HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

FRANZ BOAS

PART 2

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

By EDWARD SAPIR, LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, AND WALDEMAR BOGORAS

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Washington, D. C., February 20, 1911.

Sir: I have the honor to submit for publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 40, Part 2, 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,

F. W. Hodge,
Ethnologist in Charge.

Dr. Charles D. Walcott,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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BY

EDWARD SAPIR
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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

By EDWARD SAPIR

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The language treated in the following pages was spoken in the southwestern part of what is now the state of Oregon, along the middle portion of Rogue river and certain of its tributaries. It, together with an upland dialect of which but a few words were obtained, forms the Takilman stock of Powell. The form "Takelma" of the word is practically identical with the native name of the tribe, Da^gelma^n those dwelling along the river (see below, § 87, 4); there seems to be no good reason for departing from it in favor of Powell's variant form.

The linguistic material on which this account of the Takelma language is based consists of a series of myth and other texts, published by the University of Pennsylvania (Sapir, Takelma Texts, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, vol. ii, no. 1, Philadelphia, 1909), together with a mass of grammatical material (forms and sentences) obtained in connection with the texts. A series of eleven short medicine formulas or charms have been published with interlinear and free translation in the Journal of American Folk-Lore (xx, 35-40). A vocabulary of Takelma verb, noun, and adjective stems, together with a certain number of derivatives, will be found at the end of the "Takelma Texts." Some manuscript notes on Takelma, collected in the summer of 1904 by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, for the Bureau of American Ethnology, have been kindly put at my disposal by the Bureau; though these consist mainly of lexical material, they have been found useful on one or two points. References like 125.3 refer to page and line of my Takelma Texts. Those in parentheses refer to forms analogous to the ones discussed.
The author's material was gathered at the Siletz reservation of Oregon during a stay of a month and a half in the summer of 1906, also under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology. My informant was Mrs. Frances Johnson, an elderly full-blood Takelma woman. Her native place was the village of Dak'tslasiän or Daldani'k', on Jump-off-Joe creek (Dip!óltst'i'lda), a northern affluent of Rogue river, her mother having come from a village on the upper course of Cow creek (Hagwád). Despite her imperfect command of the English language, she was found an exceptionally intelligent and good-humored informant, without which qualities the following study would have been far more imperfect than it necessarily must be under even the very best of circumstances.

In conclusion I must thank Prof. Franz Boas for his valuable advice in regard to several points of method and for his active interest in the progress of the work. It is due largely to him that I was encouraged to depart from the ordinary rut of grammatical description and to arrange and interpret the facts in a manner that seemed most in accordance with the spirit of the Takelma language itself.¹

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2–24)

§ 2. Introductory

In its general phonetic character, at least as regards relative harshness or smoothness of acoustic effect, Takelma will probably be found to occupy a position about midway between the characteristically rough languages of the Columbia valley and the North Californian and Oregon coast (Chinookan, Salish, Alsea, Coos, Athapascan, Yurok) on the one hand, and the relatively euphonious languages of the Sacramento valley (Maidu, Yana, Wintun) on the other, inclining rather to the latter than to the former.

From the former group it differs chiefly in the absence of voiceless $l$-sounds ($l$, $l^2$, $l!$) and of velar stops ($g$, $g'$, $q'$); from the latter,

¹ What little has been learned of the ethnology of the Takelma Indians will be found incorporated in two articles written by the author and entitled Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, in American Anthropologist, n.s., IX, 251–275; and Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, in Journal of American Folk-Lore, XX, 33–40.

² In the myths, $l$ is freely prefixed to any word spoken by the bear. Its uneuphonious character is evidently intended to match the coarseness of the bear, and for this quasi-rhetorical purpose it was doubtless derivatively borrowed from the neighboring Athapascan languages, in which it occurs with great frequency. The prefixed sibilant $s$ serves in a similar way as a sort of sneezing adjunct to indicate the speech of the coyote. Guˈidi where? says the ordinary mortal; igwˈidi, the bear; aˈgwˈidi, the coyote.

§ 2
in the occurrence of relatively more complex consonant clusters, though these are of strictly limited possibilities, and hardly to be considered as difficult in themselves.

Like the languages of the latter group, Takelma possesses clear-cut vowels, and abounds, besides, in long vowels and diphthongs; these, together with a system of syllabic pitch-accent, give the Takelma language a decidedly musical character, marred only to some extent by the profusion of disturbing catches. The line of cleavage between Takelma and the neighboring dialects of the Athapascan stock (Upper Umpqua, Applegate Creek, Galice Creek, Chasta Costa) is thus not only morphologically but also phonetically distinct, despite resemblances in the manner of articulation of some of the vowels and consonants. Chasta Costa, formerly spoken on the lower course of Rogue river, possesses all the voiceless l-sounds above referred to; a peculiar illusive q, the fortis character of which is hardly as prominent as in Chinook; a voiced guttural spirant r, as in North German Tage; the sonants or weak surds dj and z (rarely); a voiceless interdental spirant ç and its corresponding fortis tc; and a very frequently occurring ù vowel, as in English hut. All of these are absent from Takelma, which, in turn, has a complete labial series (b, p', p!, m), whereas Chasta Costa has only the nasal m (labial stops occur apparently only in borrowed words, bôci' cat <pussy). The fortis k!, common in Takelma, seems in the Chasta Costa to be replaced by q!; the Takelma vowel ù, found also in California, is absent from Chasta Costa; r is foreign to either, though found in Galice Creek and Shasta. Perhaps the greatest point of phonetic difference, however, between the Takelma and Chasta Costa languages lies in the peculiar long (doubled) consonants of the latter, while Takelma regularly simplifies consonant geminations that would theoretically appear in the building of words. Not enough of the Shasta has been published to enable one to form an estimate of the degree of phonetic similarity that obtains between it and Takelma, but the differences can hardly be as pronounced as those that have just been found to exist in the case of the latter and Chasta Costa.

