [§ 41]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

§ 16
meceinagute\(e\) let us be captured 14.5
See also 14.7; 20.18; 182.11

**mece-** large.

mece\(i\)\(m\)\(eg\)\(w\)\(i\) a large tree 162.6
\(ä\)mecketen\(än\)\(ite\)\(i\) how large she was at the vulva 46.10; 322.21
\(ä—\)nite\(i\) [§ 34]

**meceu-** to strike with a missile.

\(ä\)meceugute\(i\) when he was struck by a missile \(ä—\)te\(i\) [§ 29]; \(-gu-\) [§ 41]
\(mäcu\)gwin\(ite\)\(i\) it hit him \(-gwini-\) [§ 34]

The construction at 94.18 is difficult.

**megu-** together.

\(äh\)a\(n\)em\(e\)megu\(s\)ö\(gi\)sow\(ä\)te they continued on their way bound
together 26.4 (for \(ä—\)v\(ate\)\(i\) [§ 29] in accordance with § 10;
\(h\)anem- to continue to [§ 16]; \(sögi-\) is an initial stem, to
BIND; \(-so-\) [§ 40])

**me'k**\(r\) to find out.

\(ä\)me'kaw\(ä\)te\(i\) then she found him 160.15 \(ä—\)te\(i\) [§ 29]; \(-a-\) [§ 8];
\(-w-\) [§ 21])
nem\(e\)'kaw\(ä\)w\(a\)g I have found them 94.13 (for \(ne—\)aw\(a\)g\(i\) [§ 28] by
contraction [§ 10])
\(ä\)me'kaw\(v\)ute he was found 146.11 (for \(ä—\)ute\(i\) [§ 41])
\(ä\)me'k\(a\)m\(e\)g it was found 146.13 (for \(ä—\)ame\(g\)\(i\) [§ 41])

See also 122.7, 13, 20; 334.10

**me'kw**\(r\) to remember.

me'kw\(ä\)nem\(i\)'k\(a\)n\(i\) thou shalt think of me 188.8 (-äne- [§ 18]; \(-m-\)
[§ 21]; \(-i\)'k\(a\)n\(i\) [§ 30])
\(ä\)me'kw\(än\)em\(ä\)t\(e\) then he remembered him 328.18 (for \(ä—\)te\(i\)
[§ 29])

See also 76.19; 138.7; 352.12

**menvw**\(n\) to take pleasure in.

men\(w\)\(än\)et\(m\)ä\(g\)w\(e\) you may prefer it 32.15 (-äne- [§ 18]; \(-t-\)
[§ 21]; \(-mäg-\)[§ 29])
nemen\(w\)\(a\)p\(i\) I like to sit 370.10 (ne- [§ 28]; \(Ap\)i- to sit)
nemen\(w\)\(än\)et\(a\) I prefer it 136.3, 4 (ne—\(a\) [§ 28]; \(-t-\) [§ 21])
män\(w\)\(än\)et\(a\)g\(o\) he that preferred it 136.5
män\(w\)\(än\)et\(a\)g\(o\) he that preferred it 138.2 (participial; hence the
change of the stem-vowel [§ 12]; \(-ag-\) [§ 33])
män\(w\)\(än\)em\(ä\)tein\(i\) she whom he loved 148.7 (participial: \(-m-\) [§ 21];
\(-ätein\(i\) [§ 33])

See also 66.17; 136.13; 138.3; 176.12; 336.4

§ 16
mes- to derive real benefit.

wimesätAmāgwē ye shall derive real benefit from it 32.12 (wī—Amāgwē [§ 29]; -ūne- [§ 19]; -t- [§ 21])

metawī- to suck.

īnämétawawātcī then they succed 30.9 (for inī ā- [§ 10]; ā—wāteī [§ 29])
mētawātcīgī they that sucked at him 30.12 (participle; hence the vowel-change [§ 12]; -ātcīgī [§ 33])

See also title 30; and 30.10

metā- to take pleasure in.

nemēttāneta I am pleased with it 324.16 (ne—a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 8]; -ūne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])

metātānetamāninī don't you take delight in it 324.15 (-Amāni [§ 29]; -nī [§ 29])

mī- to give.

mīnenagā'a I would give to thee 58.23 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -nagā'a [§ 30])
kīmīneguwwāwa he shall give you 32.13 (kī—guwwāwa [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])
mīnegutcinī they (inan.) that were given to him 24.28 (-gu- [§ 41]; -tecinī [§ 34])

See also 24.23; 222.19, 20, 25

mīc- to give.

mīciyāgāgu'a you might give to him 32.11 (-iyāgāgu'a [§ 30])

mīgā- to fight.

āmīgāticī he fought with 14.4 (ā—teī [§ 29]; -tī- [§ 38])
āwāpimīgātīwātcī when they began fighting with each other 22.18 (ā- probably an error for ā-; ā—wātcī [§ 29]; wāpi- [§ 16] to begin; -tī- [§ 38])
wāpimīgātīwātcī they began fighting with each other 34.8 (ā- dropped [§ 12])
wīmīgāticī he would fight with them 24.23 (for wī—teī [§ 29])
wīmīgātīyānī you will fight 24.25 (wī—yānī [§ 29])

See also 24.26

mīsī- cacare.

āmīsīteī when he eased himself 76.5 (ā—teī [§ 29])
nūmis! I am about to ease myself 274.15, 16 (nū- [§ 28])
mīsimīsisā one would ease and keep on easing 272.20; 274.4, 8, 13 (reduplication [§ 25]; -sā lengthened form of -sa [§ 30])

See also 274.20, 21; 276.10

§ 16
mïtei- cacare.

ämïtcînātcî then he dunged on him 124.22 (mïtei- is related to mïsi- as põtei- to põsi-; ä—äteî [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])

kicîmîtcînātcî after he had dunged on him 124.22 (kicî- for kicî- completion; ä- dropped [§ 12]; ãte for -äteî [§ 10])

mïtei- to eat.

kemîteî thou hast eaten 122.3 (ke- [§ 28])

ämîtcîtêî then he ate 14.23

wîmîtcîtêe she was on the point of eating 96.3 (-teê [§ 29]; for the use of wî- with the subjunctive see my note, p. 823)

mîteî eat thou 174.18 (-nû [§ 31])

See also 174.19; 184.16; 240.7, 18; 336.2; 374.18

musw- to suspect.

âmuswâmînâmîwâtcî they suspected them 150.14 (ä—âwâtcî [§ 29]; -äne- [§ 18]; -m- [§ 21])

nuswâmînâmîwâ he suspects him (-m- [§ 21]; âwâ [§ 28])

náhi- to know how.

náhiwîseniwâtcînî they did not know how to eat 76.3 (ä- omitted on account of the negative; -nî [§ 29]; -wâtcî [§ 29]; wîseni- to eat)

winâhâwîwiyânî I desire to know how to get a wife 334.13 (wî—yânî [§ 29]; for the syntax see § 35; nah- for náhi- by contraction [§ 10]; wâwî- to marry)

See also 336.3

nawi- to visit.

ninawîhâwâ I am going to visit him 228.1; 238.21; 244.12; 256.1; 262.20 (nî—âwâ [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

winâwihletiwâgî they will go visiting one another 242.5 (wî- for wî- used with intransitive independent future [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -lî- [§ 38]; -wâgî [§ 28])

nâ- to fetch.

kêpyâtîcinânenê I have come to take you away 40.12; 42.18; 44.1 (ke—nê [§ 28]; pyâteî- an extended form of pyâ- motion hith- erward; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])

nêpyâtîcinânîwâ I have come to take her away 42.4 (ne—âwâ [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21])

nêpyâtîcinânîpenâ we have come to take him away 58.8 (ne—âpenâ [§ 28])

nâtwu'kâ go and fetch him away 58.7 (-t- [§ 8]; awu- same as âwâ-, âwa- [?]; 'kâ [§ 31])

nâne'kâ go fetch her 354.15 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; 'kâ [§ 31])

See also 40.7; 42.1; 46.22; 58.8
**nāci-** to caress.

ānācitēpānātēi he caressed her head with his hand 188.4, 9 (ā—ātei

[§ 29]; tepā head; -n- [§ 21])

**nāgā-, n.4ga-** to sing.

ācīnāgātēi thus he sang 110.18 (ā—tei [§ 29]; ci for ici thus)

ācīnāgānītei he sang 110.16 (ā—nītei [§ 34])

ānagamutei then he sang 10.19; 110.18 (ā—tei [§ 29]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40])

pyātecīnagamunitei he came singing 350.6

ākiwīnagamunitei he went about singing 350.15 (ā—nītei [§ 34]; -m- [§§ 27, 31]; -u- [§ 40]; kīwi- an extended form of kī- [§ 16] movement in an indefinite direction; [Jones’s translation is free])

See also 110.13

**nāgwā-** to depart.

wīnāgwaŋagywē we (incl.) should depart 62.23 (for wī—yagwe

[§ 29])

ānāgwāwātēi then they started on 138.14 (ā—wātei [§ 29])

nāgwāgona now depart 170.6

wīnāgwaŋg wagānī (who) should depart 194.9 (wī—gwānī [§ 32])

nāgwāwāpēwē he would go away 312.22 (for nāgwāwāpēwē [§ 10]; -wē [§ 28]; nāgwā- is presumably more original than nāgwā-; cf. āpyāwātēi WHEN THEY CAME [from pyā-] and my note § 11)

See also 44.16; 138.9, 11; 170.8

**nā-** to see.

ānāgii then he saw it, them 38.8; 202.11; 240.1; 266.5; 278.1

(ā—Ag [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21]; derived from nāw- [see § 12])

**nāsāi-** whole, well.

wīnāsāhAG [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wīnāsāhāwā she shall heal them 356.6 (-āwā [§ 28]; note the irregular use of wī- 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])

nāsātēwē would that he were alive 12.14 (-tewē [§ 29])

See also 116.17; 158.13, 16

**nāw-, nāru** to see.

nāwāpī they are seen 72.15 (-āpī [§ 41])

ānāwāwātē they saw him 198.2 (for ā—wātei [§ 29])

§ 16
näwāgetcin'i we have not seen them 198.7 (ä- omitted because of the negative; -ägetci, -n[i] [§ 29])

näwāgwin did ye not see them 198.4 (for -ägwin'i by contraction [§ 10]; ä- dropped; -ägwi for -ägve; -n[i] [§ 29])

änau'gutc she was seen 162.22 (for ä-tei [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -gu- [§ 41])

näwutīvātec'i whenever they see one another 276.16 (for nā'u; -w- is a glide [§ 8]; -ti- [§ 38]; the form is a participial; ä is left out before vātec'i [ā-wātec'i] [§ 33] because -ti- really represents the objects exactly as in āwāpimīgātiwātc'i 22.18 [for the analysis see under mīga-])

See also 38.11; 80.5, 16; 182.15; 276.14; 288.14; 340.6

nAñá- ready.

nānāhawigōu get ready 22.20 (hawi- to be; -gōu for -g[u] [§ 6]; -g[u] [§ 31])
nānāhawin'u get ready 44.1 (-n[u] [§ 31])

nAto-, nAtu- to ask, summon.

ānātomegute'i she was summoned 146.15 (ä—te'i [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])
teāgānatōwātec'i all asked each other 60.13 (for teāg'i all +ū- [§ 10]; ā—wātec'i [§ 29]; -ti- [§ 38])

neyātecinatamāwu I have come to summon him 200.1 (ne—āw[a] [§ 28]; pyātei- an extended form of pyā- [§ 16] MOTION HITH-ERWARD; -m- [§ 21])

wātecinatomenāg'e why we (excl.) asked thee 336.11 (wātei- from utei- [§ 16] WHENCE [see § 11]; -m- [§ 21], -e- [§ 8]; -nāg'[§ 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

nemA-, nema- perpendicularity.

nemasun'u stand up 48.17 (-su- [§ 40]; -n[u] [§ 31])
nemasōw[a] he is standing up (-sō- [§ 40]; -w[a] [§ 28]; the explanation in § 8 is wrong)

nemātōn'u hang (it) up 240.5; 242.12 (-t- [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; -n[u] [§ 31])
nemasōw[a] 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'e may he die 68.14 (-e- [§ 8]; -te' [§ 31])
kīnep'e you shall die 68.17, 20 (kī- [§ 28])
nepėge'ī he had died 158.16 (inanimate; for -'ke'e[§ 29]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])

§ 16
nepw^a he dies 332.18, 20 (-w^a [§ 28])
nepeniwan she had died 208.20 (for -niwan^i [§ 34] by contraction [§ 10])
See also 34.5; 114.16, 17, 20, 25, 26; 116.2, 3, 8; 158.15

nepit-, nep^a- to sleep.
ke'tiepaw^a he is sound asleep 284.19 (ke'tci- intensity; -w^a [§ 28])
nepa^gw^anc^ he must have slept 306.11 (a for å, as in pyate^e let him come, etc.; -gw^anc^ [§ 32])
änep^ate^i he fell asleep 324.19 (ä-te^i [§ 29])
kinep^apan^a let you and I go to sleep 324.18 (prolongation by stress [§ 6] of ki—pen^a [§ 28])
See also 10.19; 284.3, 5, 24

nes- to kill.
nesegus^a he would have been slain 168.13 (-e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; -s^a [§ 30])
kinesapan^a let us (incl.) slay 94.7 (kî—äpen^a [§ 28])
wihtciinesagwe why we (incl.) should slay him 94.9 (wî—agwe [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; utci- [§ 16] whence)
naswâtci^i they whom they had slain 196.15 (-âwâtci^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.
neskinamuv^a he felt contempt for them 168.19 (-n- [§ 21]; -amuv^a [§ 28])
äneskinuwánite^i she loathed him on that account 66.17 (ä—änite^i [§ 34])
neneskinawâw^a I loathe him on account of 68.14 (ne—âw^a [§ 28])
äneskinawate^i because you loathe him 68.17, 20 (ä—ste^i [§ 29])
kîneskimâw^a you shall scold at him 284.4 (literally, you shall loathe him with your tongue; kî—åw^a [§ 28]; -m- [§ 21])
äneskimewe^ute^i he was scolded 60.8 (ä—te^i [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])
See also 314.11; 330.23

nîgi- to be born.
änígite^i he was born 18.4

nîmî- to dance.
nûnîmîhetiâte^i they had a great time dancing together 18.12 (nû- [§ 25]; -h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; ä- dropped [§ 12]; -wâte^i [§ 29])
kînîmîpenâw^a let us (incl.) dance 132.29 (the form is peculiar; -penâw^a evidently comes from -penu [§ 6]; kî—penu is closely
related to *kī—*pena [§ 28]; perhaps the -a has been split into a
diphthong [§ 6])
kīke’činimipw’a ye shall dance 280.17 (*kī—*pw’a [§ 28]; ke’ci-
intensity)

See also 134.17; 220.15; 282.1, 3, 12

**nīs-** to reach and take down.

ānīsenag’i he reached up and took it down 320.22 (*ā—*ag’ [§ 29];
-e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 160.17; 352.15

**nōn-**, **nūn-** to suck.

*winōn* e it (animate) shall suck 106.12 (*wi- [§ 28])

See also 104.9; 106.11, 14; 196.13

**nōta-**, **nōdlā-** to hear.

ānōtawātc’ when he heard him 110.16 (*ā—*ātc’ [§ 29]; -w- [§ 21])
nōdāgānīte’ when he heard 146.14 (*-gā- [§ 20]; -nite’ [§ 34])

**nūcīi-** to give birth to.

ānūcānīte’ she bore him 38.5 (*ā—*ātc’ [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 38.4; 74.9, 10, 12, 15; 152.14

**nūwēi**, **nōwēi** out.

nūwē’kāg’u don’t go out 12.4 (*’kāg’u [§ 30])
nūwēw’ he went out 160.10
ānūwine’kawātc he drove them out 94.16 (for *ā—*ātc’ [§ 29]; -ne’ka-
- [§ 19]; -w- [§ 21])
nōwinōwīw’a many a time he went out 160.10 (*nōwi- [§ 25]; -w’a
[§ 28])

nwāwī’tāgāwātcināpe’ e they continually went out to fight 12.5
(*nwāwī- for *nuwēi [§ 12]; -wātc’ [§ 29]; -n- [§ 8]; -āpe’ e [§ 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])

**pānāi-** to miss.

*ā’pānapānīte’* he failed to catch him 282.17
*ātacipānāpānīte’* where he failed to catch him 282.21

panāhwa’w’ he missed hitting him (*-hw- [§ 21]; -aw’a [§ 28])

pānatakan’ you must have let it fall astray 230.11 (*-t- [§ 21];
-ak’ for -agan’ [§ 30]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])

See also 180.19; 382.7

§ 16

4487°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—50
**PAGA-, PAGI-** to strike.

*wipapagamätę* 170.22 she was on the point of clubbing him to death (for wi—*āte* [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; pū- [§ 25])

*ā*’*papagamegute* she was clubbed to death 164.2 (-m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; *ā*-tei [§ 29])

*pagisenw* it struck (-sen- [§ 20]; -w* [§ 28])

*inapagicig* it alighted over there 282.19 (for *in*- *ā*- [§ 10]; -g* for -k*i [§ 3]; *ā*-k*i [§ 29]; -ci- [§ 12] for -cin- [§ 20]; note the contradiction: -cin- is animate; -k*i inanimate)

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

**PAGU-** ahead.

*pagususigu* walk on ahead 338.18, 340.1 (-s- [§ 8]; -usā- [§ 19]; -g* [§ 31])

*pagususān* walk thou on ahead 340.4 (-n* [§ 31])

*pāgu^wa^* he makes him run (literally, he makes him go forward; -liw- [§ 21]; -d* [§ 28])

**PENW-, PEMWU-** to shoot.

*ā*’*pemwāte* he shot him 22.23 (*ā*-tei [§ 29])

*ā*’*pemwag* when I am shooting at them 116.24 (*ā*-wagi [§ 29])

*wi*’*pemwutamān* I shall shoot at it 118.3, 5 (*wi*-Amān [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21])

*phemutamawin* shoot him for me 204.9 (-t- [§ 8]; -nū for -n* [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 6]; -amaw- is the same as *amaw*- in nātamawāw* ศักดิ์*’sān (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

**PEMU-, PENO-** to go homeward, depart.

*wi*’*penuymān* I am going home 232.23, 256.14 (*wi*-yān [§ 29])

*ā*’*pyātcipenute* then he came back home 18.1 (*ā*-te [§ 29]; *pyātci*- an extended form of *pyā- [§ 16] motion hitherward)

*nū*’*penο* I am going home 266.20 (*nū- [§ 28])

*kī*’*penopen* let us go home 304.18 (kī- *pen* [§ 28])

See also 68.24; 160.3; 168.11, 15; 220.9, 14; 224.9, 6, 15; 252.12

**PESW-** to smoke out.

*kīpeswā*’*pen* let us smoke them out 142.10 (kī-*āpen* [§ 28])

*pāswātci*’*i* they whom he was smoking out 142.16 (*ātei*’ [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel)

**PETAWA-** to kindle a fire.

*ā*’*petawaswāte* they kindled a fire to warm themselves 138.10 (-su- [§ 40])

§ 16
äwápipe'tawate then he set to work to kindle a fire 142.8 (for ä—te [§ 29]; wápi- [§ 16] to begin)
ähanemipe'tawate° he kept on building the fire 142.13 (hanemi-
same as hanemi- [§ 16])
pe'tawälw kindle a fire 158.20 (k for g [§ 31]; confusion of
g and k [§ 3])
öniketiçpetawäväte° accordingly they built a large fire 158.21 (for
önä- [§ 10]; —wäte [§ 29]; keti– intensity)

See also 142.11; 146.4; 158.21

pín- entrance into.
pinahwinu° put me into 96.13 (a– [§ 8]; -hw– [§ 21]; -inu [§ 31];
pín- is allied to pí-(t) [§ 16])
pinahamam° I put it in (a– dropped [§ 12]; —Amäm [§ 29]; a–
[§ 8]; -h– [§ 21])
a’pinahväte° he put him into 326.17 (ä—äte [§ 29])

pógo- to fall.
a’tecapögisänite she fell far out there 102.17 (for -nite [§ 34]; a’te-
probably is to be divided into a– ‘tea–; ‘tea– is tea– by reason of
a–; tea– is allied with a’teča– distant; -isä– is from -isä–
([§ 19] MOTION THROUGH THE AIR)

pōku-, pók- to break.
a’papokuskahväte° he kept on breaking them with his foot 14.5
(for a–äte [§ 29 and § 10]; pa– [§ 25]; -sk– [§ 21]; a– [§ 8]; -hw–
[§ 21])
kepö’kahäpwe° you break it open 176.9 (ke–äpwe [§ 28]; a– [§ 8];
-h– [§ 21])
wpö’kahag° one shall break it open 176.8 (wí–ag [§ 29]; a– [§ 8];
-h– [§ 21])

See also 14.8; and compare a’pvawikaskipapa’kunaag° HE
WAS NOT ABLE TO BREAK IT 126.3 (ä–Ag [§ 29]; pvawi-
NOT; kaski– same as kaski– [§ 16] ABILITY; pä– [§ 25]; -n–
[§ 21])

pósii- entrance into.
apösi’töwawäte° they loaded it into 212.22 (for a–äwätö [§ 29];
‘tö– [§ 37]; -w– [§ 8])
kiecitçägипösi’töwate° after they had loaded it into 212.23 (ä–
dropped [§ 12]; kici– [§ 16] completion; teägi– [§ 16] totality;
-wäte [§ 29])
apösör° he got into it 214.2 (ä–te [§ 29])

See also 214.21; 224.12, 17

§ 16
pōtc(i)- entrance into (allied to pōši- [see § 8])

ápōtciwashutei then he leaped into 164.15 (ā—tei [§ 29]; -isahu-
same as -isahō [§ 19] to JUMP; -i of pōtc- lost [§ 10])
pōtciwashowai he leaped into 164.16 (-wai [§ 28])
ápōtciwashowātei then they embarked into 214.15 (-isaho- same as
-isahō- [§ 19]; ā—wātei [§ 29])

Sanā- difficult.

sanagatui it is difficult 280.8 (-gat- same as -gat-)

Sanagatw if it is difficult 280.12, 16; 332.17 (-gat- [§ 20]; -w [§ 28])
Sanaga‘kin it is not difficult 284.17 (-n-, -’k [§ 29]; -gā- [cf. § 20])

See also 172.22

Sāge- fear.

sāgesiwa he was afraid 168.14 (-si- [§ 20]; -wai [§ 28])

ásāgesiyānī I am scared 312.14 (ā—yāni [§ 29])
sāgihiyā’kani you might frighten her 312.16 (-h- [§ 21]; -iyā’kani
[§ 30])

See also 336.8, 12; 344.7, 17; 346.1, 10

Sīgtci-, sīgatci- to freeze.

āsīgatcotei when he froze to death 138.14

kīcīsīgatcinitei after the other froze 138.15 (ā- dropped [§ 12];
kīci- [§ 16] completion; ā-nitei [§ 34])

Sōgi- to bind.

āsogisowātei they were bound with cords 26.3 (ā—wātei [§ 29]; -so-
[§ 40])

āsōgiūatei he bound her 140.7 (for ā—ātei [§ 29 and § 10]; -h- [§ 21])
Sōgisōyāni where I am bound 106.17 (ā- dropped [§ 12]; -sō-
[§ 40]; -yāni [§ 29])

āsōgī’tōtei he tied a knot 334.16 (ā—tei [§ 29]; -’tō- [§ 37])

See also 26.22; 108.6; 146.2; 338.21

Tāg-, tāg- to touch.

ātāgenātei he touched her 46.2 (for ā—ātei [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

ākīcitāgatamōwātei after they have touched it 184.18 (for ā—amo-
wātei [§ 29]; kīci- [§ 16] completion; ā- same as -e- [§ 8]?
-t- [§ 21])

āmōwītāgā’kwāhag then he went to touch it with a wooden pole
196.10 (ā—Ag [§ 29]; mōvi- [§ 16] to go to; -ā’kw- [§ 18]; ā-
for -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

ātageskag 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
taci- as many as, number (cf. tæswi-).

medāswi'taciwátc the number was ten 164.4 (for medāswi ten [§ 50] + à- [§ 10]; à—wát [§ 29])

ätaciwátc 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 tæswi-; as is shown by àmedâciwátc they were ten 78.14, as compared with medâswi'taciwátc the number was ten 164.4 (for medâswi à- [§ 10]). The word for ten is medâswi [§ 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 (à—etc [§ 41]; mec- to capture; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
tagwitepânetāw the land was owned in common 34.1 (âune-[§ 18]; -wî [§ 28])

ä'tagwina'tometc they were asked together 338.7 (â—etc [§ 41]; nato- to ask; -n- [§ 21])

wītaguswage' that I should have put them together and cooked them 158.8 (wī- 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.

kī'tanetipen let us make a bet together 296.18 (literally, let us engage in an activity together; hence, by inference, gamble; kī—pen [§ 28]; -e- [§ 8]; -ti- [§ 38])

ä'taneti'tic he was gambling 314.6 (â—etc [§ 29])
tanwā'vāmā'w a he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; -m- [§ 21]; -wâ [§ 28])
tanwā'vā'tōw a he bangs away on it (â'tō—[§§ 21, 37]; -wâ [§ 28])

ä'tanwâ'taminitc cries were sounded 192.3 (â—nîte [§ 34]; wâ-sound)

ä'tanenetig in the thick of the fight 168.1 (â— as ordinarily; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; -ti- [§ 38]; -g locative suffix [§ 42]; the context alone suggests the idea of fighting)

āhanemitánusātc as he continued to engage in walking 48.20 (â—etc [§ 29]; āhanemi- [§ 16] to continue to; -usâ- [§ 19] to walk)

See also 190.13, 23

§ 16
tāp- to place trust in.

netapānemu I put my trust in 190.15 (ne- [§ 28]; -āne- [§ 18]; -m- [§ 21]; -u [§ 40])

taswi- as many as, as much as, number.

ūtaswipyānićinl as many as came 8.9 (why ū- is used is not clear; pyā- from pyā- [§ 16] motion hitherward; -nićinl [§ 34])
inūtaswihate and hast thou included as many as there are 298.16 (for inl ū- [§ 10]; inl [§ 47]; h- [§ 21]; ū—ate [§ 29])
tasw the number 20.7

taswicōniyāl is the amount of money 34.16

See also 8.14, 18; 10.5; 20.11; 32.13; 76.16; 246.21; 312.17, 21; 358.6; 374.3

tāpwe- to speak the truth.

ketāpwe you were telling the truth 24.15; 322.9 (ke- [§ 28])

wītāpwaγānī I desire to speak the truth 324.13 (wī—γānī [§ 29])

See also 322.16

tcēp- to nudge softly.

āwūptēpenātei then he began to nudge her softly with the finger 320.7 (ū—ate [§ 29]; wāpi- [§ 16] to begin; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

ātećiptēcānātei he gave her a nudge in the side 44.1 (ū—atei [§ 29]; -tcēi [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -tcāi- [§ 18]; -n- [§ 21])

tcīg(i)- edge.

tcīgāskut on the edge of the prairie 126.7

tcīgike tcīgumōwu by the shore of the sea 350.5 (ke’tcī- intensity; -gum- = -kam- [§ 18])

tcīgike tcīkamōwu by the shore of the sea 100.14 (ke’tcī- intensity; -kam- [§ 18]; -i- same as -i- [§ 20]; -w- for -w- [§ 28]; literal translation, it was the edge of the great expanse)

See also 68.12; 110.7; 124.2

tcīt- down.

ātećītapisahutei there he sprang and crouched 188.15 (ū—tcēi [§ 29]; -isahu- same as -isahō- [§ 19]; apisahu- for api+isahu- [§ 10]; api- to sit [there he sprang and sat down is literal])

ātećītāpiswātei there they sat down 190.14 (ū—wātei [§ 29])

See also 332.13; 352.15

tc- to say.

netegōpI am called 12.19 (ne—gōp [§ 41])

netegwā I was told 108.7 (ne—gwā [§ 41])

ketenI told thee 190.18 (ke—n [§ 28])

netenāwā I said to him 216.5 (ne—āwā [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21])

§ 16
netegōg they call me 322.12 (ne—gōgi § 28)
ketenepwa I declared to you 346.2, 10; 358.23 (ke—nepwa § 28)
ketekuwa they has told you 370.12 (ke—guwa § 28); confusion of g and k § 3)
keteneyōw e I told thee before 110.5 (for keten iyōw e; iyōw aforetime)

tepā- to be fond of, to love.
ketepānen e I am fond of thee 314.4 (ke—n e § 28; -n— [§ 21]; -e— [§ 8])
ātepānate they art fond of them 276.19 (ā—ate § 29; -n— [§ 21])
tepanawā she was fond of them 170.1 (-n— [§ 21]; -aw— [§ 28])

tepowa— to hold council.
kīcītepawāte i after they had ended their council 338.5 (kīcī— [§ 16] completion; ā— dropped § 12; ā—wāte i § 29; it is likely -wā— is identical with wā sound in § 20)
ātepawānete i he was debated in council 338.4 (ā—etc i § 41; -n— [§ 21]; -ā— for ā— as in ācīcāte i then he went off on a hunt; ā—pyāte i when he came; etc.)
See also 336.8, 9

tes— to trap.
kītesōturawāpena let us set a trap for it 78.3 (kī—āpena § 28)
tesōte i trap (-ōte— [§ 23])

tō'k(endte)— state of being awake.
tō'kīg u wake up 46.15 (-g u § 31)
ātō'kiyāni when I wake up 284.1

tō'kitē he might wake up 284.18 (for tō'kitce probably; tce § 31)
ātō'kitē then he woke up 126.1
āmāwitōkenate then he went and woke him up 104.15 (ā—āte i [§ 29]; māwī [§ 16] to go; -e— [§ 8]; -n— [§ 21])
See also 40.18; 44.6, 7; 104.18

uwīw(i)— to marry.
uwīwiyanleh e if it had been you who married 216.16 (-yanleh e, really -yanle e § 29)
āhuwīwite i then he married 216.20 (ā—ite i § 29; -h— [§ 8])
kīhuwīwemen e I shall marry you 148.19 (kī—n e [§ 28]; -h— [§ 8]; -e— [§ 8]; -m— [§ 21]; -e— [§ 8])
uwīwa wife
See also 42.4; 44.13; 82.2; 148.8; 200.13, 18; 216.13, 16, 20 § 16
(w)wigî-, (u)wigê- to dwell.

wigîa he lives 220.22 (-w [§ 28])

âwigîntî where he dwelt 160.15 (â—nite [§ 34])

â'kwî'uwîgewâtî they went in an indefinite direction and lived there 66.15 (â—wâte [§ 29]; kîwi motion in an indefinite direction; cf. kî- [§ 16])

wâwigîtâ he who dwells 38.9 (from uwîgi-; the change of the stem-vowel is due to the fact that the form is a participial [§§ 12, 33]; -tu [§ 33])

wâwigîntî 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; -nite [§ 34])

wâwigîntîyâ they who dwell here 194.7 (-ctig [§ 33])

âhuwigîntî where they were living 194.5, 18 (â—nîte [§ 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.

wâni- to lose.

âwanihâtî he lost him 182.12 (â—âte [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wâteâ- to cook.

âwateâhâtî then she cooked a meal 240.12 (â—âte [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wîwateâhâgwî we (incl.) shall cook for him 256.8 (wî—âgwî [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wîwuteâhâwawânî shall we cook for him 260.15 (indirect question; wî—âwawî [§ 32]; confusion of e and i unless wî-is used unusually with the subjunctive; -h- [§ 21]; -â- [§ 8])

See also 152.20, 21; 228.7; 232.3; 234.22; 244.7; 248.21; 262.8; 264.3; 266.1

wâpa- to look at.

kîwâpâtâpenâ let us look into it 24.8 (kî—âpenâ [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21])

âwâpaâmâte he looked at her 46.7 (â—âte [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21])

wâpaâmînâ look at me 322.3 (-m- [§ 21]; -în- [§ 31])

See also 104.13, 19; 146.7, 9; 250.8; 316.20; 338.7

wîcâ- to implore.

âwîcâmegute he was implored 182.5 (for â—tc [§ 29, also § 10]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

wînani- to flay and cut up.

wînanimî cut it up 58.2, 3; 162.13 (-h- [§ 21]; -î [§ 31])

§ 16
äwínanihāte\textsuperscript{t} then she flayed and cut him up 162.14 (\(\ddot{a}\)–\(\ddot{a}t\textsuperscript{e}\) [§ 29]; \(-h\) [§ 21])
\(\dddot{k}i\)wiwínanihāte\textsuperscript{t} after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (\(\ddot{a}\)–dropped [§ 12]; \(\dddot{k}i\)– [§ 16] completion)

\textbf{wíne–} filthy.

wínesi\(w\)\textsuperscript{a} she is filthy 292.15 (\(-s\)i– [§ 20]; \(-w\)\textsuperscript{a} [§ 28])

See also 320.3

\textbf{wíseni–} to eat.

wíwiseni\(w\)\(a\)\textsuperscript{g} they shall eat 8.11 (\(-w\)\(a\)\textsuperscript{g} [§ 28]; \(w\)– used because the form is intransitive [§ 28])

\(k\)wiwísen\textsuperscript{t} thou wilt eat 26.7 (\(k\)i– [§ 28])

díwísen\textsuperscript{t} then he ate 240.13 (\(\ddot{a}\)–\(tc\textsuperscript{t}\) [§ 29])

See also 14.18; 196.16, 20

\textbf{yā–} to go.

\(\ddot{a}\)yáw\(w\)\(a\)\textsuperscript{e} that they went 72.2 (\(\ddot{a}\)– unexpected with the subjunctive, but see my note to § 29; \(-w\)\(a\)\textsuperscript{e} [§ 29])

\(\ddot{a}\)yá\(m\)\(i\)ga\(k\)\textsuperscript{t} it went 224.17 (\(\ddot{a}\)–\(\ddot{h}\)\textsuperscript{t} [§ 29]; \(-m\)\(i\)ga– [§§ 33, 20; cf. § 28])

\(\ddot{a}\)yáw\(w\)\(a\)\textsuperscript{t} they went 166.5 (for \(\ddot{a}\)–\(w\)\(a\)\textsuperscript{t} [§ 29])

See also 72.3; 176.20; 200.21; 262.2\textsuperscript{1}

\textbf{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 \(\dddot{t}\)\(i\)w\(i\)c\(i\)\(n\)\(w\)\(a\) he fell and hurt himself, \(\dddot{t}\)\(i\)\(w\)\(i\)– is initial, and denotes pain; while \(-c\)\(i\)n is secondary, and expresses the notion of coming to a state of rest. In the word \(\dddot{t}\)ce\(l\)\(m\)\(ā\)\(n\)\(t\) canoe is a less frequent example of a secondary stem occupying first place. The stem \(\dddot{t}\)\(c\)\(i\) or \(\dddot{t}\)\(c\)\(i\)\(m\) 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

\textsuperscript{1}From p. 772 to here, addition by T Michelson.

§ 17
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: -usā- in wū'pusā'wā HE BEGINSTO 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'gānāgetu'nwā HE HAS A SMALL MOUTH contains two secondary stems of the first class—one is -nāg-, which expresses the notion of cavity; the other is -tun-, 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 -nāg- would represent one class, and -tun- the other: -nāg- 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: u'tūnî MOUTH (literally, HIS MOUTH). In kīwe'skūpyāwā HE IS DRUNK are illustrated two types of secondary stems: kīwe- is an initial stem meaning indefinite movement anywhere; -skūpā- is a secondary stem of the first class, denoting the neck and back of the head; and -pyā- is a secondary stem of the second class, expressive of a subtle, attributive condition. [-pyā- belongs rather to the secondary nominal stems (§ 23); -skūpā- apparently cognate with -kūpā- (§ 18). But why can not -skūpā- correspond to -nāg-, and -pyā- 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

-ā'kwā- 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'kwā'kwāwī'wā it is a place of clumps of trees
pīgwā'kwāwī'wā a grove stands dense in the distance
pāgū'kwīcī'nwā he bumped against a tree, post, bar (pāg- same as pāg [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])
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pe'cigwâ'kwa'twâ the log, tree, stick, is straight
pagâ'kwitunâcinwâ he bumps himself on the mouth (analysis § 14)

-nâj- expresses the idea of an opening, as of a hole.
pâ'"kâna'getâ'wâ the hole gapes open
mâ'gâna'getûnwâ he has a large mouth (-tun- mouth [p. 796])
kâ'gwâna'gucâ'wâ he has holes pierced in his ears (-câ- ear [p. 796])

-tâj- 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.
ketâ'gesi'wâ its color is spotted (animate)
wâba'ta'gawâ'wâ its color is white (animate)
meckwa'tâ'gawâ'wâ its color is red (animate, meckwa red)

-âne- relates to mental operation.
ke'kâ'nenemâ'wâ he knows, understands him
muswâ'nenemâ'wâ he suspects him (musw- suspect; -m- [§ 37]; -âwâ
[§ 28])
menwâ'nenemâ'wâ he feels well disposed toward him
nâ'gâlawnâ'nenemâ'wâ he keeps him constantly in mind
panâ'nenemâ'wâ he makes fun of him
ânâncitâhâtc for she felt shame within her heart 38.12 (compare 210.15)
âmuswânenemâwâtâcî they began to suspect something wrong with them 150.14 (musw- suspect; -m- [§ 37]; â—âwâtâcî [§ 29])

-itâ- refers to subjective feeling, and so finds place for manifold application.
ici'tâhâ'wâ thus he feels (i.e., thinks; for ici thus + itâ; -hâ- [§ 20];
wâ [§ 28])
myâci'tâhâ'wâ she is tearful, sad to weeping
mâ'neci'tâhâ'wâ he is ashamed (-âne- above)
upi'tâhâ'wâ he is joyful
kiwâtci'tâhâ'wâ he is lonely (kiwâtc- lonely; see also § 20)
â'i-citâhâtcî he thus thought in his heart 202.10

-nâgu- stands for the idea of LOOK, APPEARANCE, RESEMBLANCE.
pe'"kînâ'gusi'wâ he looks like a foreigner (-si- [§ 20])
â'kwâ'wînâgusi'wâ he has an angry look (â'kwâ anger)
kecâ'tcinâ'gusi'wâ he has a gentle appearance
kiwâ'tcinâ'gusi'wâ he seems sad, lonely

§ 18
-KAm- expresses the idea of indefinite space as applied to such terms as sweep, range, latitude, expanse.

ke’tei’kamî’wâ it is the sea; it is the great expanse

\(ta’kamisâ’w^a\) it flies over an expanse (-isâ- [§ 19])

\(ta’kamî’w^a\) he crosses an open space

\(ka’kamî’w^a\) he makes a short cut across

-‘ku- imprint, track.

\(â’pîtei’kawânte\) they trailed (a bear into bushes) 70.12 (for \(pîtei\) see under \(pît-\) [§ 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.

-câ- 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.

\(mamâ’gecâ’w^a\) he has big ears

\(kî’skecâ’w^a\) he has no ears (literally, he is cut-ear)

\(ka’ga’nocâ’w^a\) he has long ears

\(nâ’kâkî’kekcecâewâtcâpe\) and he would cut off their ears 8.12 (reduplicated stem allied to kîsk; for -âtei [§ 29] âpe-e [§ 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.

\(wâgi’kumâ’w^a\) he has a crooked nose

\(pâgli’nu’câ’nw^a\) he bumped his nose (pâgi- see under pâg- [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])

\(tau’gi’kumâ’w^a\) his nose spreads at the nostrils (-gi locative suffix)

\(kînîgu’mâyâ’wî\) it is sharp at the point (kînî- [§ 16]; -wî [§ 28])

\(nâ’kâkî’kumâewâtcâpe\) and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for nâ’k-a and â-)

-tun- is used for the external space about the mouth.

\(mi’setu’nw^a\) he has a mustache (mîs- hair [§ 24])

\(kepa’getu’nw^a\) he has thick lips

\(pâ’ketu’nw^a\) he opens his mouth

-winá- gives the notion of linear dimension, round of form, and of limited circumference. It is a term for horn.

\(tca’kwî’winâ’w^a\) he is short-horned

\(pô’kwî’nu’câ’nw^a\) he fell and broke his horn (-cin- to fall [§ 20])

\(pa’kwî’winâ’w^a\) he is shedding his horns

§ 18
-ˈkwä- 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.

näpe’kwäkwä’wa he lassos him by the neck; compare 282.18 (kw [§ 21]; -äw [§ 28])
ke’kite’kwänä’wa he hugs her around the neck (-n- [§ 21]; + -äw [§ 28])
pena’hä’kwä’wa she combs her hair
me’se’kwä’wa she has long hair
tä’we’kwä’wa he has a headache (täwi- [§ 16])
mätägu’kwähö’wa he covers his (own) head
pyäte’kwävö’wa he brings home a wife (pyä- [§ 16]; -l- [§ 8]; -äw [§ 28])
mä’keme’kwävö’wa he is wooing (mä’k- [§ 16])
näcö’kwävö’wa he has two wives (näcö- [§ 12])

-tecä- signifies a material body with volume more or less plump and distended. It is used with reference to the abdominal region.

upi’skwätcä’wa he is big round the waist
päge’tcäci’wn a he ran, and fell on the flat of his belly (the literal translation would seem to be HE FELL AND STRUCK HIS BELLY; see pag(i)- [§ 14] and pägi- cited under -kum- [p. 796]; -cin- [§ 20])
ke’kite’tcänä’wa he grabs him round the body (see ke’kite’- 'kwänäw a above)
mä’setcä’wa 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.

\( k\text{ɨ}w\text{ā}m\text{ā}w^a \) he flees hither and thither (for \( k\text{ɨ}w- \) see under \( k\text{ɨ}- \) \([\$ 16]\); \(-m- \) \([\$ 8, 21, 37]; \(-o- \) animate middle voice \([\$ 40]; \(-w^a \) 3d person animate singular, intransitive aorist, independent mode \([\$ 28]\))

\( p\text{e}'m\text{ā}m\text{ā}w^a \) he hurries past in flight (\( p\text{e}m- \) \([\$ 16]\))

\( p\text{y}\text{ā}'t\text{ā}m\text{o}w^a \) he comes fleeing hitherward (\( p\text{y}\text{ā}- \) \([\$ 16]; \(-t- \) \([\$ 8]; \(-o- \) \([\$ 40]\))

\( w\text{ī}w\text{ā}p\text{ā}m\text{ō}y\text{ā}n^i \) you had better begin to flee \( 98.5 \) (\( w\text{ā}p- \) \([\$ 16]\); \( w\text{ī}-y\text{ā}n^i \) 2d person singular intransitive future, conjunctive \([\$ 29]; \(-m- \) \([\$ 8, 21, 37]; \(-o- \) animate middle voice \([\$ 40]\))

\( p\text{e}m\text{ā}m\text{o}y\text{ā}n e \) in your flight \( 98.5 \) (\( p\text{e}m- \) \([\$ 16]; \(-m-o- \) as in last example; \(-y\text{ā}n e \) 2d person singular intransitive present, subjunctive \([\$ 29]\))

\( ã\text{p}t\text{ā}m\text{ū}l\text{ū}e \) and in she fled \( 98.15 \) (\( ã- \) temporal prefix; \( ã\text{p}t- \) into \([\$ 16]; \(-m- \) as in last two examples; \(-u- \) animate passive \([\$ 40]; \(-t\text{e}^i \) 3d person singular animate intransitive aorist, conjunctive \([\$ 29]\))

\( k\text{ī}c\text{i}p\text{ā}t\text{ā}m\text{ū}l\text{ū}e \) after she had fled inside \( 98.16 \) (\( k\text{ī}c\text{i}- \) completion \([\$ 16]\))

\( w\text{ī}w\text{ā}p\text{ā}m\text{ū}l\text{ū}e \text{e} \) it was her purpose to flee for her life \( 218.14 \) (\( w\text{ā}p- \) \([\$ 16]; \text{the form is explained in}[\text{i} \text{ī} \text{§} 29])

\(-e\text{gā}\) is for the movement of one in the dance.

\( u\text{p}\text{y}\text{ā}'n\text{e}g\text{ā}w^a \) he moves slowly in the dance

\( n\text{ī}g\text{ā}'n\text{e}g\text{ā}w^a \) he leads in the dance

\( ã\text{h}\text{ā}'w\text{e}g\text{ā}w^a \) he dances the swan-dance

\( c\text{ā}'w\text{ā}n\text{ā}d\text{e}g\text{ā}w^a \) he dances the Shawnee dance

\( ã\text{y}\text{ā}p\text{w}w\text{ā}p\text{ā}w\text{e}g\text{ā}y\text{ā}qw^s \) but before you begin dancing \( 280.21 \) (\( w\text{ā}p- \) \([\$ 16]; \(-y\text{ā}gw^s \) 2d person plural intransitive, conjunctive \([\$ 29]\))

\(-i\text{sā}\) conveys primarily the notion of velocity, speed, and is associated with locomotion through the air.

\( h\text{ā}n\text{i}'w\text{i}s\text{ā}w^a \) he runs swiftly

\( m\text{yā}c\text{i}s\text{ā}w^i \) it lacks a keen edge (\( Ð- \) \([\$ 21.5]\))

\( n\text{ē}m\text{ā}'s\text{w}i\text{sī}w^a \) he alighted feet first

\( k\text{u}g\text{w}c\text{ā}'t\text{c}i\text{s}āw^a \) he tries to fly

\( p\text{ī}'t\text{c}i\text{s}āw^i \) it blew inside (\( p\text{ī}- \) inside \([\$ 16]\))

\( t\text{c}a\text{pō}q\text{i}s\text{ā}w^a \) he fell into the water (for \( a\text{pō} \) cf. \( ã\text{pō} \) \([\$ 24]\))

\( w\text{ā}t\text{e}k\text{ē}c\text{ē}y\text{ā}gi\text{cī}s\text{ā}wā \) whence the cold comes, there he is speeding to \( 70.14 \) (analysis note 21, p. 869)

\( p\text{e}m\text{i}s\text{i}w^a \) it went flying past \( 80.6, 17 \) (\( p\text{e}m- \) past \([\$ 16]; \(-w^a \) 3d person singular animate aorist, intransitive, independent mode \([\$ 28]\))

\§ 19
"änūwisātc" so out he went on the run 254.15 (ći—tei [§ 29])
"inānuwisātc" then she flew out 146.9 (see §11)
"āhanisānītc" it flew away 282.17, 19 (nītc [§ 34])
"ināpemānisānītc" 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.

"pīteisahōw" he leaps into an enclosure ("pīte- see under "pīt- [§ 16]; "w" [§ 28])

"pyātēsahōw" he comes a-jumping ("pyāte- see under "pyā- [§ 16])

"nwisahōw" he goes out on the jump ("nuw- out; "änūwītće he then went out 38.13; "änūwīwātće and they went out 50.2) ātepīsahutc he 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" she carries it (her child) about on her back (kī- [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; -m- instrumental, animate [§ 21]; -w" 3d person singular animate subject and object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

"pē'mōtānw" 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])

"kēpyātōnepw" 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.

"anē'mōtāw" he crawls moving you way

"ta'kamōtāw" he crawls athwart

"ā'gosī'ōtāw" he crawls upward (as up a tree) (compare "ōnū'a'-gōsītće and then he climbed up 274.24; "āhanemī'ā'gosīpahō-mīgā'kł climbed hurriedly up the hill 96.19; "wiłahgōsīyāńł I shall have to do the climbing 90.19)

"ke'tāsi'ōtāw" he crawls upward (as up a hill)

"pītōtāw" he crawls inside ("pīt- [§ 16])

"āhagwāyūtāwātće" they creep forth 352.5 (-ātă- same as -ōtă-)

"ū'pemānāyūtūnītc" they started to crawl out 352.11 ("pem [§ 16]; -nītc [§ 34])

§ 19
nā'kāpītōtāte then again he crawled into 290.4 (nā'k- again; ā-temporal prefix; pūl- into [§ 16]; -te for -tc 3d person singular animate aorist, conjunctive mode [§ 29])

-ūsā- 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.

cōskā"'kusā'wa he walks straight, erect (cōsk- [§ 16]) *
wā'pusā'wa he starts off on a walk (wāp- to begin [§ 16])
nāhusū'wa he learns how to walk (compare nahiteimūwa he knows how to swim under -tcim- [p. S01])
tete'pusā'wa he walks round in a circle (tetei- in a circle [§ 16])
pyū' tusā'wa he comes a-walking (pyū- motion hither [§ 16]; -t-intervocalic [§ 8])
ā' pemīwāpusātē then he started to walk 194.19 (ā- temporal prefix; pemī- wāp- [§ 16])
kiyusān̄ wa walk thou about 300.2 (kī- about [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -nu 2d person singular imperative [§ 31])
wē'kiyusāwā it (animate) shall walk about 300.1 (wē- future)
pagūsusān̄ wa walk thou on ahead 340.4
ā'kiwāpusāyag̃ after we proceeded on the way 342.13 (ā- temporal prefix; kīci- wāp- [§ 16]; see § 12 for loss of ci; for the ending see § 29)

-hogō- is locomotion by water, and differs from -tcim- in having more of the sense of conveyance.

pyūta'hoq̃ōwa he comes a-swimming (pyū- motion hither [§ 16])
kīwa'hog̃ōwa he swims about (kī- motion round about [§ 16])
ā'nemā'hog̃ōwa he swims thitherward
sā'gitēpā'hoq̃ōwa he swims with the head above water (sāgi-exposed [§ 16]; tepā head)
ā' pemitepīkīckahugunitei they passed by swimming 184.2 (pemī-to pass [§ 16]; -hugu- same as -hogō-; -nitei [§ 34])

-pahō- is of the nature of -ūsā-, differing from it only in the degree of locomotion. It denotes speed and swiftness, and is best translated by the term to run.

pe'mipahō'wa he runs past (pemī- to pass [§ 16])
na'gipahō'wa he stops running (nāgi- to stop [§ 16])
kī'wipahō'wa he runs around (kī- motion round about [§ 16])
na'qaskipahō'wa he runs with back bent forward
pā'cipahō'wa he leaves a gentle touch as he flies past on the run
äwāpahōwātē then they set to work to paddle 214.3 (for äwāpī-
pahōwātē [§ 12]; ä-; vápi- [§ 16]; -wātē [§ 29])
ä' pemipahutē then he went running along 110.7 (pemī- [§ 16])
ä' pyā' pahutē then he came on the run 254.19 (pyā- [§ 16])
āhanemi'ā'gōsi'pahōmīga'kī then (the head) climbed hurriedly up
the tree 96.19 (hanemi- [§ 16]; -a'gōsi see p. 799 under -ōtā-
āte'pī'pahutē and round in a circle he ran 312.6 (tetep- [§ 16])
āte'pī'pahonitē then (his friend) was running around in a circle
(-nīte [§ 34])
pyā'pahōwag they came a-running 276.14 (pyā- [§ 16]; -wag for
-wagī [§ 28])

-pugō- is another term for locomotion by water. It expresses passive
conveyance, the sense of which comes out well in the word
FLOAT.
pemī'tete'pī'pu'gōtā'wī it floats past a-whirling (pemī- tete'- [§ 16];
-wī 3d person inanimate singular, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
nū'wī'pugō'wā he came out a-floating (nūwi- out, see under -isā-
p. 798) and -isahō- [p. 799])
nā'nu'skī'pī'pugō'wī it floats about at random
kā'skipugō'wā he is able to float (kaskī- ability [§ 16])

-ne'ka- to drive, to pursue.
pāmī'ka'te'ci'gī those who pursue, 70 TITLE (this form is parti-
cipial [§ 33], hence the vowel changes to pāmī- from pemī-;
-āte'ci'gī pronominal form 3d person plural animate subject, 3d
person animate object)

-teim- is locomotion through water. It is equivalent in meaning to
the word swim.
kī'wī'te'imbā'wā he swims round about (see under kī- [p. 766])
pemī'te'imbā'wā he swims past
nahi'te'imbā'wā he knows how to swim (compare nahusāwā he
LEARNS HOW TO WALK under -usā- [p. 800])
nō'tawī'te'imbā'wā he gives out before swimming to the end of his
goal
ōnawāpācōwite'imbātē then he started to swim out to the shore
276.7 (wāp- [§ 16])

-gāpā- 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'nīwī'gāpā'wā he stands trembling
ne'maswī'gāpā'wā he rose to his feet

§ 19
n\(\text{agi}'\text{gāpā'w}^a\) he came to a standstill (\(\text{agi} [\S 16]\))
\(\text{pōni}'\text{gāpā'w}^a\) he ceased standing (\(\text{pōni} [\S 16]\))
\(\text{tēgān} \text{agi} \text{gāpāwātē}^c\) all came to a standing halt (\(\text{tēgā} \cdot \text{agi} [\S 16]\))
\(\text{inān} \text{agi} \text{kāpāwātē}^c\) and then they came to a standing halt 50.17
(-kāpē- for -gāpē- [see \S 3])

[To prove that any given stem is one of the second class of the second order, from the definition laid down in \S 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 merged 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 \S 14 as well as in \S 17 that two secondary stems of the first class can occur in combination, there is no reason why \(\text{ta'kāmīsāw}^a\) (under \(-\text{kām-} [\S 18]\)) should not also fall into this class (-\(\text{kām-} + \text{-isū-}\). It should be noted especially that \(\text{ta-}\) is initial: see \S 17 and my note in \S 14.—T.M.]

\S 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 verbals 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. \(-\text{cin-}\) animate; \(-\text{sen-}\) inanimate.

\(-\text{cin-}\) is an animate term with much variety of use. Its essential meaning is \textit{change from motion to rest}. The length of

\S 20
the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea of reclining, lying down.

sā'gici'nwⁿ he lies exposed (sāgi- [§ 16])
āta'wāci'nwⁿ he lies on his back
kīcū'wici'nwⁿ he lies warm
āecgicinite' when he lay 116.9
āha pe'kwāhicinowāte'i so they lay with a pillow under their heads 322.20
āecgicinowāte as they lay there together 324.8
āecgicinig 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'miwiwā'wāci'nwⁿ it is the sound of his footstep as he passes by (pemi- [§ 16])
pyātwā'wāci'nwⁿ it is the sound of his walk coming home (pyā [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8])
ānomwā'wāci'nwⁿ 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'nwⁿ (the bird) lights (see pag- [§ 14])
ā'pyāticpāgicinite' then the bird came and alighted 98.3 (pyātei- see pyā- [§ 16]; -nite' [§ 34])
pī'tācicinwⁿ he dropped inside (pīt- [§ 16])
cō'skwicinwⁿ he slips and falls (cōsk- [§ 16])

-seń- 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 -seń- is used in the following examples:

sā'gise'nwⁿ it lies exposed (sāgi- [§ 16])
āta'wāse'nwⁿ it lies wrong side up
kīcū'wīse'nwⁿ 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 -seń-.