This preliminary survey seemed necessary in order to show, as far as the scanty means at present at our disposal would allow, the phonetic affiliations of Takelma. Attention will now be directed to the sounds themselves.
Vowels (§§ 3–11)

§ 3. General Remarks

The simple vowels appear, quantitatively considered, in two forms, short and long, or, to adopt a not inappropriate term, pseudo-diphthongal. By this is meant that a long vowel normally consists of the corresponding short vowel, though generally of greater quantity, plus a slight parasitic rearticulation of the same vowel (indicated by a small superior letter), the whole giving the effect of a diphthong without material change of vowel-quality in the course of production. The term PSEUDO-DIPHTHONG is the more justified in that the long vowel has the same absolute quantity, and experiences the same accentual and syllabic treatment, as the true diphthong, consisting of short vowel + i, u, l, m, or n. If the short vowel be given a unitary quantitative value of 1, the long vowel (pseudo-diphthong) and ordinary diphthong will have an approximate value of 2; while the long diphthong, consisting of long vowel + i, u, l, m, or n, will be assigned a value of 3. The liquid (l) and the nasals (m and n) are best considered as forming, parallel to the semi-vowels y (i) and w (u), diphthongs with preceding vowels, inasmuch as the combinations thus entered on are treated, similarly to i- and u- diphthongs, as phonetic units for the purposes of pitch-accent and grammatic processes. As a preliminary example serving to justify this treatment, it may be noted that the verb-stem bilw-, bilu- JUMP becomes bilau- with inorganic a under exactly the same phonetic conditions as those which make of the stem klemn- MAKE klemann-. We thus have, for instance:

bilwa’es jumper; bilauk’ he jumped
klemna’es maker; klema’nk’ he made it

From this and numberless other examples it follows that au and an, similarly ai, al, and am, belong, from a strictly Takelma point of view, to the same series of phonetic elements; similarly for e, i, o, and ū diphthongs.

§ 4. System of Vowels

The three quantitative stages outlined above are presented for the various vowels and diphthong-forming elements in the following table:

§§ 3–4
It is to be understood, of course, that, under proper syllabic conditions, *i* and *u* may respectively appear in semivocalic form as *y* and *w*; thus *õu* and *ũu* appear as *õw* and *ũw* when followed by vowels; e. g., in *k!ũwũ*- THROW AWAY, *ũw* and *ũũ* are equivalent elements forming a reduplicated complex entirely analogous to *-elel-* in *helelsing*. Similarly *ai*, *au*, *ãi*, and *ãũ* may appear as *ay*, *aw*, *ãøy*, and *ãøw*; and correspondingly for the other vowels. Indeed, one of the best criteria for the determination of the length of the first element of a diphthong is to obtain it in such form as would cause the second element (*i* or *u*) to become semi-vocalic, for then the first vowel will adopt the form of a short vowel or pseudo-diphthong, as the case may be. The following phonetic (not morphologic) proportions will make this clearer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Short</th>
<th>II. Long</th>
<th>Short diphthong</th>
<th>III. Long diphthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ẽa, (ã)</td>
<td>ai, au, ai, am, an</td>
<td>ãi, âu, âol, âom, âon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>eẽ, (ã)</td>
<td>ci, cu, ci, cm, en</td>
<td>ãi, ãu, eel, eem, een</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ẽi, (ã)</td>
<td>ãi, ãi, ãm, ãn</td>
<td>ãi, ãũ, ẽi, ẽm, ẽn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o, (u)</td>
<td>ẽo, (õ)</td>
<td>ãi, ou, ãi, om, on</td>
<td>ãi, ẽo(u), ẽol, ẽum, ẽon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>ẽũ, (ã)</td>
<td>ãi, ãw, ãl, ãm, ãn</td>
<td>ãi, ãũ(u), ãol, ãum, ãon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>ẽũ, (ũ)</td>
<td>ãi, ãw, ãl, ãm, ãn</td>
<td>ãi, ãũ(u), ãol, ãum, ãon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes, though not commonly, a diphthong may appear in the same word either with a semivowel or vowel as its second element, according to whether it is or is not followed by a connecting inorganic *ã*. A good example of such a doublet is *hayẽwa'zdã̄da* or *hayẽuzdã̄da* IN HIS RETURNING (verb stem *yẽw*-, *yẽw* RETURN). It is acoustically difficult to distinguish sharply between the long vowel or pseudo-diphthong *õu* and the *u*-diphthongs of *o* (both *ou* and *õu* are often heard as *õu*), yet there is no doubt that there is an organic difference between *õu*, as long vowel to *o*, and *õu* = *ou*, *õu*. Thus, in *lohõunãtën* I CAUSE HIM TO DIE, and *lohona'n* I SHALL CAUSE HIM TO DIE, *õu* and *o* are related as long and short vowel in parallel.
fashion to the ā\textsuperscript{a} and a of yā\textsuperscript{a}na't' you went, and yanada\textsuperscript{ie} you will
go. On the other hand, the ō\textsuperscript{a} of p'ō\textsuperscript{a}p'au- (aorist stem) blow is
organically a diphthong (ōu), the ō\textsuperscript{u} of the first syllable being related
to the au of k'īuk'au- (verb stem) brandish
is to its au. Similarly, the -ō\textsuperscript{u}- of s'ō\textsuperscript{i}k'ōp'- (verb stem) jump
is organic shortened ou, related to the -owo- of the aorist stem
s'o'wo\textsuperscript{k}ōp'- as the -e\textsuperscript{i}- of he\textsuperscript{it}x- (verb stem) be left over is to the
-eye- of heye\textsuperscript{e}x- (aorist stem). A similar acoustic difficulty is experi-
enced in distinguishing ū\textsuperscript{a}, (ū\textsuperscript{u}) as long vowel from the u- diphthongs
of ū, (ū).

Examples of unrelated stems and words differing only in the
length of the vowel or diphthong are not rare, and serve as internal
evidence of the correctness, from a native point of view, of the vowel
classification made:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{gai}- eat, but gāi- grow
  \item verb-prefix dā\textsuperscript{a}- ear, but da- mouth
  \item wā\textsuperscript{axa} his younger brother, but wa'xa at them
\end{itemize}

It may happen that two distinct forms of the same word differ only
in vocalic quantity; yā\textsuperscript{a}da\textsuperscript{ie}t' he will swim, yada\textsuperscript{ie}t' he swims.

It is, naturally enough, not to be supposed that the long vowels
and diphthongs always appear in exactly the same quantity. Speed
of utterance and, to some extent, withdrawal of the stress-accent,
tend to reduce the absolute quantities of the vowels, so that a nor-
mally long vowel can become short, or at least lose its parasitic
attachment. In the case of the i- and u- diphthongs, such a quan-
titative reduction means that the two vowels forming the diphthong
more completely lose their separate individuality and melt into one.
Quantitative reduction is apt to occur particularly before a glottal
catch; in the diphthongs the catch follows so rapidly upon the second
element (i or u) that one can easily be in doubt as to whether a full
i- or u- vowel is pronounced, or whether this second vowel appears
rather as a palatal or labial articulation of the catch itself. The
practice has been adopted of writing such diphthongs with a superior
i or u before the catch: a\textsuperscript{ie}, a\textsuperscript{ue}, e\textsuperscript{ue}, and similarly for the rest. When,
however, in the course of word-formation, this catch drops off, the i
or u that has been swallowed up, as it were, in the catch reasserts
itself, and we get such pairs of forms as:

\begin{itemize}
  \item naga\textsuperscript{ie} he said; but naga'ida\textsuperscript{e} when he said
  \item sgele\textsuperscript{ue} he shouted; but sgele'uda\textsuperscript{e} when he shouted
\end{itemize}
On the other hand, vowels naturally short sometimes become long when dwelt upon for rhetorical emphasis. Thus \textit{ga} that sometimes appears as \textit{gāō}:

\[ gāō \textit{loho't'ē} \textit{e} \textit{c} \text{ in that case I shall die } \]
\[ gāō'\textit{a} \textit{ga'a'vo} \textit{f} \text{ for that reason } \]

As regards the pronunciation of the vowels themselves, little need be said. The \textit{a} is of the same quality as the short \textit{a} of German \textit{mann}, while the long \textit{ā}\textit{a} (barring the parasitic element) corresponds to the \textit{a} of \textit{hahn}.