§ 20
pe'niwā'wāse'nw$ it passes by a-jingling (pemī- [§ 16]; -w$ [§ 28])
pyātuwā'wāse'nw$ it comes a-ringing (pyāt- see pyā- [§ 16])
anemwā'wāse'nw$ it goes yon way a-tinkling

Some of its uses to express descent are—

pa'gisenw$ it struck, hit, fell, alighted (pag- [§ 14])
pī'kase'nw$ it dropped inside (pūt- [§ 16]; -ā- [§ 19])
cō'skwise'nw$ it slid and fell (cōsk- [§ 16])

[Apparently -sen- can be used also with an animate subject:
ā'pagisenetc$ 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'wa he is untidy (-wa [§ 28])
kā'wesī'wa he is rough, uneven, on the skin
cā'wesī'wa he is hungry (i.e., feeble, faint by reason of being famished)
kepā'gesī'wa he is thick of skin

-ā- is the inanimate correspondent of si:

mō'wāw$ it is soiled, stained (w$ [§ 28])
kā'wāw$ it is rough, unpolished, prickly
cā'cawā'w$ it is pliant, yielding
ke'pā'yā'w$ 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'casū'wa he is sweating
a'kasū'wa he is burned to a crisp
pa'sesū'wa he is burned
kī'cesū'wa he is cooked done (kīci- [§ 16])
ā'ū'kasutē he was burned alive 160.1
kīcētāgesutē after he was all burned up 160.2 (kīci-, teāgi- [§ 16])

-tā- is the inanimate equivalent of sū:

wī'catā'wi (weather) is warm
a'katā'wi it burned to ashes
pa'setā'w$ it is hot, heated (pas- [§ 16])
kī'catā'w$ it is done cooking (kīći- [§ 16])

(-ā-).—The ā of tā in the last illustration has been met before in combinations like usā to walk, isā flight, ētā to crawl,
egä to dance, and some others. In the form of kā, 'kā, and
sometimes gä, 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.

nen'u'su'kā'wö he is on a buffalo-hunt
kep'i'hi'kā'wö he is making a fence (i. e., an enclosure). [kep- is an
initial stem denoting enclosure.—T. M.]
kōge'nigā'wö she is washing clothes (i. e., doing work with water
[kōg- § 16])

There is no precise notion expressed by the vowel ë in such aug-
mented 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 pro-
nouns. A copula might be an apt term for it, for such is its
office. The following show some of its uses:

ki'wātei'tāhā'wö he is melancholy (-itū- [§ 18])
ā'kwī'tāhā'wö he is sullen
ki'yāwā'wö he is jealous
ā'kwāwö he is angry

The inanimate retains ë in -ämigät-. 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 -ämigät- for
the animate in the forms that have just been given:

ne'nus'u'kā'migā'twö the buffalo-hunt is the all-absorbing topic
ke'p'ihi'kā'migā'twö everything is given over to the building of
closures
kō'genigā'migā'twö the place is astir with the washing of clothes
ki'wātei'tāhā'migā'twö the place is sad, dolefully sad
ā'kwitāhā'migā'twö the air is all in a spleen
ki'yāwā'migā'twö the place is mad with jealousy
ā'kwā'migā'twö it is aflame with anger

It is well to mention at this point an inanimate use of -gat-, a com-
ponent element of -ämigät-. The form is sometimes -gwät-, -kwät-, or -t'kwät-. In function it is not unlike the inanimate

§ 20
-ā-, 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, fragrance, atmospheric states of the weather.

peci’qwa’kwa’twʾ (tree, log, stick) is straight
mʾcāgkwa’twʾ it is fuzzy
me’nāgkwa’twʾ it smells, stinks
mʾcāti’yāgkwa’twʾ it is fragrant
me’ca’kwa’twʾ it is a clear day or starry night (literally, it is a state of immensity)
neqwā’na’kwa’twʾ it is cloudy (more literally, a process of covering is going on above)
pōsā’na’kwa’twʾ clouds hang heavy, look angry (literally, a condition of enlargement, expansion, is taking place overhead)

(-i-).—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.

kiwāte’sihiʾwʾa he is so lonely (for kiwāte beside kiwāteci, cf. pyāte beside pyāteci [pyā- § 16]; -si- = -si-, above)
sanAge’esihiʾwʾa he is positively unyielding, incorrigible

The inanimate of the same is—
kiwā’tcāhiʾwʾ the place is so lonely (-ā- inanimate of -si-)
sanAgA’tōhiʾwʾ 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.

meʾtōsāneʾnīhiʾwʾa he is mortal, exists as a mortal
wāwāneʾskāhiʾwʾa he is bad, lives an evil life
meʾtosāneʾnīhiʾwʾi it is in nature mortal
wāwāneʾskāhiʾwʾi 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.

mAʾnetōwiʾwʾa he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is supernatural power itself (personified)
uɡiʾmāwiʾwʾa he becomes chief
mAʾnetōwiʾwʾi it is charged with, is possessed of, supernatural power; it becomes the supernatural power itself
uɡiʾmāwiʾwʾi 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.

- $k_A'skah\mu w^a$ he accomplishes an act with the aid of means
- $p_A'nah\mu w^a$ he failed to hit it with what he used
- $h_A'p\nu nah\mu w^a$ 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.

- $k\nu w^a$moh$w^a$ he puts them to wild flight ($k\nu$- [§ 16]; -$\tilde{\alpha}$- [§ 19]; -$\tilde{\omega}$- [§ 28])
- $m\nu e'c\tilde{i}h\nu w^a$ he disgraces him
- $\nu'c\tilde{w}ih\nu w^a$ he owns two (animate objects)

The instrumental form is frequently -$hw$- instead of -$h$-.

- $p\tilde{\nu}tah\nu w^a$ he buries him ($p\tilde{\nu}$- [§ 16]; -$\tilde{\omega}$- [§ 28])
- $p\tilde{\alpha}'guw\nu w^a$ he makes him run
- $p\tilde{\nu}c'i'gw\tilde{\alpha}h\nu w^a$ he pierced him in the eye with something

2. -n- refers to the instrumentality of the hand.

- $n\tilde{o}'t\tilde{a}n\nu w^a$ he falls short of reaching it with his hand ($amw^a$ [§ 28])
- $p_A'n\nu n\nu w^a$ he failed to hold it with the hand
- $\nu'x'p\tilde{e}n\nu w^a$ 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.

- $n\nu 'n\tilde{\alpha}w^a$ he goes to fetch him
- $\nu'w\tilde{a}n\tilde{u}w^a$ he carries him away
- $m\nu'c\tilde{e}n\tilde{u}w^a$ he catches him

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

- $m\nu e'v\tilde{a}n\tilde{u}w^a$ he loves her as a lover
- $t_A'p\tilde{a}n\tilde{u}w^a$ he is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative
- $k_A'n\tilde{\nu}n\tilde{u}w^a$ he talks to her ($k\nu$- [§ 24])

3. -sk- expresses the doing of an act with the foot or leg.

- $t\tilde{a}'gesk\nu w^a$ he kicks it
- $t\tilde{u}'gesk\nu w^a$ he touches it with the foot
- $p\tilde{\alpha}t\tilde{a}'k\tilde{e}c\tilde{i}'sk\tilde{a}w^a$ 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.

\[\text{sag}i'\text{pw}^a\text{w}^a\] he bites him (i.e., he takes hold of him with the mouth [\text{sag}i- [§ 16]; -\text{iw}^a [§ 28])

\[\text{sag}i'\text{put}o\text{w}^a\] he bit it (-\text{to-} [§ 37])

\[\text{k'chik}\text{v}^m\text{a'}\text{pw}^a\text{w}^a\] he bites off his nose (\text{k'chik-i} cut; -\text{kum}- nose [§ 18]; -\text{iw}^a [§ 28])

\[\text{po'tetu}\text{n}^a\text{pw}^a\text{w}^a\] he kisses her (-\text{tun-} [§ 18]; -\text{iw}^a [§ 28])

5. -c-, -cw-, or -sw- signifies an act done with something sharp.

\[\text{pe'tec}^o\text{w}^a\] he cuts himself accidentally (with a knife)

\[\text{kisk}^a\text{n}^o\text{v}^a\text{cw}^a\text{w}^a\] he cut off the (animal's) tail

\[\text{k'skec}\text{a}^m\text{w}^a\] he cut it off

\[\text{kisk}\text{e'c}^a\text{sw}^a\text{w}^a\] he cut off (another's) ear (-\text{c}^a- ear [§ 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.

\[\text{pe'sec}^a\text{w}^a\] he listens (compare -\text{c}^a- [§ 18])

\[\text{nan}^a\text{tuc}^a\text{w}^a\] 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 intervocalics, 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 doing something with the voice, the act being done with reference to an animate object.

\[\text{po'n}^i\text{m}^a\text{w}^a\] he stops talking to him (\text{po'n}i- [§ 16])

\[\text{tanw}^a\text{w}^a\text{m}^a\text{w}^a\] he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; for \text{w}^a\text{w}^a\ compare examples under -\text{cin}-, -\text{sen-} [§ 20])

\[\text{k'as}^a\text{skim}^a\text{w}^a\] he gains her by persuasion (\text{k'aski-} [§ 16])

Corresponding with m on the inanimate side is t or 't, but the use appears there in a different sense.

§ 21
pō'ni'tō'w⁰ he stops doing it (pōni- [§ 16])
tanwává'w⁰ he bangs away on it (-ō- [§ 37])
ka'ski'tō'w⁰ he gets it, he buys it (ka'ski- [§ 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'bamā'w⁰ he looks at him (wāba same as wāpa to look at; -āw⁰ [§ 28])
pā'gāma'w⁰ he hits him (pāg- [§ 14]; see also examples under -cin- -sen- [§ 20])
mā'kemā'w⁰ he is occupied with (an animate object). It is the idiom for HE WOOS HER, HE ATTENDS HIM (in sickness) (mā'k- [§ 16])

The parallel of the same thing with t and the inanimate would be—
wā'batamw⁰ he looks at it (-amw⁰ [§ 28])
pā'gata'mw⁰ he hits it
mā'katamw⁰ 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.

ku'sāw⁰ he fears him
a'sāw⁰ he owns something animate
ku' tamw⁰ he fears it
a'tōw⁰ he has it (-ō- [§ 37]; -w⁰ [§ 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'nāw⁰ he fetches him (literally, he comes, bringing him with the hand [pyā- § 16])
nā'nāw⁰ 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'tōw⁰ he fetches it (-ō- [§ 37])
nā'tōw⁰ 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—\textit{a} for the animate, and \textit{i} 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.

\textbf{§ 23. SECONDARY STEMS}

-\textit{ā'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.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mečiwa'kw}\textsuperscript{a} dead fallen tree (\textit{meči-} large \textit{[initial]})
  \item \textit{ma'gā'kw\textsuperscript{a}ki}\textsuperscript{t} tree of large girth (\textit{māg-} large\textit{[initial]})
  \item \textit{mā'čk\textsuperscript{a}kw\textsuperscript{a}ki}\textsuperscript{t} red stem (the name of a medicinal plant) (\textit{māckw-} blood or red \textit{[for meckw-]})
  \item \textit{pe'mi\textsuperscript{a}tk\textsuperscript{a}ki}\textsuperscript{t} collar-bone (\textit{pemi-} spacial notion of \textit{side, by, lateral} \textit{[§ 16]})
\end{itemize}

-\textit{ōtā}- 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.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{me'go't\textsuperscript{a}we\textsuperscript{a}ni}\textsuperscript{t} dress (of a woman) (\textit{meg-} cover \textit{[initial]})
  \item \textit{me'sōt\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a}ti}\textsuperscript{t} rain, wind, rumor, news, the whole world (\textit{mes-} totality \textit{[initial]; -w\textsuperscript{t} \textit{[§ 28]}})
  \item \textit{u'tōt\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}ni}\textsuperscript{t} or \textit{u'tōt\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}ni\textsuperscript{t}} his eldest brother, his guardian, his master, his clan tutelary, his giver of supernatural power (\textit{u—m\textsuperscript{a}n\textsuperscript{a}t} \textit{\textit{[§ 45]}})
  \item \textit{ō't\textsuperscript{a}we\textsuperscript{a}ni}\textsuperscript{t} town probably belongs to this class
\end{itemize}

-\textit{na'k-} refers to the spacial notion of top, crest, apex.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kistingu\textsuperscript{a}ni'k\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a}t} brittle-top (the name of a medicinal plant) (\textit{kāw-} roughness, asperity)
  \item \textit{māck\textsuperscript{a}na'k\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a}t} red-top (the name of a plant used for medicine) (\textit{māckw-} red)
\end{itemize}

\textit{§ 23}
-öte- 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'söteći'ni trap (tes- to entrap [initial stem])
aca'möeti'ni bait (acäm- to give to eat)
nä'neskwäputerći'ni 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 -öte- : -öt-, cf. pite(i) : pît [§ 16])

-apyä-, a term incapable of specific definition, denotes something of the vagueness implied in words like essence, quality, condition.

ki'wäpyä'ni crawling vine (kiv- indefinite movement or space [literally, a something with the attribute of movement almost anywhere about])
kićö'pyätä'yi hot water (kić- [initial] and tü- [cf. -tü- 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.

me'nëtwäge'ni like the mysterious (the name of an expensive broadcloth used for leggings and breech-clout)
me'ckwäge'nu' like the red (the name of a red woolen broadcloth with white edge)
cö'kswägi'ni like the smooth (a fine woolen broadcloth used for garments by women on ceremonial occasions) (cösk [§ 16])

-pa'k- refers to the external structure of a dwelling.
pe'mitöpa'kw'i side (of a lodge) (for pemî- cf. under -ä'kw- above)
tcä'pa'kwa'n'i wall (of a lodge) (tcä- [initial] refers to interlocation)
ä'kwitapa'kw'i roof (of a lodge) (a'n'kw'i 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.

- tanet'kwa'skw' gambling-medicine  (*tanet'i* mutual activity, by inference gambling; -t' [§ 38])
- mícátce'ni'kwa'skw' perfume  (*míc* large; *mícát* state of largeness; *mícátce'n* man in a feeling of largeness)
  -wák'baskw' white medicine  (*wák* white; also to look at)

**-d'p-** appears in combinations denoting cord, string.

- me'tegwá'pí bow-string  (*me'tegw* wood, stick)
- atú'sitá'pí moccasin-string  (*-ús* is related to the stem -usá- to walk)

- *d'p-** appears in combinations denoting cord, string.

- me'cimi'n' apple  (literally, large fruit; *mec-* initial stem)
- wák'cimi'n' white corn
- Add'imi'n' strawberry  (literally, heart-berry)
- ká'wimí'n' gooseberry  (literally, pricky, rough, or thorny berry)
  - cf. káwesiw' he is rough  ([§ 20])

**-pó-** or -ápó- refers to fluid, liquid.

- ne'póp' soup  (*ne'p* water)
- ma'ciski'wápó'w' tea  (literally, herb-drink or herb-fluid)
- wích'ú'pápó'w' wine  (literally, sweet fluid)
- maskútia'wápó'w' whisky, rum, alcohol  (literally, fire-fluid; -tá-  ([§ 20])

- wímekwápó'gát'wén' there shall be a red fluid 184.19  (*meckw-* red [initial stem]; -gat-  ([§ 20]); wí- sign of intransitive future  ([§ 28]); -w*  ([§ 28]); -ni-  ([§ 34]); -e- to prevent the cluster -tn-  ([§ 8])

**-mutá-** is a general term for receptacle as the notion is expressed in pocket, pouch, bag.

- mící'mutá' bag paunch  (*míc*- littleness, shortness, as in fuzz, and so fuzzy pouch)
- maskí'mutá' bag, sack  (*maskí-* as in *ma'skiski'w* grass, reed, and so reed bag, grass bag)
- ká'kí'mutá' bag made from linn-wood bark  (*kák* to dry, season, and so a bag of seasoned material)
- píc'gán'í'mutá' parflèche  (*pí'cág'á'n* rawhide, and so rawhide pouch)

**-g.4n-** is a comprehensive term expressive of instrumentality.

- kepanó'hí'gá'n' lid  (for a bucket, basket)  (*kep-* to enclose; -4n-* opening, and so an object for closing an opening)

§ 24
ke'pate'hi'gā'nì lid, cork for small opening, as in a bottle
dā'wipu'tcigā'nì fence (dāp- to enclose)
kā'wipu'tcigā'nì file (kāwī- rough, serrated; -pu- or -put- [see § 21; cf. pūtci- beside pūtī-] bite, and so an indented tool for
taking hold)
Apwä'tcigā'nì scaffold for roasting and drying meat on (Apwā-
to roast, and so a thing for roasting)

-e-n- is a common element for many nouns denoting parts of the
body.

mī'setu'nāgā'nì mustache, beard (mīs- hair, fuzz; -tun- mouth
[§ 18], lips, and so the hair or thread-like arrangement about
the mouth)
wwī'piga'nì marrow (-wīp- form, length, and roundness vaguely
implied)
ww'kwāgā'nì neck (-kwā- the space back of the neck [§ 18])

-nā- refers in a general way to place, and is used to denote an inhabited
region or community.

A'cā'wānō'īnā'wə Shawnee village (A'cā'wānō'wə a Shawnee)
Wacā'cinā'wə Osage town (Acāca an Osage)
O'tcipwā'hinā'wə Ojibwa country (O'tcipwā'wə an Ojibwa)

With the locative ending -gù, as -nāgù, the meaning becomes more
that of COUNTRY, LAND.

Acā'hinā'gì in the country of the Sioux (A'cā' a Sioux)
kī'gāpō'hinā'gì in the Kickapoo country (Kī'gāpō'wə a Kickapoo)

-e-n- is another collective term for place. It refers especially to
enclosures.

Adā'wāgā'nì store (Adāwā- to sell, and so selling-place)
Asē'nīgā'nì stone house (A'senì stone)
Pa'kwaigā'nì flag-reed lodge (Pa'kwa' flag-reed or flag-reed
mat)

-īn-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-. There is one suffix that
imparts an abstract meaning to a combination; it is analogous in
meaning to ā'whāt'nì, 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 -īn-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-.
A'pāpī'nì chair, seat (Ap- to sit, and so something to sit on)
kā'nawī'nì word, talk, report (kān- to talk, and so something about
talk)

§ 24
mì'tciwe'ń food (mì- or mìl- to eat, and so something to eat)
pə'gānį hickory-nut (pəg- to hit, alight [§ 14], and so something to drop and hit)
pə'tawā'ńa quiver (pə- or pıt- to put into [§ 16]; -an- receptacle, and so an object to contain something inside)
wə'bamə'ń mirror (wəbA- to look at [same as wəpA-]; -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.

kāg'gānō'w̃ he held the clan ceremony with great solemnity
tātəgeskawā'w̃ he stamped him under foot (cf. § 21.3)

2. Customary action.

mā'micātesi'w̃ he always went well dressed (-si- [§ 20])
wə'w̃i cāpenā'w̃ he is always hungry (-cā- allied to -cāwe-; see -si- [§ 20])

3. Continuity of action.

pe'pesktucīskā'w̃ it (animate) keeps shedding hair of the body
məyo'mayō'w̃ he kept on weeping
4. Repetition.

\( nə'na\text{gi}'w^a \) he is constantly stopping on the way (\( nə\text{gi}- [§ 16]; -w^a [§ 28] \)
\( pə'ka'pə'kanoskə'w^i \) it opens and closes alternately

5. Plurality, distribution.

\( kìskì'skeç\text{cə}'w^a \) he cut off both ears (\( -cə- [§ 18] \)
\( sà'səgìgìgìcì'nw^a \) he lay with both feet exposed (\( sàgì- [§ 16]; -cìn- [§ 20] \)
\( mànëmànëmëmcìg^a \) many a thing
\( sàsàgìsìg^i \) they stick out
\( nà'nesà'tcì \) he killed many (animate objects) (\( nës- \) initial stem to kill; \( -ätcì [§ 29] \)
\( nà'nùwisàwà'tcì \) they came flying out one after the other (\( nùwi- \) out; \( -sìä- [§ 19]; \) ä lengthened before \( wätcì [§ 29] \); ä- lacking)
\( mà'mëtësiwàtìcìwà'gì \) there were ten of them all together (\( mëtës\) for \( mëdëswì \) [§ 50]; \( tìcì- [§ 16]; -wàgì [§ 28] \)

6. Duration.

\( pàpò'nìwà'gì \) they made long stops on the journey (\( pòni- [§ 16]; -wàgì [§ 28] \)
\( wà'pawàpàmà'tcì \) he looked at him a long time 116.6, cf. 278.2 (\( -m- [§ 21]; -ätcì [§ 29]; ä- lacking)
\( òhìpìhìpìcì \) he sat there a long while 116.6 (\( òi-tcì [§ 29]; -h- glide [§ 8]; pì- initial stem to sit; -h- glide [§ 8] \)

7. Quantity, size.

\( mà'mìcìnë'kà'w^a \) he has a great deal of hair on the hand (\( mìc- [§ 24 \) under -\( mìn- \)])
\( pàpà'gìhê'nw^i \) it is thin (\( -w^i [§ 28] \)

8. Onomatopoeia.

\( kàskì'skahà'\text{m}w^a \) he files it, he scrapes it (\( -h- [§ 21]; -\text{am}w^a [§ 28] \)

**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 modes 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 wā. 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'cipjyā'w" he has come (literally, he finishes the movement hither)

Frequency.

nahi'nāwā'w" he frequently sees him, he used to see him, he kept seeing him

Continuity.

anemitā' penā'new" he is constantly taking it up with his hand

Incipiency.

wā'pipjyā'w" he began coming, he begins to come

Cessation.

pō'nipjyā'w" he no longer comes

Furthermore, temporal adverbs are used to express tense.

Present:

ne'pyā'w" inug' I come now, I came to-day

§ 27
Future:

\[ nř'py vowedagö \] I shall come to-morrow

Past:

\[ ne'py A'ngöwë \] I came yesterday

**Pronominal Forms (§§ 28-34)**

§ 28. INDEPENDENT MODE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he [it]</th>
<th>they, animate; [they, inanimate]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-ne-penå</td>
<td>-ke-penå</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ke-pwå</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
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<tr>
<td>us excl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ke-pwå</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ke-pwå</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ke-penå</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ke-penå</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
<td>-ne-penå</td>
<td>-ke-penå</td>
<td>-ke-dögi</td>
<td>-ke-dögi</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
<td>-ne-penå</td>
<td>-ke-penå</td>
<td>-ke-dögi</td>
<td>-ke-dögi</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it, them, inanimate</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-ne-penå</td>
<td>-ke-penå</td>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-ke-dögi</td>
<td>-ne-wå</td>
<td>-ne-dögi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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 \( nř \) and \( kë \) as prefixes in place of \( ne \) and \( ke \). The future of the intransitive has the prefix \( wï \). No future forms of the transitive third person subject with third person object have been recorded.

[Such a form is winesäwö' he shall slay it (his dog) 178.2. Observe \( wï \) as prefix. It may be noted that intransitive futures occur without this prefix; for instance, \( nř pyö \) (quoted § 27) I shall come.—T. M.]

The following examples illustrate the use of the intransitive forms:

\[ nepyö \] I come, I came (see pyë [§ 16])
\[ mi'pyö \] I shall come 270.21
\[ kepyö \] you come, you came
\[ pyëwö \] he comes, he came
\[ hiwö \] he says, he said 26.12, 14
\[ pyë'migätwö \] it comes, it came (-migät- of the inanimate is a secondary stem of a connective, and is a peculiarity of gender [see § 20])

§ 28
they came 22.14
they come a-running 276.13 (-pahō- [§ 19])

The following examples illustrate the transitive forms:

kewápamen⁵ I look at thee (wápa initial stem to look at; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8 end)

kepyütcinānen⁶ I have come to fetch you away 50.1, 10 (pyütei:
see under pyū [§ 16, also § 8]; -nā- to fetch; -n- instrumental particle [§ 21]; see also § 8)

kepyütcināpamen⁶ I have come to visit thee 242.11

eketepānen⁶ I am fond of thee 314.4

kiwipumê⁴ I shall eat with you 252.4 (wi- [§ 16]; -pu- [§ 21];
-m- [§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8)

ketepānen⁶ I am fond of thee 314.4

kiwipumê⁴ I shall eat with you 252.4 (wi- [§ 16]; -pu- [§ 21];
-m- [§§ 21, 37])

kiri^omenepw⁴ I shall call you 330.6

kiri^omenepw⁴ I shall call you 330.6

nepydtemd empresas⁴ we (excl.) have come to take him 58.8 (pyütei
[§§ 8, 16]; -n- to fetch; -n- instrumental [§ 21])

nenesapen⁴ we (excl.) have slain him 160.4

kímwíwápa^atápen⁴ we (incl.) shall go at it 284.8 (máwi-
[§ 16]; wápa- as above; -t- [§§ 21, 37])

kíkmíwápa^atápen⁴ we (incl.) are going on a journey to see it
338.7 (kíwi- an initial stem denoting indefinite motion; [cf. kí- § 16])

ke'wápa'm⁴ thou lookest at me (-m- [§§ 21, 37])

kímesapen⁴ we shall slay him 90.6 (a mild command)

kíwápa^amipena-teá⁴ thou wilt examine us (excl.) 290.23
(wápa a reduplicated form of wápa-; -m- [§§ 21, 37]), a mild command

kewé’pamāw⁴ thou lookest at him

§ 28
kineckimaw thou wilt scold at him 284.4 (mild imperative)
kipagwihaw thou wilt run him off 284.5
kikinaw thou wilt say to him 98.9, 382.12 (-n- is an intervocalic particle [see §21])
kwapaamawag thou wilt see them (animate) 246.15
kitapihawag thou wilt make them happy 276.23
kewdpat thou lookest at it (-t- [§21, 37])
newapamegw he looked at me 368.19 (-me- [§§8, 21, 37])
kinaqaneugunaw he will leave us (incl. = thee and me) 178.18
pyanaw he brought (something alive) 58.5 (pya- [§16]; -n- [§21])
kiyomaw she carries it (her child) about on her back (kii- [§16]; -y- a glide [§8]; -o- [§19]; -m- [§21])
kaskima he succeeds in persuading him (kaski- [§16]; -m- [§21])
wapatanaw he looks at it
kasihamaw he erases it (kasii- [§16]; -h- [§21])
netagimanihegog they took everything I had 276.15 (tcagi- [§16]; -gog for -gog')
kipyunutagog they shall come to thee 348.2
kiepesihiegegog they will set thee crazy 309.20
kihamawhamwukog they will often use thee for food 330.22
(reduplication to express frequency [§25]; -kog for -gog'; confusion of k and g [see §3]; amw- initial stem to eat; h
[both times] a glide [§8]; -u- to prevent -wl-)
kihigog 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
awiw he is, he remains; he was, he remained
awimiga'tw it is, it remains; it was, it remained (for -miga- cf. §20)

Future:
n'aruw I shall be, I shall remain
ki'aruw you will be, you will remain
w'aruw he will be, he will remain
w'aruwimiga'tw it will be, it will remain

§28
§ 29. CONJUNCTIVE, AORIST AND FUTURE; SUBJUNCTIVE, PRESENT AND PAST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>sing. and plur.</th>
<th>inanimate</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
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<td>us excl.</td>
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</table>
The indicative negative has the same form as the conjunctive with the negative, which replaces ā and wī. All the endings have i as terminal vowel (never e), and take the additional suffix -ni.

[It is likely that ā and the i of wī 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 kī- have a similar effect (see § 28).—T. M.]

Intransitive forms:

\[\text{winōwiyān} \text{ I shall go out 320.20 (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{wī'pyāyān} \text{ I shall then come 296.21 (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{wi'penuyān} \text{ I am going home 256.14, 258.23 (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{wināgwāyān} \text{ I shall go (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{ā'pyāyāge} \text{ when we (excl.) came (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{wi'cimen wi pemātesiyāge} \text{ that we (excl.) may have good health (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{ā'pyāyagwē} \text{ when we (incl.) came (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{āhīyān} \text{ when thou saidst 116.20 (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{winepeyan} \text{ thou wilt die 296.20 (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{wōwāpāmoyān} \text{ thou hadst better flee for thy life 98.5 (conj. fut.; wōp- [§ 16]; -ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -o- [§ 40])}\]
\[\text{wī'tēmoyān} \text{ that thou talkest 322.16 (conj. fut.; -m- -o- [§ 21, 40])}\]
\[\text{wihināmo yān} \text{ thou shouldst flee 98.8 (conj. fut.)}\]
\[\text{pemāmoyanē} \text{ in thy flight 98.5 (subj. pres.)}\]
\[\text{kici pyātōyanē} \text{ when thou hast brought (it) here 320.20 (subj. pres.; kici- pyā- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -o- [§ 19])}\]
\[\text{wāpikawusāyanē} \text{ start and take another step 128.18 (subj. pres.; wāpī- [§ 16]; -usā- [§ 19])}\]
\[\text{pyā'yanē} \text{ if you should come 320.4 (subj. pres.)}\]
\[\text{ā'pemīwāpāmucē} \text{ then he started to begin to flee 154.10 (conj. aor.; pemi- [§ 16] before vowel; -usā- [§ 19])}\]
\[\text{ā'pemusātēcē} \text{ then he walked along 104.19 (conj. aor.; pem- for pemi- [§ 16] before vowel; -usā- [§ 19])}\]
\[\text{āhlītēcē} \text{ then he said 48.21; 58.26, 27; 114.2, 9; 118.21, 23 (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{ā'kiyusātēcē} \text{ then he walked about 252.17 (conj. aor.; kī-y-usā- [§ 16, 8, 19])}\]
\[\text{ānāgwātēcē} \text{ then he started away 240.19 (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{āpyātēcē} \text{ then he came 326.22 (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{ā'penutēcē} \text{ then he went away 326.2 (conj. aor.)}\]
\[\text{pyānitēcē} \text{ should he come 156.21 (subj. pres.)}\]
\[\text{pūtigūtēcē} \text{ that he entered 18.4 (subj. past)}\]
\[\text{wi'pyānitécē} \text{ when he would come 298.11 (conj. fut.; -ni- [§ 34])}\]

§ 29
they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (conj. aor.; hanemiwüp- [wüp-] -usü- [§§ 16, 19])
they tramped about 136.14 (kī-y-usū- [§§ 16, 8, 19])
when they came 120.7, 166.22 (conj. aor.)
then they halted to camp 166.13 (conj. aor.; pōni- [§ 16])
they halted 166.7 (conj. aor.; nagi [§ 16])
they slept 334.19 (conj. aor.)
then they went away 334.19 (conj. aor.)
then it was their purpose to begin to flee (conj. fut.; pem-ā-m-u- [§§ 16, 19, 21, 37, 40])

Transitive forms:
I shall kill her 102.1 (conj. fut.; nēs- to kill)
I do not mean to kill thee 54.23 (conj. fut.; -nī negative suffix)
when you (singular) taunted me about him 330.16 (conj. aor.)
you (singular) gave them to me to eat (conj. aor.)
we (excl.) shall now club you to death 160.6 (conj. fut.; pāpaga-replicated form of a stem allied to paga-[§§ 14, 20]; -me- [§§ 8, 21])
if thou slay me 54.21 (subj. pres.; nes-, nec- to slay [see §9])
 wilt thou carry them away? 54.21 (conj. fut.)
that ye will bless me 380.7 (conj. fut.)
looked at her 298.20 (conj. aor.; -tc for -ti before a vowel)
he feared him 366.22 (conj. aor.; -s- [§ 21.7])
said to him (her) 240.16, 290.18 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
after she had slain (an animate object) 254.19 (conj. aor.; kici- [§ 16]; nes- to slay)
then ate with them 296.8 (conj. aor.; wī-pu-m- [§§ 16, 21, 37])
she succeeded in persuading her 102.6 (conj. aor.; kas÷-m-[§§ 16, 21]; -tc for -ti before a vowel)
then fetched (an animate object) 266.15 (conj. aor.; pyā-t-ō-hw-[§§ 16, 8, 19, 21])
then looked at (the inanimate thing) 222.22, 248.3 (conj. aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
she also washed it 178.21 (conj. aor.; nā’ka also, again; -a lost before ā--; kōg-n-[§§ 8, 16, 21])
so he shot at (the inanimate object) 252.19 (conj. aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
when they poke fun at me 322.12 (conj. aor.; wāpa to look at)
inācinatutamu't thus they begged of thee 382.14 (conj. aor.)
ānesāwātc1 then they killed him 294.8, 296.2 (conj. aor.)
āhināwātc1 then they told him 32.5 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
nāwāwāt'e should they see them 192.11 (subj. pres.)

[It would seem that under some conditions ā- and wī- may be used with the subjunctive (see § 35.4). Examples are:

ā'pōnāwātc'e when they had camped 96.2 (pronominal form of subjunctive past)

wīwāpāmut'e it was his purpose to flee 218.14 (pronominal form of subjunctive past; wāp-ā-m-u- [§§ 16, 19, 21, and 37, 40])

wīmitcīte'e she would have eaten 96.3

wīpermwage'e I would have shot it 254.20

—T. M.]
§ 30. POTENTIAL, POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE, AND PROHIBITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>sing. and plur. inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kágwə</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kágwə</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kái' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'káni</td>
<td>-'kúgu'</td>
<td>-'kúte' ə</td>
<td>-'kimátə' ə</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kúte' ə</td>
<td>-'kimátə' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kúge' ə</td>
<td>-'kúte' ə</td>
<td>-'kimátə' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the thee</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
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<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him, them, animate</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it, them, inanimate</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
<td></td>
<td>-'nágu' ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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 modes. 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—

*näsü'kap* you (sing.) would have come back to life 116.17 (potential)
*mänähiyäkap* you (sing.) would have much of it (potential)
*kiyämami'kan* you (sing.) might be jealous of me 216.15 (kiyäwa jealous; -m- [§ 21]; potential)
*inenaga'a* I should have said to thee 314.3 (potential)
*ugimäwis* he would have become chief 26.16 (potential subjunctive)
*neseugs* he would have been killed 168.13 (nes-initial stem to kill; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; potential subjunctive)
*miciyägägu* you (pl.) might give to him (potential subjunctive) 32.11
*käta aiyäpami 'ai'yohipya'kan* thou shalt not return to this place again 146.20 (prohibitive; -pyä- from pyä- [§ 16]; aiyö'ë here; aiyäpami back)
*käta kuse'kyi'käk* be ye not afraid 190.21 (prohibitive; -'kag* for -'kag*; confusion of -g- and k [§ 3]; -se- [§§ 8, 21])
*käta nüwì'käg* do not go out 12.4 (prohibitive; nüwì initial stem out)
*käta, nesämähetigä; sāpigwā'kaku don't, oh my little brothers, peep 282.4, 6, 8, 10 (prohibitive; -ku for -gu)
*käta wín* sāpigwā'kitci let no one of you peep 280.25 (prohibitive)
*käta natawāpi'kan* thou shalt not try to peep at me 118.10 (prohibitive; -wáp* for wápA look at)
*käta, nì'kä'ne, asämihì'kan* don't, my friend, be too cruel with me 330.17 (prohibitive)
*käta àtcimì'käge* ye shall not tell on us (excl.) 152.10 (prohibitive)
*käta wìna natawāpi kitc wwiya* none of you shall try to look at me 280.19 (prohibitive; wáp for wápA)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-lāwē</td>
<td>-nā′</td>
<td>-gū′</td>
<td>-lēc</td>
<td>-wālēc</td>
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<tr>
<td>us excl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-inū</td>
<td>-kū</td>
<td>-lēc</td>
<td>-lwēlēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ināge</td>
<td>-ināge</td>
<td>-nāgūte</td>
<td>-nāgūte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nēc</td>
<td>-nēc</td>
<td>-nēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>-lāwē</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-kū</td>
<td>uthālēc</td>
<td>-lēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him, them, animate</td>
<td>-lāwē</td>
<td>-sānui</td>
<td>-sānu′kū</td>
<td>uthāgii</td>
<td>-lēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it, them, inanimate</td>
<td>-lāwē</td>
<td>-sānui</td>
<td>-sānu′kū</td>
<td>uthāgii</td>
<td>-lēc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that in the third person these forms are similar to those of the subjunctive, except that -lēc is found when the subjunctive substitutes -lē.

pyā′tāwe let us come (from pyā′- [§16])
pyā′nu or pyānu′ come thou 304.17
tetepūsānō walk thou in a circle 376.12 (tetep- [§16]; -usā- [§19])
nūwūnu out of doors with you 292.15 (nūwī-out)
kīyusānō walk thou about 300.2 (kī- [§16]; -y [§8]; -usā- [§19])
hawīnō stay thou 42.21
hapīnō sit down 28.3 (api′- initial stem to sit; k- really belongs to aiyō)
pyā′gu or pyāgu′ come ye
hawīku remain ye 48.23 (confusion of k and g)
nāgwāku begone 58.13
māwīnanegego′ go ye in pursuit 358.24 (māwi- [§16]; -n- [§21]; -e-[§8]; -go′ for -gū [§6])
pyālēcō let him come
pyālēcē let them come
wāpāminō 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])
māwinatumī ask him to come 366.19, 368.2 (māwi- [§16])
wāpamekō′ look ye at him 242.19 (wāpa-; -m- [§21]; -e- [§8])

[In āpinahwināge open it and set us (excl.) free 290.22 -nā]ge
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 augments ā and wē to express indefinite and future tenses; it has a com-
§§ 31, 32
plete set of pronominal forms from which, in turn, are derived others that are used to express further degrees of subordination. The 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>ṛ- /wānāni</td>
<td>Exclu. /wāgāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wī-</td>
<td>Incl. /wagwāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>ṛ- /wānāni</td>
<td>2d per. /wāgāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
<td>ṛ- /gwāni</td>
<td>3d per. an. /gwāhigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. inan.</td>
<td>ṛ- /gwāni</td>
<td>3d per. inan. /gwāhini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms appear in various connections. An example of a future is—

wīwāpipemutīwagwānī when we shall begin shooting at each other 20.12 (indirect question; wūpī-[§ 16]; pemu— in āwāpi-pemutīwāte! then they began shooting at each other 20.14; cf. nī’ pemwāwā I am going to shoot at him 248.14; -tī- reciprocal [§ 38])

Three of those used for the aorist will be shown. One is an indirect question after an imperative statement.

kīnānātucāpwā ā’ ’cisenogwānī you should inquire how the affair stood

Another is in an indirect question after a declarative, negative statement.

āgwinotāgāyanīnāt ācisowānānī I did not learn what their name was

A third use is in the salutation of a first meeting after a long absence.

ā’pyāwanānī! and so thou hast come!

Without ā, this interrogative appears in

āgwi meckwāhāwā nāwāgwinī did you not see a red swan 80.5, 16; 82.6 (nā- to see [§ 16]; -wāgwi [§ 32]; -nī [§ 29])

[No transitive forms are given in the above table for the interrogative subjunctive. Note, however, nesāgwānī (somebody) must have killed him 66.7]
This is a form of this class; -ā corresponds to ā of -āwā in this independent mode; -gwanē as in the table; but ā- is lacking.—T. M.]

The subjunctive of the indirect question omits the temporal prefix, and has throughout final -e instead of -i (wānāne, -gē̄hine, etc.).

[nūsāgwānē somebody slew him 26.15 (the change of the stem vowel e to ā as in the participial nūsātā 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>-yāni</td>
<td>-yāge</td>
<td>-yāgwe</td>
<td>-yāni</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>
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<td>-nāni</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>ye</td>
<td>-nāgwe</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td>-Agwe</td>
<td>-Ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-APA</td>
<td>-Agela</td>
<td>-Agwigi</td>
<td>-Alāgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, an.</td>
<td>-Agi</td>
<td>-Agetic</td>
<td>-Amagwe</td>
<td>-Amanī</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-Amāge</td>
<td>-Amagwe</td>
<td>-Amānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-Amāgin</td>
<td>-Amagwine</td>
<td>-Amānini</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they, an.</th>
<th>it</th>
<th>they, inan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-yāge</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tegi</td>
<td>-miga'ki</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
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<td>-tegi</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>-tegi</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Amāgwe</td>
<td>-tā</td>
<td>-tegi</td>
<td>-gvi-teči</td>
<td>-gvi-tečini</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 ā 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 -tegi, and the ending of the plural of the third person inanimate is -miga'kini instead of -miga'ki. Some § 33
of these differences can be seen from a comparison of a few participles with their related conjunctives:

\[ \text{ā'hanemihā'tc}^i \text{ when he went yon way} \]
\[ \text{āne'mihā't}^a \text{ he who went yon way} \]
\[ \text{ā'hemihā'tc}^i \text{ they who went yon way} \]
\[ \text{ā'hemihāmiga'k}^i\text{n}^i \text{ they (the stones) that went yon way} \]
\[ \text{ā'pe'me'kā'tc}^i \text{ when he passed by} \]
\[ \text{pā'me'kā't}^a \text{ he who passed by} \]
\[ \text{ā'hutc}^e \text{ when he came from thence} \]
\[ \text{wū'tc}^a \text{ he who came from thence} \]
\[ \text{wū'tc}^i \text{ they (the things) that came from thence} \]
\[ \text{ā'k}^i \text{'witd}^e \text{tc}^i \text{ when he staid around them} \]
\[ \text{kiw}^i \text{'tātc}^i \text{'g}^i \text{ they who staid about them} \]
\[ \text{kiw}^i \text{'tāmiga'k}^i \text{n}^i \text{ they (the things) that remained about} \]
\[ \text{pāmine'ka'watc}^i \text{ they that chase 70 TITLE (stem-vowel e)} \]
\[ \text{mā'kadāw}^i \text{tc}^a \text{ he who was fasting 186 TITLE (stem-vowel a)} \]
\[ \text{mānwaŋetac}^a \text{ he who preferred it 136.5 (stem-vowel e) [ending -ag}^a \text{ for -Ag}^a - T. M.]} \]
\[ \text{wāpinįgwa}^i \text{tc}^a \text{ the white-eyed one 150.1 (stem-vowel ţ)} \]
\[ \text{tāpānaca}^a \text{ the one whom you love 150.1 (stem-vowel e)} \]
\[ \text{wāninātaca}^a \text{ the one whom he had forsaken 150.7 (stem-vowel i)} \]
\[ \text{nāsātc}^a \text{ he that slew him 26.13, 17 (stem-vowel e)} \]
\[ \text{tcāgānātowātc}^i \text{tc}^i \text{ they of every language 22.14 (tcāg for tcāgi [§ 16])} \]
\[ \text{mī'kemātc}^i \text{tc}^i \text{ they who had been making love to her 46.5 (mī'k- [§ 16]; -e- [§ 8]; -m- [§ 21])} \]

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>-āteīni</td>
<td>-āwāteīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-āteī'</td>
<td>-āwāteī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-Agi</td>
<td>-Amowāteīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-Agini</td>
<td>-Amowāteīi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms occur in situations like these:

\[ \text{tcēnawāl'mātc}^i\text{n}^i \text{ his relative; viz., one to whom he is related (-m- [§ 21])} \]

§ 33
tcina'wâ'tA'gî his object of relation; viz., a thing to which he is bound by a tie (–t– [§ 21])
tcînawâmâ'wâtei'nî their relative
tcînawâ'tâ'mowâ'teî their object of relation
wâpâmâ'wâtei'' the animate objects of his view; viz., the animate objects at which he is looking (wâpâ- to see; –m– [§ 21])
wâpâ'tâ'gï'nî the inanimate objects of his view (–t– [§ 21])
wîlâmî'wâtei'' their companions; viz., ones with whom they were in company (wî- [§ 16])
wîlâmî'wâtei'nî their companions
wîlâmâmîctî'nî their companions; viz., ones with whom they were in company
pyânâmîctî'nî she whom he had brought
pâgamemeco'tcî'nî he who was being hit

§34. THIRD PERSON ANIMATE

The third person animate, singular and plural, has two forms. The first of these forms is -teî for the singular, -wâtei for the plural; the second is -nitcî 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 -wâni for the singular, and -wâ'î or ha'î for the plural.

ä''pyâteî ä''pyânî'tcî when he came the other was arriving
ô'nî ne'qute'nâvî â'nâqâwâ'tcî . . . kâ'geyâ''i ä''pyânî'tcî so then once went he away . . . then by and by here came another
îte'pihâ'wâ a'ha'wîni'tcî i''kwâwa'ni' he went over to the place where the woman was
ugî'mowâ'gî ä''pitî'gâwâ'tcî, ô'nî uskîna'wâha''i ànû'wîni'tcî 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 -ani in the singular, and -a'î 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.

§34
wā'pamāwə inē'niwa'ni ä·'pyāni'tci he watched the man come
wā'pamāwə inē'niwa'vi ä·'pyāni'tci he watched the men come
wā'pamāwə inē'niwa'ni āne'sāni'tci pecege'siwa'ni he watched the
man kill a deer
nā'wōwə inē'niwa'vi āwā'pamāni'tci ne'nīwa'ni ānesānīte pecege'siwa'ni he beheld the men looking at a deer

In the third example, ā in āne'sānīte refers to pecege'siwa'ni, the object that was slain. In the fourth example, ā in āwā'pamāni'tci refers to ne'nīwa'ni, the object looked at by the plural inē'niwa'vi; ne'nīwa'ni, in turn, becomes the subject of āne'sānīte, and pecege'siwa'ni is the object.

[Dr. Jones is slightly mistaken regarding -nitei 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 -ānitei (as Dr. Jones also saw); when third person inanimate, the form is -aminitei (with -aminitei as a variant). The -a- of -ānitei is the same pronominal element to be seen in ā—āwātei (§ 29), etc.; while -ami- is related to am-
in-Amuc (§ 28); amo in ā—amowātei (§ 29); -amō—-amow- of the double object, etc. Contrast ā'teigamāninei then they ate it all (animate) 294.10 (ā—nitei [§ 29]; teag- for teagi- totality [§ 16] by contraction [§ 10]; am- for amow- to eat [§ 16] by elision [§ 12]) with kālhawatamitei they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 294.10 (kā-
reduplication [§ 25]; kāwa- to crunch [§ 16]; -t- [§ 21]; ā—dropped [§ 12]). And observe nā'kā'teigamāwātei again they ate it (animate) all 296.3 (for nā'kā again ā- [§ 10]; ā—awātei [§ 29]) and ā'kālhawatamowātei then they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 296.5 (ā—amowātei [§ 29]), where no change in the third person subject occurs. Note also ānūmenatamitei then they vomited them (inanimate) 294.13 (for ōn-ū-), but ānūmenatamowātei then they vomited them (inanimate) 296.6 (for ā—amowātei [§ 29]). Further compare ā'a'tā'penaminitei 172.19, ā'a'dā'penaminitei 172.16, then he took it in his hand (a'dāp-
a'tāp- initial stem; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]) with ā'a'dā'penag then he took it 172.5 (ā—ag [§ 29]; ā'a'tāpenag 174.15 is a variant; īna'a'dā-
penag 172.12 is for īn'-ā)). See also 22.22; 68.13; 150.15, 17; 160.18; 166.19; 172.14, 17; 174.8; 188.21; 244.14; 348.18, 22, 23. This āmi is also to be seen in an interrogative verbal form (§ 32); namely, ā'tan-
wātaminigwān 340.11, 17. The inserted -ni- is also noteworthy. The analysis of this is ā—gwan [§ 32]; tan- to engage in (§ 16); wā 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., pyānite 150.21 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 -w a to -niw a n i in the singular and from -w a g i to -niw a 'i in the plural. The change is one of concord between the subject and the verb.

\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ pyä'niwa'n}^i \text{ his dog comes} \]
\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ pyä'niwa'n}^i \text{ their dog comes} \]
\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ pyä'niwa'}^i \text{ his dogs come} \]
\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ pyä'niwa'}^i \text{ their dogs come} \]

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.

\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ wâ'pamâniwa'n}^i \text{ ma'hwâwa'n}^i \text{ his dog looked at the wolf} \]
\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ wâ'pamâniwa'n}^i \text{ ma'hwâwa'}^i \text{ his dogs watched the wolves} \]

If the object of the verb in turn become 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 -nîcî (nî in -nîcî is the same as nî in -niw a n i). As in the case of the independent verb, so in that of the dependent verb, the sign of the object is unmodified.

\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ wâ'pamâniwa'n}^i \text{ âne'sâni'tc}^i \text{ ma'hwâwa'n}^i \text{ his dog looked at the man who was killing the wolf} \]
\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}hema'n^i \text{ wâ'pamâniwa'n}^i \text{ ma'hwâwa'}^i \text{ his dogs watched the wolves} \]

If the verb of the possessed subject contain a dependent clause with object, it will keep the singular -niw a n i, even though the possessed subject be plural.

\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}he'mâwâva'^i \text{ wâ'pamâniwa'n}^i \text{ ma'hwâwa'n}^i \text{ â'pemînê} 'ka'wâni'tc^i \text{ kô'kô'cô'hâ'n}^i \text{ their dogs looked at the wolf chasing the pigs} \]
\[ \text{utanem}^\text{o}he'mâwâva'^i \text{ wâ'pamâniwa'n}^i \text{ ma'hwâwa'}^i \text{ â'pemînê} 'ka'wâni'tc^i \text{ kô'kô'cô'hâ'}^i \text{ their dogs watched the wolves chasing the pigs} \]
There is also a peculiarity of construction belonging to the possessed inanimate noun of the third person when used as the subject of an intransitive verb. The pronominal ending representing the subject of the independent verb is changed from -w to -niw in the singular, and from -ōn to -niwan in the plural. These peculiarities can be observed from an illustration of an independent intransitive verb.

\[\text{utase'niw}^i \text{pyāmigateni'w}^i \text{his stone comes this way} \]
\[\text{utase'niwan}^i \text{pyāmigateni'w}^i \text{his stones come hitherward} \]

The construction is not so simple with a transitive verb. If the verb takes an object which in turn becomes the subject of a subordinate clause, then its pronominal subject becomes -niwan for both the singular and the plural.

\[\text{utase'niwm}^i \text{mecuw'niwan}^i \text{ne'niwan}^i \text{ā'pemine'ka'wāni'te}^i \]
\[\text{utase'niwan}^i \text{mecuw'niwan}^i \text{ne'niwan}^i \text{ā'pemine'ka'wāni'te}^i \]

If there be only the subject, verb, and object, then the verb assumes dependent form. The ending of the pronominal element representing 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 -gwi- before -nitei. This -gwi- seems to be the same as -g- or -gw-, 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 ā is wanting. Change of the vowel of an initial stem, and the absence of the augment ā, are the peculiar characteristics of a participial.

The active transitive form of the verb is me'cwāw he hit him with a missile. The animate passive conjunctive is āme'cugujtei when he was struck by a missile.

[Here should be mentioned the peculiar treatment of a possessed inanimate 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]

§ 34
immediately precedes the final termination. An example is niipi-kʷ netáwatiwgʷ my arrow was carrying it away (from me) 80.19; 82.8, 8, 21; nipikuʷi netáwatiwgʷ my arrow was carrying it away (from me) 80.8. The analysis of the last is n- my; m- suffix omitted (§ 45); iipi arrow; -kuʷi verily; ne—gwʷ am (§ 41); the -ā before the gwʷ is the same object incorporated third person pronoun met in §§ 28, 29 (e.g., ânesiśte³ then he slew him). The t after ne- is inserted according to § 28; âwa- âw- 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, niipi-kʷ is merely a reduction of niipi-kuʷi 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 ő'san³ his father, becomes the object of a verb. In a sentence like nāwvāw⁴ ő'san³ 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:

nāwvāw⁴ Pāgwa'nīwā'n³ ő'san³ he saw Running-Wolf's father

In the other, use is made of an incorporated dative construction.

nāt'a'mawāw⁴ ő'san³, 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 a after t is an inanimate pronominal element. It is objective, while ő of the penult is animate and in a dative relation. [nā- is an initial stem, to see; -t- is an intervocalic (§ 8); -āw⁴ (§ 28).—T. M.]

The³ -a'maw⁴ of nāt'a'mawāw⁴ is identical with the -a'maw⁴ of āp'i'ā'mawinʷ untie this for me 312.12 (āp'i'- untie [§ 16]; -inʷ [§ 31]); ā'ā'pi'ā'mawāte³ then he untied the thing and took it off from him 312.13 (ā—āte³ [§ 29]); pemut'amawinū shoot him for me 202.18; 204.9 (pemu- for pemwu- [§ 12]; -t- [§ 21]; -inū, a prolongation of -inʷ [§ 31]); sigah'amawin pour it out for him (me?) 236.8 (-a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; -in for -inʷ [§ 31] by contraction [§ 10] and stress [§ 6]).

¹From here to p. 838, addition by T. Michelson.
The question of the double object in Algonquian is not raised by Dr. Jones. It surely is found, but I have been unable to gather more than a fragmentary series from the Fox Texts. The pronominal form of the third person object, singular or plural, animate or inanimate, is -amaw- before vowels, -amô- (-amw-) before consonants. This occurs immediately before the other suffixal pronominal elements. It is clear that -amaw- and -amô- are related to the -am- in -amôwa of the independent mode (§ 28), -amânî, -amâgwâ, -amowâtcâ, etc., of conjunctive and subjunctive (§ 29); -amâgeâ, -amâguwa, -amowâsa, etc., of the potential, potential subjunctive, prohibitive (§ 30); -amâgê, -amâgînî, -amâgwâ, -amâguwa, -amômiga’hâ, etc., of the participial (§ 33); -amâkâ, -amowâtcâ, etc., of the imperative (§ 31). Following are examples:

kesâ’kahamônê I burn him for you (sing.) 380.1 (ke—nê [§ 28]; sa’k- initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
kesâ’kahamônepuwa I burn him for you (pl.) 380.6 (ke—nepuwa [§ 28]; the rest as above)
pemutamawinû shoot him for me 202.18 (pemu- for pemw- to shoot; -t- [§ 8]; -inû for -inâ [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 5])
åhawatamawâtc then he handed it to him 348.8 (with she as subj. 174.17) (for å—åteâ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; awa for åwa, an initial stem [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8], -n- [§ 21]); see also 348.10, 12, 14
kîsâ’kahamawâpnâ ye will burn him for them 180.14 (kî—âpuwa [§ 28]; sa’k- an initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
apâ amawinâ untie it for me 312.12 (apâ [âpî-] to untie [§16]; -inâ [§31])
â’apî ‘amawâtc then he untied it for him 312.13 (â—âteâ [§ 29])
âpyütamawâtâcâ then they brought it to me 376.9 (â—îwâtcâ [§ 29]; pyü- motion hitherward [§16]; -te- [§ 8]; -n- [§21])
pyütamawâyâgwê when you (pl.) brought me it 376.1 (â- dropped [§ 12]; â—îyâgwê [§ 29])
ânyâonmawâtcâ then he shoved it into them 358.1 (â—âteâ [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]; the initial stem is nâgo- [nâgw- 358.3] to shove)
pyütamawinâ hand me them 242.13 (graphic variant for pyüten-
amawinâ; pyü- [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8]; -inâ [§ 31])
nîmawinâtutamawânê I shall go and ask him for it 252.20 (nî—
mwâ [§ 28]; mâwi- to go [§ 16]; natsu- [nsto-] to ask [§ 16]); konatotamônê I ask of you 380.2, 4 (ke—nê [§ 28])
âsa’kahamawâtcâ when he burns him for him TITLE 380 (â—âteâ [§ 29]; sa’k- initial stem to burn as an offering; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

§ 34
āsa'kahamawāwāte<sup>i</sup> when they burn him for them title 380 (ā—āwāte<sup>i</sup> [§ 29])

ketecinatutamōn<sup>e</sup> such is what I ask of thee 380.5 (graphic variant for ketecinatutamōn<sup>e</sup>; ke—n<sup>e</sup> [§ 28]; taci- initial stem meaning number)

āmecinatutamun<sup>i</sup> is what they beg of thee 382.14 (for īn<sup>i</sup> ā'īci-; īn<sup>i</sup> [§ 47]; ā—'h<sup>i</sup> [§ 29]; īci thus)

wōitamawin<sup>e</sup> tell them to me 350.19 (the stem is wōt- [or wi-; -l- as in § 8 ?]; -īn<sup>u</sup> [§ 31])

kewōitamōn I told it to you 114.22 (for ke—n<sup>e</sup> [§ 28] by contraction [§ 8])

kūwōitamawān<sup>a</sup> thou wilt tell it to him 178.1 (kī—āw<sup>a</sup> [§ 28])

āwōitēmōnān<sup>i</sup> I tell it to thee 314.1 (ū—nān<sup>i</sup> [§ 29])

kūwōitēmēnepca I will tell it to you (pl.) 356.6 (kī—nepca [§ 28])

wī'īvēwōitēmōnalō<sup>n</sup> what I should tell you (pl.) 280.13 (wī—nagō<sup>n</sup> [§ 29]; īci- initial stem thus; -amō- variant of -amō-)

āwōitamawiyān<sup>i</sup> when thou taunted me about him 330.16 (ā—iyān<sup>i</sup> [§ 29]; wā- [§ 25])

ōwōitamawiyāg<sup>e</sup> what we (excl.) would you (sing.) declare to us 364.20 (wī—iyāge<sup>e</sup> [§ 29])

ākūvēwōitēnōnān<sup>i</sup> I have nothing more to say to thee 330.13 (ā—nān [§ 29]; kīci- an initial stem denoting completion [§ 16]; an excellent example to show that kūci- in Algonquian is not (as is assumed in some purely practical grammars) merely a tense-prefix to form the perfect)

kūwōitamawī-teāmeg<sup>a</sup> I should merely like you to tell it to me 328.14 (kī—ī [§ 28])

I do not understand awōitamēg<sup>a</sup> wōtamōnenalō<sup>a</sup> I ought not to have told you 314.2. It is clear that nagā<sup>a</sup> 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 -nī in § 29?