A labial coloring of the \textit{a} (i. e., \textit{ö} as in German \textit{voll}) frequently occurs before and after \textit{k}:

\[ \textit{gōhōk'}\textit{w} \text{ planted, sown } \]
\[ \textit{i'k'wō'k'wōk'} \text{ he woke him up } \]

But there were also heard:

\[ \textit{sōk'ak'}\textit{w} \text{ shot } \]
\[ \textit{malōk'w} \text{ he told him } \]

The \textit{e} is an open sound, as in the English \textit{let}; it is so open, indeed, as to verge, particularly after \textit{y}, toward \textit{a}.\footnote{The word \textit{yeve'}\textit{t} \textit{he returned}, e. g., was long heard as \textit{yavo'c}\textit{t}, but such forms as \textit{yeu return!} show this to have been an auditory error.} Also the long vowel \textit{e} is very open in quality, being pronounced approximately like the \textit{ei} of English \textit{their} (but of course without the \textit{r}-vanish) or the \textit{ê} of French \textit{fête}; \textit{e'}, though unprovided with the mark of length, will be always understood as denoting the long vowel (pseudo-diphthong) corresponding to the short \textit{e}; while \textit{ê} will be employed, wherever necessary, for the long vowel without the parasitic \textit{-c}. The close \textit{ê}, as in German \textit{reh}, does not seem to occur in Takelma, although it was sometimes heard for \textit{i}; in the words \textit{lāōt'ē} \textit{he became}, \textit{lāōt'ēm} \textit{you became}, and other related forms, \textit{ê} was generally heard, and may be justified, though there can be small doubt that it is morphologically identical with the \textit{i} of certain other verbs.

The \textit{i} is of about the same quality as in English \textit{hit}, while the long \textit{i} is closer, corresponding to the \textit{ea} of English \textit{beat}. Several monosyllables, however, in -\textit{i}, such as \textit{gwi} \textit{where}, \textit{di} interrogative particle, should be pronounced with a close though short vowel (cf. French \textit{fini}). This closer pronunciation of the short vowel may be explained by supposing that \textit{gwi}, \textit{di}, and other such words are rapid pronunciations of \textit{gwi}, \textit{di}, and the others; and indeed the texts sometimes show such longer forms.

\[ \textit{e} \]
The o is a close vowel, as in German sohn, as far as the quality is concerned, but with the short quantity of the o of voll. This closeness of pronunciation of the o readily explains its very frequent interchange with u:

\[ o \rightarrow u \]

and also the u- quality of the parasitic element in the long close vowel o. The short open o, as in German voll, never occurs as a primary vowel, but is practically always a labialized variant of a. Thus in Takelma, contrary to the parallelism one ordinarily expects to find in vocalic systems, e- vowels are open in quality, while o- vowels are close.

The vowel û is close, as in the English word rude, the long mark over the u being here used to indicate closeness of quality rather than length of quantity. The û is not identical with the German ü, but is somewhat more obscure in quality and wavers (to an un-Indian ear) between the German short û of mütze and u of muss; sometimes it was even heard with the approximate quality of the short ö of götz. The long û is, in the same way, not exactly equivalent to the long ù of the German süß, but tends in the direction of ù, with which it frequently varies in the texts. It is somewhat doubtful how far the two vowels û and ü are to be considered separate and distinct; it is quite possible that they should be looked upon as auditory variants of one sound. Before or after y or w, û is apt to be heard as ü, —— kluwu'ze they ran away, üyu't's he laughed, ügyügü'isi, he keeps nudging me, —— otherwise often as u.

The only short vowel not provided for in the table is û (as in English sun), which, however, has no separate individuality of its own, but is simply a variant form of a, heard chiefly before m:

\[ he\textsuperscript{e}ile'me'xum \] he killed us off (for -am)
\[ xum \] in water (for xam)

The absence of the obscure vowel E of indeterminate quality is noteworthy as showing indirectly the clear-cut vocalic character of Takelma speech. Only in a very few cases was the E heard, and in the majority of these it was not a reduced vowel, but an intrusive sound between m and s:

\[ dak'tbe'ezk'itbagames \] he tied his hair up into top-knot (in place of -ams).
Even here it may really have been the strongly sonantic quality of the $m$ in contrast to the voiceless $s$ that produced the acoustic effect of an obscure vowel. The exact pronunciation of the diphthongs will be better understood when we consider the subject of pitch-accent.

§ 5. Stress and Pitch-Accent

Inasmuch as pitch and stress accent are phonetic phenomena that affect more particularly the vowels and diphthongs, it seems advisable to consider the subject here and to let the treatment of the consonants follow. As in many Indian languages, the stress-accent of any particular word in Takelma is not so inseparably associated with any particular syllable but that the same word, especially if consisting of more than two syllables, may appear with the main stress-accent now on one, now on the other syllable. In the uninterrupted flow of the sentence it becomes often difficult to decide which syllable of a word should be assigned the stress-accent. Often, if the word bears no particular logical or rhythmic emphasis, one does best to regard it as entirely without accent and as standing in a proclitic or enclitic relation to a following or preceding word of greater emphasis. This is naturally chiefly the case with adverbs (such as he's ne then) and conjunctive particles (such as ganēhi$^e$ and then; agas'i$^e$ and so, but then); though it not infrequently happens that the major part of a clause will thus be strung along without decided stress-accent until some emphatic noun or verb-form is reached. Thus the following passage occurs in one of the myths:

$ganēhi^e$ dewenxa lâqlo$^e$ hono$^e$ $p'ele'xa^e$, literally translated, And then to-morrow (next day) it became, again they went out to war

All that precedes the main verb-form $p'ele'xa^e$ they went out to war is relatively unimportant, and hence is hurried over without anywhere receiving marked stress.

Nevertheless a fully accented word is normally stressed on some particular syllable; it may even happen that two forms differ merely in the place of accent:

$naga'-ida^e$ when he said, but $naga-ida'^e$ when you said

The important point to observe, however, is that when a particular syllable does receive the stress (and after all most words are normally
accented on some one syllable), it takes on one of two or three musical inflections:

(1) A simple pitch distinctly higher than the normal pitch of unstressed speech (\(\sim\)).