According to Dr. Jones, ā'keteminamawiyāg<sup>e</sup> 374.14 (and similarly īnācinākaketeminamawiyāg<sup>e</sup> 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.

wōwōitamawiyāge<sup>e</sup> at 350.17 is clear enough in structure (wī—age<sup>e</sup> [§§ 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 I 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
ā'ke'kahamawig[^1] when I was pointed it out 374.16 (ā—ig[^2]; ke'k—
an initial stem, to know, to find out; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
ā'ke'kahamawut[^2] it was pointed out for him 62.8 (ā—ute[^3]; -amaw-
represents the inanimate object)
köcesamawut[^4] when it was done cooking for him 14.18, 21 (köce-
kövi- completion [§ 16]; -amaw- variant of -amaw-; ā— dropped
[§ 12]; ā—ute[^3])
apapa'kenamawut[^5] then it was taken away and torn off him
158.19(ā—ute[^3]; pa—[§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; pa'k- to separate)
ā' a' kasamawut[^6] they deprived him of it and burnt it up 158.19
(ā—ute[^3]; contrast with this ā a'kasut[^7] he was burnt up 160.1)
ā 'pa'kwäcänamawut[^8] then it was sliced away for him 14.22(ē-
[§ 21]; contrast 14.23 ēhanemisa'kwäcut[^9]; hanemi- [§ 16])

Also this -amaw- is to be seen in the pronominal termination of a
transitive verb with possessed noun of the third person as object
(§ 34):

344.10 (ā—agn[^12]; ne't- a variant of nes- to kill [§§ 9, 16];

The -amō- is certainly also to be seen in a transitive form of
the interrogative mode, which, though not given by Dr. Jones, neverthe-
less existed:

keke'känetamōwanān[^13] you knew all about it 288.5 (ke- [§ 25]; ke'k—
initial stem; -āne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 8 or § 21]; ā— dropped [§ 12];
ā—wanān[^13] [§ 32])
nūtavānētamōwanān[^13] what you desire in your own mind 180.9

In this connection the peculiar use of -amā- in certain cases should
be mentioned:

ū'kicivitamāgut[^14] when he was told about them 54.13 (ū—tc[^15]
[§ 29]; kiciv- completion; wūt- to tell; -gu- [§ 41])
onāsigahamāgut[^14] then she poured it for her 316.23 (for ōn[^16]
āsigahamāgut[^14] by contraction [§ 10]; ā—tc[^15] [§ 29]; sig— an ini-
tial stem meaning to pour; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; the English
idiom prevents this being translated as a passive)
pūtānamāgut[^14] she was fetched it 318.1 (pūt— [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8];
-a- variant of -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; ā—tc[^15] [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41])
kenūnamāgōy[^17] they ask it of you 382.12 (ke—gōy[^17] [§ 28];
nūtaw- a by-form of nūtu- to ask; -āne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])
nūnītamāguna-mā of course he will tell me it 328.21 (nū—gwa
[§ 28]; wūt- to tell)

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Then it was tapped on by him 346.15 (for oni a'papakahamagute; a—tei [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; pā- [§ 25]; pāk- [cf. a'pāgepyāhaminute 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 cannot completely analyze the form; pāpākātamaw- is a variant for pāpāgatamaw-, and the double object is clear (pā- [§ 25]; pāga- [pāgirt-] 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—

kipyātāgog they will bring them to you 348.3 (kī—gōg [§ 28]; pyā-motion hitherward [§ 16]; -t- [§ 21] and kihauatāgog they will fetch them to you 348.4 (for kī—gōg [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; awra- variant of āwra- to fetch [§ 16]; -t- [§§ 8, 21]). The -a- is the same objective pronominal element seen in ne—āra, ke—āpwa, etc. [§ 28]; ā—ātei, ā—āwātei, etc. [§ 29]; āsa, āwāsa [§ 30]; āta, āteigi, āteini, āwāteini, 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 nemivām niāwātāgwa she carried my sacred bundle away 326.24; 328.5, 14; 330.2 (ne- [§ 45]; ne—gw [§ 28]; -ā- as above; -t- [§ 28]; āwra- [awra-] to carry away; -t- [§ 8 or § 21?]). As far as the verb is concerned, the structure is the same as in nekā'kitāgwa 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, -a- 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'konāni kihawamānwa thou wilt take our (incl.) drum along 348.9 (ke—nān [§ 45]; -t- [§ 45]; kī—āw [§ 28]; -h- [§ 8]; awra- a variant of āwra-: -n- [§ 21]). Observe that a'ko'konā (348.10, 17) drum is inanimate, as shown by the termination i (§ 42); and that the pronominal elements of keta'ko'konāni are inanimate; nevertheless the pronominal elements incorporated in the verb are animate.1

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 -n 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.

1 From p. 834 to here, addition by T. Michelson.

§ 34
\[\text{pamiwakash}^a\] one who passes by flashing a light
\[\text{nai’iwaw}^a\ \text{pamiwaskaminin}^t\] he saw him that went past flashing a light

The same ending with similar change occurs with an intransitive participle.

\[\text{pawacim}^a\] one who shakes his (own) body while lying down
\[\text{wa’pamacimini}^t\] he looked at him who lay shaking his own body

The other kind of participle is with the subject ending in \(-t^a\). The dropping of \(-t^a\) is common with the indefinite passive participle.

\[\text{mitnet}^a\] one to whom he was given
\[\text{ahigutel’minetci}^t\] 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.

\[\text{nirpy}^a\] I hope to come
\[\text{kiri’py}^a\] may you come
\[\text{wirpyaw}^a\] let him come

2. Conjunctive.—Tense for the present and past is indicated by the syllabic augment \(\ddot{a}-\). If the conjunctive preserves its purely subordinate character, as when it stands in an indirect relation to an idea previously expressed or to an independent statement, then the augment \(\ddot{a}\) is more likely to refer to an action as past. Thus:

\[\text{a’skat}^t\ \text{a’rpyacit}^t\] in course of time he came (cf. 38.14)
\[\text{ne’py}^a\ \text{a’rpyayani}^t\] I came when you arrived

But if the conjunctive departs from its subordinate function, then the syllabic \(\ddot{a}\) 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.

\[\text{ane’payan}^t\] I slept; I am sleeping
\[\text{ane’payani}^t\ you slept; you are sleeping
\[\text{ane’napicti}^t\ 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-
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 wí-. 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.

\[ \text{wí'hăyăn}i \text{? dost thou expect to go?} \]
\[ \text{wíhătc} \text{ he wants to go} \]

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 āgwı' no, not. Its position is before the verb, and its use involves a modification of the conjunctive. In the first place, the temporal vowel ā- drops out, and so there is no sign to indicate indefinite tense. In the second place, all the pronominal elements take on a terminal -ni, all the terminal vowels of the conjunctive being e.

The following examples show some of the forms with stem:

\[ \text{ā’gwi pyā’yāni}nı̂ \text{ I do not come; I did not come} \]
\[ \text{ā’gwi pyā’yāni}nı̂ \text{ thou dost not come; thou didst not come} \]
\[ \text{ā’gwi pyā’tecinı̂ \text{ he does not come; he did not come}} \]
\[ \text{ā’gwi pyāmi’ga’ki}nı̂ \text{ it does not come; it did not come} \]
\[ \text{ā’gwi pyā’yāgi}nı̂ \text{ they and I do not come; they and I did not come} \]

For the future, the negative independent verb has the prefix wí-.

The negative of the conjunctive verb is indicated by pwā’wi. Its use brings about no change in the form of the verb. It stands between the tense particles ā- and wí- and the verbal stems.

\[ \text{ā’t’pwāwipya’yā}nı̂ \text{ when I did not come} \]
\[ \text{wí’t’pwāwipya’tc} \text{ while he has no desire to come} \]

4. The Subjunctive.—The subjunctive has a variety of uses. In one it is used to express an unfulfilled wish.

\[ \text{nuł’süt}^e \text{ may he get well} \]
\[ \text{pó’nepya’t}^e \text{ would that he ceased from drunkenness} \]

In another it is employed to express a wish, as of a prayer. In § 35
its use, it occurs with an adverb \textit{tai'\textviseright{y}\textviseright{a}na}, which conveys the desid-erative sense of \textit{would that! oh, if!}

\textit{tai'\textviseright{y}\textviseright{a}na py\textviseright{\ddot{a}}t\textviseright{e}!} oh, if he would only come!

The subjunctive is also used to express the possibility of an action.

\textit{pe'mus\textviseright{\ddot{a}}t\textviseright{e} he might pass by on foot}
\textit{tetepu's\textviseright{\ddot{a}}y\textviseright{\ddot{a}}n\textviseright{e} 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.

\textit{wi'u-pi't\textviseright{\ddot{a}}h\textviseright{\ddot{a}}w\textviseright{e} py\textviseright{\ddot{a}}miga'k\textviseright{e} 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.

\textit{upi't\textviseright{\ddot{a}}h\textviseright{\ddot{a}}'t\textviseright{e} py\textviseright{\ddot{a}}miga'k\textviseright{e} 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 \textit{tai\textviseright{y}\textviseright{a}na}.

\textit{tai'\textviseright{y}\textviseright{a}na k\textviseright{\ddot{w}}wte'\textviseright{v}e!} oh, if he only had turned and come back!

It is used as a potential.

\textit{ta'kamus\textviseright{\ddot{a}}y\textviseright{\ddot{a}}ne'v\textviseright{e} 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 \textit{\ddot{a}} and \textit{wi}. [See my note to § 29.—T. M.] But the action is always represented with reference to an event in the past.

\textit{\textviseright{\ddot{v}}ni te'pe'k\textviseright{w}i \ddot{a}'pem\textviseright{\ddot{a}}mute'\textviseright{v}e it was on that night when he fled for his life (pem- [§ 16]; -\textviseright{\ddot{a}}\textviseright{m}u- [see -\textviseright{\ddot{a}}- § 19])}

In this connection it often occurs with an adverb, \textit{ke'\textviseright{y}\textviseright{\ddot{a}}h\textviseright{\ddot{a}}'p\textviseright{\ddot{a}}}, which has such meanings as \textit{it was true; it was a fact; why, as a matter of fact.}

§ 35
ke'yâha'pō wî'âæenô'wâte' now, as a matter of fact, it was their intention to be absent

5. The Potential.—The potential is used to express a possibility.

nahînî'gâ'îlrîte' he might learn how to sing
pyâ'kâ' 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.

nahînî'gte'ute'pihâ'sa had he known how to sing, he would have gone to the place

6. The negative of the verb in the protasis is pwâ'wî, and the negative of the verb in the conclusion is a'witâ.

pwâ'wî nahnînî'gâte'ute'pihâ'sa if he had not known how to sing, he would not have gone to the place

7. The prohibitive imperative is introduced by kâte, 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

-îm animate, -ît 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 subject. The intervocalic t stands in front of the vowel that represents the inanimate object. (See examples in § 21.)

The consonant t often has a whispered continuant before articulation ('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 intervocalic 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 o. With this other use of t or 't, the inanimate sign of the objective pronoun is o or o.

\[\text{pō'ni'tō'w}^a\] he no longer works at it; he no longer makes it \(\text{(pōni-}[\$ 16])\)
\[\text{nesa'ngi'tō}\] 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 function 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 particles 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.

\[\text{kā'ska'hā'mw}^a\] he accomplished the work (by the help of some kind of agency) \(\text{(kask-}[\$ 16]; -amw}^a[\$ 28])\)
\[\text{kā'ski'tō'w}^a\] he accomplished the work
\[\text{āpyātōhwa'te}^i\] he then fetched it \(266.15\) \(\text{(pyā-t-ō-}[\$\$ 16, 8, 19]; -āte}^i[\$ 29])\)

§ 37
One more comparison will perhaps suffice upon this point. There is a causal particle $m$ which has already been mentioned. It has a common use associated with the instrumentality of the mouth, more particularly with that of speech.

$pɔ'ni ma w^a$ no longer does he speak to him
$pɔ'ni tɔ w^a$ 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 $ti$ incorporated between the stem of the verb and the final, pronominal sign. [It should be noted that in all the examples given, $-ti$- is the incorporated 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.

$mig^at^iwa^g^i$ they fought together; they fought with one another
$ne^w^a^pa^ti^pe^n^a$ he and I looked at each other
$ke^nimi^heitipw^a$ you danced together

$ätanetig^i$ at a place where gambling one with another is going on
$navihe^tiwagäpe^e^i$ they always visit one another 238.23

$ähiti^nite^i$ they said one to another 76.14 ($-n^ite^i$ [§ 34])
$änawutïwït^i^e^i$ as one was eyeing the other 112.8
$månetïci^g^i$ they who played the harlot with each other 150 TITLE
[so text; error for -teig^i]

$äkakanönetïte^i$ she and he talked together a great deal 176.21

(kan- reduplicated)
$manätwiagäpe$ they are always taking things from each other
276.16 ($-aq-$ for $-agi$ before $-äpe$)

$ki^tanetïpen^a$ let us make a bet with each other 296.18

$ähitiwïte^i$ they said one to another 358.25
$äpönikanönetïwïte^i$ so with no further words to each other 62.6
$nimigati^pen^a$ he and I shall fight against each other 60.6

$teägan^to^tiwïte^i$ then an invitation was extended to all, everyone asking every one else 60.13 ($teäg-$ for $teägi-$ 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-.

wāba'tisō'wə he looked at himself (wāba- same as wāpa)
paga'tisō'wə he hit himself (paga allied with pagī to strike)
āhitisute 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 ā. 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
when he swung

if thou shouldst help

he is in hiding

he killed himself

it lies on the ground

it floats yon way; it moves away, carried by the water

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.

he washes his own head (with the help of his hand)

he wipes his own head (with something)

he accidentally cut himself (with something sharp)

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 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
keeps 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: -nically 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.

newá'pame'gwá ne'niwa'I am seen by the man
kewá'pame'gwá ne'niwa' thou art seen by the man
wá'pame'gwá ne'niwa'a'ni he is seen by the man. [In this and the next case, -wá' is the pronominal termination; -g- the passive sign; i.e., -wá'g-, not -gu' (for gu + a), as in the first two examples.—T. M.]
wá'pame'gwá ne'niwa'a'ni he is seen by the men
wápa'megó'gí ne'niwa'a'ni they are seen by the man
wápa'megó'gí ne'niwa'a'ni they are seen by the men

The same examples turned into the conjunctive mode would be—
áwápamegwa'gí ne'niwa' when I was seen by the man
áwápamegwa'gí ne'niwa' when thou wert seen by the man
á'wápamegu'técí ne'niwa'a'ni when he was seen by the man
á'wápamegu'técí ne'niwa'a'ni when he was seen by the men
áwá'pamegwa'wá'técí ne'niwa'a'ni when they were seen by the man
áwá'pameguwá'técí ne'niwa'a'ni when they were seen by the men

The Indefinite Passive

There is an indefinite passive—inddefinite 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>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ne-gópi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>ke-gópi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
<td>-ápi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. inan.</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'wàpamegö'pi I am looked at (−me- [§§ 8, 21])
ke'wàpamegö'pwà you are looked at
wà'pamä'pì he is looked at; they are looked at
wà'pata'pì it is looked at; they are looked at
kenatomegöpì 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 −gì, — 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite Passive, Conjunctive Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä-(u)tci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä-(e)tci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä-anumene'kì when you were asked 372.12 (k for g, as in -kāpā- for -gāpā- and in other similar cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nātumīk I being asked 374.1 (−m- [§ 21])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äha'kasamegì they (inan.) were set on fire 16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -mì; 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
of the action of the verb will be omitted; if expressed, it would be in the nominative.

ā'hiñe'tcı' ne'nīwa'ni he was told by the man
ā'hiñe'tcı' ne'nīwa'ni he was told by the men
ā'hiñe'tcı' ne'nīwa'ni they were told by the man
ā'niwų'tcı' i''kwāwa'ni she was seen by the woman
ā'niwų'tcı' i''kwāwa'ni she was seen by the women
ā'nīwų'tcı' i''kwāwa'ni they were seen by the woman
ā'nīwų'tcı' i''kwāwa'ni they were seen by the women

§ 42. Syntactic Forms of the Substantive

Substantives have forms to distinguish gender, number, and four case-relations. The case-relations are the nominative, the vocative, the locative, which is the case of spacial and temporal relations, and the objective. All these forms are expressed by suffixes. They are thus shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate.</th>
<th>Inanimate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>-e, -i</td>
<td>-i -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-i -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>-a, -ni</td>
<td>-gi, -i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms will be shown with two nouns,—A'nāgwa star, and A'senį stone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Star.</th>
<th>Stone.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>A'nāgwa</td>
<td>A'nāgwa'gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>A'nāgwe</td>
<td>A'nāgwe'gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>A'nāgwe'yį</td>
<td>A'nāgwe'yį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>A'nāgwe'ni</td>
<td>A'nāgwe'ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no difference of form between the objective and some forms of the possessive. Thus:

ō'sanį his father (animate)

u'wicį his head (inanimate)

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—54
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’tei GREAT, tcA’gi SMALL. The derived adjective is one that comes from a noun; as, mA’netō’wi (from mA’netō’wa MYSTERY BEING), A’cā’i (from A’cā’a 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’tei mA’netō’wa a great mysterious being
tcA’gi wiwigyāpā’i a little dwelling
mA’netō’wi a’k’kyāni a mysterious country
A’cāhi ne’niw’a a Sioux man

As has been said, such adjectives do not change their form to agree with nouns for number and case.

ke’tei mA’netō’wa! O great mystery!
mA’netō’wi a’kyāni mysterious lands
A’cāhi ne’niwA’gí 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:
tcA’gīnāgā’i small bowl
me’ečimi’n’i apple (literally, large fruit)
Ase’nigā’i stone dwelling
Ač’kinhā’wë Sioux country

Verbs:
Ase’gahēnunhē’wi pēćāgā’i it is a tiny buckskin string
ne’niw’a me’cimgusī’wa the man looked big (-nāgu- [§ 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. *mečawí siʔpōwí* large is the river (*meč- large; -ā- [§20]; -wi [§28]) *iʔkw̓áwaʔgí kán̓óʔsiwÁgí* the women are tall (*si- [§20]; -wágí [§28])

**Pronouns (§§ 44-49)**

### § 44. The Independent Personal Pronoun

The incorporated forms of the personal pronoun have been treated in §§ 28–34. The independent pronoun is closely related to the pronouns of the independent mode of the intransitive verb (§ 28).

- I *níná*
- we (exclusive) *niʔnáná*
- we (inclusive) *kínáná*
- thou *kíná*
- ye *kiʔnwáwá*
- he (an.) *iʔná*
- it (inan.) *iʔniṭ*
- they (an.) *iʔniγí*
- they (inan.) *iʔniní*

### § 45. The Possessive Pronoun

Possession is expressed by prefixes and suffixes which are related to the pronouns of the independent mode. The suffixes differ for nouns of 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>
<th>ANIMATE</th>
<th>INANIMATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>ne-ma</td>
<td>ne-maγí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ours (excl.)</td>
<td>ne-menáná</td>
<td>ne-menánáγí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ours (incl.)</td>
<td>ke-menáná</td>
<td>ke-menánáγí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy</td>
<td>ke-ma</td>
<td>ke-maγí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>ke-mwáwa</td>
<td>ke-mwáwaγí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>u-maání</td>
<td>u-maáníγí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>u-mwáwání</td>
<td>u-mwáwáníγí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the forms. The word for dog is *λ' nemó̱má*, a noun of animate gender. [The inserted -<t- in the following examples is presumably the same as in *ne'tawí* i am (§ 28).—T. M.] The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the same number would be—

- *ne'tsanemó̱he'má* my dog (-<t- [§ 8])
- ke'tanemó̱he'má* thy dog
- uts'namó̱hemáłni* 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—

netA'nemdhemA'g' my dogs
keta'nemohemA'g' thy dogs
uta'nemohema'"'i his dogs

The word for rock is A'sen', a noun of inanimate gender. The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the singular would be—

netA'sen'i'm' my rock
keta'sen'i'm' thy rock
uta'sen'i'm' his rock

The forms with the same persons in the singular and the noun in the plural would be—

ne'tasenimA'n'i my rocks
ke'tasenimA'n'i thy rocks
uta'senimA'n'i 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
uta'iya'n'i his pet (referring to a horse or dog)

In words expressing parts of the body.

nè'ta'i my heart
ke'ga'k'i thy chest
u'wic'i his head

In some names of tools.

neto'pwa'g'a'n'i my pipe
ke'me'to'"'i thy bow
u'wipa'n'i his arrow

[It should be observed that under special stress the vowel of the m suffix is split into two vowels (§ 6); likewise it should be noticed that under unknown conditions t is not inserted after ne, ke, u, before initial vowels: then the terminal e of ne and ke is elided, while a glide w (§ 8) is inserted after u.

Examples of possessives with the m of the suffix, from the Texts, are—

nesim'a' my younger brother 330.16
nete'kwam'a' my sister 84.2, 12, etc.
nesimahag'i my little brothers 282.13

§ 45
nečōŋeņagí my ducks 284.2
nečōmēhenānə our (excl.) younger brother 90.12; 96.1
nōciseņenenānə our (excl.) grandchild (obj. case) 160.9
kečōmēhenānə our (incl.) little brother 90.6; 96.7
kīneņeņenānə our (incl.) sister-in-law 92.16 (-u- = -e-)
kētōgimämēnenān our (incl.) chief 300.24 (t inserted)
kečōmēhenānə our (incl.) younger brothers 122.5, 11, 18
kētōgimämēnenānə our (incl.) chiefs 62.22 (t inserted)
kenēpāmə thy husband 162.15, 23; 178.1
kōćiseņa thy grandson 200.24
kečōməθ thy little brother 252.1
kete'kumagí thy foods 314.14
unēpāmanɨ her husband 162.23, 24
uśəman his younger brother 314.17
uśəmāhâ'ɨ his younger brothers 90.14, 15
uśəmeņa'ɨ his younger brothers 90.10
uśəseņa'ɨ her grandchildren 160.11
uṭūtāma'ɨ his sisters 208.15
uṭwineņo'ɨ his sisters-in-law 96.11 (w a glide)
uto'kaneņa his bones 16.5
uṭukaneņa his bones 16.1
uṭolineņa his garments 274.20
uśəmā'wāwānɨ their younger brother 156.13, 16; 160.2
uśəmāhwa'wāwānɨ their younger brother 94.19
uṭwineņowawānɨ their sister-in-law 92.8 (w a glide; -o- inserted)

Examples from the Texts, of possessives without the m of the suffix, are—

negwə'ɨ my son 182.4; 184.8
nemecoūsenə my grandfather 206.6
nychii' a my uncle 12.14
negy' a my mother 38.15 (for nego' a; cf. uɡiwa'wānɨ their mother)
ni'kān a my friend 14.12; 26.17
ni'p a my arrow 84.20
ni'panɨ my arrows 290.20
nemecoūsenenānə our (excl.) grandfather 160.5
kenātawina'nenānɨ our (incl.) medicine 308.22
ketaiy' a thy pet 178.14
keto'wa'wemɨ thy town 16.4 (contrasted with 16.18)
kegwisa'gɨ thy sons 172.6
kesesāhwa'wa your elder brother 294.18
uņemo'sanɨ his niece 12.17, 20
uŋwisa'ɨ her sons 170.1; 238.6
uvi'kəna'ɨ his comrades 14.5, 6, 8; 20.1; 24.4 (w a glide)

§ 45
uwítcímiskótäwa'í his people 16.6
ugiwäwaní their mother 154.9
ugwíswäwaní their son 172.17
ugwíswäwäwa'í their sons 172.20
unítcänëswäwa'í their children 160.13

It should be observed that in certain terms of relationship, u- of the third person is not used. Contrast ocísëmwäw'í their grandchildren 154.18 with kócësem a thy grand son 290.24; õsaní his father 208.15 with köswäwaní your father 232.5 (owing to the exigency of English grammar, Dr. Jones is forced not to be strictly literal in his translation); õ'komesaní his grandmother 234.4, 6 and õ'konëswäwaní their grandmother 160.7 with kös'komesenäm a 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, being. The forms are—

nā'l'yawí myself
kī'l'yawí thyself
u'wiya'wí his self
kī'yānä'ní ourselves (I and thou)
nā'l'yänä'ní ourselves (I and he)
kī'yāwā'wí yourselves
uwā'l'yawā'wí 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.

netā'pāne'ta nā'l'yawí I am independent (literally, I own my own bodily self)
wa'pasë'mawă'gí uwā'l'yawă'wí 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 *ina* is also the third person, personal pronoun. These demonstratives are used in the following relations:

*ma'na ne'niw* 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)

*ī'na ne'niw* that man (who is farther removed, or who is subordinate in point of interest)

*ī'nāga ne'niw* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td><em>mana</em></td>
<td><em>māhāgi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td><em>ina</em></td>
<td><em>inīgi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yonder</td>
<td><em>ināga</em></td>
<td><em>ināmāhāgi</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pronoun is used when reference is made to a particular object selected from a list; as, *ī'nama ne'niw* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td><em>inīga</em></td>
<td><em>inīyāga</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*īniya ne'niw* 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.

$\text{i'ni à'i-ciseg}'$ 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 ăgwi 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>$\text{kutaga}$</td>
<td>$\text{kutaga'i}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody, something . . . . .</td>
<td>$\text{u'vîyâ}^{\text{a}}$</td>
<td>$\text{u'vîyâk}^{\text{a}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobody, nothing . . . . . .</td>
<td>$\text{âgû'vîyâ}^{\text{a}}$</td>
<td>$\text{âgû'vîyâh}^{\text{a}}$</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.

$\text{kutaga ne'niw}^{\text{a}}$ the other man
$\text{u'vîyâ}^{\text{a}}$ pyâ'w$^{\text{a}}$ somebody is coming
$\text{âgû'vîyâ}^{\text{a}}$ aî'yô$^{\text{i}}$ nobody is here
$\text{âgwi'kagô}^{\text{a}}$ aî'tâgi$^{\text{a}}$ 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>$\text{wâna}^{\text{a}}$</td>
<td>$\text{wânahagi}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>$\text{tâna}$</td>
<td>$\text{tâni}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 48, 49
The first pronoun asks of quality without reference to limitation.

\( \textit{wā'niw}^a \text{ tec}^i \text{ ina ne'niw}^a \) who is that man?

\( \textit{wāgùn}^i \text{ pyā'tōy}^a \text{ an}^i \) what dost thou bring?

The second pronoun expresses quality with more of a partitive sense.

\( \textit{tā'na'tec}^i \text{ i'na ne'niw}^a \) which is the man? where is that man?

\( \textit{tā'ni pyā'tōy}^a \text{ an}^i \) 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.

\( \textit{wā'niw}^a \text{ ne'niw}^a \) what man? Also, who is the man?

\( \textit{tā'na ne'niw}^a \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne'gut}^i & \quad \text{one} \\
\text{nē'cw}^i & \quad \text{two} \\
\text{ne'sw}^i & \quad \text{three} \\
\text{nyā'w}^i & \quad \text{four} \\
\text{nyā'nu}^i & \quad \text{five} \\
\text{ne'gutwāci}^i \text{ g}^a & \quad \text{six} \\
\text{nō'hig}^a & \quad \text{seven} \\
\text{ne'cwāci}^i \text{ g}^a & \quad \text{eight} \\
\text{cā'g}^a & \quad \text{nine} \\
\text{me'dāsw}^i & \quad \{ \text{ten} \} \\
\text{kwi'tc}^i & \quad \{ \text{ten} \} \\
\text{medāswi'negu'ti}^i & \quad \{ \text{eleven} \} \\
\text{medāswine'gutinesi}^i & \quad \{ \text{eleven} \} \\
\text{medāswin'cw}^i & \quad \{ \text{twelve} \} \\
\text{medāswin'cwi'nesi}^i & \quad \{ \text{twelve} \} \\
\text{medā'swine'swi}^i & \quad \{ \text{thirteen} \} \\
\text{medā'swineswi'nesi}^i & \quad \{ \text{thirteen} \} \\
\text{medā'swynā'w}^i & \quad \{ \text{fourteen} \} \\
\text{medāswinyā'wi'nesi}^i & \quad \{ \text{fourteen} \} \\
\text{medāswi'nyā'nu}^i & \quad \{ \text{fifteen} \} \\
\text{medāswine'gutwāci'g}^a & \quad \{ \text{sixteen} \} \\
\text{medāswine'gutwācigā'nesi}^i & \quad \{ \text{sixteen} \}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{§ 50} \)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>medā'winōhig'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>medā'winōhiga'nesei'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>medā'swinac'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>niwābi'ag'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>niwābi'taginegu'ti'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>neswā'bita'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>neswā'bitagin'c'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>nyāwā'bita'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>nyawābitagine's'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>nyawābitagineswes'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>nyānānā'bita'ag'i'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>nyānānābitaginyu'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>nyānānābitaginyaw'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>negutwācigā'bita'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>negutwācigābitaginya'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>negutwācigābitaginityān'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>nōhīgā'bita'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>nōhīgā'bitaginēgutwāc'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>nōhīgā'bitaginēgutwācigānesi'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>necwācigā'bita'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>necwācigā'bitaginōhī'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>necwācigā'bitaginōhiganes'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>cāgā'bita'ag'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>cāgā'bitaginecwac'g'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>cāgā'bitaginecwacigānesi'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>ne'gutwā'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>negutwā'kwenegutina'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>nī'cwa'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>nīcwā'kvemedāswinā'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>neswā'kwēni'c'wacigines'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>neswā'kwēni'c'waciginesw'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>negutwācigatlaswā'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>nōhigatlaswā'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>nacwācigatlaswā'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>cāgatlaswā'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>me'dāswā'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>negutima'k'w'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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.

Neguwácìi'g^a, the cardinal for six, contains three elements. The first is negút-, and stands for one. The second is probably an initial stem ác^, and means over, across, movement across.

á'còw over, beyond, an obstruction or expanse
á'cowí'w^a he wades across a stream
á'cì'ta'm^ again, in turn, by way of repetition or continuity

The third element is the ending -g^a; 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 á when another element is added.

medáswinegutwácìgá'nesí'w^ six hundred

But the vowel does not lengthen in negutwácìgá'taswácì'kw^ six hundred.

Nó'hiig^a, the cardinal for seven, does not yet admit complete analysis. Initial n- and final -g^a are the only intelligible elements that can be reduced at the present.

Ne'cwácìi'g^a, 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 ác^, and is the same as the one in the word for six; the third is the numeral ending -g^a.

C'àg^a, the cardinal for nine, is difficult to analyze. The numeral ending -g^a is clear, but cà- is doubtful. It is possible that cà- may be the same as cà-, an initial stem conveying the idea of freedom of movement, passage without friction, without obstruction, without impediment.
câ'powâ'wá he cries out, sending his voice through space
câ'pu'wa'gâ'ná 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
kwâ'te is given for ten. The adverb means the end, and câ-
may possibly express the idea of an easy flow of the count
up to the adverb kwâ'te, which marks the end of the series.

Me'dâ'swá, the word for ten, is in the form of an intransitive verb
of the third person singular inanimate. Its middle part -dâs- may
be the same thing as tas-, 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 tas- occurs always in the form taswi-,
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.

medâ'swinegu't one (meaning eleven)
nîcwickâ'bitâgine'swá twenty-three
negutâ'kwë'ne'gu't 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'dâ'swá it is ten
medâ'swinyâwine'si'wi it is ten four

The initial member indicating the decimal can be omitted, if the
numeration is clear from the context. For example, negu'tinesi'wá
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 nîcwingesi'wá can be used to express a two-series; neswingesi'wá, a
three-series; and so on up to and including câ'gâ'nesi'wá, a nine-series.

§ 50
The element expressing hundred is \(-a'kw^e\), the same thing, probably, as the collective suffix used to indicate things which are wooden: as—

\(cegā'kw^a\) pine [literally, skunk-tree.—T. M.]

\(ma'kw'kw^a\) bear-tree

\(pā'sigā'kw^a\) 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:

\(nīcwā'kwen'cw^i\) two hundred two (for two hundred and two)

the other with this combination terminated by the local demonstrative adverb \(t'na^i\) there, in or at that place:

\(nīcwā'kwe'nīcw'in^a\) 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 \(-tas-[taswɪ-\), see § 16. —T. M.] comes in between the cardinal and the sign for the hundred.

\(negutwācigataswā'kw^e\) six times hundred (for six hundred)

\(cāgataspā'kw^e\) nine times hundred (for nine hundred)

It takes the same place in hundreds after a thousand.

\(medāswinegutitaswā'kw^e\) ten one times hundred

\(medāswinegutineswitaswā'kw^e\) 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, \(medāswā'kw^e\); the other, and the one more usual, by a compound expressing one box, \(negutima'ka'kw^e\). The word for box is \(ma'ka'kw^i\), 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 o me'däse'nw i ini'tase'nw i), 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 o nyu'wâbitaga'swina'ka' kw o ni'cwâ'kwâ'na medâ'swineswi'na). The words in their order mean one box, forty is the number of times the box is taken, two hundred plus, ten three also [Taswi is the same as the initial stem taswi.—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'guti'neni'w a one man
ni'cwi'kwâ'gi two women
negu'tihâ'wa he is alone
ni'ciwâ'gi they are two)

Cardinals are used freely as nouns, and it will be observed that in this connection they do not inflect for number or gender.

(ne'nâwâ'wa ne'gut i I saw one animate (object)
ne'nât a ne'gut i I saw one inanimate (object)
nepyâ'nâwâ'gi nyâ'i'wi I fetched four animate (objects)
ne'pyâ'wi'nyâ'i'wi 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-
ning with the second ordinal is an incorporated -ōnameg¹ or -ānameg¹, the final ending of which is the suffix -gi, met with so frequently in a locative 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 -ōnameg¹ or -ānameg¹. Ordinals do not inflect for number or gender. They are as follows:

*me'ne't¹ first
*nico'name'gi² second
*neso'name'gi³ third
*nyāo'name'gi⁴ fourth
*nyānānōname'gi⁵ fifth
*negutwācigā'name'gi⁶ sixth
*nōhi'ganame'gi⁷ seventh
*neewācigāname'gi⁸ eighth
*cāgā'name'gi⁹ ninth
*medāsō'name'gi¹⁰ tenth
*medāswinegutitasōnameg¹¹ eleventh
*medāswinegutinesivitasōnameg¹² hundredth
*medāswāk'wetasōnameg¹³ 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'nuw¹ first time
*nī'cenuw¹ second time
*ne'senuw¹ third time
*nyā'wen¹ fourth time
*nyā'nanewu² fifth time
*negutwācigatase'nuw³ sixth time
*nōhi'gatase'nuw⁴ seventh time
*ne'cwācigatase'nuw⁵ eighth time
*cāgatase'nuw⁶ ninth time
*me'dāse'nuwi tenth time
*medāswineguitase'nuw⁷ eleventh time
nīcwābitāginate'nwí twentieth time
neguτwā'kwetase'nwí hundredth time
nīcwā'kweneswābitaginnyawinesiwitase'nwí two hundred and thirty-fourth time
negutima'ka'ikwetase'nwí 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:

nā'negu'wí each one
nānīcwí each two
nāneswí or nā'neswí each three
nā'nyāwí or nānyāwí each four
nā'nyāna'nwí each five
nānegutwāci'gí each six
nā'nōhi'gí each seven
nā'ncewāci'gí each eight
cā'cagí each nine
mā'medā'swí each ten
mā'.medāswinegu'wí each eleven
nā'nīcwābita'gí each twenty
nā'nīcwābitaginī'cwí each twenty-two
nā'nīcwābitaginīcwinesi'wí each thirty
nā'neswābita'gí each forty
nā'nyānanwābita'gí each fifty
nā'negutwācigābita'gí each sixty
nā'nōhigābita'gí each seventy
nā'ncewācigābita'gí each eighty
cā'cāgābita'gí each ninety
nā'negutwā'kwes each hundred
mā'medāswā'kwes each thousand
nā'negutima'ka'kwes each hundredth

Examples of distributive ordinals are—

māmeneti'gí every first
nā'nicōname'gí every second
nānesōnamegí every third
mā'medāsōname'gí every tenth
nā'negutwā'kwetasōname'gí every hundredth

Distributive iteratives are expressed in a similar way.

nā'negute'nwí it is once at a time

§ 52
nā'nlce'nw it is twice at a time
nā'nese'nw it is thrice at a time

These distributives are often followed by the local demonstrative adverb i'c, denoting TOWARD, MOVEMENT AWAY TOWARD SOMETHING. The adverb adds to the distributive notion the idea of movement by groups.

nā'nlcwi'c two at a time
nā'neswi'c three at a time
mā'nedaswinicwineswi'c thirteen at a time
nānlcwi'bítaqíts̕onamegi'c every twentieth
nā'n̓ōhigatsenwi'c every seventh time

In the multiplication of two numbers, the cardinal is the multiplicand, and the iterative the multiplier.

ne'guti nā'negute'nw one is taken once at a time
n̓icwi nā'nlce'nw two is taken twice at a time
ne'swi nā'nese'nw 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 ʔ̓p̓é'ta'w, an adverb denoting half. It forms the denominator, while a cardinal is used in the numerator.

negutā'pe'ta'w one half
n̓icw̓a'pe'ta'w two halves, two parts

The word for FOURTH is ʔ̓sepA'n, an adverbial form of ʔ̓sepA'n a 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.

negutā'sepA'n one-fourth, quarter of a dollar
neswi'sepA'ne three-fourths, seventy-five cents

There is a demonstrative adverb ʔ̓ina' 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.

negutāpe'ta'wɨna' one and a half
negutāsepA'ni̓na' 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
adjuncts, some have great freedom of position, and others have not that freedom. Among the adverbs of free position are those expressing time.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{v'nuq}^i & \text{ ä'\'pyāyā}'n^i \text{ to-day was when I came} \\
\text{pyā}'w^a & \text{ a'cawā'iy}^e \text{ he came long while ago} \\
\text{askə'tcīmā}'t^i & \text{ nyā}'p}^a \text{ by and by I will come}
\end{align*}
\]

Other adverbs are less free as to position. Such are those that do the double office of prepositions and conjunctions.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne''kani pe'pōn}^i & \text{ during the whole year} \\
\text{ne''kan a''pemātesi}'t^e & \text{ during all the time that he lived} \\
\text{ā'yā}'pwā}'w^i & \text{ nā}'wa'kwā}'g^i \text{ before noon; before mid-day} \\
\text{ā'yā}'pwā}'w^i & \text{ pyā}'t}^e \text{ before he came}
\end{align*}
\]

These limited adverbs occurring in first position really perform the office of initial stems. The following examples show adverbs in composition with secondary stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tcī'gepyā}'g^i & \text{ at the edge of the water} \\
\text{a'kwita'p}^a'kw}^i & \text{ on top of the lodge}
\end{align*}
\]

Some adverbs express a modal sense, and have the force of either a clause or a sentence.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaci'wāto}'w^i & \text{ of course it is true (said in answer to a question)} \\
\text{kac}^i & \text{ I don't care what happens; it makes no difference} \\
\text{ma'sūtci pyā}'w^a & \text{ he had a hard time getting here}
\end{align*}
\]

The qualifying force of some adverbs is so extensive as to make them into conjunctives. Amongst their many values as conjunctives are—

General connectives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nā''k}^a & \text{ AND, as—} \\
\text{kō'na nā''kānī}'n^a & \text{ thou and I}
\end{align*}
\]

ce'wān^a BUT, in which an objection is implied, as—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ātcī'p}^i & \text{ mōhā}'p^i \text{ ce'wāna wa'nī'kā}'w^a \text{ he was told, but he forgot}
\end{align*}
\]

Introductives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nahi'} & \text{ well, I say, as—} \\
\text{nahi', nātesō''kānā}'w^a & \text{ well, I will tell the story of him ——} \\
\text{kaho', with much the same meaning and use as nahi'} & \text{ ——} \\
\text{ka'cīnā}'t^i & \text{ WHY! HOW NOW! as—} \\
\text{ka'cīnā}'t^i, ā'gwīnāgwai'yānī}'n^i & \text{ why, thou hast not gone yet!} \\
\text{ka'cīnā}'gw^a & \text{ is much like ka'cīnā}'t^i}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 53
§ 54. Interjections

There are also numerous interjections. Naturally most of them have to do with the expression of subjective states of the mind. There are two interjections of very common use, and they will be the only ones to be mentioned. One is *taí'yāna* *i* WOULD THAT I HAD MY WISH! It is used with the subjunctive to express a prayer.

*Taí'yāna* *i* *pyā'te!* oh, I wish he would come!

The other interjection is *tcī*, expressing wonder. It can and often does occur alone, but it is more common as a suffix.

*ā* *pyātcicī* 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 upon, and much has been wholly left out. It has been the plan to point out in as few words as possible such features as would give an intelligible idea of what the grammar of this one Algonquian dialect is like. The description will close with the text of a myth that was purposely abbreviated in the telling. It is told in a straightforward idiom without any attempt at rhetorical emphasis, which often goes with the language of myths. The translation keeps close to the order of the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of some of its morphology and syntax.
TEXT

[Cf. Fox Texts, pp. 70-74.]

Ma'kwani11 pāmine'kawātécig,2
Bear they who are in pursuit of him.

İnip13 acawaiye4 negutenwî5 ā'pepóg6 ā'Askime'pug7
It is said long ago it was once when it was winter when first it had
ā'Askanwiǧ8 neswi9 neniwag10 āčcāwāte11 māmaiya12 kegiceyáp13
while the first snow was on three men they went to early
Apatā'kig14 ā'pe'kwisasaga'k15 ma'kwani16 ā'pîcei'kaw̌ānîte17
On the hillside where it was thick with growth bear

1 ma’kwani object of the following participle (ma’kw ‘animate noun, nominative singular; -ni objective
animate singular suffix [§ 42]).
2 pāmine'kawātécig third person plural, animate, transitive participle (pāmi- for pemî- initial stem
denoting movement past; c of pemî- becomes å in the participle, § 33); -kaw- a secondary stem meaning
to drive, to pursue [§ 19]; -ce ([§ 21 (?)]); -cig animate, third
person, participial plural [§ 33].
3 İnipi combination of an introductive and a quotative (T’nit [§ 47] singular, inanimate, demonstrative
pronoun used as an introductive; i’pi impersonal quotative, occurring usually as a suffix [§ 41]).
4 acawaiye temporal adverb expressing remote time in the past (§ 53).
5 ne'gute'cwêl iterative ([§ 52] in the form of the third person singular, inanimate, transitive verb of
the independent series [§ 28]).
6 ā'pepóg third person singular inanimate transitive verb of the indefinite conjunctive mode (a-
temporal augment; pep- initial stem used to express notions of winter, cold, snow [§ 16]; -gi suffix with
a locative sense [§ 42]).
7 ā'Aska'nte’pug same kind of verb as in note 6 (aski-initial stem signifying early, soon, first [§ 16];
me-initial stem common with words for snow, ice, cold; me’pu- to snow).
8 ā'Askanwiǧ an impersonal verb of the transitive conjunctive mode (ask- same as in note 7; -me-
secondary stem denoting state, condition; -gi suffix with locative sense).
9 neswi cardinal used as an adjective to the following noun.
10 neswiya animate, plural noun, subject of the following verb (ne’niw ‘nominitive singular; -gi suffix
denoting plurality [§ 42]).
11 a’cîcîwâte’tei (ci’ci Initial stem to hunt; third person plural, animate, transitive verb of the
conjunctive mode [§ 29]).
12 ma’mâiwa temporal adverb expressing relative time.
13 kegîcîye’pâ temporal adverb referring to that part of the morning just before and immediately after
sunrise.
14 a’pîcîkîwiya independent, intransitive, verbal combination used like a noun (opat- akin to a’pe’kâwi
signifying half, part of; a’ki- akin to a’ki meaning earth, ground, land; -gi locative suffix).
15 ā’pe’kwisasaga’k same kind of verb as in note 6 (a- vowel augment same as in note 6, but used here,
as in other places of the text, with a relative force; pe’kw ‘initial stem denoting density, thickness
[§ 16]; sasag- reduplicated form of the initial stem sas– [see sas– § 16], which has taken on the sense of
taking hold of; -k’ third person, animate, pronounal ending of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).
16 ma’kwani objective form of an animate noun used as the subject of the subordinate verb that follows.
17 ā’pîcîka’wâni’tei third person singular, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode, used
with an subordinate subject in the objective relation (pîcî- initial stem denoting movement into
an enclosure [§ 16]; for the te- of pîcî- cf. pàte- under pûc, also § 8; -ka- secondary stem expressing the
notion of making an imprint, sign, track, and of moving, going [§ 18]; -cîcî- connective stem [§ 20]; -ni-
incorporated representative of an objective relation, and parallel in construction to -ni in ma’kwani.
It belongs with -tei in nîcî, and so enters into a subjective relation [§ 34]).
Neguti18 'pítca'náganáte19 'a' ci'kahwáte.20 "Wátci'késiyágicisáwá!"21
One he went in following he set him to going, "To the place whence the source of cold is he going fast!"

áhináte22 witáminátein23 said he to him whom he accompanied.
Wátci'késiyági24 wás'é'kag,25 "Wátcinawlágwágicisáwá!"26 áhité.27
From the place where it is cold round by way of, "Towards the place whence the mid-
day is he hurrying!"

Ini28 ná'ka29 wátci'kéwági30 wás'é'kag35 "Á pági'mugciscisáwá!"31
And another to the place whence he went round by way of the falling down is he hastening!"

áhité32 said he.

Aiyác0'ká33 'á'kiwinúmó'tatiwáte.34 Askatecî33 petegipwáyá34
To and fro long did they together keep behind he who was
and from him in flight from them.

a'kígahinápitci35 'á'kákipágáme'kwisenigi36 keyi'lapai37 'a'pémeg37
on the ground as he it lay with a green surface to, it was the fact to a place above
looked.

18 'négúti cardinal (§ 50) used as an adjectival modifying a noun understood.
19 'a'pitcinag 'a'kipágáme'kwisenigeetci'same kind of verb as in note 19 ('ka'-secondary stem, same as in note 17; -ke' causal particle [§ 37]; -a- as same in note 19; -ici as same in note 19).
20 'a'kipágáme'kwisenigeetci'same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 ('a- as in note 15; -á'-initial stem meaning to say [§ 16]; -a- as in note 19; -ici as in note 19).
21 'a'kipágáme'kwisenigeetci'same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 ('a- as in note 15; -á'-initial stem meaning to say [§ 16]; -a- as in note 19; -ici as in note 19).
22 áhinátei same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 ('a- as in note 15; -á'-initial stem meaning to say [§ 16]; -a- as in note 19; -ici as in note 19).
23 witáminátein third person singular, animate, transitive participle (wi'- initial stem denoting companionship [§ 16]; -tci- [§ 5]; -á'-secondary stem denoting condition; -m- animate causal particle [§ 21, 37], -tci- animate objective sign; -á- tci- contains both subject and object, being a possessive, transitive participle [§ 33]).
24 Explained in note 21.
25 Participial (§ 33), intransitive animate: hence the termination -sp, not -ta (see § 34); 'ka'-a secondary stem meaning track, imprint (§ 18).
26 wáci'- as in note 21; ndáwe'kwági (§ 53); the final i elided (§ 12) before ic-te (§ 16), the final i of which is likewise lost; -tci- as in note 21.
27 ki an initial stem as in akidátcet (note 22); the form is the third person singular animate intransitive of the conjunctive mode (§ 29).
28 See note 3.
29 An adverb (§ 53).
30 See note 53.
31 'a'-prefix; págí-an initial stem meaning to strike (§ 14); -ce'idátcet as in notes 21, 26; gi locative suffix.
32 'a'-prefix; kíwi-an initial stem cognate with kl- (§ 16); -n- interlocutive (§ 8); -a- a secondary stem often used to indicate flight (§ 19); -m- instrumental particle (§ 21, 37); -á- sign of middle voice (§ 40); -tci- an interlocutive (§ 8); -a- is not clear; -tci- sign of reciprocity (§ 38); -á- tci- sign of third plural animate intransitive conjunctive mode (§ 29).
33 For askateci+ipí; askatecî cognate with aski- (§ 16); ipí as in note 3.
34 petegi- an adverb; gi locative suffix, as in notes 7, 8, 14; pyáyává contains pyá an initial stem denoting movement heter; (§ 16); ya'-an initial stem meaning the same (see below áyává'cete, note 41); from the analogy of pyáyává (from pyá) it is likely that the true stem is yái: -si- termination of the animate intransitive, third person singular (§ 33).
35 For a'kígi + áhinápitci; a'kígi on the ground; -gi a locative suffix (§ 42); áhinápitci (á-let [§ 29]; -h- (§ 8); -i- for ic thus (§ 12); -a- (§ 8); -ipí to see.
36 -en-a connective stem meaning clinging, lying down (§ 20); -a-gi as in note 6; -tci (§ 54).
37 I have altered a'pémegi of Dr. Jones to á'pémegi. The first can not be analyzed; the second can, and is supported by á'pémegi of the Fox Texts (72.1). The a'pémegi of the Fox Texts at 72.2 apparently is a typographical error. The analysis is á-gi, as in note 6.


ä'i'ciweneguwâtec
was the way along which
they were led by

ma'kwânc
the bear.

Sasagânig
the thick

tetepine'kawâwâtec
while round in a circle they
drove him.

keyâhapaïnu
was really the

ä'pemeg
into the

âyâwate'ce
when they went.

Iní ä'kowopyâyât
There-

â'kowâtec
him who was

â'kwâgohomâtec
then did he cry out to

Matâpyéc
'0 Union-of-

kîwâtâwê!â
to us turn

â'pemegiku
he is leading you and

âhinâtec
said he to

Matâpyâ-
Union-of-Rivers
let us turn

hanc
him, but

cêwânâ
â'pâwâwâpercêntâgute
not a reply did he get from him.

Matâpyâ'â
tcâwinek
Pâmpâhâtâwâ
Wâsângâhâtanâ
Hutâhîhte
circuit of

in the middle

i who ran past

Hôl-Tîght
little Hold-Tight
did he have for

Tagwâginig
in the fall of the year

âmatanâwâtec
then they overtook him

ânesâwâtec
bear-him;

makwânc
then they killed him;

kiecînesâwâtec
after they had slain him

m'tegumicî
oak

'k'ekâchahomâwâtec
boughs

nâ'ka
when they

mâ'komicyânî
lie on him;

âhâpâccînikáhâwâtec
mâ'kwânc
kiwînâ-

likewise

sumachs;

then they put him to lie on

top of

mêlî

90 ini initial stem thus (§ 16); -ne- variant of wâ (from ané [§ 16] by § 12); -n- (§ 21); -c- (§ 8); -gu-
sign of the passive (§ 41); -wânte (§ 29).

91 Sâsâg- reduplicated form of sâg- an initial stem (§ 16), as in note 15; -c- as in pagâ- beside pagi-
to strike; -n- (§ 34); -g- locative suffix (§ 42).

92 â- temporal particle; tetep- a collateral form of tetep- (§ 16), an initial stem denoting movement in a
circle (cf. pem- and pem-); ne-ka- (§ 19) as in note 2; -ne- apparently a glide (§ 5); âwânte 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.

93 Third person plural animate past subjunctive intransitive (§ 29).

94 Compare Ik'kâwâteken't note 43; pyâgâta as in note 54.

95 A participial (see § 33).

96 â-ânte (§ 29); -m- (§§ 21, 37).

97 For é- cf. âpó (§ 24); the form is a vocative singular animate (§ 42); see also § 6.

98 For kâwe'ânteâ; kâwê- initial stem to turn back (§ 16); -ânteâ for -ânte (§ 6) sign for first person plural (excl.) intransitive imperative (§ 31).

99 â- pemîgi, explained in note 37; -kn verily.

100 For ke- gundâwâ with prolongation of the final vowel as in -idâwâ (see note 21); ke- gundâwâ is the pro-
nominal sign showing that the subject is the third person singular animate, and the object the first per-
son plural inclusive independent mode (§ 28); tecî- variant of âeci- (§ 16); -âwâne- as in note 58.

101 Âni sign of the singular objective case singular animate (§ 42).

102 See § 53.

103 pûwânei- the negative of the conjunctive verb; it stands following the particles â- and wî-, and before the

verbal stems (see § 35.3); -qù- sign of the passive (§ 41); â-âdiet (§ 29).

104 A participial (§ 33); pemî- for pemî- by reason of the change of vowel in the participle; pemî- (§ 16);
pahu- same as pahu- (§ 19).

105 Âni as in note 49; wî- kâp- (§ 46).

106 â-âtec (§ 29); -h- a glide (§ 8); -n- possessive pronoun his (§ 45); for the omission of the suffix, see p. 582.

107 â-âm locative suffix; -ni- as in note 39.

108 â- temporal prefix; -n- an instrumental particle (§ 21); -âwânteâ pronounl sign showing the subject to be the third person plural animate, and the object the third person, singular or plural, animate, conjunctive mode (§ 29); mâtâ to overtake (§ 16).

109 un- an initial stem meaning to slay (§ 16); â-âwitâcî as in note 66.

110 kîcî- an initial stem denoting completion (§ 16).

111 â-âmâwâtecn (§ 29); âcî (§ 25); kîck- (§ 10); -â- (§ 8); -h- (§ 21).

112 â-âwitâcî (§ 29); -h- (§ 8); see note 91.
niihawâtc'i61 awâpinenyâskâ'kâwâtc'i,62 Wâtâpâgic63 âhina'kâwâtc'i Eastward was where they threw.

finished skinning then began they to throw them
and cutting him up everywhere.

uwic'64 pâpogîn65 â'katâwâwâpâgî66 anâgwâg67 keteiweakâpe'6;68

his head; in the wintertime when nearly morning stars
and he was accustomed to rise;

inipiyôw69 ini ma'kôwic'70 Nâ'ka71 uta'tâgâwân71 â'e'g72

it is said in times that bear-head and his back-bone also

past

wâtâpâgî73 âhina'kâwâtc'i â'ê'gâpe'74 pepôgî75 nâwâpî76 anâgwâg77

to the east was where they threw. Also it is won't in the winter they are seen stars

âsîpôcîgî.77 Inipiyôwê 69 ini uta'tâgâwân71 they that lie close

and it is said of old that his back-bone.

Inîpi 78 nâka79 iyowe wînwâw72 inîgi79 nîgâni nyâwi anâgwâg77

that is also in the past they these in front four

stars

ina ma'kwâ80 nîka29 petegi neswi inipiyôwyê81 ma'kwân11

that bear and behind three they are said in the

past bear-him

pâmîne'kâwâcîgî12. Tcâwine'kitècî82 inâ-i teagi anâgo'â83 Acita'kwâgô-

they who were in pursuit of him.

Truly in the middle there little tiny star near to
do's

toinwââ.84 Inâpi85 anemôhâ13 86 utaiyan87 Mâtâpâyâ a Wîsagenhâni,87

it hang. It is said that one

that little dog, his pet

Union-of-Rivers

Hold-Tight.

TAGWÂGGÍN88 me' te'gumîcyân89 mîka'29 ma'kâmûc'îyan89 wât'cmeck-

oaks

and sumachs why they are

41 kici- as in note 58; -âwâtc'i pronominal termination of conjunctive mode (§ 29), as in notes 56, 57; -h- (§ 21); wînamî- (§ 16).
42 For â-dâwâtc'i; wâpî-an initial stem denoting INCEPTION (§ 16).
43 wîlîtâpâgî for wâtâpâgî (note 73); âi (§§ 10, 52).
44 u- his; for the absence of the m suffix see § 45; -i (§ 42).
45 Compare â pepôgî (note 6) and pepôgî (note 73); the form is a locative (§ 42).
46 A locative; cf. pâd'kâtwâwâpâng until nearly morning 208.2; -wâpa- is the same as the initial stem wâpâ-to see; note, too, âwâdâ-nîg at break of day 222.15, with the common fluctuation of b and p (see § 3).
47 Noun, animate plural (§ 42).
48 For ketècâwâgî-âpe'ê; for âpe'ê see § 14; ketècâwâgî (-wâgî is the sign for the third person plural inanimate intransitive of the independent mode (§§ 28)).
49 For inâ+i-îpi+iyowe; see note 3 and iyowe next paragraph.
50 ma'kwâ+i-îpi+i-uyowe (see § 12).
51 u-âni-i (§ 45).
52 See § 10; â-i-â as in note 6.
53 A locative.
54 See §§ 10, 14.
55 See note 6.
56 nîwâ-an initial stem meaning to see; cf. ânîwâ'wâtc'i they beheld him 198.2; -âpî-i the termination of the third person plural indefinite passive, independent mode (§ 41).
57 See -cin- (§ 20) and also § 12.
58 Accidentally omitted in § 44.
59 Animate plural of inâ (§ 47).
60 I have altered ini ma'kâwân of Dr. Jones to inâ ma'kwâ (see 72.8), as is required by the analysis (cf. §§ 42, 47).
61 For inîgi i-îpi iyowe see notes 69 and 79.
62 -ćâd verily.
63 See § 12 for the formation of the diminutive formation of anâgwa.
64 -cin- (§ 207); -wa (§ 28).
65 For inâ+i-îpi see notes 3 and 80.
66 a shows that the noun is animate singular (§ 42).
67 See § 45.
68 -gîni termination of the locative plural (§ 42).
69 Inanimate plural (§ 72).
wipaga'k\(^{90}\) āhapaskinanicigāwāte\(^{91}\) āmeskōwīg\(^{92}\) tā'tupagōn.\(^{93}\) Ḣ\(^{94}\) red at the leaf when they put to lie on top of then bloody became leaves

That

tāgwāgin\(^{94}\) wātcimeckwipaga'k\(^{90}\) me'tegumicyān\(^{189}\) nā'ka\(^{29}\) and

ma'komicyān.\(^{189}\)

That is the end.

[Translation]

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 away from whence comes the source of the mid-day time is he hurrying 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.

\(^{96}\) wijective-as in notes 21, 26, 30; meckwi-blood, same as meskwí (see § 9); -pa- as in tā'tupagōn; leaves; -ga- (§ 20); -ki (§ 29).

\(^{91}\) ā- -wāte (§ 29); -gā- (§ 20); -ci- for -cinž (§ 20); loss of n (§ 12); -h- presumably a glide (§ 8); apaskinani same as apiskinani in āhapaskinani-hāwātē above (see note 90).

\(^{92}\) āmeskōwīg; a variant for āmeskōwīkti; ā- -kti (§ 29); meskō- for meskwí (note 90, § 12 near the end); -wi- (20).

\(^{93}\) Plural of tā'tupagōn (see §§ 12, 42); -pa- as in wātcimeckwipaga'kī.

\(^{94}\) See note 3.

\(^{95}\) For Ḣ\(^{1}\) of akwite (§ 10); ā- -tei (§ 29).
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 SANTÉE DIALECTS)

WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

BY

FRANZ BOAS AND JOHN R. SWANTON
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§ 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 *Čęgiha Language* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. vi). 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 Ḭ', ɬ', ɬ', and ĕ' have been added to designate the aspirates of the corresponding surds. Doctor Swanton also distinguishes a fortis s and ʃ; ɑ is an obscure vowel, related to short ɔ and ɔ.

**TABLE OF SOUNDS OF TETON**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Strips</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Continued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorso-palatal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open breathing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasalized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The affricatives have been placed in the group of stops because they are closely associated with them. It is doubtful whether the fortis velar occurs.

The affricative ć series corresponds to the English ch in church; the ż, ś series to z in azure and to sh in shore; ḳ to the velar ch in German.

The phonetic system of Santee is quite similar to that of Teton, except that ń is absent and is replaced by d and n. Teton n is either initial or follows ḳ or ń.

In Ponca, ń of the series of sounds enumerated before is absent, and is throughout replaced by ć (English sonant th). 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, j, occurs in Ponca, and ń is absent. In Kansas, which is closely related to Ponca, the Teton ń is replaced by l.

In Winnebago the Teton ń is replaced by a weakly trilled linguo-apical r. Two n sounds are found, one, n, more strongly sonant than the other ń. In the velar series the sonant continued sound r occurs besides the surd ḳ.

In the printed Ponca texts published by Dorsey an alphabet is used that does not conform to the Dakota alphabet used by Riggs and in later publications based on Riggs. Dorsey’s alphabet agrees in many respects better with the systems of transcription used in rendering American languages than Riggs’s alphabet. Nevertheless we have adhered here to the Riggs system and have avoided the awkward inverted letters used by Dorsey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riggs</th>
<th>Dorsey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p, t, k</td>
<td>d, r, y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, ś</td>
<td>s, ś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ć</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ć’, ś’, k’</td>
<td>p, t, k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ś, ś’ | (?)
| ć’ | tc |
| p, t, k | ć, ś |
| į | j |
| Ė | dj |
| ḳ | q(?) |
| ḳ | ḳ(?) |

1Supplementary symbols used in this sketch.
We are not quite certain whether the sounds $s$ and $\breve{s}$ occur in Ponca. The sounds $s$ and $c$ of Ponca have been rendered here by analogy by $s'$ and $\breve{s}'$, 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 $m$ and $h$; and those with initial $s$, $\breve{s}$, $\breve{h}$. 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>$p$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$pt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$tp$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$kp$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$md$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$h$</td>
<td>$hd$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s$</td>
<td>$sp$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\breve{s}$</td>
<td>$\breve{sp}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\breve{h}$</td>
<td>$\breve{kp}$</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—

$mt$ $mk$ $ms$ $mc$ $mh$

$sk$

$\breve{nk}$

$gs$ $\breve{gc}$ $gb$

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 $\S$ 2
s 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></td>
<td>p  t  k  š  č  ě  ě č  d  n  b  m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>šp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>št</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>šp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WINNEBAGO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d  g  š  ě  ě č  j  č  ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ěg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>šs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>šd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>šq</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 last 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 the surd stops, p, t, k, do not occur in Ponca and Winnebago; while those with initial š, š, h, 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 $\delta$ and $l$ 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:

- $kin'ya^n$ to fly
- $tohan'ku^nni'ya^n$ as long as
- $ici'tcha^n'ya^n$ far apart
- $tan'ya^n$ well
- $waki'n'ya^npi$ they trusted to him
- $niya^n$ he cures him (literally, causes him to live)
- $wiyushkin'ya^n$ in a holy manner
- $hipa'n'ya^npi$ they caused it to be softened with water
- $tew'ya^npi$ we caused him to die

*Ya* to go sometimes changes similarly, as—

$w^n'ya^npi$ we go.

2. After $o$, $u$, $o^a$, $w^a$, the semivocalic $y$ is apt to change to $u$, especially in the imperative forms, as—

- $u^a'i$, $u'w$ be coming, O grandmother!
- $taw'a^n'éc'a'nu^nwe$ well have you done

Here may belong forms like—

- $nou'wa^n$ he swims
- $lowa^npi$ they sing

3. The final $a$ of most verbs is changed into $i^n$ when followed by $na$ and, or $k'tu$ (the future particle).

- $é'eyd'-wu^npi^n' na$ you roast and— (instead of $é'eyd'-wu^npa' na$)
- $yan'kin' na$ he sat and— (instead of $yan'ku na$)

§ 4
keyin' na he says that and— (instead of keya' na)  
yu'zii' k'ta he will take her (instead of yu'za k'ta)

Final an is usually treated similarly.  
hec'or'hi' na she was doing that and— (instead of hec'om'ha' na)  
etor'si'na he looks at and— (instead of etor'si'm'na na)

4. Terminal a very often changes to e, but it is not certain that this change is of a purely phonetic character. It occurs before the sounds of the s and š series:

slolaye' šni he knew not (for slolaya' šni)  
yuzi'in' k'te šni he will not take her (for yuzin k'ta šni)  
kini' k'te se'ce he will revive perhaps (for kini' k'ta se'ce)  
kini'ye se it flew, as it were (for kina'ya şe)  
ye hiceham he went just then (for ya hiceham)

This change also occurs when the following word begins with e:

u'yi'in' k'te eci'ya she said to him, "We will go" (for uyi'in' k'ta 
eci'ya)  
k'te eci' in' "I will [travel]," he thought (for k'ta eci' in')  
le eha'nta's if you go (for la eha'nta's)

It occurs before the articles k'in and ko'n, and before the conjunction keyal's. In all these cases it is connected with a change of the initial k sounds of these verbs into the corresponding affricative. Examples are given under 5.

Since verbs change into nouns by a transformation of final a to e (or by change of suffix a to suffix e), it is not certain that these phenomena can be considered as purely phonetic in character.

The change from a to e usually accompanies word composition. Examples are:

tuwe'nì whoever (for tuca' nì)  
tuwe'wak'or' what is holy (for tuca' wak'or')  
hcehaw' just then (for hea-haw')  
a'k'ap'eya to throw beyond the bounds (from a'k'ap' the outside)  
ak'ap's'a and ak'ap's'eya to be provoked

The rules relating to terminal a suffer many exceptions. The verbal stem ha TO HAVE, and some verbal stems, like wa and ta, seem to be invariable:

baluha' šni I have not  
vëc'ëyak' or' wa k'te you will treat them (vëc'ë them; ya thou)  
iya'kita šni he did not cause him to behave
5. The palatals \( k', k', \) and \( k' \), when preceded by \( e \) or \( i \), change to the corresponding dental affricative.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{le'c'ō'v' he did this} & \quad \text{kak'ō'v' he did that} \\
\text{le'c'a this sort} & \quad \text{to'k'a that sort}
\end{align*}
\]

This happens most frequently in the case of the articles \( ki 'n \) and \( ko 'n \), and the conjunction \( kaya's \) even, though.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ist'agamuz ē'v the eyes closed (instead of īst'agamuz \( ki 'n \))} \\
\text{k' te ē'v'hā'v' if he will (for \( k' \)ta \( ki 'hā'v' \))} \\
\text{yu'kā'he \( ko 'n \) he was lying in the past (for yu'kā'ha \( ko 'n \))} \\
\text{hi'yuge ē'o'hā'v' he caused it to come forth (for hi'yūga \( ko 'hā'v' \))} \\
\text{ya'kē' ēya'v's although he sat (for ya'kā' \( kaya's \))}
\end{align*}
\]

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 ē'v' 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i'ca'lu} \text{ fan (from \( i'-, \) prepositional prefix [see \$12]; \( ku'lu' \) to blow away with hand)} \\
\text{i'ca'sla} \text{ a scythe (from \( i'- \): \( ka'sla' \) to cut off)} \\
\text{k'i'cable'cā} \text{ to break for one by striking (from \( k'i'- \) for; \( k'uble'cā \) to break by striking)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
p' \text{ to } & b \text{ or } m \\
\dot{e}, i \text{ to } & l \\
k' \text{ to } & g
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
tob \ p'\text{asal'\text{tapī}} \text{ they stick four into the ground (for } \text{to}'p'\text{a}) \\
wa'sd'\text{g-\text{ī'ēla}}' \text{ he thought himself strong (for } \text{wa'sd'\text{kua}} \\
kah\text{-\text{ī'ē} a'sī} \text{ he told them to make (for } \text{ka'jā}) \\
yus-\text{ī'gē'yī'a} \text{ holding him, he sent him (for } \text{yu'za}) \\
p'\text{a'\text{sāp}'\text{a'\text{w'za}} \text{ soft (reduplicated from } \text{p'}\text{a'\text{w'zu}}) \\
ap'\text{is'il} \text{ and } ap'\text{sī'cā} \text{ to jump on} \\
o'y\text{u'il} \text{ and } o'y\text{u'\text{tu}} \text{ to eat}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 4
When a word ending in one vowel is compounded with another one beginning with the same vowel, the two vowels are generally contracted.

*hiyotaw*^ka to come and sit down (for *hi iyo*taw*^ka*)

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*.

*bala*^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*.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ik'ágewciai} & \text{ I have you for friends} \ 711.13 \\
\text{ik'ágewcíwá-mázi} & \text{ I do not have them for my friends} \ 711.13 \\
\text{šk'áje} & \text{ thou dost} \\
\text{ešk'ágá-báži} & \text{ thou doest it not} \ 711.19 \\
\text{né't'ai} & \text{ you will go} \ 689.6 \\
\text{ná-báži} & \text{ you (plural) do not go} \ 689.3
\end{align*}\]

The same change takes place in verbs followed by *-bi, -biama*

**IT IS SAID.**

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \text{ he said} \ 60.8 \\
\text{á-biama} & \text{ he said, they say} \ 60.7 \\
\text{é'esišk'áje} & \text{ thou makest for me} \ 640.1 \\
\text{gajá-biama} & \text{ he made, they say} \ 60.5 \\
\text{ačé} & \text{ he went} \ 9.1 \\
\text{ačáb} & \text{ he went, it is said} \ 9.10 \\
\text{žugge} & \text{ with him} \\
\text{žúgéa-bi} & \text{ he with her, they say} \ 331.18 \\
\text{da^nbaí-gi} & \text{ see him!} \ 60.6 \\
\text{da^nbaí-biama} & \text{ they saw, they say} \ 58.10
\end{align*}\]

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'nánga* and.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{de} & \text{ I go} \\
\text{ráhe} & \text{ thou buryest}
\end{align*}\]

*da'wi* we go (*-wi* plural ending)

*raha'wi* 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 *hi^n-ru-gas*)

§ 4
The dialects here treated demonstrate a close relationship between certain groups of sounds. These are notably:

\[
\begin{align*}
\mathbf{m} & \quad \mathbf{b} & \quad \mathbf{p} \\
\mathbf{y} & \quad \mathbf{\acute{e}} & \quad \mathbf{d} & \quad \mathbf{r} & \quad \mathbf{n} & \quad \mathbf{l} \\
\mathbf{g} & \quad \mathbf{h} & \quad \mathbf{\acute{k}} & \quad \mathbf{t} & \quad \mathbf{\acute{c}} & \quad (\mathbf{\acute{k}} & \quad \mathbf{\acute{c}}) & \quad \mathbf{n}
\end{align*}
\]

These relationships appear partly in consonantie 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 consonantie 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)</td>
<td>(bc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hd)</td>
<td>(hn)</td>
<td>(gd)</td>
<td>(ge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hb)</td>
<td>(hm)</td>
<td>(gb)</td>
<td>(gm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The close relationship between \(t\) and \(k\) appears in Santee whenever the sound precedes a \(p\). Thus we find—

\(\text{i}\text{k}\text{pa}\) and \(\text{i}\text{t}\text{pa}\) end of a thing
\(\text{wak}\text{pa}\) and \(\text{wat}\text{pa}\) river

The relations between \(n\) and \(l\) in Santee and Teton, and those between \(y\), \(\acute{e}\), \(r\), \(l\), 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:²

"A triliteral monosyllable in \(\text{j}\text{pi}\text{were}\) (and often the corresponding ones in Dakota and \(\text{C}\text{e}\text{gis}\text{ha}\)) is changed into a quadriliteral disyllable in Hotcañgarà (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 a dental spirant. The first consonant of the Hotcañgarà disyllable is always a surd; the second is, as in the corresponding \(\text{j}\text{p}\text{i}\text{were}\) word, a labial or dental mute, or else a dental spirant; and each consonant (in Hotcañgarà) must be followed by the same vowel sound. In no case, as far as examples have been gained, can any 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 a great many groups of two consonants.

Examples illustrating this law are:

*sa'rašš* thou breakest with mouth (*s*- equals Ponca *šn*; *ru*—Winnebago *with the mouth*)

*surr'biš* thou breakest by pulling (*s*- equals Ponca *šn*; *ru*—Winnebago *by pulling*)

*haku'ruga* I tear my own (*k*- one's own, followed by the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; *ru*—by pulling)

*haku'rašš* I break my own with mouth

Compare also—

*kawa'nanİga* for *kewe a'nanİga* and he entered

*hitel'e a'nanİga* for *hitel'e a'nanİga* 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
consonants, which in the unduplicated word are followed by terminal 
\( a \), 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 particles, 
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, ɣ, z, ž, contraction (see § 4, no. 6) takes place.

snayi yumden igeyta it snapped and broke suddenly IX 88.9
(sna ringing sound; yumdelča to break to pieces; igeyta to do suddenly)

wačed ti he lived and was rich IX 95.1 (wačėča rich)

ikpihnag u he came putting them in his blanket IX 88.14 (ikpiʰ-

lnaka to put in blanket)

ikpihnag w in it was in the blanket IX 88.26

waŋyaŋ nažiy to stand and see (waŋyaŋ‘lu 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.

*ičimani hi* to come and visit IX 87.22 (*ičimani* to visit; *hi* to come)

*ode' i* he went hunting IX 117.2 (*ode'* to hunt; *i* to go)

*ape ya* to he stayed and waited IX 117.3 (*ape* to wait)

*čeya wînako* she cried and wailed IX 117.16

When the first and second verb end in the same vowel, contraction may take place.

*hdîyota* to come home and sit down (*hdî* to come home; *iyo-ta* to sit down)

*hihu* to come to the shore (*hi* to arrive; *ihu* 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 *iye* to suddenly; *ya* to cause; *ki* to cause; *u* to be; *i* to go; *u* to come.

The following forms are analogous to the preceding groups, and show contraction:

*kaptu* to put down (from *kaptu*)

*yuola* to open out IX 83.15 (from *yula*)

*kali* to cause to do (from *ka*)

*sam* to blacken (from *sapa*)

*pisa* to dry (from *puza*)

*wara* to cause to see (from *war*a*)

No change of the first verb occurs; for instance, in—

*na* to cause to stand

Changes of *a* to *e* in words in which contraction is impossible are found in—

*te ke* to wish one dead

*ye* to cause to go (from *ya*)

*nice* to cause to swim (from *niwa*)

*nice* he is swimming

*baks* he went to cut (from *baks*) IX 115.10

*wana* they went buffalo-hunting IX 88.11

*hînaye* they came to marry him IX 144.3

*aniče* to forbid he intended IX 111.17 (this should be, according to analogy, *anin* to forbid)
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.

§ante' heart. From this word are formed—
§ant'v'za to have courage (with ti'v'za staff)
§anze' to be troubled (with ze disturbed)
§avo'hmak to love (with ohna'ka to push in)
The complete word appears in—
§avo'as to recover one's mind (with as to recover)

ha'ye'tu night
ha'mani to walk in the night (with ma'ni to walk)
ha'was to remain over night (with wa'ka to be)

wi'ya' female
wi'hda'sta to strike one's wife (hda'sta'ka to strike one's own)
wi'inakma to conceal a woman (with inakma to hide)
wi'kdeya to molest a woman (with kdeya to molest)
wi'as to a virgin (as alone)
The terminal a of the noun does not change to e, but contraction takes place in compounds of this type.
malik'ya' to till a field (from ma'ga field; ki'ya' to cultivate)
mak'puki to lie on the ground (from maka' ground; puki to press on; with contraction of a-i to i)

In still other cases the noun modifies the initial sound of the verb.
ti'ga to pitch a tent (from ti dwelling; ku'ja to make)
m'ni'api a well (from m'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—

§ wood
§ka'ska to tie wood together
§d'le to saw wood

wi'ca human being
wi'cata'sna bachelor (compare the true compound wi'asna virgin)
At the other end of the series we have forms like—

\[ \text{hihna}' \text{to}_a \] to have a husband (\[ \text{hihna}' \text{husband} \]; \[ \text{to}_a \] to have)

\[ \text{hihna}' \text{ya} \] 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.

\text{ta} \text{ruminant}

\text{ta}_a \text{deer-head}

\text{ta}_c\text{eezi}' \text{buffalo-tongue}

\text{ta}_a \text{deer-skin}

\text{hoja}' \text{fish} \text{appears} \text{in} \text{the} \text{form} \text{ho}

\text{hova}'\text{mduska} \text{eel} \text{(literally, fish-snake)}

\text{hoa}'\text{pe} \text{fin} \text{(literally, fish-leaf)}

\text{hoce}'\text{spa} \text{fish-scales} \text{(literally, fish-warts)}

\text{sw}^\text{ka} \text{domesticated animal} \text{appears} \text{in} \text{the} \text{form} \text{sw}^y

\text{sw}^\text{gwi}'\text{ye} \text{mare}

\text{sw}^\text{g}^\text{k}^\text{a}'\text{ka} \text{bridle} \text{(literally, horse-rope)}

\text{wica}' \text{human being}

\text{wica}'\text{nasu} \text{brain of a man}

\text{wica}'\text{pi} \text{liver of a man}

\text{w}^\text{ya}' \text{female} \text{appears} \text{in} \text{the} \text{form} \text{wi}

\text{wisa}'\text{vagina}

\text{wito}'\text{ka} \text{a female captive}

\text{ca} \text{wood}

\text{ca}_a \text{ha}' \text{bark} \text{(literally, wood-skin)}

\text{ca}_a'\text{ha}_a\text{pa} \text{shoes} \text{(literally, wood moccasins)}

\text{ca}_a'\text{ha}_a'\text{si} \text{cinnamon-bark} \text{(literally, wood-skin red)}

\text{ti} \text{dwelling}

\text{ti}_a\text{c}\text{a}\text{thu} \text{rear part of tent}

\text{ti}_\text{hu}'\text{ha} \text{framework of tent} \text{(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
The 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, *ehan* then, *tohan* when. These uses, however, agree with the use of articles.—F. Boas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šda</th>
<th>šdašda' bare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sni</td>
<td>snisni' cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sna</td>
<td>snasni' to ring, to rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lipu</td>
<td>lipulipu' to pick off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yu) lipa</td>
<td>(yu) lipahpa to throw down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

| šok'ka | šokšo'ka thick |
| kēža | kēkēža smooth |
| ēco'za | ēsēco'za warm, comfortable |
| ki'naža | ki'naški'naža to grate |
| keja | kekeja to scrape |
| ye'ga | yelye'ga to shine |
| te'pa | temete'pa worn off |
| ţo'pa | ţopio'pa to snore |
| kapa | kampi'pa to make a rustling noise |
| samsa'pa | samša'pa more |
| sa'pa | sapša'pa black |
| ēc'pa | ēmeč'pa or ēpēč'pa fat |
| kota | kotho'tu gray |
| (ya) po'ta | (ya) po'to'pa or (ya) po'npo'pa to tear to pieces (with mouth) |

When the terminal consonant and the initial consonant form inadmissible clusters, the former is omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dopa</th>
<th>dodopa miry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(yu) šu'za</td>
<td>(yu) šu'suža to crush (with teeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ka</td>
<td>kaka'ka to make a dull noise by breathing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko'ka</td>
<td>kokó'ka to rattle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In bisyllabic words beginning with a consonant cluster the consonant of the terminal syllable is not repeated:

| (yu)hid'a'ta | (yu)hidė'kda to scratch |
| (ka)hid'o'ka | (ka)hidė'kda to tear |
| mde'ca | mdamde'ca broken |
| psi'ca | psipsi'ca jumping |
| psa'ka | psapsa'ka(ha) broken |
| hdo'ka | hdo'do'ka to make a hole |
| tkw'ja | tkutkw'ja to cut short |
| ptn'za | ptnptu'ža cracked |
| šnu'na | šnušnu'na indistinct |
| kši'za | kšikši'za to double up |

§ 11
An exception to this rule is—

(ya)sm'a'ku

(ya)sm'a'gsm'a'ka to indent (with teeth)

When the consonant of the second syllable is a dental or affricative (t or č) and the first consonant a sibilant (z, s, ž, s), the dental or affricative is transformed into a k (y).

so'ta
suda'
žuta
šiža
(maⁿži' one

 sokso'ta clear
 suksu'ta hard
 žugža'ta forked
 šikši'ža bad
 waⁿži'gži some

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected.

s'ín in sight
mdu pulverized
yu to burn
lde to plan
ša red
(toⁿ to give forth
(p túⁿ to roll

kas'ín
abo'mdu
ağu
l'čiyahde
a悝'čaša
abo'toⁿ
abo'toⁿ

kas'iⁿs'ín to appear in sight
abo'mdu to bubble up (u-on; bo-by blowing)
ağu'yu to burn out something
l'čiyahdehde to reach one to another
a悝'čaša in the red flames
abo'toⁿ to cry out (ho voice)
abo'toⁿ to shake head (po head)

The following examples illustrate the use of reduplication of words with suffixes:

to'keća
tyukaⁿkiya
guptaⁿya

toko'keća different
yuktaⁿkiya to cause to bend
guptaⁿptaⁿya 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 the 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:

koška
šuⁿya

koška'y youth
šuⁿya'y proud
Reduplicated numerals show very clearly these principles of reduplication:

- *waⁿži'⁠ one*
- *ya'mni three*
- *za'ptaⁿ five*
- *ša'kpe six*
- *šako'wën seven*
- *šako'joy Carroll eight*
- *napélⁿwaⁿka nine*
- *wikće'mnna ten*

---

**Ponca**

In Ponca, monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled:

- *šaⁿšaⁿ* always 207.10
- *snaⁿsnaⁿ* level 25.3
- *kčéčče* spotted 315.11
- *čaⁿčaⁿ* each time 264.12
- *hułu' fish* 280.8

Apparently most stems ending in a consonant are reduplicated without the terminal consonant:

- *bihlu'hit'⁠aⁿ blowing on* 260.15
- *ući'⁠u⁠uɗe he bit holes in them* 267.7
- *pu'puńášści'⁠i drawn up much* 282.16
- *gagįğiże coiled up* 282.16 (*gagįğiže 320.3*)
- *uń'k'ìhehebe one after another* 307.9
- *aⁿšaⁿšaⁿdeșaⁿ* shake me repeatedly 310.3
- *jițińga little ones*
- *wașićįge active* 9.14
- *kiliğiże to crush often* 20.3
- *bići'čći'je to break in by pressing* 20.4
- *naųjąąje kicking out with the legs* 24.1
- *nágićiça made people afraid to carry* 756.5
- *wakekega sick ones* (*wakekega 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.

- *wáčabčaže 267.6*  
  - *wáčabčáblčaže 267.13*  

§11
In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected:

- ičanstča suddenly and regularly 9.5
- winčastča one by one 314.7
- čispčisp’a pulled to pieces 17.3
- ukilčaliclča they ran unequal distances 756.16
- usk’a’sk’a’ in a line with 261.4
- ak’igui’g’i’i sitting on one another 320.4
- ičisk’i’sk’i’i much tangled 591.16
- uga’haa floating in little waves 279.5 (see uga’ha 282.4)
- šan’šan’i’i without stopping 261.8
- pipic’i’ bad ones (pi good)
- ukičišaša’n he turned round and round 260.8

**Monosyllabic stems with terminal vowel are doubled:**

- stem ‘hič’é’ to talk
  - rap op u’a nanga to puff
  - ‘hitč’ak’ o’ to skip about
  - wačī’r’a’ to the ball
  - nač̱i’ilči’i to walk over something
  - ‘nučiski’i to disturb
  - ‘nučizi’i to point at
  - ‘r’e’ earring
  - ‘nuč̱i’i’i’hg’u’ to hear often

**Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel (see p. 888) are treated in the same manner as monosyllabic stems:**

- stem kiči
  - kičiri he comes again and again
  - ‘p’ińi’i to turn
  - ‘sara’ balałd
  - ‘pénō’i to smell
  - por’i’i round

Almost all stems ending in a consonant do not repeat the terminal sound:

- stem ličé
  - horuč’i’ličé he looked again and again
  - racy’i’kš to shriek
  - ‘uhidi’zič’i’ to strain one’s eyes
  - raga’gas to tear in pieces
  - rukšučkši’i’i to shake
  - hič’učačš to chatter
  - boč’iši’ to shoot
  - šuč’i’i to sweep
  - ‘rič’i’ to squeak
stem kšap  
" jik  
" sak  
" huki

In the same way is treated
stem s'urutečn

In the following the terminal consonant is repeated:
stem gihi

Prefixes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. Prepositional Prefixes

Teton

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.

aw'pi they put on (many sticks)
wi'cayuta he looked at them
an'tan she ran (thither)
ače'ti he put on the fire
awak'eya he covered it (with a robe)
awi'cace va-u I bring them
oka'stanpi 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 denoting instruments; it also forms ordinals. Sometimes it may be translated by for.

ipa't'a sewed with
iya'han he was going to (a hill)
iyewiec'k'iya' he passed it to them
ilowca'pi they sing of it
inda'žin he stood there (to look into the lodge)
iya'kaškapi they hid it there
ia'pe thing that they strike fire with
ica'salohe stone balls

§ 12
iza'p'ito the fifth time
ito'pa the fourth
iyu'ha all
imw'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 $i$.

osâlo'he coasting (into the water)
opâ'wičalita' she packed them up
oma'hi'nka'ya I fall into
ao'nawîčali'ta'ka he closed them in
ohaw'hepi' night-time
ôžu'ha place for a certain article (bag)
oya'te people
oya'si' all
ohaw'kaka' myth
d'gale coat
obala'ye level place
oma'ni he walked (about)\(^3\)

Ponca

The corresponding elements are also found in Ponca:

1. $a$ (Dakota $a$) on
   âce to glue on 84.19
   âge'n to sit on 84.6
   âč'ía to drop on 234.18
   âgigč'hi'wa he poured on his own 234.19

2. $i$ (Dakota $i$) from, with, out of, by means of
   igajá to make of it 97.22
   i'ir' to hit with 433.3
   ik'ide to shoot with 369.10
   iče to die from 690.11.

3. $u$ (Dakota $o$) in, into
   ubâigá to push into 232.6
   uâigá'ide I broke a hole in it 96.17
   ugâsne split inside by hitting 81.18
   ubâsna' to push into 75.8
   ugê'n to sit inside 85.17

\(^3\)Probably in oma'ni one is represented as traveling about within a certain area, for the word for prairie or level place is obala'ye.
§ 13. Instrumental Prefixes

1. *na-* to do a thing by means of the foot.

*nahē'ka* he kicked (the ground)
*nahō'tō* he made it cry by stepping on it
*nahōl'pi* they trampled her to death
*nā'ži'n' they stood
*nabu'bu* stamping often

2. *wa-* (Santee *ba*) to accomplish by cutting:

*wabalo'zap'i* they cut it open
*wahw'hun* she cut it in many places
*wak'pi* she cut it out (i.e., the ground)
*wak'sd' he cut it off

3. *wo-* to accomplish by shooting or punching, also by blowing, and derivatively by the falling of rain.

*wojala'ke'n* to cause to glance (as a bullet)
*wohin'kipa* 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.

*pasala'kap'i* they drove it into the ground
*opa'wicada* she packed them up
*pahilo'kap'i* they punch a hole
*e'pata* he cut it up or butchered it
*paw'kap'i* they pushed it down

5. *ka-* to accomplish by striking; also applied to other actions by derivation.

*kahw'hunpi* they gashed it in many places
*kahui'ga* he broke it up
*kako'ga* he made a grating noise
*kapō'gin* it puffed out.

6. *ya-* to accomplish by means of the mouth.

*a'yap'i* he stopped singing
*a'i'yap'i* they talk about it
*iya'kasakapi* they tied it there by means of the mouth
*ivo'gala'kap'i* they spoke about their own (here the *y* of *ya* has either been omitted before *t* or changed into it)
7. *yu-* to accomplish by any means, but more especially by handling.

yu'za she took hold
yu'w'kapî they pulled him down
yu'ha' he had him
ayu'śta' she let him alone
yu'zu'zu he pulled apart
čiyu'ču I choke 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
   - wanaw'li'e stepping on them 235.19
   - wanaw'ili'te crushing them with the foot 235.19
   - na'snáha he slipped in walking 97.14
   - na'yáge to make cry by kicking 96.11

2. **ma**- (Santee *ba*) by cutting.
   - ma'sa he cuts head off 11.1
   - wénabğáza-ga rend it for us with a knife 76.6
   - umášnai-ga split it with a knife 318.14

3. **mu**- (Santee *bo*) by shooting.
   - mu'či'ŋe to exterminate by shooting 628.6
   - umúš'ta to remain from shooting 399.14

4. **ba**- (Santee *pa*) by pressing with the hand.
   - basni'i he pushed along 318.3
   - baʰlačid he pushed down 80.14
   - ubásná' to push (a tail) into (a tree) 75.8
   - başibe he forced a way out 369.13
   - bačičeča he pushed it away 331.3
   - başúš'a'n 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
   - ugasmé he split by hitting 81.18
   - uga'k'iba he made a crack by hitting 81.12
   - gašáču to strike a rattle 315.10
   - gasnú wind blows 324.7
   - gamú to empty by pouring out 17.11
   - gasp'ík'i to make sound by hitting 266.10
6. **Sa-** (Santee ya-) with the mouth, by blowing.
   \(\text{cahi'yu}\) to drink 266.18
   \(\text{cahi'yu'}\) to swallow 79.12
   \(\text{caheki'ici}\) he made him put it in his mouth 99.7
   \(\text{nawi'abi'iza}z\) he bit and tore them in many places 267.13
   \(\text{na'ecna'ba}\) he made it emerge by biting 124.9

7. **Si-** by pulling.
   \(\text{cisnui}\) to drag 306.3
   \(\text{cispi'aspi'ai}\) he pulled pieces apart 17.7
   \(\text{cipan'de}\) he shook by pulling 318.8
   \(\text{cidun'-ga}\) pull on it! 96.9
   \(\text{cilhe'da}\) he pulled it out 131.5

8. **Na-** by heat.
   \(\text{nate}\) to die by heat 232.7
   \(\text{nashi'be}\) blackened by fire 259.5
   \(\text{nazi'e'a}\) made yellow by heat 237.2
   \(\text{naci'inge}\) it is consumed by fire 673.6
   \(\text{nati'zi}\) it burns brightly 235.15
   \(\text{nati'adize}\) fire sends out sparks 234.18
   \(\text{nati'ubewa'ce}\) he cooked them to pieces 232.19

9. **Bi-** by pressure.
   \(\text{bic'i'ci'je}\) to break in by pressing 20.4
   \(\text{bihau'uta}\) blowing on 260.15

**WINNEBAGO**

In Winnebago eight instrumental prefixes have been found:

1. **Na**- (Santee na-, Ponca na-) by pressing with the foot.
   \(\text{na'ksi's}\) he breaks by pressing with the foot
   \(\text{na'ni'ga's}\) he tears with the foot
   \(\text{na'ki'ja'm}\) to accomplish with the foot (to dance)
   \(\text{na'ta'mpi'}\) to push with the foot.

2. **Ma**- (Santee ba-, Ponca ma-) by cutting.
   \(\text{ma'ksi's}\) he breaks by cutting
   \(\text{ma'ni'ga's}\) he tears by cutting
   \(\text{ma'ke'qu'li}\) to cut to pieces

3. **Bo-** (Santee bo-, Ponca mu-) by force, by blowing.
   \(\text{bo'ksi's}\) he breaks by shooting
   \(\text{bo'c'i'}\) he pushes

4. **Wa-** (Santee pa-, Ponca ba-) by pushing with the hand.
   \(\text{wa'ksi's}\) he breaks by pushing with the hand
   \(\text{wa'gi's}\) he saws
5. gi- (Santee ka-, Ponca ga-) by striking.
giššis to break by striking
gisak to kill by striking.
giyis he cuts by striking

6. ra- (Santee ya-, Ponca ฯ-) with mouth.
raššis he breaks with the mouth
raqis he cuts with the mouth
rašjan he accomplishes with the mouth (he sings).

7. ru- (Santee —, Ponca ฯ-) by pulling.
ralššis he breaks by pulling
rugaš he tears by pulling

8. da- (Santee —, Ponca na-) by heat.
daseš to blacken by heat
dafes 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. hi⁴- indicates that an event happened suddenly, as—

hi⁴råpa' they dropped it at once
hi⁴pa he came out quickly
hi⁴rala' it became suddenly
hi⁴han'ni early in the morning
hi⁴ya'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—

waye'rapi k'cu you will have something (just referred to) to eat
tahu'aka'nl nakal'g wacita' what he wanted was to kick on her neck
"mi'ye" t'oke'ya varapidi "wa'niyel'cig'and'ki⁴k'te" eyd' the ghost said, "You will have something put down for me first"

vi'na kalaha'w wate'ke'hiya'ya the other went slipping along

Often this is used in the formation of nouns and adjectives, as—

waše⁵ good, beautiful (from še to esteem highly)
wakía'ya' the thunders (from ki⁴ya' to fly)

§ 14
wana'gi ghost (from na'gi soul, spirit)
wakini' a pack of goods (from kini' to carry)
wak'o'ni' holy
wapa'd'ita bundle
wapa'd'ha war-bonnet (from p'a'd'ha human hair [?])

With the prefix o- it forms wo-:
wo'yuna property (from yuna' to have)
wo'sica cause of trouble (from si'ca bad)
wo'ya'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 k'ya and y'a, which will be referred to later (p. 931). These are ka, pa, ja, ta, za, and ža (or q, b, h, 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—
yana'ka she sat
yuna'ka he lay
tana'ka it is large
ća'na'ka (however) he did wish
owd'sakapi they have no strength
owšika poor
ta'kuka whatever it is (ta'ku what)
žingizina'ka snorting
waned'ćečalu gentle
p'tečéčaku they were real bison
šiča'ka it was bad (šiča' bad)
oyda'ka he told it (ya to say)
tek'ka difficult
niyada'ka alive (niya caused to live)
wikimica'pi they scrambled for them
and p'teča to hinder or obstruct

§ 15
-pa probably means to go and do; or, at any rate, some sort of motion.

\[ \text{we two take hold of you} \]
\[ \text{the wind blows} \]
\[ \text{they lay them down (i.e., they go and lay them down)} \]
\[ \text{I excel them in it} \]
\[ \text{it (branches) closed on his hand} \]
\[ \text{they paddled} \]

-\( \text{j} \)a 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—

\[ \text{he grunted} \]
\[ \text{he broke it with his foot} \]
\[ \text{making a crunching noise} \]
\[ \text{I awoke} \]
\[ \text{they gashed it} \]
\[ \text{he made} \]
\[ \text{to make a grating noise} \]
\[ \text{he asked her a question} \]
\[ \text{they were gnawing the hard substance} \]
\[ \text{I did not understand} \]
\[ \text{they painted themselves in all styles} \]
\[ \text{to break in two by striking} \]

-ta is exemplified in the following:

\[ \text{he brushed it} \]
\[ \text{they set the pole in the ground} \]
\[ \text{he kicked out his feet} \]
\[ \text{he put his hand in his} \]
\[ \text{he looked at it} \]
\[ \text{they pinched them} \]
\[ \text{she cut to pieces} \]
\[ \text{to press} \]
\[ \text{they borrowed} \]
\[ \text{to make forked with an ax} \]
\[ \text{to tear in pieces} \]

\[ \text{it burst} \]
\[ \text{dark} \]
\[ \text{war-spear} \]
\[ \text{they painted in many lines} \]
\[ \text{he went to each one} \]
kamadu'za to make burst by throwing down
içi'će'vzu she determined for herself
akalu'syel to caused to flow out rapidly (from akaluza)
cônte' tê'm'za brave heart
naic'h'aleza po stir yourselves by running

-zâ.

dw'ye'ktw'zâpi you forget us
p'ësani'za a flash of fire (from pe'ta fire; sanî'za dried up)
o'i'galuksi'za he tucked it around himself (from ksi'za bent)
wai'âm'yezi children
kaksi'za to bend up by striking (from ksi'za bent)
ka'nhe'zân poor, distressed (from ka'n aged?)
kata'za to make waves as the wind does (from ta'za rough water)¹

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 1, 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>Subjective pronouns</th>
<th>Objective pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>ni (or n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no pronoun of the third person. The plural object of the transitive verb is expressed by wiča. This term, however, is not a pronoun, but signifies person, as is evidenced by the occurrence of the terms wiča male, human being, and wičasú 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 forms the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.

¹This 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'ska, ya'ska.—F. Boas.
Examples in Teton are—

\( t'\): he dwells

\( wa'\ t'i \) I dwell

\( wa'\ t'i \) thou and I dwell

\( wa'\ t'i\ p'i \) we (he and I, or plural) dwell

\( t'\ i\ p'i \) they dwell

\( ma\ s'i\ c'a \) I am bad

\( oma'\ hi\ m\ p'a\ y'a \) I fall into

\( ni't\ a\ m'kapi\ ye \) are large

\( mn\ p'ka \) I lie

\( yu\ m'ku \) he lies

\( e'\ i'mo\ p'\) I do it

\( u\ n'k\ m'\) 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 1—\textsc{thee} is expressed by \( e'i \). The object \( wi\c'a \), expressing the third person plural, precedes all pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ma(ya)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>(e'i)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(u)ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(u)ya</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>(wi\c'a)</td>
<td>(wi\c'a)</td>
<td>(wi\c'a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in Santee:

\( k'\)te to kill.

\( ma\(ya\)'k'\)te thou killest me

\( ma\(ya\)'k'\)tep\(i\) ye kill me

\( wi\c'a\)'k'\)teha\(m\) she was killing them

\( ma\(ya\)'k\)u\(s\)ka\) thou tiest me (from ka\(s\)ka to tie)

\( wi\c'a\)w'ku\(s\)ka\) you and I tie them

\( e'i\c'a\)\(s\)ka\) I tie thee (ka\(s\)ka after \(i\) changed to ku\(s\)ka [see § 4.5])

§ 18. Pronouns of Verbs in \( y\)-

Verbs beginning with \( ya\) or \( yu\) 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>(b)al(-)</td>
<td>(m)d(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>(l)-</td>
<td>(d)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>(y)-</td>
<td>(y)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 17, 18
Examples are—

Teton:  
\[ y:\l'za \text{ he takes} \]
\[ bal\l'za \text{ I take} \]
\[ lu'\l'za \text{ thou takest} \]
\[ yawa \text{ he counts} \]
\[ bal'a\l'wa \text{ I count} \]
\[ lu'\l'wa \text{ thou countest} \]
\[ ya \text{ he goes} \]
\[ bal'\i \text{ I go} \]
\[ lu \text{ thou goest} \]

Santee:  
\[ y\n\s t\n'\l' \text{ he finishes} \]
\[ m\d\s t\n'\l' \text{ I finish} \]
\[ d\s t\n'\l' \text{ thou finishest} \]
\[ y\d k\s\l' \text{ he bites in two} \]
\[ m\d k\s\l' \text{ I bite in two} \]
\[ d\k\s\l' \text{ thou bitest in two} \]

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:

\[ n\p s\l'\l' \text{ he makes jump } \]
\[ n\p s\l'\l'\l v\l' \text{ I make jump } \]

§ 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></th>
<th>TO ARRIVE</th>
<th>TO GO (future)</th>
<th>TO START TO COME</th>
<th>TO SAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teton</td>
<td>Santee (regular)</td>
<td>Teton (Riggs)</td>
<td>Santee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>mani</em></td>
<td><em>wahi</em></td>
<td><em>mi kta</em></td>
<td><em>hibu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>yahi</em></td>
<td><em>ni kta</em></td>
<td><em>hidu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td><em>yi\l' kta</em></td>
<td>*hi\l'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Santee verb *ya\l'\l'\l'ka* to weave basketry, to weave snow-shoes, is analogous in its forms to Teton *mani*:

1st person: *mna'\l'\l'ka*
2d person: *na\l'\l'\l'ka*

§ 19
It will be noticed that in all these forms, except in ē'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 hēbu' I start to come and ē'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 bāl- (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, this theory is substantiated by the correspondence of the following forms:

Santee: da- (2d person of verbs in ya-)
Ponca: šna- 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—yukw' there is and yakw'—are defective, and similar in their treatment to hīyu'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TO USE</th>
<th>TO SMOKE</th>
<th>TO BE</th>
<th>TO LIE DOWN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>mw'</td>
<td>u'nwa'm'pa</td>
<td>mw'ka'</td>
<td>mw'ka'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>mw'</td>
<td>u'nwa'm'pa</td>
<td>na'ka'</td>
<td>nw'ka'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>w'kum'</td>
<td>u'nwa'm'pa</td>
<td>w'yan'ka'</td>
<td>w'wan'ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>u'n'pa'</td>
<td>yan'ka'</td>
<td>wan'ka'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Smithsonian Report for 1883, p. 924). See also §§ 21 et seq.

§ 19
Quite irregular are the following Santee verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kamo⁵⁴</td>
<td>-kano⁵⁴</td>
<td>-ko⁵⁴</td>
<td>-ko⁵⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cuni⁵⁴</td>
<td>-cuni⁵⁴</td>
<td>n⁵⁴eis</td>
<td>-cui⁵⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n⁵⁴nis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n⁵⁴nis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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 hi after the compound pronoun expressing subject and object. When the pronoun ends in an i, this form changes to ci. Thus we have—

bawaki kksa I cut off my own
čičidawa⁵³pi I sing for you IX 110.14 (from dowa⁵³ 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>ci</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cy</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>w⁵⁴ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>cy</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>w⁵⁴ki</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>w⁵⁴ye</td>
<td>-w⁵⁴ki</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 wc-, yc-, mi-, ni-, as originating through contraction of waki-, yak-, 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 hi 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 hd (Santee).

---

¹With the demonstratives ci, ke, ke, to, this verb forms con⁴, kecon⁴, ke'con⁴, tokon⁴ (see § 43). It does not occur alone.
²With the demonstratives ci, ke, ke', and wa, aowa, this verb forms ci'cis, ke'cis, ke'cin, wa'cis, and ci'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 $yu-$, $ya-$, and $hi$:

\[
\begin{align*}
galuhah& \text{ they had their own} \\
galuhahn& \text{ he was going back} \\
galuska& \text{ he tied his own} \\
galv& \text{ he got back}
\end{align*}
\]

The forms in $ki$ which form an irregular pronominal series, according to Riggs, express sometimes the same relation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3d Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$kiča'\acute{\text{a}}$</td>
<td>$veča$</td>
<td>to mean one's own (from $ka$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kiča'\acute{\text{a}}\acute{g}a$</td>
<td>$veču\acute{\text{a}}\acute{g}a$</td>
<td>to make one's own (from $ka\acute{g}a$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kičak\acute{\text{e}}\acute{a}$</td>
<td>$večak\acute{\text{e}}\acute{a}$</td>
<td>to count one's own (from $kak\acute{\text{e}}\acute{a}$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kiča'\acute{\text{w}}\acute{a}$</td>
<td>$veču\acute{\text{w}}\acute{a}$</td>
<td>to follow one's own (from $ku\acute{w}$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kikte$</td>
<td>$wekte$</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:

$kičahike$ to rummage for one (from $kah\acute{h}$)

$kihnahake$ to keep for one

There are, however, many cases in which the $ki$ that does not form irregular pronouns is used in this sense.

$e'ya$ to say

$ee'\acute{\text{y}}\acute{a}$ to say to some one

$ewaki\acute{\text{y}}\acute{a}$ I say to him

$emayaki\acute{\text{y}}\acute{a}$ you say to me

$donaw$ to sing

$wakidonaw$ I sing for him

In still other cases both forms are in use with the same meaning:

$kito\acute{\text{w}}$ to wear

$wetow$ and $wakito\acute{\text{w}}$ I wear

$ki\acute{\text{w}}\acute{\text{os}}\acute{\text{w}}$ to braid for one's self

$wesow$ and $wakisow$ I braid

$ki\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{m}}\acute{\text{a}}$ to look like

$wehma$ 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 the stem, is the reflexive $i\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{i}}$, which, before verbs beginning with $k$ and $y$, assumes the forms $igl$ (Teton) and $i\acute{\text{h}}d$ (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’čiksa to cut one’s self in two (from ksa)
ikpa’ptaⁿ to turn one’s self over (from papaⁿ)
ihdo’kṣa to cut one’s self off

The following Teton examples are given by Swanton:

oičiya’pi they paint themselves
miči’čaya I have made myself
wⁿ’kičiya’ we two exchange between ourselves

These forms are neutral verbs, and take the objective pronouns.

Derived from the second ki is also the form kiči, meaning almost always for, which forms the pronominal forms veči, yeči.

kičiyušna to make a mistake for one
kičisoⁿ to braid for one

Another form kiči means with, together, and is generally followed by the pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3d person</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>to ride with one</th>
<th>to eat with some one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kičitidaⁿ</td>
<td>kičiwatidaⁿ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kičiyuta</td>
<td>kičiwata</td>
<td></td>
<td></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’lakičiye society (literally, friends to one another)
okičiyusiča they two got into trouble with each other
kiči’ktepi 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.

Subjective pronoun | Objective pronoun
--- | ---
1st person singular | a⁻
2d person singular | ϕ⁻
Inclusive dual | aⁿ⁻

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 \textit{wa-}, this form does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples of verbs of this class are the following:

**Subjective pronouns:**

- \textit{anáâ} I heard it 670.2 (from \textit{náâ} to hear)
- \textit{āt'ī} I have arrived 671.6 (from \textit{t'ī} he arrives)
- \textit{čat'ī} thou hast arrived 715.3
- \textit{čanáâ} thou hearest it 665.1
- \textit{ānmaâčini} we walk 713.5

**Objective pronouns:**

- \textit{ānčiči'ge} I have none 715.2 (from \textit{čiŋgé} he has none)
- \textit{ānwači'p'ani} I am poor 719.2 (from \textit{wači'p'ani} poor)
- \textit{čiči'ge} thou hast none 70.17
- \textit{wače'gai} we have been sick 662.1 (from \textit{če'gai} 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, \textit{wi}. The object of the third person plural after the inclusive dual and first person plural is always \textit{wa}. The plurality of the object is expressed by the suffix \textit{-i}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{anča-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>\textit{wi-}</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>\textit{wača-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>\textit{awa-}</td>
<td>\textit{wača-}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**I—THEE:**

- \textit{wináâ} I hear thee 87.14
- \textit{wewi't'īn} I hit thee 62.3
- \textit{wewi'ii} I give you 706.10

**I—THEM:**

- \textit{awánáâ} I have heard about them 676.1
- \textit{awáči} I gave them 652.14

**THOU—ME:**

- \textit{ančásicājī} thou dost not remember me 652.6

§ 22
§ 23. Pronouns of Verbs in ɛ: Second Class

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with y, we have the following forms of the verb in ɛ:

- 1st person singular: \( \text{bɛ-} \)
- 2d person singular: \( \text{sɛn-}, \text{hn-}, \text{n-} \)
- 3d person singular: \( \text{ɛ-} \)
- Inclusive dual: \( \text{anɛ-} \)

According to Dorsey, \( \text{sɛn-} \) is the oldest form of the second person, while \( \text{hn-} \) and \( \text{n-} \) are more modern forms. The sound \( \text{hn-} \) has not an oral \( h \), but expresses a very full breathing through the nose with \( n \) closure of the tongue.

Examples of these forms are the following:

- \( \text{bɛ́zɛ́} \) I receive 670.1
- \( \text{kunwɛ́} \) I wish 704.4
- \( \text{n.wanwɛ́} \) I walk 706.2
- \( \text{kunwɛ́gɛ́} \) I hope 706.4
- \( \text{ebɛ́gɛ́} \) I think that 706.6
- \( \text{snɛ́} \) you went 738.2
- \( \text{ušnɛ́} \) thou tellest 58.17
- \( \text{škanwɛ́} \) thou wishest 741.10

§ 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: \( \text{p-} \), \( \text{t-} \), \( \text{k-} \)
- 2d person singular: \( \text{sɛ́p-} \), \( \text{sɛ́t-} \), \( \text{sɛ́k-} \)
- 3d person singular: \( \text{b-} \), \( \text{d-} \), \( \text{g-} \)
- Inclusive dual: \( \text{anb-} \), \( \text{and-} \), \( \text{anɡ-} \)

1See the Çegiha Language, note on page 534.
2Double conjugation. See § 21.
3Infixed pronoun.
4Compound verb.

§§ 23, 24
The second persons of this group reveal their close relationship to the verbs in ʔ, a relationship which is still clearer in Winnebago (see §32). Following are examples of this class:

- páyani I write 488.8  
  k'awb'ca I wish 704.4
- pipəw I blow it 575.7  
  šk'ə̃ge thou makest 582.14
- ışpə̃ain thou knowest  
  gañ'ca 1 he wishes 50.8
  435.14  
  ga̱ge he made 10.13
- št'ə̃bine thou beholdest 635.10  
  aŋgájai we do 686.5
- danbe he saw 116.3  
  andõ̱be we see 132.8

In verbs beginning with ʔ-, b-, d-, g-, the objective form, and also the combined form wi—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:

- wiτaw'be I see thee 644.16
- wiτe̱ã̱ahin'I pray to you 775.4 (from ę̱ã̱ahin to pray 189.14)
- wiτáy μ I write to thee 750.11
- wiτeb'in I have them 751.2
- waśt'aw'be you saw us 752.6
- wak'aw'beča I desire them 751.3

§ 25. Pronouns of Verbs in i -: Fourth Class

In verbs beginning with i we find modified forms of the pronoun, due principally to the insertion of an intervocalic ʔ in cases in which the inserted pronoun begins with a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECTIVE PRONOUN</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE PRONOUN</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>SUBJECT AND OBJECT COMBINED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ʔã̱ã̱-</td>
<td>anə̱̃ã̱-</td>
<td>we-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ʔã̱ã̱-</td>
<td>anə̱̃ã̱-</td>
<td>we-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other persons are regular. Examples are—

- ʔamã̱ge I ask him a question 737.5

1 Double conjugation.
In §26, the pronouns of verbs in the Fifth Class are described. The objective pronoun, 1st person singular is indicated by $a^n w^n$. The subjective pronoun, inclusive dual is marked by $a^n a^n$. Examples include:

- $a^n w^n \text{'}\text{'}i$ he presses me down
- $a^n w^n w^n a^n$ he heard about me
- $a^n a^n i$ we aided him

Other regular forms include:

- $a^n w^n \text{'}\text{'}a^n$ he heard about something

In §27, irregular verbs are discussed. The following verbs are irregular:

- $p'i$ I arrive
- $s'i$ thou arrivest
- $h'i$ he arrives
- $m\text{'}\text{'}h'a$ we who
- $m\text{'}\text{'}h'a 667.8$ ye who
- $m\text{'}\text{'}h'a 231.5$ they who
- $e'h'e$ I say
- $e'h'a$ ye who
- $h'e$ he says

Examples of the negation include:

- $m\text{'}\text{'}z\text{'}$ I not
- $h\text{'}\text{'}z\text{'}$ thou not
- $a\text{'}$ he not

The following forms are described in §24:

- $a^n w^n$ we who
- $m\text{'}\text{'}h'a a^n$ we do 245.10
- $m\text{'}\text{'}h'a a^n$ thou does 13.8
- $e'h'a a^n$ a$^n$ they say 667.4

Here seems to belong the negation:

- $m\text{'}\text{'}z\text{'}$ I not
- $h\text{'}\text{'}z\text{'}$ thou not
- $a\text{'}$ he not
Examples of its use are—

*ik'ágeawága-máži* I do not have them for my friends 711.13
*či šk'ága-báži* thou dost not do it 711.19

§ 28. *Forms Expressing Object Possessed bySubject*

Possession of the object by the subject is expressed by forms analogous to those of the Dakota.

1. In most verbs *gi-* is prefixed. Examples are—

- *či* he carries 306.6
- *giči* he carries his own 296.13
- *agii* I carry mine 45.15
- *čagiči* thou carriest thine 45.11

*žúgče* with him 305.5

*žúgigče* with his own 305.3

*uhá* he follows 289.4

*ucúgiha* he follows his own 306.14

*ák'ípa* he met him 50.1

*ágik'ípa* he met his own 299.3

*aaw'ča* he abandons 84.3

*aaw'če* I abandon it 50.5

*agiaaw'ča* I abandon mine 756.2

2. Verbs in *é-* have the form *gré*.

*χize* to take 298.3

*gréze* he took his own 298.16

*či* to have 288.15, 290.11

*ageábéči* I have my own 755.10

3. Verbs in *ga-* have probably also forms in *gré*, but I have not been able to discover examples illustrating this point.