(2) A rising inflection that starts at, or a trifle above, the normal pitch, and gradually slides up to the same higher pitch referred to above (\(\approx\)).

(3) A falling inflection that starts at, or generally somewhat higher than, the raised pitch of (1) and (2), and gradually slides down to fall either in the same or immediately following syllable, to a pitch somewhat lower than the normal (\(\sim\)).

The "raised" pitch (\(\sim\)) is employed only in the case of final short vowels or shortened diphthongs (i.e., diphthongs that, owing to speed of utterance, are pronounced so rapidly as to have a quantitative value hardly greater than that of short vowels; also secondary diphthongs involving an inorganic \(a\)); if a short vowel spoken on a raised pitch be immediately followed by an unaccented syllable (as will always happen, if it is not the final vowel of the word), there will evidently ensue a fall in pitch in the unaccented syllable, and the general acoustic effect of the two syllables will be equivalent to a "falling" inflection (\(\sim\)) within one syllable; i.e. (if — be employed to denote an unaccented syllable), 

\[ (\sim) + \overline{=} = (\sim) \]

The following illustration will make this clearer:

**YOU SANG** is regularly accented \(\text{helela}'t\), the \(a'\) being sung on an interval of a (minor, sometimes even major) third above the two unaccented \(e\)-vowels. The acoustic effect to an American ear is very much the same as that of a curt query requiring a positive or negative answer, **DID HE GO?** where the \(i\) of **DID** and \(e\) of **HE** correspond in pitch to the two \(e\)'s of the Takelma word, while the \(o\) of **GO** is equivalent to the Takelma \(a'\). The Takelma word, of course, has no interrogative connotation. If, now, we wish to make a question out of **helela}'t\', we add the interrogative particle \(di\), and obtain the form **helela}'tidi DID HE SING?** (The \(i\) is a weak vowel inserted to keep the \(t'\) and \(d\) apart.) Here the \(a'\) has about the same pitch as in the preceding word, but the \(i\) sinks to about the level of the \(e\)-vowels, and the \(di\) is pronounced approximately a third below the normal level. The Takelma interrogative form thus bears an acoustic resemblance to a rapid English reply: **SO HE DID GO**, the \(o\) of **SO** and

\[ \S \ 5 \]
e of he corresponding in pitch to the unaccented e- vowels of the Takelma, the i of did resembling in its rise above the normal pitch the a’, and the o of go sinking like the i of the interrogative particle. If the normal level of speech be set at Λ, the two forms just considered may be musically, naturally with very greatly exaggerated tonal effect, represented as follows:

The "rising" pitch (∼) is found only on long vowels and short or long diphthongs. The rising pitch is for a long vowel or diphthong what the raised pitch is for a short vowel or shortened diphthong; the essential difference between the two being that in the latter case the accented vowel is sung on a single tone reached without an intermediate slur from the lower level, whereas in the case of the rising pitch the affected vowel or diphthong changes in pitch in the course of pronunciation; the first part of the long vowel and the first vowel of the diphthong are sung on a tone intermediate between the normal level and the raised pitch, while the parasitic element of the long vowel and the second vowel (i or u) of the diphthong are hit by the raised tone itself. It is easy to understand that in rapid pronunciation the intermediate tone of the first part of the long vowel or diphthong would be hurried over and sometimes dropped altogether; this means that a long vowel or diphthong with rising pitch (a, ai) becomes a short vowel or shortened diphthong with raised pitch (a’, a’i). Diphthongs consisting of a short vowel + l, m, or n, and provided with a rising pitch, ought, in strict analogy, to appear as a n̄, al, am; and so on for the other vowels. This is doubtless the correct representation, and such forms as:

naŋk’ he will say, do
gwalt’ wind
dasmayaŋ he smiled
wulx enemy, Shasta

were actually heard, the liquid or nasal being distinctly higher in pitch than the preceding vowel. In the majority of cases, however,

1 It is curious that the effect to our ears of the Takelma declarative helelo’si is of an interrogative DID YOU SING? while conversely the effect of an interrogative helelo’tidi is that of a declarative YOU DID SING. This is entirely accidental in so far as a rise in pitch has nothing to do in Takelma with an interrogation.

2 A vowel marked with the accent ∼ is necessarily long, so that the mark of length and the parasitic vowel can be conveniently omitted.

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these diphthongs were heard, if not always pronounced, as shortened
diphthongs with raised pitch (a'\text{n}, a'\text{l}, a'\text{m}). The acoustic effect of a
syllable with rising pitch followed by an unaccented syllable is neces-
sarily different from that of a syllable with falling pitch (\text{e}'), or of a
syllable with raised pitch followed by an unaccented syllable, because
of the steady rise in pitch before the succeeding fall. The tendency
at first is naturally to hear the combination — \text{e}' — as — \text{e} — , and to
make no distinction in accent between ye\text{w}e\text{e}'ida\text{e}' \text{when he returned}
and ye\text{w}e\text{e}'\text{e}' \text{i returned}; but variations in the recorded texts
between the rising and falling pitch in one and the same form are in
every case faults of perception, and not true variations at all. The
words t\text{a}m\text{o}m \text{he killed him} and y\text{a}\text{w}a\text{e}'\text{e}' \text{i spoke} may be approxi-
mately represented in musical form as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t}'o- & \quad \text{m\text{\text{o}}-} & \\
& \quad \text{y} & \quad \text{a} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{a} & \quad \text{i} & \quad \text{e}'
\end{align*}
\]

The falling pitch (\text{e}') affects both long and short vowels as well as
diphthongs, its essential characteristic being, as already defined, a
steady fall from a tone higher than the normal level. The peak of
the falling inflection may coincide in absolute pitch with that of the
rising inflection, though it is often somewhat higher, say an interval
of a fourth above the ordinary level. The base (lowest tone) of the
fall is not assignable to any definite relative pitch, the gamut run
through by the voice depending largely upon the character of the
syllable. If the accent hits a long vowel or diphthong not immedi-
ately followed by a catch, the base will, generally speaking, coincide
with the normal level, or lie somewhat below it. If the long vowel
or diphthong be immediately followed by an unaccented syllable, the
base is apt to strike this unaccented syllable at an interval of about
a third below the level. If the vowel or diphthong be immediately
followed by a catch, the fall in pitch will be rapidly checked, and the
whole extent of the fall limited to perhaps not more than a semitone.
As soon, however, as the catch is removed (as often happens on the
addition to the form of certain grammatical elements), the fall runs
through its usual gamut. The words

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k}'\text{w}e\text{d}e\text{e}' & \text{i his name} \\
ye\text{w}e\text{e}'\text{ida}' & \text{when he returned} \\
ye\text{w}e\text{e}'\text{e}' & \text{he returned}
\end{align*}
\]

will serve to illustrate the character of the falling pitch.