4. Verbs in *br-, d-, gr-, have the forms *gip-, git-, gik-*.

*daawbe* he saw

*agitaawba-máži* I do not look at mine 756.2

*gitaaw'bai* she saw her own 306.7

*ibahana* he knows

*ígipahaaw* he knew his own 295.1

*wegípahaaw* she knew them 289.8

*ga'ge* to make

*gika'ge* he made his own 299.9

*ubei'a* he wrapped it

*ugipet'a* he wrapped his own 208.4

*utaw* to put on 47.3

*iagita*a I put on my own 43.9

§ 28
§ 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>Subject</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for me</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>iʔɛे-</td>
<td>ʔɛ-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for thee</td>
<td>wɪ-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɛɪ-</td>
<td>ʔɛɪ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for him</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>ɛɛ-</td>
<td>ɡɪ-</td>
<td>ɛɛ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for us</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wɛɛɛ-</td>
<td>wɛ-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for them</td>
<td>ewɛɛɛ-</td>
<td>wɛɛɛ-</td>
<td>wɛɛɛ-</td>
<td>wɛɛɛɛɛ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

I FOR THEE:

wɪʔpaːje I make for thee 723.10
wɪk’a⁴bɛa I desire for thee 725.3

I FOR HIM:

ek’a⁴bɛe I desire for him 778.3

I FOR THEM:

ewɛɛɛ⁴’u I fail for them 673.8
ewɛɛɛ⁴bɛe I wish for them 663.8

THOU FOR ME:

iʔɛɛk’uⁱjɛ thou dost it for me 726.2
iʔɛɛwɛa⁴k’uⁱ thou makest an effort for me 758.2

THOU FOR HIM:

ɛɡa⁴ɛɛ⁴’u⁴ thou dost so for him 439.5

THOU FOR US:

wɛɛɛk’uⁱjɛ thou dost it for us 752.7
wɛɛɛɛɛ⁴u⁴ai thou hast failed to do it for us 752.8

THOU FOR THEM:

wɛɛɛɛk’u⁴na thou desirest it for them 767.3

HE FOR ME:

i⁴tuɛi it is difficult for me 755.4
i⁴tɛ he dies for me 775.1

HE FOR THEE:

ɛɡa⁴ɛɛɛai they work it for thee 741.11
ɛɛɛɛɛɛai he has it for thee 741.6
ɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛi it is difficult for thee 517.10

HE FOR HIM:

ɡɪtɛi it is difficult for him 729.4
ɡɪwɛɛɛ it is good for him 758.5

§ 29
HE FOR US:
\(\text{wéuda}^n\) it is good for us 758.4
\(\text{wél'chi}^n\) it is difficult for us 752.12

HE FOR THEM:
\(\text{veqújá}^n\) they do it for them 767.3

WE FOR THEE:
\(\text{inéjínuka}^n\) we sing for thee 439.4
\(\text{inéjá}^n\) we wish for you 680.13

WE FOR HIM:
\(\text{iün'gá}^n\) we wish for him 758.13

WE FOR THEM:
\(\text{veqúngap'ái}^n\) we wait for them 454.16

2. Verbs in \(u\)- have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<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>(\text{iné}^n)cha-(\text{ú}^n)</td>
<td>(\text{iné}^n)wí-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>(\text{uwí}^n)-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(\text{u}^n)í-</td>
<td>(\text{ái}^n)qújí-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>(\text{u}^n)é-</td>
<td>(\text{u}^n)é-</td>
<td>(\text{u}^n)-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(\text{uwa}qújí}^n)-</td>
<td>(\text{uwa}qújí}^n)-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to them</td>
<td>(\text{uwa}qújú}^n)-</td>
<td>(\text{uwa}qújú}^n)-</td>
<td>(\text{uwa}qújú}^n)-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
\(\text{uwíbē}^n\) I tell thee 755.10
\(\text{uēbē}^n\) I tell him 443.7
\(\text{uwa}qúj}^n\) I say to them 437.17
\(\text{iné}^n\)wícha \(\text{án}^n\) thou sayest to me 671.1
\(\text{iné}^n\)wícha \(\text{án}^n\) thou sayest to me 500.6
\(\text{wèle}^n\)tha thou sayest to him 497.8
\(\text{uwa}qúj}^n\)cha \(\text{án}^n\) thou sayest to us 633.1
\(\text{uwa}qúj}^n\)cha \(\text{án}^n\) thou sayest to them 507.4
\(\text{iné}^n\)wíchté it remains to me 501.2 (from \(\text{u}^n\)t\(\text{é}^n\) 501.2)
\(\text{u}^n\)č\(\text{í}^n\)k\(\text{á}^n\) he helps you 508.3
\(\text{u}^n\)č\(\text{í}^n\) he says to him 656.8
\(\text{uwa}qúj}^n\)č\(\text{í}^n\) he says to us 503.1
\(\text{anwe}^n\)k\(\text{í}^n\)e they say to me 670.2
\(\text{u}^n\)č\(\text{í}^n\)č\(\text{ái}^n\) they say to thee 678.12

3. Verbs in \(g\)- lose their \(g\) after the pronominal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td>(\text{anwágé}^n) 39.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>(\text{čiágái}^n) 735.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>(\text{giágú}^n) 152.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>(\text{vágái}^n) 735.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>1st person singular</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>Inclusive dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>hi'^-</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:

- hâlhe' I bury
- ra'hê thou buryest
- hi'^ma'ñgâ's you and I tear with a knife
- hi'^'sibrê I am falling
- ni'^sibrê thou art falling
- wa'ñgasibrâ'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 i—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 i—them differ in accent. i—them, evidently originating from wa-ha-, is always accented wa', while the third person has the accent on the stem. wâlhe I BURY THEM, but wa'he he buries them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hinâ-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>ni'^-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni'^-wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hinâ-wi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>wa'-</td>
<td>warâ-</td>
<td>wa'-wi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- ni'nîlhe I bury thee
- hi'nîha'll he buriest me

§§ 30, 31
niňha'wi we bury thee
wa'rahe thou buriest them
hiňha'ire they bury me
ha'niș.friends a I hit thee (from ha'p'a he hits)

§ 32. Pronouns of Verbs taking $ in the Second Person: Second Class

Verbs corresponding to the Dakota verbs in y- and to the Ponca verbs in ë-, 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, v, or with j, ë 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>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>2d per. sing.</th>
<th>3d per. sing.</th>
<th>Inclusive dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>h̓v-</td>
<td>šv-</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>hiⁿⁿv-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>p'v-</td>
<td>šv[ê]-</td>
<td>v[ê]-</td>
<td>hiⁿⁿv[ê]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>d̓v-</td>
<td>šv[ê]-</td>
<td>v[ê]-</td>
<td>hiⁿⁿv[ê]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>ēv-</td>
<td>šv[ê]-</td>
<td>v[ê]-</td>
<td>hiⁿⁿv[ê]-</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.

'ini he does
ha'än̓ he does
šän̓ thou doest

wañegis he saws
p'añegis I saw
ša'wañegis thou sawest

hinwunane he is near
hip'u'sunane I am near
hišn'wenunane thou art near

we'vina he thinks
p'evina I think
še'wevina thou thinkest

ha'än̓wi we do
hiän̓wi you and I do
p'añegiswi we saw
hiştwañegis you and I saw

hip'u'sunanei we are near
hiwununanei they are near

p'evina we think
hiştwevina you and I think

§ 32
rašíś he breaks with mouth
  da'šíś I break with the mouth
  sa'rašíś thou breakest with the mouth
ru'gas he tears by pulling
  du'gas I tear by pulling
  su'rugas thou tearest by pulling
ra he goes
  dè I go
  sère thou goest

Verbs belonging to the second division of this class are rather rare.

haja' he sees
  haça' I see
  haṣe'à' thou seest
t'ena'n he is dead
  ē'na'n I am dead
  šē'na'n thou art dead
gu'nà'n he comes
  k'una'nà' I come
  šgu'nà'nà' thou comest

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.

rašíś 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>daşižena'ńkṣenàn</td>
<td>daşižena'ńkṣenàn</td>
<td>daşižaje'ńnà'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d p. sing. ...</td>
<td>šáraşižëda'ńnàkṣenàn</td>
<td>šáraşižëda'ńnàkṣenàn</td>
<td>šáraşižëraje'ńnà'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d p. sing. ...</td>
<td>raşisižena'ńkṣenàn</td>
<td>raşisižena'ńkṣenàn</td>
<td>raşisé'ńnà'n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of this class take their objects, including the composite form niⁿ- I—THEE, preceding the subjective pronoun, which is treated as described before.

niⁿp'd'égis I saw thee (from wačgis he saws)
  hiⁿwačgis he saws me
niⁿp'è'wì'n I think of thee (from ve'wì'n he thinks)
  hiⁿsu'rugas thou tearest me by pulling (3d per. ru'gas)
  hiⁿsu'wùsùnè thou art near me (from hiwùsùnè he is near)

\(^1\) Occasionally the verbal forms expressing a lying position are formed with mi'ńkṣé, 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'egis I cut in two by striking
   
   rai'egis thou cuttest in two by striking
   
   gi'egis he cuts in two by striking
   
   hi'ngi'egis you and I cut in two by striking

2. Verbs with prefixes ending in a or aⁿ and followed by a pronom 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'ñgas I tear with a knife
   
   mañga's he tears with a knife
   
   ma'n'gas he tears me
   
   mañ'a'gas thou tearest me
   
   na'n'sis I break by pressure
   
   na'n'z's he breaks by pressure
   
   na'i'n'sis he breaks me by pressure
   
   na'n'ña'sis 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.

   hoo'si'p I push down
   
   ho'kip he pushes down
   
   ho'si'p he pushes me down
   
   roa'gún I wish
   
   rogu'n' he wishes
   
   rogi'gún he wishes me

4. Words with the prefix ho- contract:

   1st person subjective . . . . . . . . . . ho-ha- into wa-
   
   1st person objective . . . . . . . . . . ho-hiⁿ- into hiⁿ-
   
   Dual inclusive . . . . . . . . . . hiⁿ-ho- into ho'-
   
   3d person plural object . . . . . . . . . . . . . . wa-ho- into wo-
   
   1st person plural object . . . . . . . . . . . . . . wañga-ho into wañgo-
wa'jì'n I strike
ho'jìn' he strikes
ho'jì'n you and I strike
hu'jì'n' he strikes me
wodjlì'n' 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.
wa'hi' I win
wo'ra'hu thou winnest
wo'hu' he wins

6. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial hi form contraction illustrated by the following examples:
yo'pe'rez I know (for hi-ha-perèz)
hin'pe'rez you and I know (for hin-hi-perèz)
ni'pe'rez I know thee (for ni-hi-perèz)
hi'perèz thou knowest me (for hina-hiperèz)
hin'perèz he knows me (for hin-hi-perèz)
wi'perèz I know them (for wa-hi-ha-perèz)
wa'ngi'perèz'irè they know us (for waìnga-hi-perèz'irè)
The third person plural object wa- is always contracted with hi to wi.

7. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial 'à'n- contract the first person 'à-n-ha into 'nca-n-:
'ìwa'ngì'gi' I compel (for 'àn-ha-gi'gi)
'ìwì'n'agì'gi' thou compellest me (for 'àn-hìna-gi'gi'gi)

8. The causative suffix hi has the forms ha and ra for the first and second persons, respectively.
fe'ha I killed him
fe'ra thou didst kill
fe'hi' he killed
The causative suffix gi'gi' is regular.
red'gi'gi'na'n I send him
vera'gi'gi'na'n' thou sendest him
règìgì'na'n' 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'nlie I bury thee  nigi'nlie I bury for thee
hina'li'gis thou cuttest me in
 hai'li'gis thou cuttest it in
two  two for me
boiš'p he pushes me down  boigiš'p he cut it down for me
hînu'p'a thou hittest me  hînu'gip'a thou hittest for me
ni'p'ê'win I think of thee  ni'gip'ê'win 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'li'gis I cut myself (for ha-ki-gi-êgis)
boakiš'ip I push myself (for bo-ha-ki-šip)
mañk'ê'gas I tear myself (for mañ-ha-ki-gas)
yakipe'rez I know myself (for hi-ha-ki-pe'rez)
waki'ji'n I strike myself (for ho-ha-ki-jìn)
haki'ë'quis I saw myself
haki'k'u'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-.

hakara'rohe I bury my own
hakara'li'gis I cut my own (for ha-kara-gi-êgis)
boakara'šip I push my own (for bo-ha-kara-šip)
mañk'ê'ragas I tear my own (for mañ-ha-kara-gas)
ha'karap'a I hit my own (for hi-ha-kara-p'a)
yakara'pe'rez I know my own (for hi-ha-kara-pe'rez)
wakara'jìn I strike my own (for ho-ha-kara-jìn)

Examples of the second class are the following:

hakaru'wágis I saw my own (from wágis he saws)
yakalu'rusûné I am near my own (from hû'wû'sûné he is near, for hi-ha-ka-ru-sûné)
hakarušis I break my own with mouth (for ha-ka-ra-šis)
hakulu'ragas I tear my own (for ha-ka-ru-gas)

§ 34
§ 35. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective forms of the pronoun. In Teton we find—

\[ m'i'ye \quad I \\
\[ n'i'ye \quad thou \\
\[ i'ye \quad he \\
\[ w'k'i'ye \quad thou \text{ and } I \\

The suffix \(-jyi\) is added to express the plural. It stands either with the pronoun or with some following word. Emphatic pronouns are formed with the ending \(i\) (see § 41): \(m'i's, n'i's, i's, \text{ and } w'^k'i's \text{ or } w'^k'i'y'es\).

The independent personal pronouns in Ponca are:

\[ wi \quad 736.3, 715.5 \\
\[ ñ'i \quad thou \quad 711.18 \\
\[ añgu \quad 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:

\[ \text{TETON EXAMPLES} \\
\[ laka \text{ to consider in a certain way} \quad w\text{laka} \text{ I consider} \\
\[ lowa^n \text{ to sing} \quad w\text{alowa}^n \text{ I sing} \\
\[ ka\text{ to make} \quad y\text{a}k\text{a}\text{ to make} \\

§§ 35, 36
Verbs beginning with \(c, s, m, \) or \(n, \) or a vowel, often infix the pronouns after the first syllable:

**Santee Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santee</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čapa</td>
<td>to stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>četi</td>
<td>to build a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čopa</td>
<td>to wade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuta</td>
<td>to miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mano²</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā'ni</td>
<td>to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opa¹</td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asni¹</td>
<td>to be well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čawa'pa</td>
<td>I stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čewati</td>
<td>I build a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čewtipi</td>
<td>we build a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čowapa</td>
<td>I wade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šwutapi</td>
<td>we miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayanop</td>
<td>thou stealest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawani</td>
<td>I walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owapa</td>
<td>I follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anišni</td>
<td>thou art well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santee</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palita²</td>
<td>to bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokšu</td>
<td>to transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towa²</td>
<td>to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towaca²</td>
<td>to go to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawalita</td>
<td>I bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towakšu</td>
<td>I transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towawahó</td>
<td>I am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watowacaw</td>
<td>I go to see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixed pronouns before the sounds here enumerated are, however, not rare:

**Santee Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santee</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čeka</td>
<td>to stagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeyya</td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>škata</td>
<td>to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuni</td>
<td>to wander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mačeka</td>
<td>I stagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waceya</td>
<td>I cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waškata</td>
<td>I play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanuni</td>
<td>I wander</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In verbs of this class the first person dual is often prefixed, even when the other persons are infixed.

\(w^n\)kopapi or \(ow^n\)papi we follow (from opa)

3. Verbs containing the prefixes \(ka-\) and \(pa-\) (see § 13), and Teton verbs in \(kpa-\) (\(tpa-\)), \(ga-\) (Santee \(hda-\)), and \(glu-\) (Santee \(hlu-\)) (see § 20), prefix the pronouns.

---

¹In this word the vowel is not a prefix. ²In this word, \(pa-\) is not a prefix (see § 13).

§ 36
**SANTEE EXAMPLES**

- **kalksa** to cut off
- **kaski'ga** to break by striking
- **pa'ga** to part with a thing
- **pa'pipa** to break off with the hand
- **kapaja (tpaja)** to part with one's own
- **kapajza** to dry one's own by wiping
- **hadiuta** to eat one's own

- **wakalksa** I cut off (from ksa)
- **wakakisi'ga** I break by striking (from ki'ga)
- **wakapa'ga** I part with a thing (from ga)
- **wakapa'pipa** I break off with the hand (from si'pa)
- **wakapajza** I part with my own (from ga)
- **wakapajza** I dry my own by wiping (from pu'za)
- **wahduta** I eat my own

**TETON EXAMPLE**

- **gluk'eta** to form an opinion about one's own
- **wagluk'eta** I form an opinion about my own (from kea)

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**

- **apalita** to bind on
- **inakini** to hurry

- **apawalita** I bind on (from palita)
- **inawakini** I hurry

5. Verbs with the prefixes wa- (Santee ba-), wo- (Santee bo-), and na- (see § 13) have the pronouns following the prefix.

- **wak'sa** (Teton) to cut off
- **boyak'sa** thou shootest off (from k'sa)

- **boksa** (Santee) to shoot off

- **wahdima'kosa** I come home and sit down; but also

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**

- **hdiyota'ka** (contracted from hdi and iyota'ka) to come home and sit down
- **iyo'hpa'ya** (from i- on account of; o- in) to alight in something

- **wahdimdota'ka** I come home and sit down; but also
- **wahdiyota'ka**
- **iyowahipanda** I alight in something

§ 36
hiyō'kipaya to come and alight in
hiya'kapta to come over a stream
iyyaya to have gone
kiyu'she to hate one
kiyu'ska (from yuška) to release
wahiyowalipama I come and alight in; also wahiyokipaya
wahiyowakapta I come over a stream
imdamde I have gone
wakinduše I hate him
wakinduška and wakiyunška I release

7. Compounds having the auxiliary verbs kiya, ya, yaⁿ, place the
pronoun preceding these, while the first verb is often used in contracted
form.

Santee examples

iya'pa(ku) to be offended iyapaya to offend
iya'kapaka I am offended iyapawaya I offend
iya'pe to wait for iyapeya to cause to wait for
iyawape I wait for iyapawape I cause to wait for
sdaca' to know sdonya' to know
wa^n'ya'ka to see wa^n'yagwa I came to see
wa^n'nda'ka I see wa^n'yagwa I know

§ 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.
ci' he gave it to thee (ci' to give) 739.9
ci'na' he carried them (ci'na' to carry) 10.7
ta' I die (ta' to die) 630.9
ta' 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 j, s, k, m, or n, or a vowel, often infix the
pronoun after the first syllable.

juwigwi to be with somebody juwigwe I am with thee 739.6
juwigwi to be with somebody juwigwe I am with thee 739.6
juwigwi to be with somebody juwigwe I am with thee 739.6
juwigwi to be with somebody juwigwe I am with thee 739.6
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 can not be sharply separated.

§ 39. Plurality

Plurality of animate objects is indicated in both verbs and nouns by a suffix, -pi.

he died
he knows
young man
a beaver

they died
they know
young men
beavers

There is, however, an evident disinclination to employ -pi with nouns, except possessives, and it is by preference placed upon a following adjective.

three young men
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—

they gave him two maidens IX 86.6
of that kind alighted IX 99.24

The corresponding element in Ponca is -i.

they have none regularly 335.12 (there is none; 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'ta* is used.

\[ \text{bala' I go} \quad \text{bala' k'ta (Teton) I shall go.} \]

(According to Riggs, the Santee use *ke* instead of *k'te* [the *a* of *kta* being changed to *e*] before *eci'n* and *epe'a*.

"*ito de wdi'ka ke,*" *eci'n* "lo! this I will dig," she thought IX 83.13

"*mda ke,*" *epe'a* "I will go," thought I)

2. **Habitual.** Habitual action is indicated by *sa*.

*ihad'hab iyad'ya sa* he went after it habitually

3. **Regular repetition** is expressed by *shi*.

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>

\[ ye \, \text{go not thou!} \quad \text{waktu'ya wopol' on guard be ye!} \]

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.

"*tend' anan'wakiiciyakupi ye,*" *eyad* "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*.

\[ wakiiciyakupi kte \, \text{we will not tell it to her} \]

\[ hosit'eca hi ye lo I have come to tell you the news \]

(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.)
6. Interrogative. The particle *he* indicates the interrogative.

\[\text{wawzi'lici} \text{'upe' mit} \text{aw'kapi} \text{he} \text{is there one with large narrow?}\]

When the person addressed is at a distance, *huwo* (compounded of *he* and *wo*) is used.

\[\text{to'kiya la huwo whither do you go?}\]

Riggs mentions also *to* in the same position in Santee.

\[\text{duhe' sni to? why dost thou not have it?}\]

The particle *ée* (Santee *éi*) is an interrogative particle, calling for an immediate reply.

7. Negative. The negative is expressed by the particle *sni*.

\[\text{slolaye' sni he knew it not}\]
\[\text{tuwe'ni } \text{él} \text{no'we' sni no one swims there}\]

8. Optative. The optative exclamation *tokin' oh if* requires a terminal *ni*, which in position and form is analogous to the other particles here discussed.

\[\text{tokin' pag'i' etaw' iye'waya ni oh that I might find some sunflower roots! (iye'ya to find)}\]

9. A number of other particles appear in the same position. They seem to merge gradually into adverbial expressions and conjunctions.

\[\text{se'ča (Teton) evidently.}\]
\[\text{tigat'ne hpe'ya vahi'yu se'ča lo evidently I have come to an abandoned lodge (t'i lodge; ya'ta at; hiyu' to come to)}\]

\[\text{nače'éé (Teton) perhaps.}\]
\[\text{one'ki'nahar's he nita'kuyepi nače'éé to perhaps those are your relatives (one'ki'nahar's perhaps; he those; taku'ye relative)}\]

\[\text{hé'ca very (see § 41.3).}\]

\[\text{ki'ha' (Santee) when, if.}\]
\[\text{yahi ki'ha' when thou comest}\]
\[\text{éa, éca (Santee); éa'n, éa'naha' (Teton). According to Riggs, this particle is used "when a general rule or something customary is spoken of, and is generally followed by ée or éé at the end of the sentence."}\]
\[\text{yahi éa piwada ée when thou comest, I am glad}\]
\[\text{waniyelů éa wapa ée when it is winter, it snows}\]
\[\text{keha (Santee), ke'ha (Teton), when; according to Riggs, this particle always refers to past time.}\]
\[\text{éolí (Santee) when.}\]
\[\text{keš although.}\]
The corresponding forms in Ponca are as follows:

**PONCA**

1. **Future.** *t' e*[t' a, t'ai] designates the future.
   - *gu t'e* he will die from a fall 236.1
   - *šnē t'e ha* you will go 230.3
   - *wača t' e gēn' t'ai* aľá he will be sitting eating them 235.16
   - *užēti šk' áže t'ai* ye will make a hole for a pole 615.1
   - *ša'n šk' áže t'ai* dēa 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'at'ê* and *t'ai'ê*, the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.
   - *ga'm'hit' i* t'at'ê it will be that way 227.4
   - *wa'n šp'ana' t'ai'ê* you surely will gaze on me 230.5
   - *išť'â chižide t'ai'ê ha* your eyes will (shall) be red 578.2
   - *agē'baži ša'n ša'n t'ai'ê* they shall not come back continually 235.5

2. **Imperative.** *ga* and *a* express the imperative, *gu* being used by men, *a* by women.
   - *iša-gâ!* send it here! (said by a man) 702.15
   - *ihe'čai-gâ!* lay ye it down! (said by a man) 231.19
   - *gišgšai-a!* enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.1
   - *ga'm'hit'ičai-a! ha* 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 *e* are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.
   - *ha* and *he* express the period.
   - *áhav* and *éhav* express the exclamation.

In all of these the *a*-forms are used by men, the *e*-forms by women.
   - *ga'n ičanahi'v a!* truly, I am fat (said by a man) 567.9
   - *čìuči'wâči ičanahv'i ê* truly, you hateful one! (said by a woman) 152.2
   - *ša'n zaní wibčahav'i ha* now I petition you all (said by a man) 690.1

§ 40
wak'anda wáčíŋe št'éwaŋ aqík’aŋ béa-máži hé I do not desire to take any mysterious power for my husband 614.12
gat'é št'i go'awi-nam áhaw she has done that regularly! (said by a man) 591.7
wanán'inde'agádzi elaŋ! you do not loathe him! (said by a woman) 591.18

ha and he are frequently used following imperatives.
maŋčí'n'-gá há begone! (said by a man) 620.17
gíčéái-á hé enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.13

They are also used as interjections. Since há and hé are found printed occasionally instead of ha and he, it seems justifiable to consider the exclamations há and hé as the same particles.

há, tsúp'á! ho, grandchild! (said by a man) 620.9
hé, šp'účaŋw! ho, grandchild! (said by a woman) 589.7

4. Interrogative. á marks the question.
gát'áng edégaŋ á? what does that one say? 233.1
t'i á? has it come? 709.2
cát’án čanází'ni á? why do ye stand? 23.4

ádaŋ (commonly translated therefore) occurs also apparently as an interrogative particle.
edí'hit'í éshin'ádaŋ? what great (person) are you? 23.12
edí'án ádaŋ? why? 27.20
ebédí e'án čé dáŋ? to whose lodge does she go carrying it? 591.3

§ 41. Adverbial Suffixes: Teton

1. -š 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 š, and this sometimes involves a change of meaning.

wana'na now

wa'naš now the story runs as follows

ak'ë again

ak'ëš again (with emphasis)

ke'ya those or some

keya's although

to yes

šos yes, indeed!

taku what

takusu's oh, bother! or, my goodness!

th'a but

th'as but then

he'čël so or in that way

hečélš therefore

eča'nl as soon as, during

eča'nlš at that particular moment
mi'ye I (independent pronoun) mèl I (emphatic)
wèiye we two wèl?yèś or wèkèś we two
i'ye he iyèś 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 lila very is this same suffix doubled.

Examples:
wì cáhèla an old man iwa' stela nicely, in good order
hok'èlìla a small boy isna'la alone, or only
kìtìla a little more iyèyla exceedingly
hake'la youngest t'oyèyla bluely
hènàla enough d'layela directly
wìèkèlìla a girl jìkì' i'yla near to each other

3. lièa, lìèn. 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; lièa being always employed after nouns either expressed or understood, and lìèn after adverbs and connectives. They occur independently or in composition. lì'la, which also means very, always depends directly on a verb, or an adjective used as such.

Examples of the use of lìèa are the following:
è'pìpa wànn t'avan kalìèa a very large beaver (beaver, a, large, very)
vìstè lìècè èìn the very beautiful (beavers)
vìstè lìèakalìè kìèn the real red paint

Examples of the use of lìèn:
evìèkèlièn lìèn lastly
èèèlìèn lìèn just in the same way
ènnaìèlìèn lìèn right there
ìcèntula lièn lìèn just then

Examples of the use of lìèn:
wànnèlìèn lìèn whether there is one
iyèèèèlìèn lìèn just like
he'ènnaìèlìèn lìèn immediately
lìèhe'ènlìènlìèn 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.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aka'nl} & \text{ on to} \\
\text{eha'nl} & \text{ then something was done} \\
\text{leha'nl} & \text{ when (something is done; e.g., under one’s own volition)} \\
\text{heha'nl} & \text{ toha'nl when (something is done)} \\
\text{toha'nl} & \text{ aka'nl on to} \\
\text{aka'nl} & \text{ eha'nl then} \\
\text{leha'nl} & \text{ heha'nl then} \\
\text{heha'nl} & \text{ toha'nl when (something is done)} \\
\text{toha'nl} & \text{ aka'nl on to} \\
\text{aka'nl} & \text{ eha'nl then} \\
\text{leha'nl} & \text{ heha'nl then} \\
\text{heha'nl} & \text{ toha'nl when (something is done)}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e'na} & \text{ here (something was)} \\
\text{le'na} & \text{ here (something went)} \\
\text{he'na} & \text{ there (something was)} \\
\text{ka'na} & \text{ there (something went)} \\
\text{e'e'na} & \text{ being in this condition} \\
\text{le'e'na} & \text{ going along in this way} \\
\text{he'e'na} & \text{ being in that condition} \\
\text{ka'kena} & \text{ going along in that way} \\
\text{to'k'ena} & \text{ being in an indefinite condition} \\
\text{to'k'ela} & \text{ going along in that indefinite way}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mak'a} & \text{ta to the ground} \\
\text{vwa'niy} & \text{ta to the spirit land} \\
\text{tiya} & \text{ta to the lodge} \\
\text{woka} & \text{ta to the middle} \\
\text{tok'a} & \text{ta in future} \\
\text{wazi'y} & \text{at the north} \\
\text{wahka} & \text{ta to the ground} \\
\text{oli}' & \text{teya under}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 41
7. *-ta*^n^ FROM.

Examples:

- *eta*^n^ from this
- *eha*^n^ta*^n^ or *eha*^n^ta*^n^ha*^n^ if (literally, from being in the preceding position)

Many independent post-positions appear to contain a suffix *-hah*; but this is probably nothing more than the verb *ka'pa* to excel, surpass, go beyond, contracted in composition.

- *ihakab* behind or after
- *itokab* before

\[\text{§ 42. Articles}\]

These important elements are only weakly developed in Dakota, while they are very important in Ponca.

In Dakota we find three articles—*ki*^n^ (after an *a* or *e*^n^ transformed, including the preceding vowels, into *e*^ni*); *ko*^n^ (after an *a* or *e*^n^ transformed into *e* ^ni*ko* [Santee], *e* ^no* [Teton]); and *wa*^n^.

The following Santee examples illustrate their use:

- *ki*^n^ expresses the idea of the definite article.
  
  \[\text{viča}^n^\text{kapi }\text{ki}^n\text{ iye'g}a\text{ va}^n^\text{ya'kapí they saw the stars shining IX 83.2}\\  \text{(viča}^n^\text{kapi star; iye'g}a\text{ to shine; va}^n^\text{ya'ku to see)}\]
  
  \[\text{ki'ta}^n^\text{na iye'liya ya}^n^\text{ke' }\text{ëni the one that shines a little IX 83.4}\\  \text{(ki'ta}^n^\text{na a little; iye'liya to cause to shine; ya}^n^\text{ku' to be)}\]

- *ko*^n^ indicates the definite article in the past.

- *woma* ko^n^ the other aforesaid one IX 83.8
- *ni'na* iye'ge *eikono* the one aforesaid that shines much IX 83.7

- *wa*^n^ is the indefinite article.

- *oay'te wa*^n^ a people IX 83.1
- *mako'ce wa*^n^ 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:

1. Inanimate articles.
   1. *ki* 'e horizontal objects.
   2. *te* standing objects, collective terms.
   3. *êa*^n^ 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'ar singular animate object standing.
2. cív singular animate object moving.
3. ma plural animate objects.
4. cinh'á singular animate object sitting.
5. caah'é plural animate objects sitting.

III. Indefinite article.
wí.n

Following are a number of examples of the use of these articles:

K'é (I. 1) is used regularly of horizontal objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ground</td>
<td>ta'ân'de k'é the ground 24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>maán'ge k'é the sky 26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>ní k'é the water (i. e., stream) 555.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradle</td>
<td>wa'n'he k'é the cradle 560.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>wahí k'é the bone 564.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>pa'hi k'é the neck 564.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>žibe k'é the leg 564.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article k'é:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>wós'ta k'é the snake 27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>šíng'gažin'ga k'é 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)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following expression is peculiar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>wí'ba k'é the day 611.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

t'é (I. 2) is used with several classes of nouns.

(a) It denotes standing objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lodge</td>
<td>tí t'é the lodge 555.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>hēabé t'é the tree 277.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>door</td>
<td>tížebe t'é the door 46.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plums</td>
<td>kande t'é the plums 559.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heads</td>
<td>pā t'é the heads 123.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal limbs</td>
<td>te-ánit'a t'é animal limbs 565.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feathers</td>
<td>máša'n t'é the feathers 26.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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¶'

\(\text{síhi } t^e\) the feet 570.9
\(\text{síba } t^e\) the entrails 279.4
\(\text{wáagàa } t^e\) the clothing 559.12
\(\text{če } t^e\) the tongues 123.12

(c) It denotes abstract nouns.
\(\text{té } t^e\) the killing 16.8.
\(\text{íwa } t^e\) strength 611.3
\(\text{waží } t^e\) disposition 583.2

(d) It denotes acts "as past and as seen by the speaker" (see Dorsey, The Çegiha Language, note 246.6, p. 250).
\(\text{gáge } t^e\) he did the (act) 554.13
\(\text{íwa } t^e\) he lay for me 561.1
\(\text{gi } t^e\) he did to him 583.7
\(\text{wa } t^e\) he wore as a robe 246.6

\(\text{á }\) (I. 3) denotes rounded objects and parts of objects.

(a) It denotes rounded objects.
\(\text{ukí } \) the snare 13.12
\(\text{mi }\) the sun 13.12
\(\text{iç }\) the eye 171.7
\(\text{naš }\) the head 91.6
\(\text{wakí }\) paper 773.1

(b) It denotes part of an object.
\(\text{bá }\) the bent part 598.8
\(\text{šindi }\) part of the rump-bone 611.5
\(\text{índ }\) face part 624.10
\(\text{wakí }\) the part of a buffalo-hide towards the feet 469.7

\(\text{ge}\) (I. 4) denotes a collection of scattered objects.
\(\text{tenan }\) buffalo-hearts 33.4
\(\text{waší }\) pieces of fat 572.2
\(\text{takí }\) (scattered) scum 593.9
\(\text{wahí }\) bones 278.16
\(\text{miñhā }\) raccoon-skins 559.3
\(\text{na }\) fences 735.7

\(\text{ak }\) (II. A. 1) denotes the animate singular subject at rest (see Dorsey, note 633.3, p. 634).
\(\text{Is }\) Ishtínike awoke, it is said 549.4
\(\text{ts }\) the chipmunk said, "tsi-tsì-tsì!" 549.9
\(\text{wa }\) the robe (considered as possessed of voluntary action) had returned 549.6
\(\text{á-biamá }\) the cold said 9.6

§ 42
pāhe-wáčahuní ak'á ṭahaⁿ'-biamá the hill that devours knew
him, it is said 32.6

With numerals ak'á is used in a plural sense.
čábēⁿ ak'á, the three 164.14

amat (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.
mašé iñ'ge-ìn' amat açé amáma the rabbit was going, it is said 9.1
Iš't'ínik'é amat açá-bi Ishtínike went, it is said 549.1
žabe amat niáta açá-bi beaver went to the water 553.9
ki wihihe amat waš'ú and the woman was following close behind
615.15

amat is also used when the predicate does not express motion, but
when the subject is conceived as moving.
ičádi amat igipaham'-biamá, it is said his father recognized him
610.18
a'-biamá mašé iñ'ge-ìn amat rabbit said, it is said 10.2
(b) amat denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in
motion.
wazi'n'ga amat giaⁿ'-açá-biamá the birds went flying, it is said
588.3
e-naw'-biamá niši'nga amat the people said often, it is said 574.9
P'a'ñ'ka amat açé the Ponca have come back 723.2
Umáha amat açúgigé'k the Omaha are sorrowful for their rela-
tions 772.4
nēk'ágáhi amat gia'baž'ii the chiefs are sad 649.2

t'aa (II. B. 1) denotes the animate singular object standing.
názi'nga t'aa é vračk'á-bi the boy meant that his own 556.2
šiš't'è, héga čét'aⁿ lie! this buzzard! 549.5
ti'úje t'aa ... naži'n a scabby buffalo was standing 582.5
šyu' šét'aⁿ k'idu-gá shoot at this prairie-chicken 117.19

čiⁿ (II. B. 2) denotes the animate singular object moving.
dádaⁿ čiⁿ pígaⁿ čiⁿ áhaⁿ! I'll blow that into the air 575.7
kéás čiⁿ šét'aⁿ amat the eagle was that far, it is said 581.3
edádaⁿ čiⁿ šé evaⁿ teče-naw'-biamá whatsoever he usually killed,
it is said 586.6
witałne čiⁿ acéⁿ giįgá bring my son-in-law here 589.3
niši'nga čiⁿ wacíšigé áhaⁿ! he is active! 9.14
niši'nga čiⁿ ičátabé' há I hate that person 13.9
káge čiⁿ čidihi the crow reached there 599.8

čiⁿ is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.
§ 42
C

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BOAS]

wanifa

7na

quadrupeds 028.
Ponca 748.9

^i^ the

P'an'Jca

943

4i^ the

This form is
The examples, however, do not

B. 3) denotes the animate plural object.

(II.

regularly printed as a suffix.
indicate that

it

differs in character

wanif a-ma iceha^-hlamd
tangd-via d<^ufa^
it is

it is

from the other

articles.

said he called to the animals 571.5

%oa<^izd-l)i aP'

he took the large ones at once,

said 578.4

wazinga-md weba^-hlanid it is said they called the birds 580.1
wazinga-ma
miwazi he put the birds in his belt 586.4
ni¥ asl'^ga-'ma wacigage ewek" dP-h^a I wish the people to dance
.

.

.

601.5
wagdli4a'^-ma wi^ one of the servants (obj.) 616.2

know

wdlie-mtt. lUJccC^ etai I/e a^^ci^haha^-ldzl

we do

toms of the white people 629.2
niJc aii^' ga-ma (f^e-ma sUa'^ ina^<^l^'-ma
these people walking about 756.1

irata^'he Jul I

(/InJit'e

(II.

not

the cus-

have seen

B. 4) denotes an animate singular object in

sitting

position.

zdhe 4in¥edi h^e fdse I
egli^e

must go

to the beaver 552.2

amd and behold
was very poor 144.18
4 in¥& end-lie' i iisfe amd only the women remained,
itan'ge 4inl''e vxilip^dnilif la"^ (^inVe

!

his

sister

loa^u

it

is

said 11.5

f.afik'd

(II.

B.

5)

denotes the animate plural object in sitting

position.

m^a-hianid Mtinik' e ak^d niasi'^ga
told the persons 64.17
izin'ge 4<^nV e iraivagiVd-hiarnd

4'^inl^d it is

meaning

said Ishtinike

his sons,

it

is

said

100.4
aVi^alia tnastin'ge eanlcd wi'^ 'ivaH-gd ha give them one of the
rabbits 119.16"
e

vM^u

ianli duioalt ie gn^' 4(ti ^'^

he desired to talk to the

women

624.3

wdgazi sinudaP' ^ank'd he commanded the dogs 111.8

The two forms 4in¥e and

(^anJcd are not true articles,

they seem to perform their function.
forms, as

is

They

although

are true verbal

proved by the occurrence of the pronominal

forms.
1st person singular

2d person singular
2d person plural

..... o.».,
-

,

,

minFe
.

.

nink'e

nan¥a
§42


be'ë t'á min'k'e I who will go 13.4
pi'ë t'á min'k'e I who will arrive there 496.2
Pávi'ë ník'agáhi naík'áše ye who are Pawnee chiefs 685.2

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs 
yáñk'á, wañk'á.

**wi** (III) denotes the indefinite article.

šaw'n' wi a Dakota 367.8
níaš'ina wi a person 267.1
wá'á wi a woman 166.1
í'ánaígangá tāñgáhit'í wi a very large village 166.14

§ 43. Demonstrative Pronouns

**Teton**

The demonstrative pronouns proper are *e*, *le*, *he*, *ku*, 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 *ku*. *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 *-nu*.

The demonstratives are employed regularly as prefixes to the verbs meaning to say, to think, and to do.

- **to say**: e'ya le'ya he'ya ke'ya (not found)
- **to think**: e'íw le'íw he'íw ke'íw tok'íw
- **to do**: e'ów le'ów he'ów ke'ów kak'ów tok'ów

The forms with *e* are used after the statement of what is said, thought, or done; and the forms with *le* or *he*, before. *keyapí* they say is employed like a quotative, though there is a true quotative *šk'ë*. The element *to* occurs rarely with these verbs.

In addition to these forms, there is a syllable *t'ë*, meaning far in space or time, which is employed in an analogous manner.

* t'ëhá a long time
* t'ehañt far

The definite article *ki* is probably formed from the demonstrative *ku* by rendering the phonetic change to *í* permanent. To indicate something which happened in the past or some person or thing spoken of in the past, this article takes the form *ko* or *čiko*, but the latter rarely in Teton (see § 42).

§ 43
In the plural, and when combined with certain particles, _to_ performs the function of an interrogative pronoun.

*to'na* how many
*to'keki'^a* however much

In fact, the regular interrogative and relative pronouns _tu'wa_ or _tu'we_ 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.,

*tuwe'ni* whoever (probably _who lives_)
*tuk'ie'el* somewhere
*tuk'ie'el* sometimes
*_ta'ku kee'ya'_ whatsoever

**Ponca**

The most common demonstrative pronouns are _éé_, _sé_, _gé_, 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. _éë_ refers to what is near the speaker.

   *éë_ égima'^n_ I do this 9.6
   *éë_ wé'si'a'wa'bai_ éë this (is) as you see me 26.14
   *éék'i_ cábe'^n_ zání téwačá-biamá it is said he killed all three of these 46.16
   *éémá na'^n_ či'p'ai these fear thee 23.17
   *ééna_ júba these few! 28.9
   *ha'^n_ če'h'é'i agíta'^be k'cwé^bëa_ I desire to see mine this very night 367.5
   *éega'^n_ and, thus they say 35.2

2. _sé_ refers to what is near the person addressed.

   *sé_ égi'^a^n_ you do that 26.14
   *sé_ uší^i_ you told him that 26.19
   *sé_ wiwí^t_ that my own 59.4
   *éék'i_ mašé líegé-i'^n_ ak'á páde wágazí that rabbit told us to cut it up 23.10
   *séi'n'k'e k'idu-gá_ shoot at that! 109.1
   *sé'nu_ there where you are 640.4
   *maža'^n_ šéta_ ča'^n_ the land yonder by you 487.7

§ 43
3. *gu* refers to the unseen, also to what follows; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

\[gu\ taw'be\ t'á\ I\ shall\ see\ that\ 28.2\]
\[gágé\ hmat’e\ t’ai-ède\ you\ should\ have\ eaten\ those\ 28.10\]
\[gáníñke\ házi\ ñíñde\ t’ni\ (that)\ you\ shall\ be\ called\ grapes\ 550.7\]
\[gáci\ Háji\ ge\ anus\ teki’iñi\ that\ one\ Háji\ killed\ his\ brother\ for\ him\ 235.8\]
\[gáci\ ñéîñgèñi-gá\ put\ that\ on\ something\ for\ me\ 121.14\]

4. *é* refers to something referred to before.

\[é\ ní\ that\ water\ (referred\ to\ in\ line 2)\ 559.12\]
\[é\ giçe-biamá\ it\ is\ said\ she\ rejoiced\ at\ that\ 21.1\]
\[é\ št’i\ ma’w’ina\ te\ that\ too\ they\ stole\ 85.8\]
\[éga\ gaga-bažíi-gá\ hí\ do\ not\ ye\ do\ thus!\ 618.8\]

5. *du* is a form which is comparatively rare, and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

\[dualk’a\ this\ one\ here\ 58.5\]
\[ulip’é\ t’è\ dútë\ the\ bowl\ on\ this\ side\ 574.1\]
\[diida\ this\ way\ 191.8, 192.15\]
\[dídiha\ this\ way\ 553.3, 556.5\]

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:

\[miči’ñiši\ my\ son\]
\[hu\ his\ leg\]
\[t’añke’yapi\ their\ sister\]
\[wñci’ñte\ our\ two\ selves’\ two\ hearts\]
\[wñci’ñtepí\ our\ hearts\ (more\ than\ two)\]

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.

- t'aωi'ên his wife  
- nιt'a'swu̱ke your horse  
- t'aωo'wasi his servant

Often, however, these forms are prefixed to a syllable wa placed after the noun.

- wo'k'oya'ke t'd'wa her clothing

The noun to which t'd'wa, etc., refers may be entirely omitted; as,

- wino'k'ecala t'd'wa k'ın iyo'ta wаstel the old woman's was exceedingly good
- nιt'a'wapi k'ın iyo'ta lu'ta yours is exceedingly scarlet

Terms of relationship take in the third person a special suffix -ku.

- hu'nku his mother  
- hιnɡaand'ku her husband  
- atku'kupi their father  
- swanka'ku her younger brother  
- ti'balol'ku her elder brother  
- ku'ku his mother-in-law  
- tak'o'sku his son-in-law or daughter-in-law

This suffix is probably identical with the ku in taku what, which is used entire in t'it'd'kuye his relations and taku'wicaaye kindred.

After i or e, pure or nasalized, the k of this suffix either changes to e in conformity with the tendency already noted, or a t is inserted just before it.

- t'awo'wui his wife  
- k'wi'witsu ku his grandmother  
- leksi'tku his uncles  
- fit'ihiye'tku his master

Many terms of relationship have a syllable ši, 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 leksi'tku, ku'witsu ku, and probably tak'o'sku, above given; as also—

- mic'w'ksi my son  
- hωn'kaši female cousin  
- hokši boy  
- tia'k'ši' younger sister  
- tawo'wasi his servant  
- ta'nho'nši my cousin (male)

The following independent forms were observed in Ponca:

- wiwita my 633.11, 635.6
- wiwita my own 477.9, 492.12, 493.1
- čito thy 485.2, 635.4

§ 44
The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix -tu as a prefix in terms of relationship.

wi- my  
či- thy  
i- his

Examples:

wikun' my grandmother 9.3
witimi my father's sister 9.3
vinégi my mother's brother 10.16
witanlede my daughter's husband 349.12
winiši my child 44.13
činégi thy mother's brother 10.15
čiha un' thy mother 348.3
čik'áge thy friend 487.4
igášča un' his wife 348.13
ižin'ge his son 345.2
ižin'ge his daughter 345.1

With the words father and mother the first person possessive has an exceptional form.

in'nauna ha my mother 481.1, 638.1
indádi 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:

wand' now
ak' e' again
le'la very
hçi un' very
koa and
k' o also
nak' on' also

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.

sw'taya firmly
haz'k'el'ya at last
taw'ya un' well
wax'ka'ta kiya upward
a'taya entirely
kua'beya in all directions
w'gand' ha'beya suddenly
ka'kiya there
wa^n'ta'g at once appears to be compounded of wa^n'ta one and the auxiliary ka.

Others take la either alone or in conjunction with ya.

| išna'la alone | wa^n'ya n'a ha^n'ya l a suddenly |
| éc'a'la only | īl'ē yela exceedingly |

Demonstratives are usually adverbialized by means of another particle, ć' a (or k' a) sort or kind; as,

- he'c' el that sort  
- he'c' ena right off  

ć' a 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. Yw^n'k' a n and then, and ć' a w' k' e so, are most often used to introduce sentences; while na and, na'í's or, and th' a but, are the ordinary co-ordinate conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions, such as ć' a n or ć' a w' n a when, kē's or keya't's though, follow the subordinate clause, and are to be correlated with the post-positions like o^n on account of, for the purpose of; o with; ma hē' l into. The definite articles k'i n and k'o^n, and the adverbial particle ć' a sort or 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,

- éc'a'nł during (from e, ć' a n, and l)  
- él at (from e and l)  
- éhō^n then (from e and ha^n)  
- eh' ta' to (from e and ta)

Another long series contains the verbal prefixes a, i, and o (§ 12), and are in some cases, probably the majority, taken from verbs. Among these are—

- a'i'nam on the other side of  
- ak' a n on  
- ć' tch' an l far from

- iwa^n'kab above  
- iyē'č' ēl like  
- ik' l yela near to
oi'ala'teya under o'peya among
'p'la across o'ha among
o'gana in (a stream)

ki'ci' 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 n'6a to be destitute of is formed the post-position wani'6a 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:

- it'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
- ya to say
- h'te to kill
- hi to arrive coming
- ha to have, possess
- k's to stand
- k'sa to bend
- ta to eat
- ku to dig
- u to be on route coming
- to'n to cover

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'kapi they made him suffer
- wa'ste'ya to cause to be good

§§ 47, 48
wan'lya caused to be without
kaliya' caused to be made
šana'ya he had it for a robe (šana robe)
šawīčaya he caused them to be red (ša red)
éb'awīča'yapi those that they had for children
šu'ṇa nāp'eyapi they caused the horses to be frightened

Very naturally it is often used in the formation of adverbs.
šogyá thickly (literally, caused to be thick)
t'oy'le'a bluely (literally, caused to be like blue)
kultkiya' caused to be down, or downward
tọ'kiya anywhere, or caused to be in an indefinite direction

A considerable number of substantives consist of but one syllable. Such are the following:

\begin{align*}
t'a & \quad \text{general name for animals (like deer)} \\
hö & \quad \text{voice} \\
p'a & \quad \text{head} \\
t'o^n & \quad \text{robe} \\
u & \quad \text{leg} \\
we & \quad \text{blood} \\
hin & \quad \text{hair} \\
\text{\textit{p'te} bison; specifically, female bison} \\
t'i & \quad \text{lodge, dwelling} \\
\text{\textit{c'a} tree} \\
hin & \quad \text{fur} \\
i & \quad \text{mouth} \\
\text{\textit{mnu'} water} \\
\text{\textit{wa} snow} \\
\text{\textit{he} horn} \\
\end{align*}

A much larger number, however, have two syllables:

\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{we'} } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} male} \\
\text{\textit{mak' } } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} ground} \\
\text{\textit{no} } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} ear} \\
\text{\textit{ma} } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} iron} \\
\text{\textit{c'a} } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} heart} \\
\text{\textit{p' } } & \quad \text{\textit{p'a} fire} \\
\text{\textit{a} } & \quad \text{\textit{a} stone} \\
\text{\textit{si} } & \quad \text{\textit{si} tail} \\
\text{\textit{nu} } & \quad \text{\textit{nu-rope} rope} \\
\text{\textit{c' } } & \quad \text{\textit{c'oko} small of back} \\
\text{\textit{p' } } & \quad \text{\textit{p'a diaphragm} } \\
\text{\textit{p' } } & \quad \text{\textit{p'oko} plum} \\
\text{\textit{c' } } & \quad \text{\textit{c'ok' } child} \\
\text{\textit{m' } } & \quad \text{\textit{m'oka} knife} \\
\text{\textit{so} } & \quad \text{\textit{so'ka smoke} } \\
\text{\textit{nu} } & \quad \text{\textit{nu-a woman} } \\
\text{\textit{s' } } & \quad \text{\textit{s'ha foot} } \\
\text{\textit{c'a } } & \quad \text{\textit{c'a-beaver} } \\
\text{\textit{p' } } & \quad \text{\textit{p'aha} hill} \\
\text{\textit{ma} } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} grizzly bear} \\
\text{\textit{a} } & \quad \text{\textit{a' } daylight} \\
\text{\textit{i} } & \quad \text{\textit{i' } eye} \\
\text{\textit{ma} } & \quad \text{\textit{ma} cliff} \\
\text{\textit{nu} } & \quad \text{\textit{nu-small of back} } \\
\text{\textit{t' } } & \quad \text{\textit{t'ahnu' neck} } \\
\text{\textit{p' } } & \quad \text{\textit{p'oko} plum} \\
\text{\textit{t' } } & \quad \text{\textit{t'olle' wind} } \\
\text{\textit{e' } } & \quad \text{\textit{e'oka} flesh} \\
\end{align*}

It is quite possible that many or all of these were originally compounded from simpler words, as is still done in numerous cases.

\begin{align*}
p'ehi & \quad \text{\textit{p'ehi} hair of the head, or head-hair} \\
c'abo't'i & \quad \text{\textit{c'abo' } beaver-house (literally, in which dwell beaver) } \\
\end{align*}
ma'za wak'a' supernatural iron (i. e., gun)
šu'm'ka wak'a' supernatural dog (i. e., horse)
ma'za wahu' ē'a'm'ka iron shield
wičílegál'ga raccoon (literally, spotted face)
tat'a'm'ka buffalo bull (literally, big tu)
wičí'čécal'ga old man (very much of a male)
wičí'čécal'ga girl (literally, female child)
ku'p'ówak'íglát'ka but (literally, little leather wings)
p'asu' nose (literally, head-seed)
wičí'ho human voice
man'i wak'a' supernatural water (i. e., whisky)
ma'za wato'hi' osta'm'pi iron arrow-head fitted in (i. e., flintlock gun)
wičí'čélu' many lodges (where people go after death [literally, in them they live])
ta'čí'ca deer (literally, true tu)
wičí'ýa' old woman (very much of a female)
he'k'at'a elk (literally, branching [he] 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:

káhámi' an inside corner, a bend; verb the same, meaning to BEND BY STRIKING
olo'wa'n song (from lo'wa'n to sing)
tehi'ka hardship (from tehí hard)
woč a'm'tesiča sorrow (from č'a'm'te' heart, and siča bad)
ó'jók'úza darkness (from kpa'za it is dark)
wa'nd'k'ask'á animals (from mak'a' earth, and ska to move; i. e., things moving on the earth)
wičí'g'ának'apí or g'ának'apí burial-scaffold (from g'ának'a to lay up)
ół'w'wak'á myth (from hitó'w'wak'á to tell tales)
hia'at'a rattle or bell (from hia to rattle)
wa'm'n a pack of goods (from k'n to carry)
wak'n'ya'n the thunder-bird (from k'ya'n to fly)

Verbs ending in a, when they become substantives, sometimes change the a into e:

ak'a'hip'a to cover ak'a'hip'e covering
e'ya to say oé'ye a saying, verse, sentence
wa'd'wo'a to be observing wóad'wo've an observer
wa'd'skáp'a to stick on wóad'skáp'e a sticking-plaster
a'p'a to strike oá'p'e strokes, beatings
ošla'd'ya it is flat ošla'd'ye a level place or prairie
k'oyá'l'ka to have on wók'oyá'l'ke clothing
Stripped of their affixes, the terms of relationship are the following (see Riggs's Grammar, pp. xviii–xx):

- \( tw^{\text{ka}} \) grandfather
- \( kw^{\text{a}} \) grandmother
- \( ko^{\text{ža}} \) grandchild
- \( at^{e} \) father and father’s brother
- \( hw^{\text{a}} \) mother and mother’s sister
- \( tw^{\text{wi}} \) father’s sister
- \( lek^{\text{ši}} \) mother’s brother
- \( či^{\text{nye}} \) man’s elder brother
- \( tim^{\text{do}} \) woman’s elder brother
- \( ta^{\text{na}} \) man’s elder sister
- \( či^{\text{nwe}} \) woman’s elder sister
- \( sw^{\text{o}} \) younger brother
- \( ta^{\text{nši}} \) man’s younger sister
- \( ta^{\text{na}} \) woman’s younger sister
- \( či^{\text{nši}} \) son
- \( či^{\text{nši}} \) daughter
- \( ha^{\text{a}} \) man’s brother-in-law
- \( šic^{e} \) woman’s brother-in-law
- \( ha^{\text{ka}} \) man’s sister-in-law
- \( ičep^{\text{a}} \) woman’s sister-in-law
- \( to^{\text{nška}} \) woman’s sister’s son
- \( to^{\text{ska}} \) woman’s brother’s son
- \( tw^{\text{ža}} \) man’s sister’s daughter
- \( to^{\text{ža}} \) woman’s brother’s daughter
- \( ko^{\text{š}} \) son-in-law and daughter-in-law
- \( hih^{\text{mna}} \) husband
- \( wi^{\text{a}} \) wife or woman

In direct address several terms are used slightly different from the above; as, \( w^{\text{či'}} \) GRANDMOTHER.
IK"TO' 1 \ he'ë'ëš 2 \ wana' 3 \ ka'k'ë'na 4 \ isna'la 5 \ oma'ni-ya'ha'n 6 \ ñk'e, 7
Spider \ it happened \ now \ in a certain \ alone \ traveling was going \ it is said.

Yu'n'k'a'n 8 \ wana' \ ć' o'p'soke 9 \ iya'za \ wol-ya'ha'n 10, 6 \ Yu'n'k'a'n 8 \ ak'e'.
And then \ now \ forest \ from one \ eating was \ And then \ again

wak'pa'la 11 \ o'hu'ta 12 \ ēl 13 \ ina'zi'n 14 \ na \ mani' \ k'owa'kata'ha'n 15 \ ya'-c'in 16
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 \ šni \ na \ heya'ha'n 20 \ ñk'e, 7 \ "To'k'i" 21
although \ there was \ he might start \ not, \ and \ he was saying \ it is said, \ "Oh that

kowa'kata'n 15 \ ma'ka'n 22 \ ni 23 \ ec'n'ë'c'in 24 \ nawa'zi'n 25 \ eya', 26 \ Yu'n'k'a'n
on the other side \ I \ sit \ might \ thinking this \ often \ I stand," \ he said. \ And then

1 A shortened form of Ik'bo'mi (the Spider), who is the great trickster and charlatan among the Dakota.
2 he'ë'ëš he \ that; \ č'a \ sort; -s \ emphatic.
3 wana' \ perhaps contains the passive prefix wə-
4 ka demonstrative indicating something that happened at a remote time or in a remote place; \ č'e \ č'a \ sort \ or \ kind; \ na probably a locative particle used instead of → to indicate that he was already at the place where the event happened.
5-le- diminutive suffix.
6 o- prepositional prefix meaning in, the idea being that the traveling was done within a certain region; when there is a definite object in view the form is icim'ni; \ ya \ motion \ away \ in general, as distinguished from starting and arriving; \ -ha'n \ continuative suffix.
7 ñk'e \ quotative.
8 Introductory connective.
9 č.on \ an altered form of čan \ woods; \ ko'ka \ thick, the final vowel being altered in nominalizing.
10 wol \ wi-a \ something, and \ yu'la \ to \ eat, \ contracted into l.
11 wi-a \ perhaps passive prefix; \ -la \ diminutive.
12 o- prepositional prefix; \ hu'ta \ shore.
13 e \ demonstrative; \ -t \ motion to that place.
14 i- prepositional prefix indicating purpose; \ na- \ instrumental prefix indicating action done with the foot; \ ūn \ to \ stand.
15 k'owa'ka \ on \ the \ other \ side \ of \ the \ river; \ -ha \ from; \ -ha \ continuing \ to \ be.
16 A \ compound \ verb; \ ē'in \ to \ wish.
17 keya's; \ ke\ya \ usually \ equivalent \ to \ something \ and \ the \ emphatic \ suffix \ -š.
18 to indefinite demonstrative; \ č'a \ sort \ or \ kind, which is altered to \ č'a \ after \ o, \ and \ a syllable \ ni \ 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.
19 This \ seems \ to \ contain \ the \ ordinary \ stem \ of \ the \ verb \ to \ go \ and \ the \ causative \ auxiliary. \ Final \ a \ is \ altered \ to \ e \ before \ šni.
20 he demonstrative referring to what follows; \ ya \ to \ go; \ -ha \ continuative.
21 to indefinite demonstrative; \ ūn \ perhaps \ the \ definite \ article.
22 na- \ objective \ pronominal \ prefix \ before \ yaw'ka.
23 The \ sign \ of \ the \ optative.
24 e \ demonstrative; \ ē'in \ to \ wish, \ duplicated \ to \ show \ repetition \ of \ the \ mental \ process.
25 na \ to \ do \ with \ the \ foot; \ wi-a \ subjective \ personal \ pronominal \ prefix; \ ūn \ to \ stand.
26 e \ demonstrative; \ stem \ ya.
The water there just passed by. Then again he said, "Oh! that on the other side I sit might.