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The pronunciation of the diphthongs is now easily understood. A shortened diphthong (a‘i, a‘i<sup>e</sup>) sounds to an American ear like an indivisible entity, very much like ai and au in man and now; a diphthong with falling pitch (a‘i) is naturally apt to be heard as two distinct vowels, so that one is easily led to write naga’-ida<sup>e</sup> instead of naga’ida<sup>e</sup> when he said; a diphthong with rising pitch (ai) is heard either as a pure diphthong or as two distinct vowels, according to the speed of utterance or the accidents of perception. All these interpretations, however, are merely matters of perception by an American ear and have in themselves no objective value. It would be quite misleading, for instance, to treat Takelma diphthongs as “pure” and “impure,” no regard being had to pitch, for such a classification is merely a secondary consequence of the accentual phenomena we have just considered.

One other point in regard to the diphthongs should be noted. It is important to distinguish between organic diphthongs, in which each element of the diphthong has a distinct radical or etymological value, and secondary diphthongs, arising from an i, u, ə, m, or n with prefixed inorganic a. The secondary diphthongs (ai, au, al, am, an), being etymologically single vowels or semivowels, are always unitonal in character; they can have the raised, not the rising accent. Contrast the inorganic au of

\[ bila\text{’}uk\] (=*bilw’h’,<sup>1</sup> not *bila\text{’}uk’) he jumped; cf. bilwa’es jumper

with the organic au of

\[ gaya\text{’}\] he ate it; cf. gayawa’es I ate it

Contrast similarly the inorganic an of

\[ k\text{’}ema\text{’}nk\] (=*k\text{’}emn’k’, not *k\text{’}ema\text{’}nk’) he made it; cf. k\text{’}emna’es maker

with the organic am of

\[ dasmaya\text{’}m\] he smiled; cf. dasmayama’es I smiled

Phonetically such secondary diphthongs are hardly different from shortened organic diphthongs; etymologically and, in consequence, in morphologic treatment, the line of difference is sharply drawn.

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<sup>1</sup> Non-existent or theoretically reconstructed forms are indicated by a prefixed asterisk.
It was said that any particular syllable, if accented, necessarily receives a definite pitch-inflection. If it is furthermore pointed out that distinct words and forms may differ merely in the character of the accent, and that definite grammatical forms are associated with definite accentual forms, it becomes evident that pitch-accent has a not unimportant bearing on morphology. Examples of words differing only in the pitch-accent are:

- se’l black paint, writing; sēl kingfisher
- lō’p' leaves; (1) lāp’ he carried it on his back, (2) lāp’ become (so and so)!
- sā’ot’ his discharge of wind; sāt’ mash it!
- wīt’ his house; wīt’ house, for instance, in dak’wīt’ on top of the house
- he’l song; hēl sing it!

Indeed, neither vowel-quantity, accent, nor the catch can be considered negligible factors in Takelma phonology, as shown by the following:

- waya' knife
- wayā’a his knife
- waya’z he sleeps
- wayān he put him to sleep
- k’wā’ya’ (=k’wā’ya’) just grass

It is impossible to give any simple rule for the determination of the proper accent of all words. What has been ascertained in regard to the accent of certain forms or types of words in large part seems to be of a grammatic, not purely phonetic, character, and hence will most naturally receive treatment when the forms themselves are discussed. Here it will suffice to give as illustrations of the morphologic value of accent a few of the cases:

(1) Perhaps the most comprehensive generalization that can be made in regard to the employment of accents is that a catch requires the falling pitch-accent on an immediately preceding stressed syllable, as comes out most clearly in forms where the catch has been secondarily removed. Some of the forms affected are:

(a) The first person singular subject third person object aorist of the transitive verb, as in:

- tlomoma’zn I kill him
- tlomoma’nda’ as I killed him

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(b) The third person aorist of all intransitive verbs that take the
catch as the characteristic element of this person and tense, as in:
\[ \text{ya}'\text{e} \quad \text{he went} \]
\[ \text{yā}'\text{a}d\text{a}'\text{e} \quad \text{when he went} \]

(c) The second person singular possessive of nouns whose ending
for this person and number is -\text{t}'\text{t}', as in:
\[ \text{t}!'\text{t}'\text{t}' \quad \text{your husband} \]
\[ \text{el}a't\text{t}' \quad \text{your tongue} \]

Contrast:
\[ \text{t}!'\text{t}'\text{k}' \quad \text{my husband} \]
\[ \text{el}a't\text{k}' \quad \text{my tongue} \]

There are but few exceptions to this rule. A certain not very nu-
umerous class of transitive verbs, that will later occupy us in the treat-
ment of the verb, show a long vowel with rising pitch before a catch
in the first person singular subject third person object aorist, as in:
\[ \text{k}l\text{e}m\text{e}'\text{n} \quad \text{I make it} \]
\[ \text{di}t\text{t}\text{u}g\text{b}'\text{n} \quad \text{I wear it} \]

The very isolation of these forms argues powerfully for the general
correctness of the rule.

(2) The first person singular subject third person object future, and
the third person aorist passive always follow the accent of 1a:
\[ \text{dō}'\text{ma}'\text{n} \quad \text{I shall kill him} \]
\[ \text{t}!'\text{o}m\text{om}a'n \quad \text{he was killed} \]

Contrast:
\[ \text{xō}'\text{ma}'\text{n} \quad \text{he dried it} \]

Like \text{k}l\text{e}m\text{e}'\text{n} in accent we have also:
\[ \text{k}l\text{e}m\text{ēn} \quad \text{it was made} \]

(3) The first person singular possessive of nouns whose ending for
that person and number is -\text{t}'\text{k}' shows a raised or rising pitch, according
to whether the accented vowel is short or long (or diphthongal):
\[ \text{k}'\text{wed}e\text{t}'\text{k}' \quad \text{my name} \]
\[ \text{p'}\text{lā}'\text{n}t\text{'k}' \quad \text{my liver} \]
\[ \text{t}!'\text{i}b\text{a}g\text{w}a'\text{n}t\text{'k}' \quad \text{my pancreas} \]

Contrast:
\[ \text{k}'\text{wed}e'i \quad \text{his name} \]
\[ \text{p'}\text{lā}'\text{a}'\text{n}t\text{'t} \quad \text{his liver} \]
\[ \text{t}!'\text{i}b\text{a}g\text{w}a'\text{n} \quad \text{his pancreas} \]
(4) The verbal suffix -ald- takes the falling pitch:

\[ \text{sgelewa'lda^n} \] I shouted to him
\[ \text{sgelewa'lt'} \] he shouted to him

Contrast:

\[ \text{gwal't'} \] wind

Many more such rules could be given, but these will suffice at present to show what is meant by the "fixity" of certain types of accent in morphological classes.

This fixity of accent seems to require a slight qualification. A tendency is observable to end up a sentence with the raised pitch, so that a syllable normally provided with a falling pitch-accent may sometimes, though by no means always, assume a raised accent, if it is the last syllable of the sentence. The most probable explanation of this phenomenon is that the voice of a Takelma speaker seeks its rest in a rise, not, as is the habit in English as spoken in America, in a fall.\(^1\)

Vocalic Processes (§§ 6–11)

§ 6. VOWEL HIATUS

There is never in Takelma the slightest tendency to avoid the coming together of two vowels by elision of one of the vowels or contraction of the two. So carefully, indeed, is each vowel kept intact that the hiatus is frequently strengthened by the insertion of a catch. If the words \(\text{ya'p}l\text{a man} \) and \(\text{a'n}\text{\~n}z \) not, for instance, should come together in that order in the course of the sentence, the two \(a\)-vowels would not coalesce into one long vowel, but would be separated by an inorganic (i. e., not morphologically essential) catch \(\text{ya}p\text{\~n}l\text{a} \azer{a'\text{\~n}z}\). The same thing happens when two verbal prefixes, the first ending in and the second beginning with a vowel, come together. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{de-} & \text{ in front} \\
\text{x\~a\~n-} & \text{ between, in two} \\
+\text{\~i} & \text{ with hand}
\end{align*}
\]

generally appear as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{de\~n-} \\
\text{x\~a\~n\~i-}
\end{align*}
\]

respectively. The deictic element -a\(^1\), used to emphasize preceding

---

\(^1\) Those familiar with Indogermanic phonology will have noticed that my use of the symbols (\(\circ\)), (\(\acute{\circ}\)), and (\(\overset{\sim}\)) has been largely determined by the method adopted in linguistic works for the representation of the syllabic pitch-accents of Lithuanian; the main departures being the use of the (\(\acute{\circ}\)) on short as well as on long vowels and the assignment of a different meaning to the (\(\overset{\sim}\)).
nouns, pronouns, and adverbs, is regularly separated from a preceding vowel by the catch:

\[ \text{ma}^{\prime}\text{a} \] but you, you truly
\[ \text{bō}^{\prime}\text{a} \] nowadays indeed

If a diphthong in i or u precedes a catch followed by a vowel, the i or u often appears as y or w after the catch:

\[ k^{\prime}\text{wā}^{\prime}\text{ya} \] just grass (\( k^{\prime}\text{wā}^{\prime} + \text{-a} \))
\[ ā^{\prime}\text{ya} \] just they (\( ā^{\prime}\text{-they} + \text{-a} \))
\[ ha^{\prime}\text{wī} \] (\( ha^{\prime}\text{-under} + ĭ \) with hand)

If the second of two syntactically closely connected words begins with a semivowel \((w\) or \(y\)) and the first ends in a vowel, a catch is generally heard to separate the two, in other words the semivowel is treated as a vowel. Examples are:

\[ \text{ge}^{\prime}\text{wōk} \] (= \( \text{ge}^{\prime} + \text{wōk} \)) there he arrived
\[ \text{be}^{\prime}\text{wā}^{\prime}\text{dīt} \] (= \( \text{be}^{\prime} + \text{wā}^{\prime}\text{dīt} \)) day its-body = all day long
\[ \text{ge}^{\prime}\text{yā}^{\prime}\text{hi} \] (= \( \text{ge}^{\prime} + yā^{\prime}\text{hi} \)) just there indeed

Such cases are of course not to be confounded with examples like:

\[ \text{me}^{\prime}\text{wōk} \] HE ARRIVED HERE, and
\[ \text{me}^{\prime}\text{yēča} \] COME HERE!

in which the catch is organic, being an integral part of the adverb \( \text{me}^{\prime} \) HITHER; contrast:

\[ \text{me}^{\prime}\text{gini}^{\prime}\text{čk} \] HE CAME HERE, with
\[ \text{ge} \text{gini}^{\prime}\text{čk} \] HE WENT THERE.

The same phonetic rule applies even more commonly when the first element is a noun or verb prefix:

\[ \text{ha}^{\prime}\text{win}^{\prime}\text{t} \] inside of him; but \( \text{ha}^{\prime}\text{bini} \) at noon
\[ \text{de}^{\prime}\text{wiliwia}^{\prime}\text{u} \] they shouted; but \( \text{dcebe}^{\prime}\text{m} \) he said so
\[ \text{aba}^{\prime}\text{wec}^{\prime}\text{yewenhi} \] he returned inside with him; but \( \text{aba}^{\prime}\text{gini}^{\prime}\text{čk} \) he went inside
\[ \text{wi}^{\prime}\text{wā} \] my younger brother; but \( \text{wiha}^{\prime}\text{m} \) my father

It is interesting to note that the catch is generally found also when the first element ends in \( l, m, \) or \( n, \) these consonants, as has been already seen, being closely allied to the semivowels in phonetic treatment:

\[ \text{al}^{\prime}\text{wā}^{\prime}\text{dīd} \] to my body; but \( \text{als}^{\prime}\text{b}^{\prime}\text{ma}^{\prime}\text{l} \) to the mountain
\[ \text{al}^{\prime}\text{yowo}^{\prime}\text{č} \] he looked; but \( \text{al}^{\prime}\text{či}^{\prime}\text{čk} \) he saw him
\[ \text{bā}^{\prime}\text{ge}^{\prime}\text{t}^{\prime}\text{yo} \] he lay belly up; but \( \text{gelk}^{\prime}\text{iy}^{\prime}\text{čk} \) he turned to face him
\[ \text{gw}^{\prime}\text{wat}^{\prime}\text{geits}^{\prime}\text{tk}^{\prime}\text{wa} \] his (head) lay next to it; but \( \text{gw}^{\prime}\text{wenliwia}^{\prime}\text{u} \)
he looked back
\[ \text{yi}^{\prime}\text{win}^{\prime}\text{t}^{\prime}\text{č}^{\prime}\text{i}^{\prime} \] (\( =\text{yi}^{\prime}\text{win} \) speech\( +\text{wō}^{\prime}\text{t}^{\prime}\text{č}^{\prime}\text{i}^{\prime} \) without) without speech
It goes without saying that the catch separates elements ending in \( l, m, \) or \( n \) from such as begin with a vowel:

\[ s'INVilats!agi^e_n \] I touch his nose
\[ al'r't'bagu't'bak' \] he struck them

§ 7. DISSIMILATION OF \( u \)