"Ho! swimming will but water le," he said. And then just then something

na heci'ya, "Ho, mani' i^n le o'p'ta a'c'i'ya^n k'ta, tk'a

and said to him, "Ho! water the this across I take you will, but
ta'ku wa^n'zi iwa'kta'ci'ya^n k'te^n lo. 40 eci'ya, 41 Yuo'k'an Ikw'to'
certain one I cause you to be on will, "he said to him. And then spider

ki'n heya', "Ho'wo! misu^n, 42 to'k'sa 43 ta'ku e'c'o^n-ma'ya'si'^44 ki'n 45

the said as, "Come! my younger brother by and by what to do you command the

So I do it will," said he. So now he said to him as follows,

"Ho! to'ha'n'i p'a ta'k'a'^i 40 hiyu'ye 50 sni mani' ogana'^51 no'wa^n'^52

"Ho! whenever head outside send it not water in swimming wau^n'^52 we lo. He'ce'l wamiye'cikita' k'te lo," eya'.

I am indeed. So you be on the watch will," said he.

Ho he'ce'ls wana' "To," eya'.

So it happened now "Yes," said he.

2) Used indifferently as an interrogative pronoun meaning what? and an indefinite pronoun meaning something.

3) The final syllable of han'tk'a' long is duplicated for the plural of he.

4) yan is probably the causative auxiliary ya altered to yan after on.

5) bate' wind against the current, against the wind; ya causative; he perhaps a contraction of habo.

31 hi to arrive at a place approaching one.

32 ti- the prepositional prefix; e'a conjunction; -l suffix indicating motion.

33 Definite article referring to ta'ku he han'skaska.

34 Alternate form with el, indicating something already in place.

35 he demonstrative; ki- changed to ei after e, indicating that the verb takes an object; ya stem.

36 Post-position containing the prefix o- and referring to be.

37 a- prepositional prefix, which indicates here that the subject of the verb went in company; e'i- you; ya to go, altered to yan before k'ta, the sign of the future.

38 ei- prepositional prefix; wek'i'ta to be on guard; ei l-you; causative ya, changed to yan before k'ta.

39 Future participle k'ta altered to k'ta by incorporating the ye of ye lo.

40 ye lo is usually employed in closing declarative sentences in direct address.

41 e demonstrative referring to what has just been said; ei for ki to or for; stem ya.

42 mi- possessive prefix, first person singular.

43 Probably the indefinite demonstrative lo.

44 e demonstrative; e'a to do (probably compounded of a prefix e'a and on); ma- objective, first person singular; ya- subjective, second person singular; ei to command, to bid.

45 It will be noticed that ki's is used referring to the entire preceding sentence.

46 e demonstrative; e'a sort, kind; -l indicating motion.

47 e demonstrative; e'a (see note 44); ma- first person objective; on (?).

48 Conjunction introducing the next sentence.

49 Contraction of tanka'ta.

50 hi to arrive coming; u to be coming along with a continuous motion; ya causative, changed to ye before it.

51 o- verbal prefix.

52 wa- first person subjective; wa usual or customary condition or state.
So when he said this, "When cloud one somewhere
small visibly sits the in that case tell me thou. So
in that case I flee will and water deep thither I go back to will the
you said thither," I went.

I'm not sure what to make of this text. It seems to be a combination of different languages, possibly Algonquian and English. The text contains various pronouns and verbs, but the meaning is not clear. It appears to be a passage from a colonial era document, possibly from the 18th or 19th century, discussing a place called "Thundery" and some events or actions related to it.
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Ca'k'e' wana' ka'k'él 81 mani' ki' a'op'ta he ki' a'knl 82

So now in that way water the along horn the on

ya'ni' na ya. Yu'k'a'n wana' mani' o'huta ik'i'yela 83 ye

he sat and was going. And then now water shore near to was going

či leha'n 84 malipi'ya šabye'la 85 au'. 86 Ca'k'e' heya', "Misui',

the at this time clouds blackly were coming. So he said as "My younger

nitue'k'asila 87 u we lo'," eya'. Ca'k'e' agana' mani'

your grandfather is com—indeed , said he. So all at once water

limu'ye'la 88 šk'a'nšk'a'n 89 hingala'. 90 Yu'k'a'n Ik'eto' ko'n 91 to'ki 92

roaringly moving about suddenly did. And then spider the whither

(i in the past)

i'ya'ye či a'taya kik'su'ye 93 sni. Yu'k'a'n i'tehna'čeha'n 94

he started the altogether remembered not. And then very long afterward

manio'huta ek'ta' le'če mani' a'op'ye'ya 95 lipa'ya he 96 ēha'n 97

edge of water at behold water partly in he was lying then

kik'su'ya. Yu'k'a'n heha'n mani' ekt'eto'wa'. 98 Yu'k'a'n mani'

he remembered. And then then water at he looked. And (then) water

ki' wan'paka'tkiya 99 liolye'la 100 hi'n na ta'ku he han'sk'ask'a ko'n

the upward grayish being and something horns long the

(w in past)

wa'ya'ke 101 sni na ēl nakon' waki'ya' ya hoto'n pi malio'.

he saw not and there also Thunders roared he heard.

Ho lēl wana' Ik'to' ki' heta' 102 ho'čelōs 103 ak'e' oman'i-

Now in this place spider the from that just as usual again was travel-

han šk'e. Leha'n'ye'la 104 wek'su'ye'. 105

ing it is said. Only this far I remember.

81 ka demonstrative, indicating something distant; ēa sort, changed to k'e; -i suffix indicating motion.
82 -i prepositional prefix; -i suffix indicating motion.
83 -i prepositional prefix; ya causative altered to ye; -la diminutive.
84 le demonstrative; -han continuous particle; -i suffix indicating motion.
85 -sā pa (also sa'pa) DIRTY OR BLACKENED, contracted to šab; ya causative; -la diminutive.
86 -a before w- indicates that a cloud was coming accompanied by others, and thus indirectly plurality.
87 ni- THY; -la diminutive.
88 kēRESS OR HUM; ya causative; -la intensive auxiliary.
89 Duplicated to express the distributive.
90 hina- 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 ki- one's own; k'su

stem; ye causative.
94 -i prepositional prefix; te particle indicating something far off in time or space; -han continuous

suffix; helo or hee REALLY, TRULY; -han continuous suffix employed a second time.
95 -a and -s prepositional prefixes; to FALLOW OR PURSUE; ya auxiliary.
96 -has changed before e.
97 e demonstrative; -has continuous.
98 e demonstrative.
99 This word contains -ta to, contracted to -t; ki- the dative sign; ya causative.
100 hol contracted form of the adjective ho'ta GRAY; ya causative; -la diminutive suffix

was probably a prefix; ke auxiliary.
101 he demonstrative; -has continuous suffix; -e from, after.
102 he demonstrative; ēa; -i suffix indicating motion; -s emphatic suffix.
103 le demonstrative; has continuous particle; ya causative; -la diminutive suffix.
104 -e 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

Hi°°njhi'wi^ra1 jagu'2 hamina'ųgiresasg'a naŋk'ù3 hi'perėśjina'ṅkšè;4

Our father what does he sit on, it seems he came to, he knew:

é'gi5 isjà niali°°' jè6 ra'kšè;7 é'gi ké s'i' wew'ni;8 haŋkè8 waja'ni^a9

and tears flowed he wept; and not long he thought not anything

of it:

hajani'jè;10 haŋkè;8 waja'ni^a9, kè;8 waja'ni'^a9 niŋ'gëna'ŋgenijè.11

he did not not anything, not anything was (there) anywhere.

Ja'gwamina'ųgiresasg'a naŋkšè gi'ji12 hamina'ŋgenaŋka, č'ja wajarº'jà;13

What he sat on it seemed he sat on that which, there something

hanigu'jè, hanigu'naŋka14 mana'ųgenè15 č'ja16 niŋ'gëni^ûk17

he took from, he took that which the earth there a little piece

wa'gi'jù;18 č'gi19 homina'ŋgenaŋka20 k'unha'^hìre'gi21 howahuijè.22

for them he and that which he sat on below him towards he sent it.

1 hi'ônè father; hi'hwîra 1st plural of possessive pronoun of terms of relationship; é softens to j when followed by any syllable.
2 jagur regular interrogative and relative pronoun.
3 Contraction for hamina'ŋkè-hë'gëgë-naŋk'ù; ha on; mi'nàŋkè he sits; hërè it seems; -gë a suffix implying uncertainty; -naŋk suffix denoting sitting position; -ùn he does, auxiliary verb (1st person ha'ùn, 2d person kù'n, 2d person wàn).
4 hi-perëšjì-naŋkšè; hi prefix generally meaning with; perës he knows, jì he comes; -naŋk suffix denoting sitting position; -kè or -jì temporal suffix denoting present completed action.
5 é'gìi conjunctive, sometimes with the force of then. Composed of two elements,—é, the demonstrative pronoun 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 (hi)ja'na-ha'kùn'; jë eye-water-it flowed on—present time.
7 wa'kè; kè he wept—present time.
8 ni'wë'n he knows; ni negative particle following adverb haŋkè or kë not, and always inserted at the end of the stem of the following verb.
9 wa'jarº'jà;21 hamina'ŋgenaŋka indefinite pronoun composed of wajarº, something; and hi'jà;21 one, a. The n following the nasalization is a glide.
10 hajà-ni^jè he sees; negative particle; present (1st person ha'â, 2d person ha'ja', 3d person ha'ja').
11 niŋ'gë-nàŋkù-ni'jè any (thing); sitting position; negative particle; present.
12 gi'ji an adverb generally meaning so. Often used as a stop.
13 Contraction for wajarº'jà; hi'jà; The elision of the h, the union of two vowels to form a diphthong, and the shifting of the nasalization, are very common in Winnebago; for example, nas+hi'jà form main'jà; a tree; man+hi'jà form main'jà; a year.
14 hani-gu'naŋka to use, to take from; ha from (1st person ha'â, 2d person ha'sîni, 3d person ha'â). This verb is used also as one of the possessive pronouns. gu it comes in direction towards subject of action (1st person ha'kù', kà'-, gu, gu); naŋkà, sitting form of demonstrative pronoun ga that. Here used with force of relative with.
15 man-a'n'ge;21 earth; demonstrative plural pronoun from ga; idiomatically used as the plural definite article.
16 č'ja adverb. Probably composed of demonstrative é and hi'jà; there.
17 niŋ'gë-nâŋk a piece, a little; niŋk is the regular diminutive suffix. Sometimes used to express an indefinite object.
18 wa'gù'ja'jè plural objective personal pronoun; for; he did; present time. There are four elements of gi that have to be carefully distinguished,—the instrumental prefix, the preposition for or to, the temporal suffix, and the verbal stem.
Hoku’ruliu’jega’ja

He looked at his own (to this earth) let similar it became; and
kē’waja’ni

hayebeni’je bare it was, and
nothing appeared upon it (i.e., grew)

na’nkē
horup’ni
na’nkē
he still it; not it.

Gise’wē jina’nk’janaga’ja

quiet it will become,” he thought.

E’gi higí’u’jé homina’ngemanka;

Then he made it for that which he sat on; there a grass he took and
hi’gū’jé ma’no’wahu’hi’jé

he made toward the earth he and then he did he looked upon his own
hankē gise’wени’na’nkē

not still it was. . . . Again one he did when he finished the tortoise
ke’ců’ngega

E’gi may begin a sentence. Its force is that of a conjunction connecting more or less independent sentences, as distinguished from a’ną’gā, which connects closely related sentences. The translation or then is always inadequate.

20 ho-mina’ntō-na’kō; ho is a nominalizing prefix. Nominalization, however, requires generally not only this prefix or its related wo, but also the suffixing of the definite article ra or some demonstrative, as in this case.

21 kē’we’ha’hi-re’gi below; hi auxiliary or causative (1st person ha, 2d person ra or ẹ, 3d person hi); re’gi 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 this close union, however, the auxiliary is regularly conjugated for the 1st, 2d, and 3d persons; i.e., kē’we’ha’ha’re’gi, kē’we’ha’ma’re’gi, kē’we’hi’re’gi. The -re’gi denotes that it is immediately below the subject of action; re is a demonstrative pronoun, which seems to denote immediate proximity, and to be stronger than me this (for the first person). But its exact meaning is uncertain.

22 “hō’weh-hu’hi; hō’weh an adverb denoting towards, away from subject of action; hu’hi to send (1st person hu’ha’, 2d person ha’ra’, 3d person hu’hi), to send away from subject of action; for to send towards subject of action, the verb 1st person reh’at, 2d person re’ra’, 3d person rehi’, is used.

23 ho-hu’rul’c’-gadjan; ho preposition generally meaning in; ku pronoun referring to what belongs to one’s self, either of one’s own person, property, or relations. Its vowel conforms with the following vowel (see § 4); rhu’c’; ru 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 dahu’r’agi, su’r’hu’r’agi, rahu’r’agi, to obtain, to accomplish; ga’djas an adverb almost always used as a stop.

24 jē’segi an adverb meaning that kind, that way.

25 ha’-gí’nti’jé; ha’ on; rép it pushes, it grows, appears; ni negative particle; jē present tense.

26 ha’ skin; ba’ra’ bare, naked; na’ik’iê sitting position.

27 hankē or kē’ not; gise’wē quiet; ni negative particle.

28 me this near me; jégien an adverb meaning thus, indeed; ha causative 1st person; gi’ji conditional.

29 ji to come; wäch from nā’k, which becomes lengthened in the future; kē’nd future particle. The simple future particle is kā, but to express an indefinite future the particle na is always suffixed. Without the na it has the force of a mild imperative. (Cf. also note 43.)

30 1st person yar’él, 2d person hā’at’ēl, 3d person hē’rē to think.

31 hē’rē to do with; gi’ for.

32 Rau’ril weed, grass; -jan contraction for hi’jan.

33 ku’r or r’u (1st person dun, 2d person su’ru, 3d person r’u) to take; a’ną’gā, a conjunction connecting closely related sentences.

34 ma’an’g’ha’weh-hu’hi’jé; na for ra, the r of which changes to p after a nasalization (see note 22).

35 jé’gōn hā’na’ngā a common connective phrase; hi’ causative 3d person.

36 Contraction of gi’jé hi’jan.

37 Contraction of u’ng’ep to finish and the third person of the causative hi. Both elements of the verb are conjugated. Thus ha’u’ng’ēba’na’n, ẹ’u’ng’ēba’na’n, ’u’ng’ēba’na’n; gi’ji’ is used here as a temporal particle.

38 ke’cū’kēk or ke’cū’ngē large species of turtles; k’ alone is also found meaning turtle; -gā a regular possessive pronominal 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, ku’mū’gā ELDEST BORN, etc. But in direct address the -gā is dropped.
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higé'jé. 39 Hunubi'mani 40 wowé'wi'hojéjá'ja 41 wagún'zerá. 42 "Jejá' he called him. Two-legged walkers at the end of his thinking made. "To end kárho'a ká'sána 43 má'ná pi'sún'á 44 se'rek'ána'na 45 ké'ú'ngérá. 46

They are about the earth you make it good you are going to you, toadise.

Jégú'n hi‘a'ngágama'hi’ja 47 hanigí'gíjé. 48 Man'negi'gíjí'ji 49 wóna'jír 50

And after he did a knife to possess he gave him. On earth when he wars

âtun'jé wogún'zerá hánke' ho'girulíyúji'jé; 51 é'gi jíge' hánke'

he did the creation not at looked he for him; and again not

hogy'rujúíyújége' 52 é'sge 53 kú'ndu'sí 54 ... Hagi 55
e'ra 56 hoike'wejé. 57 "Ha'ná 58 kú'nika, 59 híó'cú'ra kú'nika wá'r 60

The house went he in.

"Say grandmother, my father grandmother work

hu'úngí'gíra 61 duliurú'ká'sána; 62 wogú'n'zerá pi'un' 62 hu'úngígíra'ra

he sent me for I have accomplished; his creation fix it right he sent me for

1st person ya'gé, 2d person hi'rájé, 3d person hi'gé, to call.

46 Contraction for hu-ná'nt'hi'má'ní leg-two-he walks with. As it has no nominizing prefix, correctly rendered, it ought to read the two-legs-to walk with. It is used here idiomatically as a noun. The verb is 1st person hi'má'ní, 2d person hi'má'ní, 3d person hi'má'ní.

47 ro'w- is a nominizing prefix probably composed of wa indefinite pronoun and ho. It is used far less frequently than ho. je'fájá'ja is a contraction for jejá'ja' to end and é'ja there, with prepositional force.

48 wa indefinite pronoun; gún or gúns (1st person ha'gúns, 2d person ra'gúns, 3d person gán) to create; the article -ra has the force of a relative pronoun here.

49 1st person haká'dí're, 2d person ra'ká'dí're, 3d person ká'dí're, to be ready, to be about; 4k or 4k kí 3d person singular of suffix denoting walking or lying. (1st person -mar, 2d person ka'wa'rák, 3d person -áhí); 4k is a suffix of uncertain meaning that never appears alone, but is always followed by -an. It is generally suffixed to the elements denoting sitting and lying or walking. Indeed, I know of no instance where -an is directly suffixed to the above forms of the verbs, 4k being always inserted before it. It must not be confused with -se, from which in actual conversation it can hardly be distinguished. -an is a suffix denoting general indefinite action.

46 From pi'n in good, to be good, and ñ'á 2d person singular of auxiliary 'á (see note 3).

47 From irregular verb, 1st person de, 2d person sé're, 3d person re, to go; ká future; -ne a suffix of the same nature as é, never appearing alone, but always followed by -an; it is generally suffixed to verbs in the standing form.

48 -ra is the 2d person singular of the possessive pronoun. Used here in a vocative sense. For this reason the regular -ga is omitted.

49 Mshina' is an iron knife. This term was used to designate the first white people with whom the Indians came in contact.

50 háni with prepositional force of with, possessing; gi'gi an auxiliary verb (1st person ha'gígi, 2d person ra'gígi, 3d person gí'gi) to make, with the idea of some force being used in the action.

47 Contraction for man-ra-ági'gi-ájíká, earth-the-here-he came-when; -jí is an adverb here, used in a prepositional sense; for ji see note 4.

This means literally something terrifying (from hánkíre to be scared).

ho' is preposition in; gi' is preposition for. The demonstrative é is occasionally used for the 3d person singular when it is to be expressed. -ni negative particle.

51 Regular adverb, meaning therefore thus, on that account.

52 Conclusion for -meg and hi'gún' then.

53 en reflexive (see note 23).

54 Adverbial expression; ha in composition often means at.

55 gi (1st person ha'cí, 2d person ra'cí, 3d person ci) to live. It is also used as a noun.

56 1st person wa'tírá'vé, 2d person horá'kívé, 3d person ho'kívé; ho means in; i is probably gi ron, with the g elided (see § 35). It may, however, be an idiomatic substitution for ki, a possessive particle. The verb means he is going to his own house. If it were not his own house, the forms would have been 1st person wa'tírá'vé, 2d person horá'kívé, 3d person ho'gíkívé. The stem of the verb is ke'vé.

57 Used in the sense of Halloo, say, and often simply to begin a narrative.

58 Grandmother is hi'kó'róké; but in direct address kú'níká is used, just as fa'ji and na'ní are employed for father and mother.

59 1st person wa'tídè, 2d person wa'teré, 3d person wa'tré, to work. The 3d person singular of verbs is at the same time the absolute form, to be translated by our infinitive.

60 hi' objective personal pronoun 1st person. For -gi'gi and -ra see notes 48 and 46.

61 ú has participial force.

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—61
hakan'č duhun'kšana8 un'kšigo-in'na63 hidegwaha'ra64 hiuni'wahara
all I have accomplished it their life my uncles my aunts
wiakaraki'sgę65 'unekjane'na8."—"E'gi čuns'ga'no jasgera'naigę
the same as myself they will be."—
and grandson how did you
hidegwa'ra ga un'kšigo-in'na66 wiraki'sgę jasger'kjeje7 ke'jesga'-
my uncles their life make just as you how could you it is not
nina67 hi'o'jwui'ra jagun'ę gún'sgę69 jengu'na8 hańke' jejun'ę-
that way our father indeed he created (them) that is so (but) not he made
higi'70 p'in'na67,71-"K'uni'ga' wajana7 wahtigu'ni,72 esge73 hańke'
it thus could he.—"Grandmother something to them she must be, for not
gip'ínie gawani'ku'ni74 'te'wagigir'a."75 Hirana'ńkse. "Hańka'87
like it does she is saying that I killed them." He thought. "No, no,
čuns'ga'no, hańke'je je'eseğę ya'te wahania'ńkšana8,77 čuns'ga'no
grandson, not that way am I am I thinking
hi'o'jihi'wira ro'ra hakó'na78 hi'gın'ss'ana79 wa'ruč80 hi'kiru'ji's80a
our father bodies the falling (to die) he made me eating to fall short
kinej'opa71,81 hege'jini,82 čę'sgę hoko'n'na čuns'wahie'gę83 wa'u'na8.
they would make one another because of that, therefore death for them to have he made.

63un'kš means male human being; un'kšig'k is generic name for human beings, and secondarily for Indians. (h)aw'ya is the nominalized form of the verb 1st person a'í, 2d person ra'í, 3d person ña, to act, to live.
64he'k uncle; -wak'ara 1st person plural of possessive pronoun, used for terms of relationship.
65Contraction for wa'ya-a'kra'k'sgę; wa indefinite pronoun; kara reflexive-possessive; 1st person wak'sgę, 2d person hi'wak'sgę, 3d person hi'k'asgę.
66See note 63.
67j'asgę how; k'je future; j'je interrogative particle. The whole expression has acquired a force in ordinary usage which makes it practically an exclamation.
68je'sgę ha'mina that is not my way; ha'mina is a possessive pronoun.
69gęns he created; -gę a causal suffix, because, for that reason.
70An expression similar to jegu'ni'ko'k'asgę; gi has adverbial force.
71p'is to be good is often used as an auxiliary verb with the force of to be able, can.
72This means she must be related to them; wa plural objective personal pronoun 3d person; -hi causative. It must not be forgotten that the causative is really an auxiliary verb and is often used as such. -gu'ni a temporal suffix implying a probability that is almost a certainty. The other suffix denoting probability, -gu'ni, has no element of certainty in its meaning.
73We she says changes to wa after a negative. The verb is irregular, 1st person hihe', 2d person hihe', 3d person he. The h of he is always omitted. The w preceding a 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; nákk'i'ni is a contraction for na'k'g gu'ni, the suffix denoting sitting position and the suffix denoting probability. K'asgę does not actually say the above words, but the supposition seems so true to Wa'ai'gi'ga, that it almost amounts to a certainty, and therefore -gu'ni is used instead of -gu'ni.
74'At Dead; wa them; hag'gi I did (see note 48); -ra that (see note 46); 1st person če'ha, 2d person če'ra, 3d person če'hi, to kill.
75The short e is changed to á on account of emphasis.
76See notes 74 and 43.
771st person hak'k'ogo, 2d person ha'ru'k'ogo, 3d person ha'k'wr, to fall.
78him me; gięns to make; la'na (see note 43).
791st person du'č, 2d person wu'ruč, 3d person ruč, to eat. The w is indefinite.
801st person hik'kru's, 2d person hu'k'kru's, 3d person hi'k'kru's.
81With the preceding verb. K'is auxiliary verb (from 1st person ha'k'ós, 2d person ra'k'ós, 3d person k'ós, to do, to make; gę, čę, rę, čę, suffix used to indicate 3d person plural of almost all verbs. It is really an auxiliary verb. For na'k see note 43. When suffixed to future, it makes the latter more indefinite.
82gę'sfı'ni or hegę'sfı'ni conjunction. The latter form is rarely found.
83ču many, really an adverb; waihe' he made them; gę causal suffix.
HANDBOOK TO THE AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

The earth is crowded; they would not make one another.

"Grandmother! They did not like it."

"Well, grandson, she is taking her heart."

They will go up to her and say, "Well, grandson, you are standing up."

They will follow me thus forever.

As I have never found another instance of the negative particle, I assume that I overheard the latter word. For -ge'jini see note 82.

The verb is found only in the reflexive form, 1st person wa'tara'ik, 2d person wa'raka'asik, 3d person wa'kara'asik; wa is indefinite pronoun; kara reflexive pronoun; -as is a glide.

This should be hi'rena'akke, the change from e to a being due to the presence of the negative.

An idiomatic expression with force of an exclamation. Probably a contraction of haga' + wa'ja + ga'ja + ma'ja; haga' is an exclamation employed by women (see note 115); ma'ja a year.

From st'ak to be old. The fact that it has the nominalizing prefix would indicate that st'ak is a verb.

"Grandfather, he made a place for them to have,"
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 a 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.

[Free Translation]
... 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 come 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 over-crowding 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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Text
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, 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 dialects 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. 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 Kaloaitit 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 Norvegia, 76, 205; Thalbitzer III, 111-112, and IV, 208).
2H. Rink, in his “Eskimo Tribes” (Meddelelser om Grønland, XI, 1887-91), was the first to undertake such a comparison; Thalbitzer, I, 181-269 ( 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 Atuagagittittit (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.

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 Meddeleler om Grønland, XXXI, Copenhagen, 1904), and again, in 1905-06, in East Greenland.

2 Thalbitzer I, 237, 260, 262-265.

§ 1
The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M. stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river, respectively.

Authorities have been quoted as follows:

L. Adam, 5e Congrès International des Américanistes, Compte-Rendu. Copenhague 1884.

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.

O. Fabricius, Forsog til en forbedret Grønlandsk Grammatica. Kjøbenhavn 1791. 2 ed. 1801.


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.
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></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open consonants (fricatives)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| VOWELS | Normal | | U| | ularized, being followed by r, s, q, or q. |
|---------|--------|-------|---|---|
| Closed vowels | | | | |
| Semi-closed | | | | |
| Semi-open | | | | |
| Open | | | | |

§ 2
The majority of the symbols here used are in accordance with the signs employed by the Association phonétique internationale. 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 á; m:=mm or m.

I prefer in ordinary orthography to double the sign to indicate length of sound: thus, aa, mm, ss, 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.

~ indicates nasalization: á, ą, r.

i, u mean glides of the preceding vowel: a [aʊ] or [aʌ], a [a'] or [aʊ].

w, r mean labialization and uvularization.

Following is a detailed description of these sounds:

A uvularized a, or followed by a uvular, in my ordinary transcription ar, or pronounced with the soft palate (the velum) strained and lifted. It is like a in English far, followed by the Eskimo fricative r (or q); see under r.

Arssaq a ball

a as in French âme, patte (rarely like French pâte, pas, or English father).

Arnaa his woman, mother

Ataa beneath it

á about as in man; a short a modified by closed consonants and point-consonants (or dentals) (Sweet, "A Primer of Phonetics," §§ 50 and 190).

qilâk sky

nánoq bear

pimnât as he came


2 In my ordinary transcription I have tried to avoid diacritical marks.
meerqát children
aâppau his companion
ä about like the vowels in French laït, German denn; between ε 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 [arnːät] plural of arnaq woman
ˈnätteq a seal
kislänne but
e stopped front palatal, voiceless (Passy, l. c., § 187; Jespersen,
l. c., §§ 118 and 168); in ordinary transcription tj or kj. Common
in some Eskimo dialects; for instance, Mackenzie river,
tcitamat [citamat] four; also in the dialects of Upernavik and
Ammassalik in Greenland. (Thalbitzer I, 90, 190–191, 209,
221, 259.) q is the same sound very far forward.
ɡ as in German ich.
ixxia [ɪxːia] his throat (see under x).
ɔ see after o.
e more closed than ɛ in French étè, and a little more forward. When
it is used long, it sounds about like a long i.
qaane over it, on its surface
neesaq [niːsq] a porpoise
The “European” ɛ, 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 eer. The
first sound is about like a long i; the latter, rather like ä.
ɛ=ɛ, uvularized ā (cf. ɑ and r).
ernej [ɛrnːeq] son
meerqaj [meːrɔeq] child, plural meerqát [meːrɔqát]
ε=ɛ uvularized, farther back than ɛ, and sometimes like ā (Thal-
bitzer I, 107, 109) on account of the rounding of the innermost
part of the mouth.
peerpoq [pɛːrpɔq] it is free, it is off
ʒ=ʒ uvularized, short mid-vowel.
f bilabial fricative.
sarfaq [sɑːɾfːaq] a current (Central and South Greenland, Labrador)
ɡ is a ʃ 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 $\hat{c}$.

$q\alpha$ (South Greenland), $i\gamma$ (North Greenland), a pot

$h$ is heard sometimes in interjections.

$i$ high narrow vowel (Bell and Sweet), as in French fini.

$\text{it\text{\textipa{t}}}q$ many years ago

$\text{ill\text{\textipa{t}}}$ thou

$r$ between $i$ and $e$, especially before $n$, $m$, $y$.

$\text{inaa} [\text{ma:\textipa{r}}]$ its (the bird’s) nest

$j$ like $y$ in yard, or like $j$ in German ja.

$\text{a\text{\textipa{t}}aa}$ his aunt

$\text{pu\text{\textipa{t}}oq}$ smoke

$q$, $r$, $n$, and $\nu$ 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 (tenuis), probably identical with the qof of the Arab (Passy, l.c., §189).

$q\text{aqqaq} [\text{qaq:\textipa{q}:aq}]$ mountain

$\text{arga} [\text{aq:\textipa{a}:\textipa{o}}]$ his name

$\text{eqqaane} [\text{eqa:\textipa{a}:ne}]$ in the vicinity

$k$ as in French cas without aspiration; only before $i$, $e$, and $u$, it may be heard aspirated.

$\text{kaapooq}$ he is hungry (pronounce $k$ like voiceless $g$), but

$\text{keevwa}$ it bit him (more like $[k\text{\textipa{v}:\textipa{w}:a:]$)

$l$ and $\lambda$ 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 $l$ [$\lambda$] is of rare occurrence in Indo-European languages, but it is well known from many other languages both in America ($\lambda$ of the Nahuatl, $l$ of Kwakiutl) and in Africa.

$\text{ila}$ certainly

$\text{ulo}$ woman’s knife

$\text{illo}$ house

$\text{ar\text{\textipa{t}}uk}$ 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) awpaataartoq instead of awpalaartoq red.

m as in English, but it is often long in Eskimo.

ammassuit [am'as:üt] capelans.

n articulated like t and l, at the lower edge of the upper teeth or at their posterior surface.

y like ng in sing, singer (notice that the combination yg does not occur in Eskimo). Frequently this sound is so loosely articulated that it may be described rather as a nasalized g [ð] fricative.

ayakkoq shaman
eya pot
ayut man, father
paniña or paniña 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, uvularized o [o] or [ɔ], which is more open.

ooneq [u-neeq] a burn

o uvularized o rather closed like o in so, followed by the Eskimo fricative r or q.

qooq urine
ornippaa he comes to him

o uvularized o, more open, like o in English more, or like a in all, followed by r or q. See o, o.

orssoq [ɔrs:ɔq] blubber

p as in French pas without aspiration.

paamouth of a river

ñ uvular nasal = n (Passy, l. c., § 196).

ersit (dialect of Disco bay) lakes=ermit, singular imeq fresh water; in Oommannaq fiord also intervocalic: anone=anoñe wind, instead of anore.

§ 2
uvular fricative, voiced, is related to q as g is to k and v 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, 1. c., § 222). It is the u of the Association phonétique internationale. Its articulation is especially tense when it is followed by q; e. g.,

sargaq the sunny side
aarqat gloves

r\text{q} is nothing but a modified form of long q [\text{q}:]; other combinations with r in Greenlandic are rl, rs, rf, rl, ry, 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:

\text{arga} his name =\text{o}q\text{ga} [\text{Ag}:a]
\text{orssoq} blubber =\text{o}s\text{q} [\text{o}:q]
\text{erneq} son =\text{e}\text{n}:\text{eq}]

When the r stands alone between vowels, its place of articulation is often somewhat advanced, and the friction not very tense; e. g., in \text{neriwoq} eats. In some districts (for instance, in the Oommannaaq fiord) the outgoing air is apt to escape through the nose-passage, causing r to be nasalized, or [\text{r}]; this nasal is related to \text{q} [\text{n}] as \text{q} to y or as \text{w} to m.

\text{neriwoq} (Oommannaaq) eats

\text{r} indicates a voiceless r, short or long, =\text{r} of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, 1. c., § 222). It is something like ch in German (Swiss) Bach.

\text{marraq} clay
\text{errorpaa} washes it

\text{s} see after \text{l}.

\text{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
the English sound, because the $t$ is nearly interdental. Therefore there is a difference between the $s$-sounds in *arssaq* a ball, and *nätseq* a seal. In other words, an $s$ [$s$] is heard, which, although not quite identical with the $\delta$ or $j'$ of the phoneticians, as in English *she*, bears some resemblance to it; e. g.,

$aaseet$ [$aːseːt$] (West Greenland) of course

*aawsaq* [$aːwaːsaq$] summer

*saa* [$saː$] 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 $o$.

*tawna* [$daːwna$] that there

*tooq* [$ḍoːq$] a mattock

But before $i$, $e$, $u$, often aspirated, especially when the $t$ is long, as in the imperative plural *-itte* in Northwest Greenland (= *-itse* in Central and South Greenland). It might be symbolized as $t$.

*areq* a name

*nārem* the floor or bottom

*rīkeq* forefinger

*aerpoq* he goes down

*tārtit* the lakes (nearly like *[tātsiː]*)

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 $n$, $l$, $r$, are alike in this respect, being sometimes nearly interdental.

$r$ see $t$; $r$ see $c$.

*u* like *ou* in French JOUR, ROUGE.

*uﬁra* there!

*una* he (she, it)

*u* between $o$ and $u$ stands for long $u$ [$uː$]; e. g.,

*kook* [$kuvk$] river

*oommannaqa* [$uːmːanːsaq$] 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 \([\theta]\) of the Association phonétique interna-
tionale (Passy, l. c., § 210; Jespersen, l. c., § 125).

\( awaa \) 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
\( \ddot{u} \) between \([u]\) and \([y]\) in French \( j\text{ou}\)r and \( r\text{ue} \), German \( f\text{r\text{"u}}\)h; mid-
vowel with slight lip-rounding. Occurs especially between
\( s, n, j, t; \) for example:

\[ \text{toyosün Hippoq} \text{ it is sweet (to taste)} \]
\[ \text{toossüt} \text{ a beam of the house} \]
\[ \text{nüjüittoq} \text{ tame, not shy} \]
\[ \text{itàippoq} \text{ goes across} \]

\( r \) is related to \( \ddot{u} \) as \( r \) to \( i \), \( v \) to \( u \).

\( s\text{una} \) [\( s\text{yna}\)] what
\[ \text{tuttut} \] [\( t\text{yttt}\)] reindeer

\( z \) voiced \( s \), occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eskimo dialects (Thalbitzer I,
209, 215).

\section*{§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 \text{nuna LAND}.
(2) Short vowel + long consonant, as in \text{männa THIS}.
(3) Long vowel + short consonant, as in \text{maane HERE}.
(4) Long vowel + long consonant, as in \text{maanna NOW}.
The dynamic accent in a great many words is uncertain or only slightly differentiated. Examples are:

pania his daughter
nulia his wife
avonya toward the north
unnummat 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—unnummat, ornippaa—are stressed. Besides, the final syllable has a tendency to attract the stress to itself: ti'eq, pani'oq, seqi'neq, iy'ut'taq, a'nina'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.,

3 2 1 1 4 1 3 3 1 2 1 4 3 2 2 3 1 1 4 1 3 4 1 1 1 2 4
Kaasasornojowuaq allineq ajormat tiyunissaraluarloqo attamut iyitar-
3 1 3 1 1 2 4 3 1 1 4 2 3 3 3 2 1 1 1
pau't ilaai ogassapput ujaranaqyitloq alliunnaarloq iltut agi-
4 1 3 1 1 3 1 2 1 1 4 2
sorsuit piniartunik ulikuartul.

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:

\text{tu'peq} tent \quad \text{ti'keq} forefinger
\text{a'teq} name \quad \text{a'put} snow
\text{a'yut} man, male
\text{a'naa} her elder brother
\text{ti'pik} smell
\text{ne'qe} meat
\text{sa'wik} knife

Paroxytone:

\text{'orssoq} blubber
\text{'illo} house
\text{'erneq} son
\text{'tippik} piece of the framework of a kayak
\text{'sakko} implement for hunting

§ 3
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 become paroxytones, or vice versa. This is shown by many inflected forms and derivations in the Greenland dialect here mentioned, and also by comparison of other dialects.

Greenland *a'meq* a skin > plural *ammit* skins
Greenland *mal'ik* a wave > verbal *mullerpoq* the sea is rolling
Greenland *'i'llit* thou < casus obl. *i'llinnut* to thee
Greenland *a'teq* a name = Alaska *'al'eq* (Barnum 325)
Greenland *aku'tag* bastard = Alaska *a'kutak* mixed dish
Greenland *iI'dmun* yes, truly = Alaska *iI'numun* (ibid. 336)
Greenland *uki'og* winter = Alaska *'ukshuk* (ibid. 372)
Greenland *'tullimát* five = Alaska *taj'lemän* (ibid. 367)
Greenland *a'taa^wseq* one = Labrador *attausaeq* = 'attau^wseq?'
Labrador *'sittamat* four = Alaska *st'amên* (ibid. 365)
Greenland *ná'teq* bottom, floor = Alaska *'nátrok* (ibid. 355) boot-sole
Greenland *'u^w'llume* to-day = Caribou lake^t*pélumi* to-day
Greenland *'gullit* the uppermost = Caribou lake *kpalépit* (superposés)
Greenland *'axzerpoq* ap-proaches = Alaska *agg'é'irqtou [ak:é'irt:ou] (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 *g*, 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>
<th>Forefinger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ti'lkeq</em></td>
<td><em>tikerit</em></td>
<td><em>nerlerit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'nerleq</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>goose</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mackenzie river, Petitot Vocabulaire, p. 7.
For further examples see Thalbitzer I, 245.

qa'noq how; qano'rrippa how is it; qano'rrunna how is that; qanor-d'qarpa how did he say
'tern'neg son; 'ernne'ra (<erneg+a) his son
sooq why; 'sooruna yes, certainly (sooq una why do you ask)
oqarpoq (West Greenland) he says; orarpoq (East Greenland);
OTORPOQ (Mackenzie river, Petitot, p. xxxiv, opakluartuark)
seqineq (West Greenland); seriniktenga (Baffin land, Boas I)
the sun
nege (West Greenland) meat; nerivwoga (West Greenland) I eat
(cf. Southwest Alaska nuqrhoa I eat)

\( q > r \). The shift \( q > r \) in the Mackenzie-river dialect is doubtful; e. g.,
in uwaqut (Southwest Greenland) we, uwarut (?) (Mackenzie
river, Petitot) we.

\( q > \tilde{q} \, [N] \). This shift is found in the terminal sound of many words
of the Baffin-land, Smith-sound, and Ammassalik dialects, which
have their terminal sounds nasalized, whereas the other dialects
keep the oral tenuis \( q \). Also the dialect of the Mackenzie-river
Eskimo bears evidence of a similar tendency, as shown by some
few examples of it; e. g.,

Smith sound tuluang [tuluaN] raven
Baffin land sirinirn[serinne] the sun
Mackenzie river atenen [aten] a name

\( r > \tilde{q} \). This shift takes place in the dialect of Oommannaq fiord in
North Greenland in those words in which \( r \) occurs between
vowels; e. g., in—

Oommannaq Fiord
neqiwoq
anoqe

Disco Bay
nerivwoq he eats
ano re wind

\( k > q \). This shift appears in a comparison of some of the possessive
and verbal endings of the Greenland and Southwest Alaska
dialects.

Southwest Alaska
-ka my, I
-ku, -kê it, them

South Greenland
-ga my, I
-ko, -git it, them

\( \S 4 \)
$k > \eta$, probably through an intermediate $q$, is a shift well known in the Greenland grammar; e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>killik</em> boundary</td>
<td><em>killiyit</em></td>
<td><em>killiya</em> its boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toollik</em> loon</td>
<td><em>toolliyit</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>assik</em> picture, portrait</td>
<td><em>assiyit</em></td>
<td><em>assiya</em> his portrait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *manniit*, probably < *manniyit* (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 *saviik* 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 *eqaluk* salmon
Baffin land *yaqodluk* (ibid. III, 127); West Greenland and Labrador *yaquluk* fulmar
Baffin land *koyuk* (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 *qopanung* [gopanuy] | Greenland *qupaluk* (arsu) sparrow
Smith Sound *marluy* or *maggon* | Greenland *marlulk* two
Point Barrow *madririn* [-riy] | Greenland *marloreek* twins
Point Barrow *ujarun* [ujary] | Greenland *ujarak* a stone
Point Barrow *-wiiñ* [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 \( q \).

\( g > y \). In most of the dialects the fricative \( g \) is frequently used; but in the northeastern group it is regularly replaced by \( y \), sometimes by \( \tilde{g} \). \( g \) 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 \( g \).

<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>( naalaqaq )</td>
<td>( naalaqaq ) master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( igippaa )</td>
<td>( igippaa ) he throws it away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( iga )</td>
<td>( inya ) (( yu )) kettle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( paniqa )</td>
<td>( paniqa ) my daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( qaqugro )</td>
<td>( qaqugro ) when (in the future)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. the Labrador forms \( ajagaq, iga, panniqa, qaqugro, tooqaq \) walrus-tusk

Another example is:

South Greenland \( oqarfiqaa \) he says to him; North Greenland \( oqarfiqaa \) (Upernavik \( oqarpiqaa \); Ammassalik \( orarpewaa \))

\( g \) 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>( tulugaaq )</td>
<td>( tuluwaq ) raven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( oogaaq )</td>
<td>( oonuq ) codfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( inuqaq )</td>
<td>( inuwaq ) toe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interchange between \( y \) and \( g \) in \( uweya \) \( ı \), and \( uwequt \) \( we \), may also be appropriately mentioned here. It suggests that -\( ya \) in \( uweya \) may have originated from -\( qa \), although at a very early period, since the Southwest Alaska form of this word is \( hweng\dot{a} \) (Barnum 658); i. e., \( w'weya \).
§ 5. Changes of Dental and Labial Consonants

t > n as terminal sounds: e. g.,

West Greenland iput  Baffin land ipun oar
West Greenland aput  Smith sound apun snow on the
ground
West Greenland qulit  Smith sound qolin ten
West Greenland qamuit  North Alaska qamotin (Thal-
bitzer I, 225) sledge
West Greenland ayut  Mackenzie river ayun man, male

n 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.\(^1\) The n may have originated through the nasali-
zation 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 su na 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.,

qaqqat mountains; qaqqanut to the mountains; qaqqane in, on, the
mountains (but in the singular qaqqamut, qaqqame).\(^2\)

p > m. This shift is of rare occurrence now in Greenland. It may
occasionally take place in the relative (or genitive) juxtaposi-
tion 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.,

illim isertarfia the entrance of the house (instead of il lu p)

The same shift is attested by records from other dialects; e. g.,

West Greenland aap yes; Ammassalik aum 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. 985).—F. B.

\(^2\) In some irregular plurals these suffixes, -nut -ne, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e. g.,
kikkut who, plural kikkunut (<kikkutnu t) to whom, kikkune (<kikkutne) in, at whom (plural). The above-mentioned regular endings may have been formed after the analogy of these "irregular" ones.

\(^3\) In some irregular plurals these suffixes, -nut -ne, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e. g.,
kikkut who, plural kikkunut (<kikkutnu t) to whom, kikkune (<kikkutne) 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'ónun [amim gox . . . ] above the
door (Nelson, tale from St. Michael, Norton sound, in "Eskimo
of Bering Strait"); cf. Greenland animip 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>q,
\(r > y\), \(t > n\), are found. See p. 985, and note 1, p. 987.—F. B.]

\(m > w\) or \(w\).

- Labrador imnaq
- Baffin land taímnna
- Baffin land imna (Boas II, 348)
- Baffin land uvamnile but to me
  (ibid.)
- North Alaska uámnnu [uamnnun]
  (Ray 56)
- Southwest Alaska kümlök
- Southwest Alaska pekämkin mine
  thou art

\(p (f) > w\) or \(w\).

- Greenland (Egede, 1750) iblit
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) illipse
- Labrador (nowadays) igvit
- Labrador uvak
- Baffin land taikko
- Mackenzie river taipkoa

| Gr. | Labrador imnaq steep declivity
| Gr. | taímnna that one
| Gr. | inna that
| Gr. | uvamnile to me
| Gr. | uámnnu to me
| Gr. | kuwlooq thumb
| Gr. | piya^kkit I have thee
| Gr. | taímnna those
| Gr. | [qáwllut or qallut] eyebrow
| Gr. | qallunaaq European
| Gr. | qâwssit how many
| Gr. | suwlooq tube
| Gr. | aqqut or aqqut pathway
| Gr. | niwiarisaq girl

§ 6. Shifting of Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives

It is a characteristic feature of the Greenland language, and proba-
ibly of the Eskimo language as a whole, that no voiced consonant
occurs which is long (geminated), with the sole exception of the nasal
consonants, \(m\) (ammit skins), \(n\) (anneq the greatest one), \(y\) (iyqik

§ 6
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 \textit{ma\'ralluk} morass, swamp
West Greenland \textit{neri\'woq} eats
West Greenland \textit{taaq} darkness, shadow
Mackenzie river \textit{tapapk} ombre
Southwest Alaska \textit{a\'riftaka} I quarrel with him

\[ q > XX. \]

Southwest Greenland \textit{ni\'gaaq} a snare
Southwest Greenland \textit{i\'ga} a pot
Southwest Greenland \textit{ni\'geq} south wind
Mackenzie river \textit{niyepk} east wind

\[ l > LL. \]

West Greenland \textit{a\'loq} a sole
West Greenland \textit{il\'inne} at, by thee

\[ w > FF. \]

West Greenland \textit{i\'wik} (a blade of) grass
West Greenland \textit{awa} north
West Greenland \textit{a\'wippaa} divides it in two pieces
Mackenzie river \textit{avitoak} divorcer

\$6\]
\( j > s. \) 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.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ? )</td>
<td>puie</td>
<td>puise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ? )</td>
<td>angmajet</td>
<td>ammassât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyik (pl. iyit)</td>
<td>iije (or ijje)</td>
<td>'ise (pl. i'sit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or iyipk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuvüya, pl.</td>
<td>nuvüja, pl.</td>
<td>'nuia (pl. nu'issât)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuvüyat</td>
<td>nüviet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpéyuk</td>
<td>gcjuk</td>
<td>qi'suk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mikiyopk</td>
<td>mikiyoj</td>
<td>mikiyooq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( e \) (cc) > \( ss \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamadj'a or madjia</td>
<td>tamadj'a (Bourquin)</td>
<td>tamassa here it is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([mac:a] ) VRAIMENT, § 192</td>
<td>here it is</td>
<td>massa here is; to wit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERTAINEMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpamipok flèche</td>
<td>kargjok arrow</td>
<td>garsoq arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugiuk = ogjuk ([oc:uk])</td>
<td>ugyuk seal</td>
<td>ussk seal (Phoca barbata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIOQUE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itjek ([ic:ek]) froid</td>
<td>itje frost</td>
<td>isse frost, cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>todjiaq ([to:c:aq])</td>
<td>tootjaq beam</td>
<td>toosaq beam of a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POUTRE ((?)-tuaq (verbal ending))</td>
<td>-djuaq big, great</td>
<td>-ssuaq big, great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((?)-ynaqk)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( t > s. \)

\( th > ts. \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Alaska (Ray)</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsitamat ([zitamat])</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuna ([zna])</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutja ([nu:z:á])</td>
<td>nutçet or nudžiat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōtjâ</td>
<td>nōtçpak or nadžopk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naityuâ</td>
<td>naityopk ((FIN))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akityuâ</td>
<td>akityopk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(1\) The original sound may still be traced in some words of the dialects of Ammassalik (\(kîçcarma\) alone; -\(kajîk\) [suffix] bad) and of Smith sound (Thalbitzer I, 192, 215).

\(\S \) 6
In Southwest Alaska the $j$ seems to have changed to $s$, too, in some few words; e. g.,

Southwest Alaska

\[\text{\textquoteleft \text{uk\textquoteleft suk} winter} \text{<\textasciitilde \textquoteleft \text{ukjuk}\textquoteleft>}\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft \text{ne\textquoteleft sjoq} head} \text{<\textasciitilde \textquoteleft \text{najjoq}\textquoteleft>}\]

Greenland

\[\text{\textquoteleft \text{uk\textquoteleft oq} winter}\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft \text{niaqoq} head} \text{<\textasciitilde \textquoteleft \text{najaqoq}\textquoteleft>}\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft \text{hashprvik} (Barnum 341) waterproof shirt}\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft \text{kashprreik} (Schultze) stormcoat} \text{<\textasciitilde \textquoteleft \text{kajprrek}\textquoteleft>}\]

§ 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 1, 202).

Central and Southwest Greenland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
<th>Central and Southern Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sit'amat</td>
<td>sit'amat</td>
<td>sit'amat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su'na</td>
<td>'suna</td>
<td>'suna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nut'set</td>
<td>nut'tat</td>
<td>nut'sat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net'seq</td>
<td>nät'teq</td>
<td>nät'teq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nait'ok</td>
<td>naat'toq</td>
<td>naat'toq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akk-it'ok</td>
<td>aqit'toq</td>
<td>aqit'toq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southwestern Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'uk\textquoteleft suk winter $&lt;$*[ukjuk]\textprime&gt;]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne\textquoteleft sjoq head $&lt;$*[najjoq]\textprime&gt;]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uki'oq winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niaqoq head $&lt;$[najaqoq] $&gt;$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central and Southwest Greenland</th>
<th>Upernavik</th>
<th>Ammassalik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reetumik</td>
<td>aggewsunik</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>errolojo</td>
<td>eqqorojo</td>
<td>eqgertinyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X-k.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naaxxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axxerpoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâxxaq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F-p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sarfaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arräq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogarpiyaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-t.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iyyertme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ittwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 7
The following words of the Baffin-land and Labrador dialects may be compared with those just mentioned:

North Labrador naaw*<t>ak (South: akak)=Upernavik naakka no
Labrador maggu<ti> [maruk] Bourquin § 6=Smith sound maggoy=
Central West Greenland marluk two
Baffin land itirbing [itirpin] Boas I, 660=Ammassalik icerpi=
West Greenland iserpi entrance-place
Baffin land majoartune, ingeritune Boas II=Ammassalik -tine (ver-al ending)=West Greenland -lune

§ 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?).

Greenland  Labrador  Mackenzie River  Alaska

\textbf{s < t.}

sisamat  sittamat  tpiamat [{\textit{ci}}]  stamen four
sisit  sitte lair of  tchiit [{\textit{citi}}]ANTRE  —
iserpoq  itterpoq  itertouph he enters  \textit{v}tr\textit{uantâkâ} I bring it in with me

\textbf{ss < tj} [c].

timmissüt  timmitjät (sing. tinmiap\textit{k}) (sing.  tingmeiy\textit{âk} \textit{[\textit{tim} : \textit{v}\textit{aajaq]})

\textbf{s < ts} [j].

apersoot  appertsuk  ?atepht\textit{c}iôn  (\textit{\textipa{u}}ppr\textit{ûn}) question

\textbf{SS} [S:] < k, j, qj.

nåssuk  nakjuk antler  nagiuk or nakd-
\textit{j}iuk [{\textit{nac:uk}}]  (\textit{?}=n\textit{\textipa{a}shkôk} head
[\textit{\textipa{a}rn}um 355] cf. §6)

sissaq  sigjak shore  tçig\textit{d}yapk RIVAGE  —

\textbf{wss < pj, wj.}

ti\textit{w}ssarluk  tipjarluk  driftwood

\textbf{ss < re.}

issaa\textit{k}  iggak [{\textit{ixx}:k}] (itçipiapk LU-
snow-goggles NETTES)  (\textit{\textipa{ik}ch\textipa{a}un} [i\textipa{rca:w}n])

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*, $<-lit-tit$. Likewise in *takoyamisit as he saw you* (cf. *takoyamittit as they saw you*).

\[\text{aawloaisit your gun, the guns (}<aawlaw't a gun)}\]
\[\text{illuisinut through his houses (}<illuatiut through his house)}\]
\[\text{komisit = kamitit (both in use) your boots}\]
\[\text{-sipptaa = -tipptaa (verbal suffix, causative)}\]

The shift $j>s$ has left few traces only in the Greenland grammar; e. g., in the inflection of some few nouns.

\[\text{kana'joq, plural ka'nassut (}<*kanajjut) a sea-scorpion}\]
\[\text{garnajjajq, locative garasame (place-name in Oommannaq fiord)}\]
\[\text{piyusul three, plural }<*piyajoq (cf. piyajuat the third, etc.)}\]

(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>qikkertaq</td>
<td>kpikeptkapk</td>
<td>ge'qerqaq island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nellunaikutaq</td>
<td>nelunaqkapk(sigNAI)</td>
<td>nalunaqqaq a mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergergoq</td>
<td>kpikeptkapk = ek-kaikok coast of Hudson bay</td>
<td>e'ergergoq fourth finger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The latter word may be compared with the Alaska forms of the same word, northern Alaska *yi'kukto* (Ray), northwest Alaska *etitkook* (Wells and Kelly), southwest Alaska *ikkilthkok* (Barnum) [ik:izgoq], cf. Thalbitzer I, 263.

The same shift may be observed by a comparison of the West Greenland *teqerqoq a corner of a house*, and the East Greenland *te'kerqoq*.

These differences are probably due to analogy, and not to successive shiftings of the parts of articulation. The same is true of the examples

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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><em>wF-X.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ubra</em></td>
<td><em>uppa</em></td>
<td><em>uxxa</em> or <em>uffa</em> perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackenzie River</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>XF-wss.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nagrarpoq</em></td>
<td><em>nadjuvaptok</em></td>
<td><em>naw**ssaarpoq</em> finds, invents something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nax<strong>Fa</strong>:*r:]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wX-F.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kivgak</em></td>
<td><em>kivgapk</em></td>
<td><em>kw**ffaq</em> a servant</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.

| *w-i.*  |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| West Greenland  | East Greenland  | jaw-bones |
| *allerqit*      | *atteqin*       | sea-ice   |
| *sikut*         | *sikin*         | two       |
| *marlluk*       | *martik*        | a seal    |
| *allättooq*     | *attätteeq*     | a bear    |
| *nānōq*         | *naneq*         |           |

| *u-i.*  |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Southwest Alaska| West Greenland  |           |
| (Barnum)        |                 |           |
| *nuppa* (sound, noise) | *nipe* | voice |
| *tuppsalok* (it stinks) | *tipe* | smell |
| *tümchinak*     | *tiw**sinak*    | fun       |
| *nū**'yūqtoq*   | *ner**'supp**on*|           |
| *kūrllärstōk*   | *qi**wllert**oq*| I want to eat |
| *mammok*        | *mamipp**oq*    | it glitters |
| *iv'r**kūchēk*  | *er**risaaq** or ermalīsaq¹ | it heals |
| *ke*lūg'vok*    | *kūlīrr**faq**  | waterproof boots |

¹ = Baffin land *irmadīn* a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak.
a-i, e.