A diphthong in \( u \) tends, by an easily understood dissimilatory process, to drop the \( u \) before a labial suffix (-\( gw-, -p-, -ba^\)). Thus we have:

\[ wahawaxi'gwaxi'z\]n I rot with it, for \(*xiugwa'z\)n

Compare:

\[ hawaxi'uz \] he rots
\[ wahawaxi'uwaxi'z\]n I shall rot with it

Similarly:

\[ bilik^w \] he jumped having it, for \(*biliu'k^w\) (stem \( biliu^\))
\[ wiliu'k^w \] he proceeded with it, for \(*wiliu'k^w\) (stem \( wiliu^\))

Observe that, while the diphthong \( ia \) is monophthongized, the original quantity is kept, \( i \) being compensatively lengthened to \( i'i \). In the various forms of the verb \( yeu^- \) RETURN, such dissimilation, wherever possible, regularly takes place:

\[ yek^w \] he returned with it, for \(*yek^w\) (\( = yea^- gw^- k' \))
\[ metyep' \] come back! (pl.), but sing. \( mety^e^\)
\[ ye^ba't^z \] let us return! for \(*yeba't^z\)

It is interesting to note how this \( u^- \) dissimilation is directly responsible for a number of homonyms:

\[ yek^w \] bite him!
\[ (al)ye^p' \] show it to him!

A similar dissimilation of an -\( u^- \) after a long vowel has in all probability taken place in the reduplicating verb \( l=uiw^i'\z\) I CALL HIM BY NAME (\( le=la'usi \) HE CALLS ME BY NAME) from \(*l=uluw^i'z\)n (\(*l=ula'usi\)).

§ 8. 1- UMLAUT

Probably the most far-reaching phonetic law touching the Takelma vowels is an assimilatory process that can be appropriately termed "1- umlaut." Briefly stated, the process is a regressive assimilation of a non-radical -\( a^- \) to an -\( i^- \), caused by an -\( i^- (i'^) \) in an immediately following suffixed syllable, whether the -\( i^- \) causing the umlaut is an original -\( i^- \), or itself umlauted from an original -\( a^- \); the -\( i^- \) of the §§ 7-8
pronominal endings -hi- thee, -si- he to me, -xi- he me, fails to cause umlaut, nor does the law operate when the -i- is immediately preceded by an inorganic h. The following forms will make the applicability of the rule somewhat clearer:

\[ \text{waklayayini'n} \] I caused him to grow with it (but \[ klayayana'n \] I caused him to grow, with preserved -a-, because of following -a\'n, not -i\'n)

\[ \text{wakleyeya'nxi} \] he caused me to grow with it

\[ \text{iyulu'ylilisn} \] I rub it (from -yali'n)

\[ \text{iyulu'yalhi} \] he rubs it

It should be carefully noted that this i- umlaut never operates on a radical or stem-vowel, a fact that incidentally proves helpful at times in determining how much of a phonetic complex belongs to the stem, and how much is to be considered as belonging to the grammatical apparatus following the stem. In:

\[ \text{waga'gwi'n} \] I brought it to him (from -awi'n; cf. \[ waga'sbi'n \] I brought it to you)

the -a- following the g is shown to be not a part of the aoristic stem \[ waga' \] by the i- umlaut that it may undergo; on the other hand, the corresponding future shows an un-umlauted -a-:

\[ \text{wagawi'n} \] I shall bring it to him

so that the future stem must be set down as \[ waga' \], as is confirmed by certain other considerations.

It would take us too far afield to enumerate all the possible cases in which i- umlaut takes place; nevertheless, it is a phenomenon of such frequent recurrence that some of the more common possibilities should be listed, if only for purposes of further illustration:

1. It is caused by the aoristic verb suffix -i- denoting position:

\[ sas'iní \] he stands (cf. \[ s'd's'ant'á \] he will stand)

\[ tlobigí \] he lies as if dead (cf. future \[ tlobaga'sdó \])

2. By an element -i- characteristic of certain nouns, that is added to the absolute form of the noun before the possessive pronominal endings:

\[ bóv'biní't'k' \] my arm (cf. \[ bóv'ba'n \] arm)

\[ t'gal't'gilixdék' \] my belly (for * \[ t'gal't'gali' \])

3. By the common verbal "instrumental" vowel -i-, which, for one reason or another, replaces the normal pre-pronominal element

§ 8
-a-, and often serves to give the verb an instrumental force. This instrumental -i- may work its influence on a great number of preceding elements containing -a-, among which are:

(a) The -a- that regularly replaces the stem-vowel in the second member of a duplicated verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{al}^{\#}\text{it}'\text{bagat}^{\#}\text{'bigi}^n \text{ I beat him (cf. -t'bagat'bak' he beat him)} \\
&\text{ts}'\text{e}l'\text{e}'ts'\text{'itii}^n \text{ I rattle it (cf. ts}'\text{e}l'\text{e}'ts'\text{alhi he rattles it)} \\
&\text{i}^\text{smili}'\text{smili}^n \text{ I swing it (cf. i}^\text{smi}'\text{lsmal swing it!)}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) The causative element -an-:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wap}!\text{a}^g\text{ini}^n \text{ I cause him to swim with it (cf. p}!\text{a}^\text{gana}^n \text{ I cause him to swim)}
\end{align*}
\]

See above:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wak}!\text{a}^\text{yayini}^n \text{ I cause him to grow}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) The element -an- added to transitive stems to express the idea of FOR, IN BEHALF OF:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wat}!\text{onomini}^n \text{ I kill it for him with it (cf. t}!\text{onomana}^n \text{ I kill it for him)}
\end{align*}
\]

(d) The pronominal element -am-, first personal plural object:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{alx}i^t'\text{rimi}^n \text{ one who sees us (cf. alx}i^t\text{xam he sees us)}
\end{align*}
\]

4. By the suffixed local element -dī on top of added to the demonstrative pronoun ga that to form a general local postposition:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{gidī} \text{ on top of it, over (so and so)}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the similarly formed:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{gada'k'} \text{ above} \\
&\text{gada'l} \text{ among} \\
&\text{and others.}
\end{align*}
\]

5. By the pronominal element -ug- (-ik'), first personal plural subject intransitive:

\[
\begin{align*}
&t!\text{omōxinik'} \text{ we kill each other (cf. t!omōxa}^n \text{ they kill each other)} \\
&\text{dāxinīgam we shall find each other (cf. dāxan}t' \text{ they will find each other)}
\end{align*}
\]

This list might be greatly extended if desired, and indeed numerous other examples will meet us in the morphology. Examples of a double and treble i- umlaut are:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{lohō}^n\text{ininini}^n \text{ I caused him to die (i.e., killed him) for him (cf. } \\
&\text{lohō}^n\text{nana'nhî he killed him for him)} \\
&\text{îk}!\text{ūminininîn}^n \text{ he will fix it for him (compare }\text{îk}!\text{ūma'he fixed it)}
\end{align*}
\]