West Greenland  East Greenland
imanna  iminna  thus
aap ila  [aamila]  [cemila]  yes, certainly
aawyooq  eeyyooq  yes is said

Baffin Land  East Greenland
aqaarpoq  he says no
Southwest Alaska  eerge  no

West Greenland

a-i.

'a'manak or muk  ? = i'muk  milk

u-e.

muk or moy  i'meq  water
nayuk  na'eq  floor
negguk  ni'eq  north
lirvak  ili'eq  grave
'kinok  iki'eq  fire
'kanuk  qa'eq  mouth

uj-ui.

Mackenzie River  Labrador  Greenland
nuvujya (pl. nuvuj-  nuvujya (pl. nu- nuju (pl. nu'issit)  yat)  vujat)  cloud

iv-uj.

ivalok (pl. ivalut)  ivalo (pl. ivaluit)  njalo or njaloq  sinew

Vowel changes like those here mentioned have left distinct traces in many derivatives of the present Greenlandic language; e. g.,

a-i.

aaawsaq summer  aaawsi-wik  summer-place
upernaaq spring  uperni-wik  spring-place
ill wittta our house's  ill witttitut  through our house
erntarata of his son  ernratitut  through his son

u-i.

aput snow on the ground  apiwq (the ground) is covered with snow
ernntaq grandchild  erniqiq (gives birth to a child

ikumawoq  is on fire, burns
kapriwaoq  is one who stabs
itiwipoq  goes over land, crosses over the ice
iliwaq  lays it (or him) down

A page from the Handbook of American Indian Languages, showing a section on Greenlandic language, discussing words and their meanings, including a-i, u-e, and uj-ui sections, with examples of vowel changes and their effects on the language. The page includes a note on the origin of some words and their derivatives.
The same sounds are used vicariously in several words in West Greenland.

\[9\rightarrow\ddot{a}\ (\ddot{a})\]
\[e > i\]
\[o > u\]
\[u > \ddot{u}\ (y)\]

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:

\[u > \ddot{a}\ (\ddot{a})\]
\[e > i\]
\[o > u\]
\[u > \ddot{u}\ (y)\]

Examples:

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  nā'saa his hood  nā'sāt pl.

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  arnaa his woman (mother)  arnīt women

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  tā'seq lake  'tātāt pl.

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  sapiwaa to dike, dam  sū*sāt a dike, dam

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  awa'taq a sealing bladder  a'wātāt pl.

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  u'wā^ttut as I  u'wāwne at me

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  a'torpa is it used  a'torpāt are they used

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  sisā'maat the fourth  'sisāmāt four

\[a > \ddot{a}\]  qu'laane above it  qu'laanne above them

\[e > i\]  puise seal  puisiit pl.

\[e > i\]  tupeq tent  tupine his (own) tent

\[e > i\]  sule yet  sulilo and yet

\[e > i\]  taleq arm  taliā his arm

\[\S\ 11\]
o > u.

- a'loq sole
- illo house
- a'torpoq it is used

- alua his sole
- illua his house
- a'torput they are used

u > ü.

- najv'apog (a dog) is shy
- aju -bad, useless

- nüjüittoq not shy, tame
- d'jüssüsee how bad it is

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 + r, q, or e is the uvularization by which the vowel changes according to the scheme just mentioned. The uvularized vowels are symbolized in ordinary transcription as ar (aq, ae), er (eq, er), or (oq, or). 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 o and e it is occasionally somewhat like o on account of the rounding in the posterior part of the mouth. An e between two n’s and an e between two r’s are acoustically widely different sounds.

a > A.

- násaq a hood
- qarsaaq [qArs:aq] a loom; pl. qarsaat [qArs:aat]
- qaqqame [qAq:ame] on, in, the mountain; qaqqaq [qAq:aq] a mountain

e > E.

- amia or amee his (its) skin; ameg [a'meq] a skin
- e'ge=e'geq [eqeq] corner; eqia his corner of the mouth
- nerivwoq eats; neroreroxpoq [nArs:rE:roq] has finished eating
- ernikka my sons; ernera[ernera] my son; erneq[eq] a son; erne [Erne] his (own) son

o > O.

- niaqqua his head; niaqoq [niaqoq] a head
- nano=nanoq a bear
- illo a house; illorssuaq [il:ors:uaq] a big house

Kaasasuk (name) + rujuk + yuaq: Kaasasorujopuaq the little poor wretched Kaasasuk

§ 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 *nimra\(^2\)* and Greenland *nerma* [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 Petitot), and the dialects west of Hudson bay, contain some transitional forms stressed in the original manner; e. g., *ätöpeít* [a’tereet], the plural of *ätöŋ* [a’teq] name, regularly formed, likewise *ätöpa* my name (in Alaska *atqa*, in Greenland *arqa*). A metathesis of the consonants has taken place in the Greenland *marruk* two, which may be compared with Alaska *malruk* and Mackenzie-river *malorok*. 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 *qerqa* (through *qigqa*). Intermediate forms are found in the Baffin-land dialect (*iq, ir; uq, ur;* etc.); but in some instances the assimilation of the consonants (*rl*) has been carried further, in the dialects of Labrador and Baffin land (Smith sound), than in West Greenland.

---

1 The 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).
2 Ray *nimca* the lashing of the harpoon-shaft.
Examples:  

West Eskimo

\textit{a}lr, \textit{a}Lr>\textit{arl}, \textit{arL}.

\makebox[1.1in]{malruk (Barnum) two} \hspace{1in} marluk (Gr.) two; marruk (Lab.) two

\makebox[1.1in]{alpáné (Petitot Vocab. LXII)} \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{arlaane (Gr.) in the other one; \makebox[1.1in]{arraane (Lab.) last year}

\makebox[1.1in]{áltththrákú [\textit{al}ba:\textit{k}o]} (Barnum) next year \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{narlwnvoq (Gr.) it is straight; (n > i see § 10)

\makebox[1.1in]{náltthkhírtók [\textit{na}lqírtoq]} (Barnum) it is straight \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{maxxwóq (Erdman: naggovok) \makebox[1.1in]{(Lab.) it is straight}

\makebox[1.1in]{kátlráá[k\textit{al}ra:] (Barnum 342\hspace{1in} qa'qortoq (Gr.) white}

\makebox[1.1in]{katlcha (Schultze 66) white} \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{qarsortoq (Gr.) bleached}

\textit{erL}>\textit{arL}.

\makebox[1.1in]{amelrartut (S. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328\hspace{1in} ameralasoot (Gr.) many}

\makebox[1.1in]{amálleraktók (N. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328\hspace{1in} ameraláqaa\textit{xt} (Gr.) they are many}

\makebox[1.1in]{amthlerrút (Barnum 75\hspace{1in} naklrit (Rink II, 83, no. 21\hspace{1in} geese}

\makebox[1.1in]{naklúrit (Schultze 55); \textit{kdl}= \hspace{1in} nerléq, pl. nerlerit goose

\makebox[1.1in]{\textit{n}églék (Ray 55\hspace{1in} \textit{g}oose-town}

\textit{ulr, \textit{u}lr>\textit{orL}.

\makebox[1.1in]{kúltthkrvít (Barnum 348\hspace{1in} qorlor- e. g., in qorlorpoq (Gr.)}

\makebox[1.1in]{[\textit{q}u\textit{q}wít] the shelves in \hspace{1in} water falling or streaming down

\makebox[1.1in]{native houses} \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{qullarterpaa (<\textit{*qwllar}-)\textsuperscript{2} (Gr.)

\makebox[1.1in]{kulv\textit{araka} (Barnum) I put it \hspace{1in} lifts it up in the air

\makebox[1.1in]{up high [\textit{qulwaraka}] \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{\textit{*atorl-}, e. g., atordun (Gr.)

\makebox[1.1in]{d'\textit{uírláá} (Barnum 327, verbal \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{using

\makebox[1.1in]{form <\textit{d}t\textit{ògít}\textit{òd} I sing, use, \hspace{1in} \makebox[1.1in]{\textit{wear, etc.

\addvspace

\textsuperscript{1}The abbreviations Al., C., Gr., Lab., M., stand respectively for Alaska, Coast of Hudson bay, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river.

\textsuperscript{2}Perhaps the same word as Lab. \textit{kugwártípa} lifts up in his trousers, etc., which becomes more evident by comparison with Gr. \textit{qalterpaa} covers it (=Lab. \textit{kugwírtípa} [Thalbitzer I, 230]=Al. \textit{kulwaqtaka} [I. c., 231; Barnum 339]).

\makebox[1.1in]{§ 12}
openrak (Rink) spring-time
openachkâk (Schultze 48)
'up'naqkak (Barnum 373)
pênrâk socks woven from grass (Barnum)
chôpingrâtok (Barnum) it is nothing, it is not an actual thing
ingrik (Barnum) mountain

pe'ninra (Barnum 67) the stronger, its stronger one
'têru (Barnum) a talisman, a charm
nimra [nimra] (Ray) its lashing, band

unr>orn.
un'kâ[unra](Barnum) his arm-pit
kataunra (Barnum) son
tungra (Barnum) a spirit
kinggmunra (Barnum) that or those behind
kiñunuopa (Petitot)

sr>rs, gr (er) >/*/rj>rs>ss.
aërâcharak(Barnum 327) adultery
âzhriâguna PECCARE CONTRA VI
ezrekoak (Wells a. Kelly) frost-bite

katrzak(Woldt-Jacobsen)white eye
egra (Wells a. Kelly) (my?) eye
êqka[ijirka](Barnum) my eyes (êqka my eye)
nasruk (Wells a. Kelly) abdomen
kug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) a swan
ug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) bearded seal
iggru (Wells a. Kelly) testicles

§ 12
Here I may mention an Alaska word, part of which is apparently influenced by retrogressive uvularization: \textit{ir'shni'nuhrät} (Barnum 337) \textbf{MOUNTAIN SPIRITS} is the same word as Gr. \textit{isserqat} (<\textit{irsininqat?}), singular \textit{isseraq}, spelled by Egede (1750) \textit{irserak}. The same is true of the Al. \textit{'kākrłok} (Barnum) \textbf{THROAT}, \textit{'kāchluk} (Schultze) \textit{lip=Gr. qərgəq lip}.

\textbf{təq, Lq, sq > rq.}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Alaska} & \textbf{Mackenzie River (Petitot)} & \textbf{Baffin Land (Boas)} & \textbf{Labrador (Bourquin)} & \textbf{Greenland} \\
\hline
\textit{at'kra} (Woldt-Jacobsen) & \textit{at'kpa} (his name) & \textit{arqa} & \textit{arqa} & \textit{his name} \\
\textit{at'ra} (Barnum) & \textit{atépa} (my name) & & & \\
\textit{nátrok} (Barnum) & \textit{natkpo} (fond of bark) & \textit{(neteq, nat- narqa floor, teg)} & \textit{bottom} & \\
\textit{mittelqon} (N. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen) & \textit{metkpon} & \textit{miquq} & \textit{merqut} & \textit{merqut- needle} \\
\textit{míngon} (S. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen) & \textit{aiguille} & \textit{mitkpopk} & \textit{miquq} & \textit{merqog, merqog- hair of animals} \\
\textit{ikkilthkok} [ik: i̯qoq] (Barnum) & \textit{ikkaikok} (C.) & \textit{kiπkeptkpopk} (M.) & \textit{erqergog} & \textit{erqergog- the little finger} \\
\textit{ikkitkaurak} & \textit{ixiqog} & \textit{erqergog} & \textit{the little finger} & \\
\textit{'ikqua} (Schultze) (iṭ'uk fin) & \textit{iq'oa} & \textit{erqua} & \textit{erqua} & \textit{the back end of it} \\
\textit{'irk'lä (Barnum)} & \textit{kipk'pa} & \textit{*qiqa} & \textit{gerqa} & \textit{gerqa} \textit{the middle of it} \\
\textit{'iṛk'lä (Barnum) evil} & \textit{e̯klo intestin iqawik} & \textit{erhavik} & \textit{erläwik} & \textit{intestines} \\
\textit{'guluk (Schultze)} & \textit{er:awik} & \textit{erloq} & \textit{rectum} & \\
\textit{('iqta (Barnum)} & \textit{itchuk angle} & \textit{iqe} & \textit{e̯qe} & \textit{e̯qe, e̯qe} \textit{corner} \\
\textit{his den} & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
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. —

anergweaatit he (a) begs (quwa) you (tit) to go out (aner)
anegweqergweaatit 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 §13
middle suffixes \((iaur, qer, qura)\), 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 obsolescent 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., \(inqu\) a man, an Eskimo; \(sannat\) tool.

In studying the bases of Eskimo words we shall soon see that several 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 hypothetical 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>Derivative stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocalic or consonantal.</td>
<td>Stage I (a, e, o).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ciu</td>
<td>*ciua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. chē front, bow of a boat</td>
<td>sNyaaq front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. tjerusikt the first, foremost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. sinya, syua bow of a boat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kui</td>
<td>*kuik (&gt;kuk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. kuiwa pours it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. kugq river = Gr. kook &lt; *kuik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ayu</td>
<td>*agut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. 'aŋuq man, male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. ayut, man, male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. aguway pursuits, hunts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca(*ca?)</td>
<td>*ca'a-*eao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca(*ca?)</td>
<td>Gr. sas its front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. châ̱éḵ the first, foremost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. châ̱éḵ the one before me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca-*cau</td>
<td>*rāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. châ what thing?</td>
<td>Al. cha'qâ® front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. châqâp an actual thing</td>
<td>Gr. sâlnuq cuts, works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. châ'nuq a thing</td>
<td>Gr. sâlnit dust (sanik a mote of dust)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(sa'nnerpaa cleans it of dust)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river, respectively.
2. sanik thus appears to be a derivative of the plural collective sannit.
3. sannerpaa may have been formed after the analogy of t'uaarcpaa to empty (take [the content] [ima] away), cf. imnerttara fills it (with ima).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Stage I</th>
<th>Stage II</th>
<th>Stage III</th>
<th>Stage IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((a, e, o))</td>
<td>((k, t, p))</td>
<td>((q))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cane</strong></td>
<td>Gr. <em>saṇa</em> its side</td>
<td><em>saṇiṅk</em></td>
<td><em>suṇeq</em></td>
<td>*suṇa &gt;*quela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. <em>saṇinid</em> side-wards, athwart</td>
<td>Gr. <em>saṇinid</em> takes place at his side</td>
<td>Gr. <em>suṇeq</em> turns athwart of it</td>
<td>Al. <em>quela</em> put it up high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>qui</strong></td>
<td>Al. <em>kāla</em> my elevation</td>
<td>Al. <em>kēla</em> straight up above</td>
<td>Al. <em>quela</em> a waterfall</td>
<td>Al. <em>quela</em> a waterfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. <em>qualla</em> the uppermost</td>
<td>Al. <em>kēla</em> up</td>
<td>Al. <em>kēla</em> put it up high</td>
<td>Gr. <em>qualla</em> uppermost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. <em>quamut</em> &lt;<em>qu wła</em> upwards, up</td>
<td>Gr. <em>quama</em> above it</td>
<td>Gr. <em>qualla</em> put it up high</td>
<td>Gr. <em>qualla</em> uppermost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>at</em> (or <em>af</em>)</td>
<td>Gr. <em>afalla</em> nethermost</td>
<td>Gr. <em>ata</em> under it</td>
<td>Al. <em>atthā</em> I come down</td>
<td>Gr. <em>ata</em> stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. <em>atamut</em> &lt;<em>atam</em> downwards</td>
<td>Al. <em>athā</em> below</td>
<td>Al. <em>athā</em> I come down</td>
<td>Gr. <em>aṭapa</em> I come down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. <em>atma</em> torso, body</td>
<td>Al. <em>athā</em> under it</td>
<td>Al. <em>athā</em> I come down</td>
<td>Gr. <em>aṭapa</em> I come down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tiin</strong></td>
<td>Gr. <em>tiin</em> body; inland</td>
<td><em>timā</em> in the inland</td>
<td><em>timā</em> in the inland</td>
<td><em>uvisa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. <em>timantu</em> landwards (on the sea)</td>
<td><em>timā</em> his body</td>
<td><em>timā</em> in the inland</td>
<td>Gr. <em>timatu</em> the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. <em>tiin</em> torso, body</td>
<td><em>timā</em> in the inland</td>
<td><em>timā</em> in the inland</td>
<td>Gr. <em>timantu</em> outwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aw</strong></td>
<td>Gr. <em>awna</em> &lt;<em>awna</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>awata</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. <em>afpa</em> &lt;<em>afpa</em> there in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. <em>awna</em> over there</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Al. <em>awna</em> over there</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
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<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
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<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
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<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
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<td>Al. <em>awna</em> over there</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. <em>awna</em> over there</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td><em>aw</em> in the north</td>
<td>Gr. <em>awata</em> in pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Gr. *sannerrata* a crossbar.
2 *awataq* means properly **SOMETHING THAT HAS ITS PLACE OUTSIDE**; i.e., on the deck of the kayak.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Vocalic or consonantal</th>
<th>Derivative stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage I (a, e, o)</td>
<td>Stage II (k, l, p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uwe-*uwe</td>
<td>*uweap or *uweent or *uweak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. uweapa I; uweapga we</td>
<td>Gr. uweap to me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. hwe'na I; hwe'nakala we</td>
<td>Gr. hwe'nta of our</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. hwe'na; hwe'negta of me</td>
<td>Al. 'hwang'nam to me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*taa-tao</td>
<td>*tasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. taqqa&lt;*taqqa? then</td>
<td>Gr. taqqa there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. taqqa [tax:a] there it is</td>
<td>Gr. taqqa so it was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*taj</td>
<td>*tijjo</td>
<td>*titja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. tassa</td>
<td>Gr. tassa it is, it is enough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. tassa there; tasaana through there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ta</td>
<td>*taana&lt;</td>
<td>*taahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. manto'k it is here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. maqan hence by this way (cf. Gr. maana through here)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma</td>
<td>*maa-mao</td>
<td>*maak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. maana here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. maana&lt; maana through here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maanann&lt; *maanaka now, the present moment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mat</td>
<td>*matja-matjo</td>
<td>*matja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. massa-this this is; here is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. massa&lt; *matna this one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. tamadja surely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. massa-certainly, of course</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. matauma= maunna of this here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. massakku now, for the time being</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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 § 16
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

I. Words with full typical inflection
   1. Nouns (illo house, ateq name).
   2. Verbs (ikiwog is in, aterpq goes down).

II. Words with defective inflection (tamaq all, wawa a, the numerals, etc.).

III. Words with atypical inflection: demonstrative and interrogative words (una he there, kina who).

   1. Interjections.

IV. Words without any inflection
   2. Particles, temporal (qaya when), modal (qanortoq utinam), local (uffa there), etc.

β. Suffixes (Actual and Obsolete)

I. Common to all kinds of words.

II. 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.
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 *illune in the houses*, as compared with the *n* in *illume in the house*; or *k* in *ernikka my sons*, as compared with *r* in *ernera my son*.

West Greenland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>au</em></td>
<td>(by adding <em>k</em>) <em>ak</em></td>
<td><em>at</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ou</em></td>
<td>(by substitution) <em>ik</em></td>
<td><em>ut</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>it</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>it</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Nouns: *nuna* land
      *illo* house
      *isse* eye

Verbs: *atoraa* he using it
       *atoraak* they two using it
       *atorpog* it is used
       *atorpuk* they two are used
       *atorik* he using two

Baffin land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>aq</em> &gt; <em>n</em></td>
<td><em>k</em> &gt; <em>y</em></td>
<td><em>y</em> &gt; <em>n</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*1* *nina* land (Boas VI, 109)
*2* *igdlu* house (ibid., 101)
*3* *alervtse* stocking (ibid., 98);
      *anulre* wind (ibid., 99)
*4* *tulugaq* raven (ibid., 113)
*5* *nigirn* south wind (Gr. *nigaj*);
      *nirdlirn* goose (Boas I, 664),
      cf. Gr. *nerleg*
*6* *ugjuk* a thong-seal (Boas VI, 114)

Mackenzie river

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>q</em> &gt; <em>n</em></td>
<td><em>k</em> &gt; <em>y</em></td>
<td><em>t</em> &gt; <em>n</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td><em>c</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*1* *irdning* son (ibid., 102)
*2* *angun* paddle (Boas I, 659)
*3* *patalangluk* let us two strike
      (Boas II, 347)
*4* *inung magong tikitong* two men are coming
      (Boas I, 621)
*5* *ningmit* dogs (Boas VI, 105);
      *ujarpâ* he searches for them (ibid.)
*6* *tigmidjen* the birds (Boas II, 340)

§ 17
Examples:

1. tÇilla weather
2. epklo intestines
3. apnÇ woman
4. tulak arm
5. ateÇ name
6. uyapak stone
7. apaÇ father
8. agoÇt man

Alaska (see Bar- num)...

Singular | Dual | Plural
---|---|---
\(a^1\) | \(k^2\) | \(t^{10}(n^{11})\)
\(u^2\) | \(y^8\) | 
\(i^3\) | 

Examples:

1. sla weather
2. irkkÇlÇ evil
3. inglÇ half
4. snÇ [sni] its bank or edge
5. pÇyÇ smoke \(k=[q]\)
6. ingripik mountain
7. IPPÇn native spoon or ladle
8. chaÇnasun native knife
9. slÇn whetstone
10. snÇÇk the banks (dual); cf. also
    Barnum 283

In the Greenland dialects the formation of the plural of nouns is often accompanied by change of stress: e. g.,

\(a^1\) meq a skin
pl. \(\text{ammit}\)

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.,

marluk two; marlouquik two small ones
pussook the claw of a crayfish; the thumb and the forefinger
issaÇk goggles

The following words are collective plurals:

attÇt a dung-hill
norÇt ligature
ullÇt a bird’s nest (especially the down in the nest)
arsarnertil aurora borealis
pavÇtit a paddle
nuffÇt a bird-dart

\(\text{§} 17\)

41877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—64
Examples of words that form no plural are:

\begin{align*}
\text{orsoq} & \quad \text{blubber} & \quad \text{oguk} & \quad \text{mould} \\
\text{nilak} & \quad \text{freshwater ice} & \quad \text{nuak} & \quad \text{snot}
\end{align*}

\textit{Nouns (§§ 18-29)}

§ 18. CLASS I. PLURAL INFLection 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 \textit{illo}, pl. \textit{illut}; the latter, in \textit{ulloq}, pl. \textit{ullut}. In the latter instance, \textit{t} has been substituted for \textit{q}. 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 \textit{t}, but in some cases \textit{it}.

1.

\begin{align*}
\text{Singular} & \quad \text{Plural} \\
p\text{ana} & \quad \text{panat} \quad \text{knife} \\
t\text{utito} & \quad \text{uttint} \quad \text{reindeer} \\
s\text{ise} & \quad \text{sisit} \quad \text{fox's den}
\end{align*}

2.

\begin{align*}
\text{qagqag} & \quad \text{qagqat} \quad \text{hill, mountain} \\
\text{ayakkoq} & \quad \text{ayakkut} \quad \text{pagan priest} \\
\text{qimmeq} & \quad \text{qimmit} \quad \text{dog} \\
\text{tikippoq} & \quad \text{tikipput (they)} \quad \text{he has come}
\end{align*}

3. \textit{-it} is added to the consonantal stem (i. e., the absolutive) of words ending in \textit{t} (which \textit{t}, when following an \textit{i}, is regularly changed into \textit{s} [cf. § 8]) and to the absolutive of certain words that end in \textit{-eq} and \textit{-ik} (the \textit{q} and \textit{k} being changed into \textit{r} and \textit{y} [cf. § 4]).

\begin{align*}
\text{Singular} & \quad \text{Plural} \\
s\text{annat} & \quad s\text{annatit} \quad \text{tool} \\
\text{merqut} & \quad \text{merqutit} \quad \text{needle} \\
s\text{illit} & \quad s\text{illisit} \quad \text{whetstone}
\end{align*}

§ 18
Singular  Plural  bay, sound  son  forefinger  sleeping-place in the house
ikeq  ikerit  
erneq  ernerit  
tikeq  tikerit  
illeg  illerit  

uppik  uppenit  owl
nukik  nukerit  sinew, tendon
mamik  mamijit or mamit  the fleshy side of a hide
twikik  twikkinijit  gum
assik  assejnit  image, picture

- it is added to the vocalic stem of many words that end in k in the absolutive case:

Singular  Plural
unnuk  unnuvit  night
inuk  inuit or innuvit  man (human being)
assak  assait (< assait)  finger

- it is added to many words that end in aq in the absolutive, especially to all words ending in innaq and tiaq:

Singular  Plural
sorqaq  sorquadit  whalebone
utorqaq  utorquadit  old (man or woman)
naawjaanmaq  naawjudnanadit  only a gull
< naawja+ innaq  uniattiaq  uniattadait < umiit+  a medium-sized boat
< umiag+tiaq  ttaadit < tiaadit

- it is added to some words ending in -eq or -eq in the absolutive case:

Singular  Plural
nulog  nuloot < nuloit  rump
ilorleg  ilorleit < ilorleit  innermost

§ 19. CLASS II (a). PLURAL INFLECTION 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.

§ 19
9.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'meq</td>
<td>'ammit</td>
<td>skin, hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'maq the sea</td>
<td>immät</td>
<td>places of open water (in the ice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà'noq</td>
<td>'nànnut</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sà'nik</td>
<td>'sànnit or sàyyit</td>
<td>dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú'mik</td>
<td>'kummít</td>
<td>boot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'mik</td>
<td>'ummit or uyyit</td>
<td>beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'val'nik</td>
<td>u'vinnit or u'winnit</td>
<td>flesh (of a living animal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'va'taq</td>
<td>a'vátät</td>
<td>a buoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ua'lu'taq</td>
<td>t'ua'lu'tät</td>
<td>little sledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. In the next following examples the penult consonant of the words becomes unvoiced in the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is'i'yak</td>
<td>i'sikkät</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'naal'u'yaq</td>
<td>'nuá'lak'kät</td>
<td>one who is obeyed, master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'all'a'yak</td>
<td>'allák'kät</td>
<td>letter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'ë'yaq</td>
<td>n'ixxät</td>
<td>a snare, gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaté'yaq</td>
<td>qà'tixxät</td>
<td>back (of man)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tâ'leq</td>
<td>tâ'ullät</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka'leq</td>
<td>u'kallít</td>
<td>hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'l'ik</td>
<td>màllít</td>
<td>wave, billow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nàttora'l'ik</td>
<td>'nàttórallít</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'loq</td>
<td>ullút</td>
<td>sole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'l'loq</td>
<td>u'llút</td>
<td>mussel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'sàllút</td>
<td>a'sàllút</td>
<td>place of the harpoon-line on the kayak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu'jaq</td>
<td>'nuttät (South Gr. = nutsät)</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku'jâk</td>
<td>'kuttät</td>
<td>loin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara'jaq</td>
<td>'nà'rattät</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nū'saq</td>
<td>'nūtīt (South Gr. nūtsāt)</td>
<td>hood, cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kī'saq</td>
<td>'kittīt</td>
<td>anchor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā'seq</td>
<td>'tāttīt</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'quaq'eq</td>
<td>o'quawtsit</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoqaq'eq</td>
<td>qoqaq'attit</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aju'aq</td>
<td>ajussät</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saatat'aq</td>
<td>su'utus'sät</td>
<td>crab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan'i'og</td>
<td>kani'issät</td>
<td>sea-scorpion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iluli'aq</td>
<td>iluli'issät</td>
<td>iceberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ixxi'aq</td>
<td>'ix'ixissät</td>
<td>throat, gullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaseq'i'og</td>
<td>qaseq'yissät</td>
<td>Phoca vitulina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napari'aq</td>
<td>napari'rissät</td>
<td>upright, rear piece of the sledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| mū'kapp'i'ag | mū'kapp'issät | 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, kani'issut has developed from a plural form kanijjut, corresponding to a singular kani'joq, which form may sometimes really be heard instead of kani'og. The shift j>s has been treated in § 6.

17.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inwik</td>
<td>'iffit</td>
<td>grass, reed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'wik</td>
<td>sa'wfeet</td>
<td>knife, iron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qip'ik</td>
<td>qip'kkit</td>
<td>feather-bed, blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inu'waq</td>
<td>inu'kkāt</td>
<td>toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulu'waq</td>
<td>tulu'kkāt</td>
<td>raven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 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.
19. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sioraq</td>
<td>siorqat</td>
<td>sand, granule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi´raq</td>
<td>pi´rargat</td>
<td>a young one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o´qaq</td>
<td>orgat</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tale´roq</td>
<td>talerqut</td>
<td>fore-paw of a seal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niteq</td>
<td>nargit</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pateq</td>
<td>parqit</td>
<td>floor, bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i´teq</td>
<td>erqit</td>
<td>marrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiteq</td>
<td>gerqit</td>
<td>anus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miteq</td>
<td>mergit</td>
<td>center, middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eider-duck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dirt, filth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grave, uneven land or ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>south wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bird’s breast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>harpoon-line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cabbage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>binding, string</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arm-pit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 21. **CLASS III. IRREGULAR PLURAL INFLECTION**

Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa’jaq), takes place in the following nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa’jaq</td>
<td>qa’nnat</td>
<td>kayak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. **Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa’jaq), takes place in the following nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalaaalcq</td>
<td>kalaaallit</td>
<td>a South Greenlander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mameelaq</td>
<td>mameellat</td>
<td>uneven land or ice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 21
27.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'qaateq</td>
<td>'qaarqit</td>
<td>ferrule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meeraq</td>
<td>'meerqat</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kunneq</td>
<td>a'koryit</td>
<td>interval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28.  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pooq</td>
<td>puxxut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'naaq</td>
<td>u'narrat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29.  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aaq</td>
<td>atsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqaq</td>
<td>nassat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iya'lqaq</td>
<td>iya'llassat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'annorraq</td>
<td>'annorvassat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30.  

The suffixes -yuuq little, -snaq great, and -aluaq former, else, form their plurals by changing -uag into -uit: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nunayaaq</td>
<td>nunayayuit</td>
<td>a little land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunarsuaq</td>
<td>nunarsuit</td>
<td>a great land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunayaluaq</td>
<td>nunayaluit</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 consonantal 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

§ 22
plural form, *malikit*, was introduced. The *k* that came to be between vowels changed to *g*, 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 *l* (or *lx*?) 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 (*q* or *k*) 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.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arnaq woman</td>
<td>arnap of the woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuna land</td>
<td>nunap of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayakkoq shaman</td>
<td>ayakkup of the shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illo house</td>
<td>illup of the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taleq arm</td>
<td>tallip of the arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isse [i'se] or [i'se] eye</td>
<td>issip of the eye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*-ip* is added after those words that end in *t* in the absolutive (cf. § 18.3): e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayut man, male</td>
<td>ayutip of the man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*-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.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erneq son</td>
<td>ernerup of the son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inuk man</td>
<td>inoop of man (&lt;<em>inu-up</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iservik entrance</td>
<td>iserviup of the entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunayaluaq former land</td>
<td>nunayaloop of the former land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nateq floor</td>
<td>narqup of the floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupeq tent</td>
<td>tuqqup of the tent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 23
In the western dialects, \( m \) stands for \( p \) in this grammatical function:

Alaska  \( \text{num } \ddot{\text{ach}}\ddot{\text{an}}\ddot{\text{e}} \) beneath the house  Greenland  \( \text{inip ataane} \)

(Barnum 13)  \( \text{chikum } \ddot{\text{il}}\ddot{\text{oaan}}\ddot{\text{e}} \) of the ice in its interior  Greenland  \( \text{si}k\ddot{\text{up }}\ddot{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{uane}} \)

(Ibid., 33)  \( \text{slam of the world} \)  Greenland  \( \text{silap} \)

Mackenzie river  \( \text{numum of the land} \)  Greenland  \( \text{numap} \)

(Petitot XLIX)  \( \text{tupkik of the tent} \)  Greenland  \( \text{to}w\ddot{\text{apqap}} \)

XXXIV)  \( \text{anopem of the wind} \)  Greenland  \( \text{anorip or anore}p \)

§ 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 \( l \), but in the plural either a lengthened stem ending in \(-te\), or a lengthened suffix (-t\(\ddot{\text{ip}}\)ut).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>gaggagq mountain</td>
<td>ingrik mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Barnum 10)</td>
<td>(Barnum 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ut gaggamut to the</td>
<td>un ingrimn(\ddot{\text{in}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>[ingrimn(\ddot{\text{in}})]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>e gaggane in the mountain</td>
<td>e ingrim(\ddot{\text{e}}) [ingrime]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>it gaggamit from the mountain</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ik gaggamik by the mountain</td>
<td>uk ingrim(\ddot{\text{uk}}) [ingrim(\ddot{\text{uk}})] or [-mik]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>kut gaggakkut over or through the mountain</td>
<td>kun ingrik(\ddot{\text{un}}) [ingrik(\ddot{\text{un}})]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformative or Equalis</td>
<td>tut gaggatut like a mountain</td>
<td>tun ingrit(\ddot{\text{un}}) [ingrit(\ddot{\text{un}})]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>gaggagq mountains</td>
<td>ingriq mountains</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Allative           | ut gaggamut to the mountains | un ingrimn
| Locative           | e gaggane in the mountains | e ingrim\(\ddot{\text{e}}\) |

§ 24
Ablative

Northwest Greenland

Plural

it qagganit from the mountains

Southwest Alaska

Plural

? 

Instrumentalis

Northwest Greenland

Plural

ik qagganik by the mountains

Southwest Alaska

Plural

uk ingrinnik

Prosecutive

Northwest Greenland

Plural

iyut qaggatigut over the mountains

Southwest Alaska

Plural

thun ingrithun [igrit- mountains]

Conformative or Æqualis

Northwest Greenland

Plural

tut qaggatut like the mountains

Southwest Alaska

Plural

tun ingrithun

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 irregularities; e.g., ialloq, which retains its final q to assimilated into r in four of the singular cases, but is quite regular in the plural.

Note: ialloq on that day; iallume to-day.

§ 24

1The prosecutive plural ends, in Southwest Greenland, in -iyut (=Labrador), which form is nearer to the Alaska -thun (or -olar?) than is the north Greenlandic form.
Other examples:

\[\text{nà'eq} \text{ floor}\]
\[\text{nà'termut} \text{ to the floor}\]
\[\text{nà'terme (or marqane) on the floor}\]
\[\text{'ukkaq} \text{ front wall of house}\]
\[\text{'ukkarmut} \text{ to the front wall}\]
\[\text{ukkarme} \text{ at the front wall}\]
\[\text{ukkakkut} \text{ through the front wall}\]
\[\text{ukkatignut} \text{ through the front walls}\]
\[\text{'imeq} \text{ fresh water}\]
\[\text{'imermut} \text{ to the water}\]
\[\text{'imerme} \text{ in the water}\]
\[\text{imikkut} \text{ through the water}\]

Words ending in -\text{leq} (local superlative ending):

\[\text{si'ulleq} \text{ the foremost one}\]
\[\text{si'ulmerme} \text{ at the foremost one}\]
\[\text{si'ullemik} \text{ firstly}\]
\[\text{'ikleq} \text{ the last one}\]
\[\text{'ikullerme} \text{ at the last one}\]
\[\text{'ikullermik} \text{ the last time}\]
\[\text{ilorleq} \text{ the innermost one}\]
\[\text{ilorlernut} \text{ from the innermost one}\]
\[\text{ilorlernut} \text{ to the innermost ones}\]
\[\text{'iklleq} \text{ the most western one}\]
\[\text{'ikullerme} \text{ at the most western one}\]
\[\text{'ikullermik} \text{ the last time}\]
\[\text{ilorlikkut} \text{ through the innermost one}\]
\[\text{ilorlertignut} \text{ through the innermost ones}\]
\[\text{'ikllikkut} \text{ through the most western one}\]
\[\text{'iklertignut} \text{ through the most western ones}\]

§ 25. LOCAL CASES—Continued

In nouns ending in \text{-k} this sound has been assimilated by the formative endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>\text{sawik} a knife</td>
<td>\text{katuk} inner doorway in the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>\text{sawimmut}</td>
<td>\text{katammut}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>\text{sawimme}</td>
<td>\text{katamme}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>\text{sawimmik}</td>
<td>\text{katammik}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>\text{sawikkut}</td>
<td>\text{katakkut}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformative</td>
<td>\text{sawittut}</td>
<td>\text{katattut}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

\[\text{'sarpiimmik} \text{ by means of the tail (of a whale)} \quad (<\text{sarpir})\]
\[\text{uilulimmut} \text{ to the mussel-place} \quad (<\text{uilulik})\]
\[\text{noqmnit} \text{ from the point of land} \quad (<\text{nook})\]
\[\text{inuttut} \text{ as a human being (especially Eskimo)} \quad (<\text{inuk})\]
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.,

apaq snow on the earth (apummut, apumme, apumnik)
oommat heart (oommannimik or oommatimik by the heart; oommatinik by the hearts; oommatikktut through the heart; oommatitigtut through the hearts)
nappaaqt illness (nappaaqmmit or nappaaqtimit from [because of] illness; nappaaqtimit from illnesses; nappaaqtikktut through illness; nappaaqtittigtut through illnesses)

A few words ending in final t are regularly declined after the type of illt: e. g., kammeenamik or kammumik with the boot-stretcher (<kammnit).

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>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ameq hide, skin</td>
<td>ammit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>(amnip)</td>
<td>(amninut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>amminut</td>
<td>amminut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ammine</td>
<td>ammine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>amminit</td>
<td>amminit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>amminimik</td>
<td>amminik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>ammikkut</td>
<td>ammitigtut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ujarqaq stone</td>
<td>ujarqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>(ujarqap)</td>
<td>(ujarqat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ujarqamut</td>
<td>ujarqamut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ujarqame</td>
<td>ujarqane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ujarqamit</td>
<td>ujarqanit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ujarqamik</td>
<td>ujarqanik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>ujarqakkut</td>
<td>ujarqatigtut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>koorqeq valley, ravine</td>
<td>koorqet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>koorqamut</td>
<td>koorqamut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>koorqume</td>
<td>koorqume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>koorqamit</td>
<td>koorqamit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>koorqamik</td>
<td>koorqamik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>koorqakkut</td>
<td>koorqatigtut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Singular
Absolutive .............................................. *it*erog stale urine
Allative .................................................. *it*erqumut
Locative .................................................. *it*erqume
Ablative .................................................. *it*erqumut
Instrumentalis ......................................... *it*erqumik
Prosecutive ............................................. *it*erqukkut

§ 26. PERSONAL CASES, OR POSSESIVE INFECTION, OF NOUNS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Case</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
<th>Alaska (Barnum 19-25)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural of the noun</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td><em>ga</em></td>
<td><em>kka</em></td>
<td><em>kka</em></td>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td><em>nina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>kit</em></td>
<td><em>nit, rpit</em></td>
<td><em>nit</em></td>
<td><em>ppit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>nne</em></td>
<td><em>me</em></td>
<td><em>me</em></td>
<td><em>mme</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td><em>rput, rput</em></td>
<td><em>wput, yut</em></td>
<td><em>pput</em></td>
<td><em>wta</em></td>
<td><em>wta</em></td>
<td><em>wunuk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>rce, rce</em></td>
<td><em>rce</em></td>
<td><em>rce</em></td>
<td><em>wese</em></td>
<td><em>wese</em></td>
<td><em>witek</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td><em>rte, rte</em></td>
<td><em>rte</em></td>
<td><em>rt</em></td>
<td><em>mik</em></td>
<td><em>mik</em></td>
<td><em>mik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td><em>ce</em></td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>ata</em></td>
<td><em>ata</em></td>
<td><em>kit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>at</em></td>
<td><em>at</em></td>
<td><em>gik (&lt;gik)</em></td>
<td><em>ata</em></td>
<td><em>ata</em></td>
<td><em>kit</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>nka</em></td>
<td><em>rka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>in</em></td>
<td><em>lin</em></td>
<td><em>rkin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>me</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td><em>wut, rput</em></td>
<td><em>wput</em></td>
<td><em>rput</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>rce</em></td>
<td><em>rce</em></td>
<td><em>rce</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td><em>rte</em></td>
<td><em>rte</em></td>
<td><em>rte</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td><em>a, e</em></td>
<td><em>aj, e</em></td>
<td><em>ak, ik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td><em>at</em></td>
<td><em>aj, aη</em></td>
<td><em>rket</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALASKA (Barnum 19-25)

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* (<*g*), *rput* OUR, *rce* YOUR, *rteik* THEIR OWN, *rpit* OF THY, which in Greenlandic indicate the singular of the thing owned; in Alaska, duality. Likewise the Greenland *gik* 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: ṭk (in the relative ṭkenka). 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>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>puk</td>
<td>ppuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>ttk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Object possessed.</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>wunuk</td>
<td>maznuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>wuik</td>
<td>maznuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>maznuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>maznuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the absolute 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 ṭkin(ka), exactly as is the Greenland dual absolute kik a remnant of the Alaska ṭkik; whereas the last syllable, ka, of ṭkin₃ka, seems to be a special suffix, perhaps formed in analogy to the nka of the absolute 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-
forms the dual function. Does this fact perhaps justify us in assuming that the uvular (i.e., q) was once used for marking the dual in the Eskimo language? (cf. §17.)

§27. PARADIGM OF THE POSSESSIVE INFLECTION OF NOUNS
GREENLAND DIALECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ilлож house</td>
<td>*ilлож of the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>*illoq my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>*illут thy house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>*илук his own (suus) house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>*илорут our house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>*илорес your house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>*илортик their own (suus) house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>*илук his (еус) house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>[илуват их (еорум) house</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 lengthened 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 wut (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 assimilations of the initial sounds of the suffixes as follow the linking to different stems: e.g., -ит thy; -илувит thy houses; -исит in урвисит thy husbands (<все); the shifts of e>i, o>u, a>a, etc. (cf. §§5 and 10); aag a SLEEVE, aai<*aae 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, absolutive, ya or ra

Second person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, relative wit, or rpit or ppit

§27
-ra is the form of the suffix of the first person singular my in such words as end in q in the absolutive:

-ernea a son  
-ernaqa my son  
-arnea woman  
-arnarara my mother  
-qarssoq arrow  
-qarssoqara my arrow

All words ending in a vowel add ya; e.g., illoja my house.

-ya is added to the vocalic stem of words ending in k in the absolutive:

-panik daughter  
-panimya my daughter

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:

-ayut man  
-ayuteya my father

A remarkable fact is the constant identity of the form of the second person singular possessor, singular object possessed, absolutive (illut thy house) and of the plural form of the word (illut 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:

-taLey arm  
-tallit thy arm=tallita arms

taliia his arm

§ 28. IRREGULAR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

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).  

ise [i:se] or [i'we] 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>isea</td>
<td>iseaI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>isaeat</td>
<td>isaeait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 28
**ayut man, father */ayute.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolute</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>ayutepa</td>
<td>ayutenka</td>
<td>ayutima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutit</td>
<td>ayutenit</td>
<td>ayutit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutine</td>
<td>ayutine</td>
<td>ayutime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ayuteput</td>
<td>ayuteput</td>
<td>ayutivetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutese</td>
<td>ayutese</td>
<td>ayutivesse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutekik</td>
<td>ayutekik</td>
<td>ayutimik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutaa</td>
<td>ayutaa</td>
<td>ayutaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutaat</td>
<td>ayutaat</td>
<td>ayutaat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some of the personal cases this word has double forms, its stemterminal being assimilated with the suffix-initial.

4th per. sing.  *ayutine=ayunjne* his (suus) father  
*ayutime=ayunjme*

4th per. pl.  *ayutimik=ayunnyik*

1st per. pl.  *ayuteput=ayupput* our father

1st per. sing.  *ayutima=ayunjma*

2d per. sing.  *ayutivit=ayuppit*

(b) **täl'eq** (pl. *täLLit*) arm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Absolute</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>tä'lera my arm</td>
<td>bällikka my arms</td>
<td>tällima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>tällit thy arm</td>
<td>tällit or \ tällile \ thy arms</td>
<td>tällivet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>(<em>täl'tine or \ his or her \ tällike or tälline</em> own arm)</td>
<td>tällin or his, her, own \ tälee \ arms</td>
<td>tällime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>tälerput our arm</td>
<td>tällivit our arms</td>
<td>tällivetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>tälerse your arm</td>
<td>tällive your arms</td>
<td>tällivesse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>tälerittik their own arm</td>
<td>tällitik or their own \ tällitik \ arms</td>
<td>tällimik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>tä'ltä his, her, arm</td>
<td>tä'lt'ee his (eius) \ arms</td>
<td>tällista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>tä'ltät their arm</td>
<td>tä'lt'ee or their (eorum) \ tä'lt'ee \ arms</td>
<td>tällista</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the word *täl'eq* is in most of the personal cases declined on the plural stem *tälle*, 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
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>a'loq</td>
<td>'allut soles, thy sole; allukka my soles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'meq</td>
<td>'ammit skins, thy skin; ammiwut our skins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'jaq</td>
<td>qa'innüt kayaks, thy kayak; qa'innakka my kayaks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu'jaq</td>
<td>nu'ntüt hair, thy hair; nu'ntütit thy hair (pl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'qaq</td>
<td>o'qqt tongues, thy tongue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'qaamtoq</td>
<td>o'qattq words, thy word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o'qatsikka my words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the words that end in one of the suffixes -yaq, -yak, -waq, -raq, -roq, belong here, but others as well; for instance,

- **allaqaq** something written;
- **iseraq** the upper part of the foot
- **isiyak** (pl. 'isikkut) a toe, the foot
- **suqux** picture

Likewise the words ending in -iaq and -uaq (-uak); e.g.,
- **assiliaq** picture
- **uluak** cheek

(c) The next paradigm is peculiar, in that the third person is declined on the plural stem throughout.

**a'teq** (pl. 'arqit) A NAME.

<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>atera</td>
<td>atikka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>arqit</td>
<td>attit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>atine or arqe</td>
<td>atine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>aterput</td>
<td>atiunut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>aterse</td>
<td>atisce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>aterlik</td>
<td>attitik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>arqa</td>
<td>arqe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>arqit</td>
<td>arqit or arqe</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'teq</td>
<td>'arllit harpoon-lines, thy harpoon-line</td>
<td>arlla (a'llikka my harpoon-lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'teq</td>
<td>'narqqa floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom</td>
<td>narqqa (waterput our floor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'teq</td>
<td>'parqqa marrow (pl.), thy marrow</td>
<td>parqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe'teq</td>
<td>'qerqqa middle, mid- (pl.), thy middle</td>
<td>qerqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'teq</td>
<td>qerqqa noos (pl.), thy anus</td>
<td>enqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni'meq</td>
<td>'nerqna bindings, string, thy binding</td>
<td>nerqna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'neq</td>
<td>qarqna months, thy mouth</td>
<td>qarqna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saa'req</td>
<td>saanqna bones, thy bone</td>
<td>saanqna (also saaqqol, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'neq</td>
<td>'omnqqa armpits, thy armpit</td>
<td>orlnqqa (also orqqa, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'lpeq</td>
<td>'tovqqa tents, thy tent</td>
<td>tovqqa (also lupil, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iluweq</td>
<td>iluqqa graves, thy grave</td>
<td>iluqqa or iluqqa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numerals also belong here:

- arrfineq 6
- arrferyyat the sixth (properly their number 6, or the number 6 of the fingers)
- arqaneq 11
- arqaryat the eleventh
- arrfersaneq 16
- arfersaryat the sixteenth

(d) The peculiarities in the declension of the following paradigm remind us of that just mentioned, a'teq, pl. arqita, a name, to which it is evidently closely related.

**kiliik** (pl. kililíikt) 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>killega</td>
<td>killikko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>killeyt</td>
<td>killik or kililet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kiltée</td>
<td>kilite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kelipput</td>
<td>kilipeyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kilissee</td>
<td>kilise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kilittik</td>
<td>kilitik or kiliteik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>killeya</td>
<td>killeye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>killeyat</td>
<td>killeye or killeyat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of *kiliik* will serve as a model for the following noun:

- assik picture; asséyit or assit thy picture; assitit or assisit thy pictures; asséyap my picture, his or its picture; assipput or assipput 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 (terleqa) 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, *ti‘eq forefinger, *tilleq pulse, pulsation, also belong here:

**erneq (pl. ernereit) A son.**

<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.</td>
<td>ernera my son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ernere thy son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>erne his own son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>erneput our son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ernere your son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ernertik their own son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ernera his (ejus) son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ernereal (korus) son</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 proseactive ending -yut or -kut is apparently augmented by -ti (thus, -tigut). 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 absolutive possessives.

<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>Absolutive</td>
<td><em>illo</em> a house, the house</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td><em>illup</em> of the house</td>
<td>-p</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth per. possessive</td>
<td><em>illume</em> his (her) own house or houses</td>
<td>-me</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td><em>illuminit</em> into his own house or houses</td>
<td>-nut</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>illumine</em> in his own house or houses</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>illuminit</em> from his own house or houses</td>
<td>-nit</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td><em>illumunik</em> by his own house or houses</td>
<td>-nik</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td><em>illumigut</em> through his own house or houses</td>
<td>-gut</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformative</td>
<td><em>illumisut</em> like his own house or houses</td>
<td>-sut</td>
<td><em>illume</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Locative Case (-ne) Possessively Inflected

**illo** house: *illum* in a house, in the house.

In the second person the possessive locative ending -rne is also common; e.g.,

\[ki\textsuperscript{w}ffanne = ki\textsuperscript{w}ffanne\] at thy servant (\(<ki\textsuperscript{w}ffaq\) servant, porter)
### The Prosecutive Case Possessively Inflected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular and plural</th>
<th>Old Eskimo</th>
<th>(Relative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td><em>siiutimiyut</em> through his (own) ear or ears</td>
<td><em>siiutimiyut</em></td>
<td><em>siiutime</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. sing.</td>
<td><em>siiitikku</em> through thy ear or ears</td>
<td><em>siiitikku</em></td>
<td><em>siiiti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td><em>siiitikkut</em> through my ear or ears</td>
<td><em>siiitikkut</em></td>
<td><em>siiitama</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td><em>siiutimmik</em> through their own ear or ears</td>
<td><em>siiutimmik</em></td>
<td><em>siiitimik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per. pl.</td>
<td><em>siiutimayut</em> through your ear or ears</td>
<td><em>siiutimayut</em></td>
<td><em>siiitisese</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td><em>siiutiwyut</em> through our ear or ears</td>
<td><em>siiutiwyut</em></td>
<td><em>siiitiweta</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular, ear</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. sing.</td>
<td><em>siiutaagut</em> or <em>siiutaagut</em> through his (eius) ear</td>
<td><em>siiutaagut</em></td>
<td><em>siiutau</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. pl.</td>
<td><em>siiutaagut</em> through their (eorum) ear</td>
<td><em>siiutaagut</em></td>
<td>(Relative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural, ears</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. sing.</td>
<td><em>siiutaasiyut</em></td>
<td><em>siiutaasiyut</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. pl.</td>
<td><em>siiutaasiyut</em></td>
<td><em>siiutaasiyut</em></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.**

*iserrjane* at the entrance (*iserrjik*) of it (*a*)
*uuniap utaan* of the umiaq, in (*ne*) the under-space (*ata*) of it (*a*) =
under the umiaq
*qilawq kiliqame* of the sky, in (*ne*) the border (*kiliq*) of it (*a*) =
on the horizon
*quaane* on the top (*qak*) of me

**-mut.**

*iiluminut iserpog* he goes into (*mut*) his (*me*) house (*illo*)
*kiliyanut* to the border of it (*a*)
*ilaminut* to his or her own (*me*) house-mate (*ila*)
*ikiyutummut* to my (*zn*) friend or friends (*ikiyut [e]*)

**-nit.**

*iniminit* from his or its own (*mi*) place, nest, etc. (*ine*)
*kiliyanit* from the border of it (*a*), especially from that time
*noop kujiataanit* of the point of land (*nook*), from its (*a*) southern
space (*kujiat [a]*) = from the south of the point of land
*qagqap qaaniit* of the mountain, from its (*a*) top = from the top of the mountain

§ 29
-nik.

'āmminik with his own (me) finger (assak) or fingers
sa'wimminik with his own knife (sa'wik) or knives (sa'weet)
alermminnik with their own (mīn) harpoon-line (aleq)
ametorqaminnik with their own (mīn) old skin
ammetorqaminnik with their old skins (ameq, pl. ammit)

-yut, -kut, -tunut.

qiyaningut through or by his own (me) nose (qiyaq)
keenaminigut through or over his own (me) face
qoyasianigut through or about his (a) neck (qoqaseq)
keenaatigut through his (e) (jus) (a) face
niaqoaatigut through his (a) head (niaqaq)
timaatigut through his body (time)
siutiquakkut through or by his 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'ioo^, kapi'wa, kapi'e, kapi'llo, 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'ki (tikik), the last syllable strongly stressed, but never ending in a uvular.
Class IV, *atoq (ato), the last syllable strongly stressed, and ending in a uvular (q > 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 \textit{woq} in the same modes in which Classes III and IV add \textit{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 \textit{-oq} (\textit{-poq}, \textit{-woq}), dual \textit{-uk}, plural \textit{-ut}, which quite agrees with the common absolutive ending of the noun; and in so far we might speak of an absolutive of the verb, but it should be noted that we find no corresponding suffixless relative (\textit{-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 absolutive 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 \textit{x} and \textit{xi} (see § 32). As for the other modes, the past tense may sometimes be expressed by infixing \textit{-aluar(poq)}, \textit{-sima(woq)}; and the future tense, by infixing \textit{ssa} (\textit{ssawoq}, in the third person singular contracted to \textit{-sswoq}), or \textit{-uma(woq)}, \textit{-umaar(poq)}.

\section*{§ 31. SYNOPSIS OF POSSESSIVE ENDINGS OF NOUNS (N.) AND VERBS (V.)}

The paradigms in the next following sections are confined to the West Greenland dialect.

\footnote{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>yu ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>it t</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>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>mpit pput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>rse sse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>rlik 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><strong>N.</strong></th>
<th><strong>V. x, xi</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ma rema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>wit rpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>me reme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>uta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>wse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>mik rmik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 31
Compound Verbal Endings, Composed of an Unascertained Element \((w < p?)\) + a Possessive Ending, or of Two Absolute Possessives, or of a Relative Possessive + an Absolute Possessive \((B + A \text{ or } B + D)\) ¹

**SINGULAR OBJECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—me</th>
<th>you—me</th>
<th>he—me</th>
<th>they—me</th>
<th>he (se)²—me</th>
<th>they (se)—me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| me...| Ṡram III | sīpa I | aṣpa III IX X | ṭiap (\(<\)ṣīpa) III IX X XI | ṭiap ṭiap (\(<\)ṣīpa) | miṣag x
|      | wmo I X X XI | | XI | XI | XI | XI |
|      | (gga I?) | | | | | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—thee</th>
<th>we—thee</th>
<th>he—thee</th>
<th>they—thee</th>
<th>he (se)—thee</th>
<th>they (se)—thee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee...</td>
<td>ṣilit ((&lt;)ṣilit)</td>
<td>ṭilit ((&lt;)ṭilit) III IX X XI</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td>(\ast)ṣilit III IX X XI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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 (se)—him</th>
<th>they (se)—him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him...</td>
<td>Ṽko X XI</td>
<td>Ṽipo X XI</td>
<td>kkō ((&lt;)kkō) X XI</td>
<td>Ṽuk X XI</td>
<td>Ṽuk X XI</td>
<td>Ṽuk X XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\ast)kkō</td>
<td>(\ast)kkō</td>
<td>(\ast)kkō</td>
<td>(\ast)kkō</td>
<td>(\ast)kkō</td>
<td>(\ast)kkō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—him (se)²</th>
<th>we—him (se)²</th>
<th>thou—him (se)²</th>
<th>you—him (se)²</th>
<th>he (se)—him (se)²</th>
<th>they—him (se)²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him (se)...</td>
<td>Ṽrīne IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽrīne IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽrīne IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽrīne IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽrīne IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽrīne IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—as</th>
<th>you—as</th>
<th>he—as</th>
<th>they—as</th>
<th>he (se)—as</th>
<th>they (se)—as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as...</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
<td>sīgul I</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
<td>sīgul I</td>
<td>ṭilit III IX X XI</td>
<td>sīgul I</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>
<th>he (se)—you</th>
<th>they (se)—you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you (pl)...</td>
<td>Ṽes III V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽes III V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽes III IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽes III IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽes III IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽes III IX X XI</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 (se)—them</th>
<th>they (se)—them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>them...</td>
<td>Ṽkīl III V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽkīl III V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽkīl V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽkīl V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽkīl V X XI</td>
<td>Ṽkīl V X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I—them (se)²</th>
<th>we—them (se)²</th>
<th>thou—them (se)²</th>
<th>you—them (se)²</th>
<th>he—them (se)²</th>
<th>they—them (se)²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>them (se)...</td>
<td>Ṽik 1 IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽik 1 IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽik 1 IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽik 1 IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽik 1 IX X XI</td>
<td>Ṽik 1 IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In this table \(wt, \text{ves, wē}, \text{wk}\), stand throughout for \(wēt, \text{ves}, \text{wkō}\), which are phonetically more correct.

2 (se) i.e., the Latin reflexive pronoun, here only used to indicate a like grammatical function of the Eskimo \(\text{mē}, \text{mīk}, \text{tē}, \text{ne}, \text{nik}\).
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>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>(ya)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>(tit)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kit, yit (q)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>yo&lt;go</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo&lt;go</td>
<td>ko, uk</td>
<td>iuk (&lt;*yin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th 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>—</td>
<td>(iyut)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>(se)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>yit&lt;git</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yit&lt;git, kit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>(lik)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yik&lt;lik, kit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yo(go) in -mayo, -payo, -loyo (South Greenland -mago, -pago, -lugo), seems to be of the same origin as suk, iuk, answering to the Alaskan form -g[hvū, -ē(u) (Barnum 148, 142). The same may be true of -uk in—

atoruk use it!

takuwink do you see it?

atorsiuik 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 g, which sound is otherwise used in these endings instead of y, except in North Greenland.

§ 31
§ 32. SYNOPTIC OF VERBAL MODES OF CONJUGATION (DIALECT OF WEST GREENLAND)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of conjugation</th>
<th>Modal characters</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>Affirmative</td>
<td>(V.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class of conjugation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>( y^g )</td>
<td>( y^g )</td>
<td>( y, _ _ )</td>
<td>( _ _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>( y^g )</td>
<td>( y^g )</td>
<td>( y, _ _ )</td>
<td>( _ _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>( w^o )</td>
<td>( o )</td>
<td>( ppa )</td>
<td>( rpa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>( w^a )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( ppa )</td>
<td>( rpa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>( w^a )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( ppa )</td>
<td>( rpa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV, 2d per.</td>
<td>( w^e )</td>
<td>( ya )</td>
<td>( ppe )</td>
<td>( rpe )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>( w^a )</td>
<td>( ya )</td>
<td>( ppa )</td>
<td>( rpa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>( ppa )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( ppa )</td>
<td>( rpa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, 3d per.</td>
<td>( le )</td>
<td>( le )</td>
<td>( LLe )</td>
<td>( rLe )</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 § 31.
2 tikipik in or tikipik in thou didst not come.
3 tikigipilat or tikigippil thou didst not come.
4 In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of conjugation</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Name and definition of the mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class of conjugation</td>
<td>Person endings, A, B, C, D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>$LLo$</td>
<td>$lo$</td>
<td>$Llo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII $a$</td>
<td>$(s)sec^*$</td>
<td>$(s)sec$</td>
<td>$tt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$(s)so$</td>
<td>$(s)so$</td>
<td>$tt&lt;^*ferto$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>$sa$</td>
<td>$sa$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>$yi&lt;gi$</td>
<td>$yi&lt;gi$</td>
<td>$kki$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>$ya&lt;pa$</td>
<td>$ya&lt;pa$</td>
<td>$kka$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>$ya&lt;pa$</td>
<td>$ya&lt;pa$</td>
<td>$kka$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>$mma$</td>
<td>$mma$</td>
<td>$mma$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>$yu&lt;gu$</td>
<td>$yu&lt;gu$</td>
<td>$kku$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>$ppa$</td>
<td>$ppa$</td>
<td>$ppa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>$ne$</td>
<td>$ne$</td>
<td>$nee$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C, D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B, C</td>
<td>B, C</td>
<td>B, C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B, C</td>
<td>B, C</td>
<td>B, C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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: $icerane$ he (se) not going in $icer-a-ne$, but $tikianame$ (class III) he not coming.

2 May be used without any suffix.
§ 33. MODE I. IMPERATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>A. C-endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td><strong>kapi'git</strong> (thou) stab!</td>
<td><strong>kata'git</strong> drop!</td>
<td><strong>ise'rit</strong> enter!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td><strong>kapi'pitte</strong> (you)</td>
<td><strong>kata'pitte</strong></td>
<td><strong>ise'ritte</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSLITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I (thou)</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td><strong>kapi'yga</strong></td>
<td><strong>ka'tayga</strong></td>
<td><strong>'steyga</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td><strong>kapisigut</strong></td>
<td><strong>katattigut</strong></td>
<td><strong>isertigut</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td><strong>kapikuk</strong></td>
<td><strong>katayuk</strong></td>
<td><strong>iseruk</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td><strong>kapikit</strong></td>
<td><strong>katalkit</strong></td>
<td><strong>isikkit</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I (you)</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td><strong>kapi'sigu</strong></td>
<td><strong>katattigu</strong></td>
<td><strong>isertigu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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>Person</th>
<th>Me</th>
<th>You</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>you—me</td>
<td>he—me</td>
<td>they—me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapivarma</td>
<td>kapivawssitiga</td>
<td>kapivapapa</td>
<td>kapivapapapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>katapparma</td>
<td>katappawssitiga</td>
<td>katappaapa</td>
<td>katappaapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparma</td>
<td>iserparawssitiga</td>
<td>iserpapapa</td>
<td>iserpapapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thou—us</td>
<td>you—us</td>
<td>he—us</td>
<td>they—us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapivawalitig</td>
<td>kapivawawssitiga</td>
<td>kapivapapalitig</td>
<td>kapivapapalitig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>katappawalitig</td>
<td>katappawawssitiga</td>
<td>katappapalitig</td>
<td>katappapalitig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparawalitig</td>
<td>iserparawawssitiga</td>
<td>iserpapalitig</td>
<td>iserpapalitig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I—thiyou</td>
<td>we—you</td>
<td>he—you</td>
<td>they—you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapivawssse</td>
<td>kapivawawssse</td>
<td>kapivapassse</td>
<td>kapivapassse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>katappawssse</td>
<td>katappawawssse</td>
<td>katappaassse</td>
<td>katappaassse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparawssse</td>
<td>iserparawawssse</td>
<td>iserpapassse</td>
<td>iserpapassse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I—him</td>
<td>we—him</td>
<td>thou—him</td>
<td>you—him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapivarapit</td>
<td>kapivarapit</td>
<td>kapivarapit</td>
<td>kapivarapit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>katapparapit</td>
<td>katapparapit</td>
<td>katapparapit</td>
<td>katapparapit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparapit</td>
<td>iserparapit</td>
<td>iserparapit</td>
<td>iserparapit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I—them</td>
<td>we—them</td>
<td>thou—them</td>
<td>you—them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapivawalka</td>
<td>kapivawalkat</td>
<td>kapivapakalit</td>
<td>kapivapakalit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>katappawalkat</td>
<td>katappawalit</td>
<td>katappakalit</td>
<td>katappakalit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparwalkat</td>
<td>iserparpalit</td>
<td>iserpapakalit</td>
<td>iserpapakalit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 35
§ 36. MODE IV. INTERROGATIVE

### INTRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisel</td>
<td>kalappit</td>
<td>iserpil</td>
<td>-ypippit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipise</td>
<td>katappise</td>
<td>iserpise</td>
<td>-ypippise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiva</td>
<td>katapp</td>
<td>iserpa</td>
<td>-ypil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapippat</td>
<td>katappat</td>
<td>iserpat</td>
<td>-ypilat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of conjugation</th>
<th>thou—me</th>
<th>you—me</th>
<th>thou—me</th>
<th>you—me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwiga</td>
<td>kapiwisiga</td>
<td>-ypiliga</td>
<td>-ypilisiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iserpiga</td>
<td>iserpisiga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—us</td>
<td>kapiwisigut</td>
<td>kapiwisigut</td>
<td>-ypilisigut</td>
<td>-ypilisigut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iserpisigut</td>
<td>iserpisigut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—him</td>
<td>kapisiuk</td>
<td>kapisiuk</td>
<td>-ypiliuk</td>
<td>-ypiliuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iserpisiuk</td>
<td>iserpisiuk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—them</td>
<td>kapisigut</td>
<td>kapisigut</td>
<td>-ypilisigut</td>
<td>-ypilisigut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iserpisigut</td>
<td>iserpisigut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 37. **MODE V. OPTATIVE**

**INTRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<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>katallapa</td>
<td>iserlapa wish I might enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilata</td>
<td>katallata</td>
<td>iserlata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>me . . .</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiliga</td>
<td>iserliga</td>
<td>they—me kapiliga</td>
<td>iserliga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>us . . .</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapilisigut</td>
<td>iserlisigut</td>
<td>they—us kapilisigut</td>
<td>iserlisigut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thee . .</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapilawkit</td>
<td>iserlawkit</td>
<td>he—us kapilawkit</td>
<td>iserlawkit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>you (pl.)</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapilawse</td>
<td>iserlawse</td>
<td>he—you kapilawse</td>
<td>iserlawse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>him . .</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapilarara</td>
<td>iserlarara</td>
<td>he—him kapilarara</td>
<td>iserlarara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>them . .</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapilakka</td>
<td>iserlakka</td>
<td>he—them kapilakka</td>
<td>iserlakka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative forms are—**

-yikkililek he—him  
-yikkililet he—them

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—66  
§ 37
§ 38. MODE VI. CONTEMPORATIVE

Stabbing or being stabbed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive (Active or Passive)</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapilloja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilluta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapillulit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilluse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapillume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapillutik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapilloja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilloja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive or Passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive (Active or Passive)</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapinnaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapinnata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapinnatit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapinnase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapinnanc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapinnatik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapinnayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapinnapit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 That is, I without being stabbed.
2 That is, we, he, i, etc., stabbing him, or he being stabbed by us, him, me, etc.
3 That is, stabbing them, or they being stabbed.

§ 39. MODE VII. VERBAL NOUN OR VERBAL ADJECTIVE

α (noun).

Examples:
* asasse [a'sάισε], with third person possessive suffix asassia the one who loves him, < asa5w0q
* ikiorte, in third person possessive ikiortua the one who helps him, his helper, < iki5w0q

β (noun or adjective).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st dei. sing.</td>
<td>kapisoya</td>
<td>isertopa I who enter</td>
<td>-gipilloya I who don't enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapisogut</td>
<td>isertoput we who enter</td>
<td>-gipilloput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisuulit</td>
<td>isertulit thou who dost enter</td>
<td>-gipillulit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapisuse</td>
<td>isertuse you who enter</td>
<td>-gipilluse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapisoq</td>
<td>isertog he who enters</td>
<td>-gipilloq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapisut</td>
<td>isertuqt they who enter</td>
<td>-gipillut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 38, 39
§ 40. MODE VIII. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Examples:

- asassaq one who is loved
- asassara my beloved
- asassât thy beloved
- asassau his beloved, etc.

1st per. sing. katâtara my dropped one (the thing I dropped)
1st per. pl. katâtarput our dropped one (the thing we dropped)
2d per. sing. katâtâtît thy dropped one (the thing thou droppedst)
2d per. pl. katâtârarse your dropped one (the thing you dropped)
3d per. sing. katâtâru his dropped one (the thing he dropped)
3d per. pl. katâtâruit their dropped one (the thing they dropped)
4th per. sing. katâtârane his (se) dropped one (the thing he dropped)
4th per. pl. katâtârartik 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

Kapijinya (S. W. Gr. kapijiga) I WHO STAB HIM OR THAT I STAB (STABBED) HIM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thou—me, us</th>
<th>you—me, us</th>
<th>he—me, us</th>
<th>they—me, us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapijinya</td>
<td>kapijigêsiga</td>
<td>kapijigtésgut</td>
<td>kapijpamn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapijigmëya</td>
<td>kapijigësgut</td>
<td>kapijigësigut</td>
<td>kapijpamn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I—thee, you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we—thee, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we—him, them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him—I, we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—he (se), they (se)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 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>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapiyama</td>
<td>katakkama</td>
<td>iscrana</td>
<td>kapiypinnama</td>
<td>kapiypinnama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyavatta</td>
<td>katakkawetta</td>
<td>iscravetta</td>
<td>kapiypinnawetta</td>
<td>kapiypinnawetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyavwit</td>
<td>katakkawwit</td>
<td>iscravwit</td>
<td>kapiypinnawit</td>
<td>kapiypinnawit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyawwse</td>
<td>katakkawwse</td>
<td>iscrawwse</td>
<td>kapiypinnawwse</td>
<td>kapiypinnawwse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyamc</td>
<td>katakkanc</td>
<td>iscramc</td>
<td>kapiypinnamc</td>
<td>kapiypinnamc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyamik</td>
<td>katakkamik</td>
<td>iscramik</td>
<td>kapiypinnamik</td>
<td>kapiypinnamik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiymmat</td>
<td>katummat</td>
<td>iscrmat</td>
<td>kapiypinnamat</td>
<td>kapiypinnamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiymmatu</td>
<td>katummatu</td>
<td>iscrmatu</td>
<td>kapiypinnamatu</td>
<td>kapiypinnamatu</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>kapiyama</td>
<td>kapiyawwse</td>
<td>kapimnya</td>
<td>kapiyawwse</td>
<td>kapiyawwse</td>
<td>kapiyawwse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyawtit</td>
<td>kapiyawtit</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapimmat</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>kapiyawkit</td>
<td>kapiyawkit</td>
<td>kapimmatit</td>
<td>kapimmatit</td>
<td>kapimmatit</td>
<td>kapimmatit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td>we—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td>they—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td>he—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td>they (se)—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyawmmc</td>
<td>kapiyawmmc</td>
<td>kapiyawmmc</td>
<td>kapiyawmmc</td>
<td>kapiyawmmc</td>
<td>kapiyawmmc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them</td>
<td>we—him, them</td>
<td>they—him, them</td>
<td>he—him, them</td>
<td>they—him, them</td>
<td>they—him, them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyawkko</td>
<td>kapiyawkko</td>
<td>kapiyawkko</td>
<td>kapiyawkko</td>
<td>kapiyawkko</td>
<td>kapiyawkko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyawkkit</td>
<td>kapiyawkkit</td>
<td>kapiyawkkit</td>
<td>kapiyawkkit</td>
<td>kapiyawkkit</td>
<td>kapiyawkkit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 42
§ 43. MODE XI. FUTURE TENSE AND CONDITIONAL PROPOSITION

\textit{kapijuma} \textit{when (in future)} I SHALL STAB MYSELF, IF I STAB MYSELF

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & I & III & IV & Negative \\
\hline
1st per. sing. & \textit{kapijuma} & \textit{katakkuma} & \textit{iseruma} & \textit{kapipijikka} \\
1st per. pl. & \textit{kapijuwatta} & \textit{katakkwatta} & \textit{iserwatta} & \textit{kapipijikwatta} \\
2d per. sing. & \textit{kapijuwit} & \textit{katakkwit} & \textit{iserwit} & \textit{kapipijikwit} \\
2d per. pl. & \textit{kapijuwesse} & \textit{katakkwesse} & \textit{iserwesse} & \textit{kapipijikwesse} \\
4th per. sing. & \textit{kapijune} & \textit{katakkunik} & \textit{iserunik} & \textit{kapipijikunik} \\
4th per. pl. & \textit{kapijnik} & \textit{katakkunik} & \textit{iserunik} & \textit{kapipijikunik} \\
3d per. sing. & \textit{kapippät} & \textit{katappat} & \textit{iserpat} & \textit{kapipippät} \\
3d per. pl. & \textit{kapippata} & \textit{katappat} & \textit{iserpat} & \textit{kapipippata} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textbf{TRANSITIVE}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & thou—me, us & you—me, us & he—me, us & they—me, us & he (SE)—me, us & they (SE)—me, us \\
I—thine, you & \textit{kapijumma} & \textit{kapijumma} & \textit{kapijumma} & \textit{kapijumma} & \textit{kapijumma} & \textit{kapijumma} \\
& \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} \\
& \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} \\
I—him, them & \textit{kapipijumma} & \textit{kapijumna} & \textit{kapijumna} & \textit{kapijumna} & \textit{kapijumna} & \textit{kapijumna} \\
(sw) & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} & \textit{kapijummit} \\
& \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} & \textit{kapijumse} \\
I—him, them & \textit{kapipijumko} & \textit{kapijumko} & \textit{kapijumko} & \textit{kapijumko} & \textit{kapijumko} & \textit{kapijumko} \\
& \textit{kapijumkun} & \textit{kapijumkun} & \textit{kapijumkun} & \textit{kapijumkun} & \textit{kapijumkun} & \textit{kapijumkun} \\
& \textit{kapipijumk} & \textit{kapipijumk} & \textit{kapipijumk} & \textit{kapipijumk} & \textit{kapipijumk} & \textit{kapipijumk} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

§ 44. MODE XII. ABSTRACT NOUN

\textit{kapineq} \textit{the act of stabbing one’s self; the being stabbed (by another); a stab, wound.}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & I & II & III & IV & Negative \\
Absolutive & & & & & \\
Sing. & \textit{kapineq} & \textit{pipineq} & \textit{katanneq} & \textit{iserneq} & \textit{pipineq} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

§§ 43, 44
These forms are inflected alike, following the paradigm of *erneq* (§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,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{itsiu} & \quad \text{the white of an egg} \\
\text{sínu} & \quad \text{the bow of a boat} \\
\text{inu} & \quad \text{the inhabitant or owner of a thing}
\end{align*}
\]

To the latter group belong, for example—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tásêq} & \quad \text{a lake} \\
\text{nuna} & \quad \text{land} \\
\text{ukióq} & \quad \text{winter}
\end{align*}
\]

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), *kkukut*\(^1\) (plural), *su* (singular and plural).

\[
\begin{align*}
kina & \quad \text{who, plural } kkukut \text{ (Al. kókét [Barnum 77])} \\
kínumut & \quad \text{to wmom, plural } kkukumut
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^1\)The suffix -*kut* seems to mean society, family.
suna what, plural soot [suː:t] or [syː:t] (M. enna, plural enwife); sumut to what or where (sume where)

The Alaskan chu [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; uwâwitme at me, uwâwttinne at us; uwâwmut to me, uwâwttinmut to us; uwâwtut like me
illit thou; plural ilivesse or ilisse [ilisse] you; illinnut to thee, ilivessinnut 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>kisima I or me alone (only)</th>
<th>iloomarmna I or me whole (all over the body)</th>
<th>tamarma I or me whole (wholly)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kisimta</td>
<td>iloomarmta</td>
<td>tamarmta all of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. dual</td>
<td>kisimnut</td>
<td>iloomarmnut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kisivit</td>
<td>iloomarmvit</td>
<td>tamarpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kisivesse</td>
<td>iloomarvesse</td>
<td>tamarsse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. dual</td>
<td>kisivettik</td>
<td>iloomarmvit</td>
<td>tamarnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kisene</td>
<td>iloomarmne</td>
<td>tamadat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kiseimik</td>
<td>iloomarmik</td>
<td>tamašen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kisât</td>
<td>iloomapat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kiseessa</td>
<td>iloomašsen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 48. Numerals

The distribution of the Eskimo numerals¹ may be symbolized in this manner:

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)

The word for 20 is inuk naawlooyo a man brought to an end, all his fingers (or hands, I and II) and toes (or feet, III and IV) being counted.

¹Thalbitzer 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>ałaaqeq</td>
<td>ałaaqeq</td>
<td>ałaaqeq</td>
<td>ałaaqeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marluk or</td>
<td>marluk or</td>
<td></td>
<td>marluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ałaaq</td>
<td>ałaaq</td>
<td>ałaaq</td>
<td>ałaaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (6)</td>
<td>arfíneq or</td>
<td>arfíneq</td>
<td>arvenebrít</td>
<td>arfiníxín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arfíneq</td>
<td>arfíneq</td>
<td>arvenebrít</td>
<td>arfiníxín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marluk</td>
<td>marluk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pipasut</td>
<td>pipasut</td>
<td>pipacenik</td>
<td>pipayuníxín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sisaamut or</td>
<td>sisaamut</td>
<td>sílamat or</td>
<td>qolinínuula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>allímat</td>
<td>allímat</td>
<td>allímat</td>
<td>allímat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>allímat</td>
<td>allímat</td>
<td>allímat</td>
<td>allímat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (11)</td>
<td>arqianeq or</td>
<td>arqianeq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arqianeq or</td>
<td>arqianeq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arqianeq or</td>
<td>arqianeq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arqianeq or</td>
<td>arqianeq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (16)</td>
<td>arfersaneq or</td>
<td>arfersaneq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arfersaneq or</td>
<td>arfersaneq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arfersaneq or</td>
<td>arfersaneq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arfersaneq or</td>
<td>arfersaneq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (21)</td>
<td>unua or</td>
<td>unua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unua or</td>
<td>unua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Lit. plural of -lik having, supplied with; In plural also -lect, lect; same as M. -lerit, Al. -likxín (Petitot LIV) (Barnum 4: lik, plural light).
2. Qule upper one, in third person possessive qulaa + luat inner one (i.e., the fourth finger, the forefinger).
3. Plural of qule the upper ones (the hands or fingers as opposed to the toes).
4. Corresponds to the Greenland ordinal arfersaneq the sixth.
5. Cf. ałaaq two = Gr. arlaq (ordinal).
6. cikpaq, cf. ciku reste, retaille, Al. ciploq it exceeds, Gr. sínncra 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>[siulleg or siullial]</td>
<td>[sivoreq]</td>
<td>ciruleq</td>
<td>caokleq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aippa</td>
<td>aipga</td>
<td>aipak</td>
<td>aipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pipajuat</td>
<td>pipajuak</td>
<td></td>
<td>pipipajuak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sisamaat</td>
<td>sidamaatpat</td>
<td></td>
<td>stanemek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tallinaat</td>
<td>tellinaatpat</td>
<td></td>
<td>tallimeek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[arfernalor arferyat]</td>
<td>arvinigat</td>
<td></td>
<td>arvibrayq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>[arqarnat or arqarpat]</td>
<td>arqapirvat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>[arfersarnat or arfersarpat]</td>
<td>arverbyarvat</td>
<td></td>
<td></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**

*kia* 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, ya</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>taa<em>ena</em></td>
<td>manna</td>
<td>iyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>(san)na</td>
<td>ooma</td>
<td>taa<em>essuma</em></td>
<td>matuma</td>
<td>issuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>muppa</td>
<td>oomoppa</td>
<td>taa*essumoppa</td>
<td>matumoppa</td>
<td>issumoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mane</td>
<td>oonane</td>
<td>taa*essumanee</td>
<td>matumane</td>
<td>issumane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>mappa</td>
<td>oomappa</td>
<td>taa*essumappa</td>
<td>matumappa</td>
<td>issumappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentals</td>
<td>mippa</td>
<td>oomippa</td>
<td>taa*essumippa</td>
<td>matumipipa</td>
<td>issumipipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>moona</td>
<td>oomoona</td>
<td>taa*essumonoona</td>
<td>matumoona</td>
<td>issumoona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PLURAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>ko or</th>
<th>'uko</th>
<th>taawk</th>
<th>wakko</th>
<th>ikko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>koa</td>
<td>'akoa</td>
<td>taawkoa</td>
<td>makkoa</td>
<td>ikkoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>nuppa</td>
<td>ukunoppa</td>
<td>taawkonnoppa</td>
<td>makkunoppa</td>
<td>ikkkonoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>ukunanec</td>
<td>taawkunane</td>
<td>makkunanec</td>
<td>ikkkunanec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>nuppa</td>
<td>ukunappu</td>
<td>taawkonnappu</td>
<td>makkunappu</td>
<td>ikkkunappu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentals</td>
<td>nippa</td>
<td>ukunippu</td>
<td>taawkonippi</td>
<td>makkunippi</td>
<td>ikkkunippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>moona</td>
<td>ukunoon</td>
<td>taawkonoon</td>
<td>makkunoon</td>
<td>ikkkunoona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(natigut)</td>
<td>ukunatigut</td>
<td>taawkonatigut</td>
<td>makkunatigut</td>
<td>ikkkunatigut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 49, 50
In the same way is inflected ḫwˈnna (relative ḫwˈssuma) THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED (Latin ille).

There are some other demonstrative pronouns—

āwˈnna he (she, it) in the north
qāwˈnna he in the south; he in there (in the house); he out there (outside of the house)
pāwˈnna he up there in the east
sāwˈnna he down there in the sea
kānna he down there
kɪpˈnna he there in the south
pɪpˈnna he up there in the east

All of these follow the paradigms of taawˈnna and ḫɪpˈnna. And just as the latter forms with the prefix ta taˈy kap (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 tamˈnna, taqāwˈnna, tasāwˈnna, takˈnna, 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>here</th>
<th>there</th>
<th>yonder</th>
<th>in the north</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ṇe</td>
<td>maan</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ɣa</td>
<td>maawñana</td>
<td>oopa</td>
<td>ikopa</td>
<td>awopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ɣya</td>
<td>moa ny</td>
<td>uw</td>
<td>ikayna</td>
<td>awayna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ʊna</td>
<td>maana</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ikoon</td>
<td>awonna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PARTICLES (§§ 51-54)**

Although words lacking inflections 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.

*išše ajisšše* e*a* how terrible the cold is! (literally, the cold its badness, ā!)

*ta, ata,* calls attention to something: LOOK HERE!

§ 51
aja sighing, especially used by women and children.

aja qa\text{gog}a\text{\textasciitilde}ya how tired I am!

eeq or teeq expresses scorn or irony.

na 'aa sudden pain.

kakkaak, assaasakak, surprise, wonder, admiration (M. a\text{p}k\text{\textbar}alé ah! [admiration.])

For hunters' calls, see Thalbitzer I, 323–326:

\textit{drrr} ... \textit{drrr} ... used in decoying young gulls.

\textit{qut\text{\textbar}eeq qut\text{\textbar}teeq} to old female gulls.

\textit{taka\text{\textbar}eeq taka\text{\textbar}teeq qrq} to the three-toed gulls.

\textit{hak\text{\textbar}om hak\text{\textbar}om} to auks.

\textit{qa\text{\textbar}e qa\text{\textbar}e} to ravens.

\section*{§ 52. Modal Particles}

\textit{aa} calling attention to something. In some cases it is used as a prefix:

\textit{\textbar}u\text{\textbar}un\text{\textbar}na, 'aa\text{\textbar}una} look here, here it (\textit{una}) is! the same as \textit{a\text{\textbar}ajuna}

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 of him there)

\textit{aa} is very much like the sign of the a vocative in such cases as—

\textit{a\text{\textbar}ata\text{\textbar}ata-aa} father!

\textit{aa-mak\text{\textbar}ka} they, there!

\textit{ata\text{\textbar}yo} lo! behold! (with future tense of the verb following it.)

\textit{ata\text{\textbar}yo u\text{\textbar}iss\text{\textbar}ayil} try it and you shall see you will be all right

\textit{sun'aaw\text{\textbar}Fa} (<\textit{suma} what + \textit{uffa} there) expresses surprise.

\textit{u\text{\textbar}se} (bringing something back to his memory) now I remember.

\textit{usi\text{\textbar}uffa} (<\textit{use} + \textit{uffa}) I thought that—. This particle is always

followed by a participle or a noun.

\textit{usi\text{\textbar}uffa ta\text{\textbar}kuss\text{\textbar}ariya} I thought (expected) I should have seen him

\textit{qanortoq} Latin \textit{utinam}, followed by optative of the verb.

\textit{na\text{\textbar}y\textit{k}}

\textit{massa} although (followed by participle).

\textit{u\text{\textbar}w\text{\textbar}n\text{\textbar}mit}

\textit{massa ta\text{\textbar}kuss\text{\textbar}ariya ilis\text{\textbar}ar\text{\textbar}iy\text{\textbar}il\text{\textbar}ara} although I have often seen him,

I do not know him

\textit{soor\text{\textbar}Lo} as, as if.
§ 53. Temporal Particles

*ittaq* a long time ago (South Gr. *itsaq*).

*ippassaq* yesterday (M. *ikpektqiapk*).

*wLume* to-day.

*gilamik* soon (M. *kpillamik*).

*siorna* last year (literally, the one just before).

*kiiorna* hereafter (M. *kikunapagun*).

*qaja* when (in the preterite).

*qqonyo* when (in the future).

*q'aqitijut* at times, from time to time

*aqayo* to-morrow.

§ 54. Particles for Expressing Question and Answer

*aap* yes (M. *ih*).

*naaxa* no, no (M. *tchütop*, *diunak*; West coast of Hudson bay *naaga*).

*naamik* no (there is no; it is not there).

*nawk* where

*sooq* why

*sooruna* certainly.

*massame* certainly, indeed.

*ilumut* indeed, I do not lie.

*immaga* perhaps (M. *tabliu*; West coast of Hudson bay *iluukuni*).

*asukiaq* I do not know, maybe.

*tassqa* I hardly believe.

*ai* is it, do you (M. *tutchayotin aïn comprends-tu?*).

*qa'noq* how (M. *naw-kut*, *naw-naw*, *kpano-kpano*).

*i'laa* isn't it so?

*gujanaq* thanks (M. *kpoyanapa*).

**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, -ttaa\(^2\)q 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: atorquarpara 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 (ssuaq), HAVE (qar[pooq]), and I (ya, 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 qajarssuaqarpoya (KAYAK-LARGE-HAVE-I); the latter by aawpalaartumik qajaqarpoya; here the first part (RED) is a participle of the verb aawpalaarpoq IT IS RED, used in the instrumentalis (-mil), 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:

\[ N > v = V; i. e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming a verb: \]

- **illoo** house + -liorpoq makes, **illuliorpoq** he builds a house builds
- **pujoo** smoke + -sunippooq it has a smell or taste of **pujorsunippooq** it has the smell or taste of smoke
- **ameq** skin + -erpaad it deprives **ameerpaad** takes the skin off it, makes it of something, skins it (e. g., the seal)
- **nassuk** horn + -miyarpaa makes a motion with a part of his body toward something **nassumiyarpaa** horns him, butts him

\[ V > n = N; i. e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix, and so making a noun: \]

- **tikippooq** arrives + -qat(e) companion + -a his **tiqervataa** his arrival-companion, his fellow-traveller

§ 56
§ 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 booklet, 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
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., *ilqaqarpoya* 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 (regens) 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 Misteli, Berlin, 1893).
language. 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 polysynthetic, 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 -voq 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 (kapivoq 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.

\[ s'il'allerpoq \text{ rain is, it rains } \]
\[ atorpoq \text{ use is, it is used } \]
\[ tikippoq \text{ arrival is, he arrives } \]
\[ kapiroq \text{ stab is, he is stabbed, or he stabs himself } \]

Accordingly the inflected verb in the indicative intransitive is properly translated in this manner:

\[ atorpoqya \text{ my use = I am used } \]
\[ atorputit \text{ thy use = thou art used } \]
\[ atorpoq \text{ use = one is used } \]
\[ \quad \quad = \text{ he, it, is used } \]
\[ tikippoqya \text{ my arrival = I arrive } \]
\[ tikipputit \text{ thy arrival = thou arrivest } \]
\[ tikippoq \text{ arrival = one arrives } \]
\[ \quad \quad = \text{ he arrives } \]

The same applies to the transitive forms of the finite verb; thus—

\[ atorpara \text{ my its use = I use it } \]
\[ atorpat \text{ thy its use = thou usest it } \]
\[ atorpaat \text{ his its use = he uses it } \]
\[ kapwoq \text{ my its stab = I stab it } \]
\[ kapwut \text{ thy its stab = thou stabbest it } \]
\[ kapwaa \text{ his its stab = he stabs it } \]

In case an independent word is added as subject, it is used in the relative case:

\[ Peelip kapivaa\text{a} \text{ Peele's my-his-stab = Peele stabs me } \]
\[ Peelip kapivaa\text{at} \text{ Peele's thy-his-stab = Peele stabs thee } \]
\[ Peelip kapivaa \text{ Peele's his-his-stab = Peele stabs him (another) } \]

It is worth noticing that the base of the verb seems to have a passive or reflexive sense; e.g., \text{Peele 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 § 59
known. The verb is treated as a noun + a verb-forming suffix (-wo, -wo; -po, -pa) which gives the noun a passive or reflexive signification, + the mark of the absolutive (-q) 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 HE STABS ME, HE SEES ME, but rather MY BEING STABBED BY HIM IS, MY BEING SEEN BY HIM IS.

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.

§ 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.

INTR. = intransitive.

NTR. = neutral, i. e., transitive or intransitive, according to the signification of the leading word.

ät, äit N. or V. (marks a question or a polite invitation) how? please; e. g., illit-ääit you, how? i. e., is it you (or yours)?

ajuppoq V. NTR. frequently

aluaq (N.), aluarpoq V. N>V, NTR. otherwise; former (with proper names); late; although; certainly, it is true—but —— (forms conditional mode in verbs)


\textit{al}arpoq v. ntr. preliminarily, provisionally; first, yet
\textit{araq} n. miniature, diminutive; a young one; a little
\textit{araaq} v. ntr. is in the habit of. In mode x, first person singular \textit{ar}igungama or \textit{araayama}.

\textit{asaru}arpoq v. ntr. hastens to ——; in a short time, speedily
\textit{erpaa} n. deprives it of, removes the —— of it
\textit{er}poq has lost its ——; sells
\textit{erserpoq} has lost something he possessed
\textit{ersiwoq} has some part of his body frozen
\textit{fi}k, \textit{ffik} v. place or time
\textit{fiy}aa 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.

\textit{g\textsuperscript{r}}, see \textit{y}

\textit{iaarpoq}, see \textit{jaarpoq}

\textit{iaq}, \textit{liaq}, \textit{siaq} n., in third person possessive, MADE BY HIM; in first person possessive, MADE BY ME

\textit{iaq (v.)}, \textit{iaqarpoq}, \textit{tariaqarpoq} v. intr. he (it) is to be ——ed (the sense of this suffix corresponds to that of the gerundive in Latin)

\textit{iar}poq n. deprives it of several parts, or deprives it of its —— several times (cf. \textit{erpaa})

\textit{iarpoq} n. has got it (his weapon, etc.) injured; broken
\textit{iarpoq, liarpoq} n. intr. goes to (a place); is out hunting ——
\textit{iar}torpoq v. ntr. goes or comes in order to ——; more and more
\textit{ininvoq} v. ntr. somewhat, very little more ——
\textit{innaq} n., \textit{innarpoq} v. ntr. only; exclusively, constantly; without hesitation

\textit{iioq} v. ntr. also, too; indeed
\textit{iiorpoq, liorpoq} n. works, manufactures; transitive, works (something) for him

\textit{iu}ppaa, \textit{liuppaa} n. works or makes a —— of it, uses it for making a ——

\textit{ippooq, lippoq} n. intr. has arrived at (a place)
\textit{ippooq} is without; is not ——
\textit{isorpoq} n. intr. has gone or come to fetch ——
\textit{issarpoq, lissarpoq} n. intr. takes a —— with him; carries (something) with him

\textit{jaarpoq} v. ntr. early

\textit{jawooq} v. intr. is apt to, may easily ——
\textit{jiuppoq, siippoq} v. intr. never
\textit{qadq} v. ntr. (intensive) very much, strongly
\textit{qarpooq} n. intr. has ——; there is ——
\textit{qat}, in third person possessive, his companion, fellow; another of the same kind
\textit{qatiyaa} 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 —
kwarpoq v. INTR. suddenly
kwawpoq v. INTR. with long, equal intervals
kasik N., kasippoq v. NTR. vexatious, bad; odiously, badly; unfortu-
nately
kawssak N., kawssappoq 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 —
kv N. refuse, waste; remnant; cast off, left off
kootaarput or -rpaaN. (by numerals) at the time
kunik N. pitiable; wretched
kuppoq v. NTR. rather little, tolerably
kuppaa v. regards, deems, takes him for —
kut N., family, society, company
llappoq, llattiarpoq v. NTR. a short time, a moment
lluttaarpoq NTR. now and then, from time to time
llarpoq v. NTR. with speed; with might and main
llarqippoq v. NTR. he is very clever in —
laarpoq v. NTR. but little; slowly
lawoq v. INTR. impulsively; in an unsteady state
le N. or v. but
leriwoq, eriwoq N. INTR. is occupied with, has something to do with —
llaq N. (local superlative) the extreme one as to place, the — most
lerpoq v. NTR. begins to —; is about to —
lerpaN, serpaN (cf. erpaa) N. supplies him (it) with a —; places a — on it
lerssuarpoq 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 —
lirpoq, see iorpoq
lik, pl. lliN. having —, supplied with
lo N. or v. and; lo—lo, both — and
looneet or; looneet—looneet, either — or
lluarpoq v. NTR. well, right; opportuneUy; completely; at all
lluinnarpoq v. NTR. wholly; completely

§ 60
Luppoq, Luppoq N. Intr. has (a) bad ——; v. Intr. badly ——;
has a pain (in some part of his body)
Lussinnarpoq v. NTR. in vain
Lusoq N. or v. like, as if it were
Mnaaq v. one who is practised in ——, skilled in ——
Mnaawog v. is practised in ——, skilled in ——
Mawoq v. NTR. is in the state of ——
Mee N. or v. (intensive) indeed, then
Mmersorpoq v. NTR. long time, long
Mnippoq rminnpoq N. (Instrumentalis) makes a movement with ——(that part of his body)
Mineq N. a piece of ——, a fragment of ——
Mio N. inhabitant of ——
Misurpoq v. NTR. by little and little; weakly
Minioq, Mnioq v. NTR. (rare) after all
Minwoq see Minwoq
Mukarpoq, Mmukarpoq N. Intr. goes (is gone) in the direction of ——
Mukaarpoq N. Intr. is situated in the direction of ——, faces ——
Naq, Rnaq N. peculiar.
Mnaaq, Mnaaquaq N. his dearest one, favorite, pet
Mnaarpoq v. NTR. enjoys to ——, with pleasure, continues to ——
Naarpaq, Mnarpaq v. makes it too ——; finds it beyond his expectations
Narpoq, Mnarpoq v. (this suffix gives the third person of the finite verb a subjective sense; the third person is used thus for I as a form of modesty; the impersonality = 1); (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 ——
Naweerpooq v. NTR. there is no longer any risk that ——; now he (it) can not more ——
Naweersarpaa v. prevents him from ——
Neq (verb abstract; mode xi)
Neqarpoq (passive suffix, especially of such verbs as are not used in mode ii)
Nerarpaa v. says that he (it) ——, says that he is ——
Ner'Luppoq v. NTR. wrongly (cf. Luppoq)
Neroq v. NTR. I wonder whether ——, or if ——
Neruwoq v. NTR. (comparative) more
Niaq, Niarpoq NTR. aims at; endeavors
Niarpoq (suffixxed to local adverbs) goes (to) there
Nnippoq (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., yajappoq v. NTR. nearly, almost
yasaaarpooq N. is much frequented, full of ——
yaarpoq v. NTR. in a high degree, very much
yeeq, yeet, veet; yeeput, veeput N. (or v.) pair, joined in pairs; reciprocally, mutually
yypilaq v. NTR. not (forms the negative conjugation in the verbs; see §§ 32 et seq.)
yippooq, riippoq N. NTR. is good, has good —— or nice ——
yoog (goog), rooq N. or v. it is related, it is said to be ——
yyoorpoq N. INTR. becomes, grows; TRANS. makes him (it) be come ——
yyuaq N., yyuarpoq v. NTR. little ——, dear little; with pleasure
yuppoq (guppoq) N. INTR. longs for ——
paait, passuit N. a multitude, a great many
palaaq N., palaaarpooq v. NTR. worthless; trash
pallappoq, paluppoq NTR. looks as if ——, sounds as if ——, behaves as if ——
pal'laarpoq, see wallaarpooq
piluk N., piluppoq v. NTR. evil, bad
ppoq, rpoq N. has caught a ——; has put —— (one's clothes) on raa, see yaa
reepoq v. NTR. has done with ——, has already ——
riarpoq v. NTR. (in epic style) eagerly
rippooq v. INTR. is skilled in ——, is master at ——
raqunnooput v. NTR. in emulation; they contend with ——
raqajarpoq v. NTR. nearly, had nearly ——
raqimmerpoq v. NTR. just, just now
raqarpoq v. NTR. hardly, with difficulty
raqaarpoq v. NTR. first
rqippooq v. NTR. again
rqiippoq (cf. llarqippoq) v. NTR. is able to
rqissivooq v. INTR. is or can better now than before
rqissaarpooq 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 ——
rquppooq, rquppaa N. goes that way, along that side of it
rquwaa v. NTR. wants him to ——, bids or asks him to; INTR. wants himself to be —— ed by some one else
rlaaq v. newly, recently
rualjuk N., rujuppoq v. NTR. improper, improperly
rujonnuaq wretched; miserable, pitiable
rujussuaq enormous; awfully ——

§ 60
rusuppoq v. NTR. is inclined to ——, should like to ——

sarpaa v. (causative) works that he (it) ——
sarpooq, see tarpoq

ssaq N. future; something that may be used for ——

*ssawoq v. NTR. (future tense) shall, will (cf. ssoroq and ssua)

ssaarpoq v. NTR. manifoldly

ssaarpoq v. NTR. has ceased to ——

ssayawoq v. NTR. thinks that he shall or will ——

saaq N. bought; got into one’s possession

sinaawoq v. NTR. (preterite, especially the perfect tense) presumably, likely

sinnaawoq v. NTR. is able to; can

sorpoq N. is out hunting ——; is in search of ——; moves, travels in or on ——

sowoq, ssowoq gets or has got ——; comes into possession of ——

comes across ——

ssippaa N. manufactures (that) to him which he shall have

ssooq <*ssawoq (q.v.), 1 sing. ssooqa; 2 sing. ssootit; 3 sing. ssooq;

1 pl. ssooqut; 2 pl. ssoose; 3 pl. ssapput

soraa, sorooa v. thinks that he (it) ——, supposes that ——

ssuaa <*ssawaa (see ssawoq), mode III, 1 sing. ssuara; 2 sing.

ssuat; 3 sing. ssuaa; 1 pl. ssuarput, etc.

ssuaq N., ssuarpoq v. great, big; large; wide; greatly, strongly, largely

sunnippoq N. INTR. has a smell or taste of

ssuseq v. (verb abstract, cf. neq)

ttaaq, ssaaq N. and v. also, too

tuailivaa v. prevents him (it) from ——

taq, saq, ssaq v. (passive participle, mode VIII)

taq, saq, N. a part of ——; belonging to ——

ttaaq, ssaaq N. a new ——

taarpoq, ssaarpoq N. has got a new ——

tarpoq, sarpoq v. NTR. (iterative) often, frequently; used to ——

is in the habit of ——; knows how to ——

tev. (verb noun, mode VII)

tiyaq v. INTR. is so, is such

tiiga v. is to him such; has him for his ——

tippaa, sipippaa v. (causative) occasions him (it) to ——, makes him ——; INTR. makes himself ——

toqaq, soqaq N. old

torpoq, sorpoq,rssorpoq employs it several times; eats it; uses it
toorpoq v. NTR. it occurred to him that ——

ttterpaq, serpaq; tteewoq v. waits for ——

tliq N., ttiarpoq v. NTR. middling, moderate; pretty; a short time

§ 60
tuaq N., tuarpog v. NTR. the only one; only, only one time

tuinnarpog v. NTR. assiduously, continuously

tuwoq N. INTR. has a great ——; has many ——

uarpoq N. has too many ——

unaarpog, junaarpog v. NTR. (future tense) will or shall in the future, not immediately, but later on

unawaq, junawaq v. NTR. (future) will, wishes to ——

unnaarpog, junnarpog v. NTR. probably, most likely

unnarpog v. NTR. no longer, no more

uppaa q. (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; rssaq, yussaq N. similar to ——; imitation of ——

usaaarpog, ussaarpoq N. represents ——, makes it represent ——;

plays that it is ——

ut (ssut; t) v. vehicle, instrument, medium, means by which ——;

the cause of ——

utiyaa v. by means of that; on that occasion, for that reason

ut N. owned; belonging to ——

uwq N. INTR. is ——, is a ——

wallaarpog, pallaarpog v. too much; in a very high degree

wik, see fik

wiyaa, see fiyaa

wik N., wippoq v. NTR. proper; properly, strictly

§ 60
TEXT

Kaasassuk

(Fragment of a tale from North Greenland, recorded in Disco bay, 1901.)

Kaasasorujonuaq¹ allineq² ajormmat³ tiqunnissaraluarlojo⁴ attanut⁵
Kaasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dung-
taken him up hill
injarpapaa't⁶ ilaai⁷ oqas'sapput⁸ ujaraajjittoq⁹ alliumarpoq
they used to throw his place-
him fellows
illut aji'sorsan'it¹⁰ pini'arttunik¹¹ ulikaartut¹² naakisarppaat¹³
houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him
allisaranmâllorojo¹⁴ tiqussarapaat¹⁵ allineq ajormmat nullee¹⁶ oqar-
wanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife he
injissuaa¹⁷ allineq ajukasippoq¹⁸ attanut injissuk¹⁹ inippaat²⁰
used to say to her growth he is unfortunately on the dung-
throw him unable to hill out
itiusissarâllumat²¹ arnaquaasaap²² tiqowaa²³ okkarme²⁴ ineqarllune²⁵
(she) being without any an old woman she took him in the front-
her place to her wall platform

¹ Kaasasorujonuaq< Kaasuk + ruju(k) poor wretch + qwaq little. u>v before r and y (§§ 10-11).
K. is the object of tiqunnissaraluarlojo ipitarpaa't.
² allineq grows, allineq verb abstract.
³ ajormmat mode IX of ajorpoq is unable to.
⁴ tiqunnissaraluarlojo he takes him with his hand or into his arms. Suffixes: ssa(r)
+ aluaq + logo (mode VI).
⁵ Allative of alit (only in the plural).
⁶ ip(q)puap + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural.
⁷ ila companion, fellow (house-fellow or place-fellow), third person plural possessive.
⁸ oqas(ropoq) + ssa(woq).
⁹ ujara(k) + a<u(woq) + yyi(taq) mode VII.
¹⁰ api(woq) is big + sooq (mode VII) + ssaaq, in plural ssuit.
¹¹ pe thing, something + niar(pooq) + bo(q) mode VII + nik instrumentalis.
¹² ulikaar(pooq) is filled + tooq, plural lurg, mode VII.
¹³ naak(q) (conjugation II) + sar(paa).
¹⁴ alli(woq) (cf. note 2) + sar(paa) + uma(woq) + logo (mode VI) third person singular.
¹⁵ tiq(nuwa) + sar(paa) mode III.
¹⁶ ulu<e fourth person singular.
¹⁷ oqas(ropoq) (see note 8) + eyuq(au) (conjugation II) + ssa<ssuwa future tense, mode III, third
person singular.
¹⁸ ajo(ropoq) + kasi(k)(poq).
¹⁹ Imperative transitive singular (cf. note 6).
²⁰ Cf. note 6.
²¹ tiqusi(woq) takes him to herself (e.g., as her foster-child) [cf. notes 4, 15] + ssa + erup(paa),
mode X, third person singular (as, since).
²² arna(q) woman + quaswa(q) (obsolete) old.
²³ The transitive verb corresponding to the intransitive tiqusiwoq (cf. note 21).
²⁴ Locative singular<okqaq.
²⁵ The place + gar(pooq) + lurne mode VI, fourth person singular.

1066
tiwjumunjulo26 piiniartut kamâllutik27 anrarquasaak Kaasâssummik
and after having taken him

tiujusimmat28 torssoonut29 pissippaât torssooneelerpooq30 uâlakut31
because she had passed through the entrance-passage they moved he began to live in the
her passage entrance-passage

aniurerunik32 kammiut tiujussuaat33 anaataraloyo4 qimmit55 torsso-
when they were about to go out they would take it to trash the dogs because they

neetarmmata36 arnarquasaarlu37 iluinulolo38 anaalerttarppaal59
usually stay in the entrance-passage and the old woman considering her as they used to trash her

ajuniarunik40 tikikkunik41 anajasimâllutik42 katammik Kaasâssuk
when they caught having caught seals from the inner Kaasâssuk
seals

nuissuoq43 qiijasiijut44 asamminik45 qaqsussaat46 ajussatik47 qalatta-
he shall ascend by the nostrils with their fingers they would lift him their capture when it

riijnata48 natsermmnmut49 poonoqaq iliussaat neroq'siullu'tillo50
was boiled on a dish they would and when they were invited put it to eat

nerrisissapput51 Kaasâssuk kisim52 saweqarane53 mikaa'nar-
they would get the meat Kaasâssuk he only having no knife using only

llune54 neresarppooq55 arqâllânera56 suluppaa7 kinjutaaai peear-
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'mop(paa) mode vi, fourth person plural.
26 The object of an intransitive verb is set in instrumentalis (Kaâllutik).
27 <torsool (only in plural).
28 torssoo(l) + ne (locative) + ip(paa) is THERE + ler(paa) begins to, mode ii, third person singular.
29 ullaaq (prosecutive).
30 anii(paa) + ler(paa) mode xi, fourth person plural.
31 Cf. note 23, + suu(aa) mode iii, third person plural.
32 *anaawte a stick to beat with + ra + loyio vi, third person singular.
33 <qimne(q).
34 Cf. note 30, + lar(paa) mode x, third person plural.
35 lo and indicates that they thrashed both Kaasâssuk and the old woman.
36 <laaypp(paa) mode vi, third person singular, makes it (of him, her) a part (ila) of some
other thing.
37 anaaler(paa) + lar(paa) mode iii, third person plural.
38 agu(paa) catch + niar(paa) mode xi.
39 <tikip(paa) mode xi.
40 agu(paa) [cf. note 40] + sina(paa) mode vi.
41 nui(paa) + suu(aa) (future).
42 qiga(q) in the prosecutive.
43 assak in fourth person possessive and instrumentalis plural.
44 qaqa(wea) + suu(aa).
45 Cf. note 40, in mode viii, fourth person plural.
46 qaqtal(paa) + lar(e) irregular, mode x, third person plural.
47 na'lveq in the allitative.
48 nerli(paa) eat + qu(wea) invite + si(paa) mode vii + lo and.
49 <nerli = neq(?) + si + ssa(aa) mode ii, third person singular. Nerli, cf. nerrikippoq is accustomed
to eat only little (Kleinschmidt, Ordbog, p. 426).
50 See § 47.
51 sawii(k) + qar(paa) + a negative.
52 miikkpakooq especially plucks the hair of a skin by means of the teeth.
53 nerli(paa) + sar(paa).
54 arqalap(paa) + neq verb abstract, third person possessive.
55 Mode vi, third person singular.
Louit 58 killinneq ajulissuaq 59 nerissane 60 kiniotaaratirajame 61 them out the hitting he began to be unable to
ataatip 62 nallinijeranaajimik 63 sawinnimik 64 tunisarppaa 65 isu-
one because she (or he) used to pity him her (or his) knife she used to give him he
maliiuleroopoq 66 inuit pissassartartut 67 nakuarsuanjullutilo 68 begins to ponder men using to train their strength
ilaaneq 69 it'ereame qaqqamut majuarippoq qaqillonolo 71 torillo-
once upon a day when he awoke on the mountain he ascended and climbing he called
laarppoq pissap inuwat 72 naawtso maaneepoja alakkarppaaloo 73 loudly strength's its genius where here I am and he made his appearance to him
terianniaq ajisororujussuaq 74 maaneepoja ersilerporlo 75 a fox immensely big here I am and he begins to fear
ersenajaqunnaneq 76 ornippa 77 tikikkaaneq 78 oqarppoq 79 pa'miuma 80 bidding him not to fear he went towards he arriving at he (the fox) said "Of my tail
nooittinut 81 tenjooyaa 82 tiujuwaq innuappaalo 83 'pi'ssipporoq 83 and (the fox) made a jump
silaa'narmilo 84 qa'qattarippoq 'tukkanilo 85 anniijuilaq 86 oqarfiqalo 87 and in the air he rose aloft and falling down he felt no pain and he said to him,

58 pe (cf. note 11) + far(poq) mode vi, third person plural.
59 Cf. note 18, + ler(poq) + ssu(a).
60 Cf. note 55, mode viii, fourth person singular.
61 kiputa(g) + erup(poq) + tore (cf. note 45).
62 atasipq one (in the relative ataapis or ataatip).
63 nalliy(a) conjugation 1 + ler(poq) + aa(y) mode x, fourth person subject, third person object, singular.
64 sawi(k) third person possessive, instrumental.
65 tuni(wa) + sar(paa).
66 isuna thought + lo(poq) makes + ler(poq).
67 pissas(k) strength + sar(poq) gets + tar(poq) in mode vii.
68 nakuar(g) strong + ssu(q) great, very + yer(poq) mode vi, fourth person plural + lo and.
69 ila in the locative, literally in (on) one of them (viz., the days).
70 teperpoq mode x, fourth person singular.
71 qa'qip(paa) (mode vi, third person singular) + lo.
72 innuk in third person possessive singular.
73 -lo and.
74 apq(poq) is big + so(q) (mode vii) + ruju(k) + ssuaq.
75 -lo and.
76 ereip(a) is afraid of + qu(waa) + na negative, fourth person singular.
77 = ornippa mode iii, third person singular.
78 Mode ix, fourth person singular he (Kaassassuk) arriving at him (the fox). The object of arriving at is the same person as the subject of the governing verb (oqarpoq), viz., the fox; therefore the fourth-person suffix is used. If the meaning of the word had been he (the fox) arriving at him (Kaassassuk), the compound suffix would have been (k)inne.
79 The fox is of course the genius of strength.
80 pamipq tail first person singular, relative.
81 nook (the third person possessive singular nooq) possessive case.
82 Mode i, first person singular <tiqweq = tiqwea.
83 -lo and = -lo (i becomes unvoiced after k, q, l).
84 sisii the space outside of the house, the air, the weather + -innaq only, mere + me (locative) + lo and.
85 tupa(poq) mode x, fourth person singular + lo.
86 anner(poq) smarts, aches + qilnaq negative.
87 oqar(poq) says, tells + -pipaa + lo and.
kequmut* kevareet* takuvalo penjuait katasimmalloon
back look behind you! and he saw playthings (the fox) shaking it off
and the fox said, "growing the reason why because you have been without
any plaything you are unable to"

allineq ajorputit sammalo pa’miurai nooattinju tinumma
growth you are unable. Once more of my tail by the tip of it take hold of me."

immuppaa pissipporlo oorrnjqilaq oqarrinaalo tassa nakuarsuanjooq
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
a’ternearit at’erlune imminut malonjarpoq nakoajnporlune
go down" he going down to himself he began to feel himself growing strong
ujarassojillo apj’sorssuit sarmmillonpet artonqjilaai illullo
and the big stones enormous upsetting them he mastered them and of the
(bowlders) house

killinanuus pemnait meeraqatasa aluttoraat, etc.
the border of it as he came his fellow-children they were fascinated etc. with him,

88 *kevo (in possessive kevua) the back of it; kevumut allative.
89 = qiviarit mode I, second person singular.
90 = qiviarit mode I, second person singular.
91 and he saw the fox shaking playthings off his body (out of his fur) katap(paa) + sima-
92 mode VI, third person singular.
93 (waa) mode VI, third person singular.
94 aamaja again +.lo.
95 Cf. note 82, same mode and person, irregular.
96 nakua(q) STRONG + sua(q) VERY, GREATLY + yoq rare form for -yoq it is said.
97 ater(poa) + niar(poa) mode I, second person singular.
98 inme self, allative.
99 = qiviarit mode I, second person singular.
100 malonjaa + ler(poa).
101 nakua(q) + e(paa) + up(paa) + ma(woq) + toor (poq) mode X.
102 ma(woq) + ler(poa).
103 ujarap(k) + sua(q) (in the plural suit) + lo.
104 aji(woq) is big, mode VII + sua(q) plural.
105 sarmill(paa) mode VI, third person plural.
106 arjor(paa) does not master, negative, mode III, third person plural.
107 illlo relative + lo.
108 killi(ka) (possessive killiya) allative near to, close to.
109 pi(woq) mode X, third person singular.
110 meccra(q) + qat(e) relative, third person plural.
111 aluttoraat mode III, third person plural.