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The semivowel corresponding to \( i \), namely \( y \), is also capable, under analogous circumstances, of causing the \( i - \) umlaut of a preceding non-radical \( a \). Examples are:

\[
\text{daxoyo}'xiya^n (=xaya^n) \text{ I scare them around; daxoyo'x} (=xiy =xay) \text{ he scares them around}
\]

\[
\text{al'i}^\text{t'ge}'ti'giyak'^w (=t'gay-) rolled up}
\]

\[
\text{alhuyu'hv} (=hiyx =hayx) \text{ he used to hunt}
\]

\[
\text{saniya'} (=sanaya') \text{ to fight him}
\]

\[
\text{dō}^\text{mk}'wiya (=k'waya) \text{ to kill him; and numerous other infinitives in -k'wiya (=k'waya)}
\]

§ 9. K-SOUNDS PRECEDED BY U-VOWELS

An \( u - \) vowel (\( o, u, ū, \) and diphthongs in \( -u \)) immediately preceding a \( k - \) sound (i.e., \( g, k', k! , x \)) introduces after the latter a parasitic \( -w - \), which, when itself followed by a vowel, unites with the \( k - \) sound to form a consonant-cluster (\( gw, k'w, k!w, xw \)), but appears, when standing after a (word or syllabic) final \( k' \), as a voiceless \( -'w \). The introduction of the excrecent \( w \) simply means, of course, that the labial rounding of the \( u - \) vowel lingers on after the articulation of the \( k - \) sound, a phonetic tendency encouraged by the fact that the production of the guttural consonant does not, as in the labials and dentals, necessitate a readjustment of the lips. A few examples will illustrate the phonetic process:

\[
\text{gelgulugwa}^zn \text{ I desire it}
\]

\[
\text{gelgulu}'k'^w \text{ he desires it (contrast gelgula}'k' he desired it, without the labial affection of the -k' because of the replacement of the -u- by an -a-)}
\]

\[
\text{gūxw}^t' \text{ his heart}
\]

\[
\text{dū}^\text{gwi}'t'gwa \text{ her dress}
\]

\[
\text{dūk}'w \text{ woman’s garment}
\]

\[
\text{yōk}'wā' \text{ his bones}
\]

As also in the upper Chinook dialects (Wasco, Wishram), where exactly the same process occurs, the \( w - \) infection is often very slight, and particularly before \( u - \) vowels the \( -w - \) is, if not entirely absent, at least barely audible:

\[
\text{yokl}'wōya^zn \text{ I know it}
\]

\[
\text{yo'}k'y'an \text{ I shall know it}
\]

In one very common word the catch seems to be treated as a \( k - \) sound in reference to a preceding \( u \) when itself followed by an \( -ī - \):

\[
\text{s'ui}'wilž \text{ he sits; but}
\]

\[
\text{s'ui}'alt'ā' \text{ he will sit}
\]
The first form was, for some reason or other, often heard, perhaps misheard, as $svi^uul^u$.

§ 10. INORGANIC a

It frequently happens in the formation of words that a vowel present in some other form of the stem will drop out, or, more accurately expressed, has never been inserted. Consonant-combinations sometimes then result which are either quite impossible in Takelma phonetics, or at any rate are limited in their occurrence to certain grammatical forms, so that the introduction of an "inorganic" -a-, serving to limber up the consonant-cluster, as it were, becomes necessary. Ordinarily this -a- is inserted after the first consonant; in certain cases, after the two consonants forming the cluster. The theoretical future of $gini^lk^de^g$ I go somewhere should be, for example, *$gink^d'e$; but, instead of this somewhat difficult form, we really get $gina^lk^de^g$. That the -a- is here really inorganic, and not a characteristic of the future stem, as was at first believed, is clearly shown by the imperative $gi'nl^c$ (all imperatives are formed from the future stem). Similarly:

$kliya^lk^de^g$ I shall go, come; aorist, $kliyi^lk^de^g$

$alxik'a'lhik^i$ (=theoretical *$alxik!l!hik'$) he kept looking at him;

aorist first person $alxik!lhi!n$ I keep looking at him

$klenma'n$ make it! (=theoretical *$k!lemn$); cf. $klenma'n$ I shall make it

$bai^fiye'va'n$ drive out sickness!

$aorist, -yewen$ he drove out

$sgelewa't^e$ I shall shout (=theoretical *$sgelewt'e$); aorist second

person, $sgelewa't'$ you shouted

As an example of an inorganic -a- following a consonantic cluster may be given:

$wisma't'e^g$ I shall move (stem $wism-$); aorist, $wils'liiit'e^g$ I moved

The exact nature of the processes involved in the various forms given will be better understood when stem-formation is discussed. Here

---

1 Such an -a may stand as an absolute final; e. g., $ba^maspa$ START IN SINGING! (stem $maspa$), aorist third person, -maspa'k'. The form $maspa$ well illustrates the inherent difficulty of delimiting the range of a phonetic law without comparative or older historical material to aid in determining what is due to regular phonetic development, and what is formed on the analogy of other forms. The final cluster -sk' does occur in Takelma; e. g., $dink!l!sk'$ (long object) lay stretched out; so that a phonetic irregularity must exist in one of the two forms. Either we should have *$msk'$, or else *$dink!l!mask'$ or *$dink!l!taspa'$ is to be expected. On closer examination it is found that the -k' in forms like $dink!l!sk'$ is a grammatical element added on to the future stem $dink!l!as$; whereas in $maspa$ the -a- belongs in all probability to the stem, and is no added suffix: at least is not felt as such. It seems evident, then, that the quasi-mechanical juxtaposition of grammatical elements does not entirely follow the same phonetic lines as organic sound-complexes.

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it will suffice to say that there are three distinct sorts of inorganic or secondary a- vowels: the regular inorganic a first illustrated above, inserted between two consonants that would theoretically form a cluster; the post-consonantal constant a of certain stems (such as wism- above) that would otherwise end in more or less impracticable consonant clusters (this -a appears as -i under circumstances to be discussed below); and a connecting a employed to join consonantal suffixes to preceding consonants (such suffixes are generally directly added to preceding vowels or diphthongs). The varying treatment accorded these different secondary a vowels will become clearer in the morphology.

§ 11. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE DIPHTHONGS

By a double diphthong is meant a syllable consisting of an ordinary diphthong (long or short) followed by a semivowel (y, w) or by l, m, or n. Such double diphthongs are, for instance, aiw, āiw, auy, āuy, ain, āin, alw, āl̄w; those with initial short vowel, like ain, have, like the long diphthongs (e.g. āe̊n), a quantitative value of 3 morae, while those with initial long vowel, like āin, have a quantitative value of 4 morae and may be termed over-long diphthongs. Double diphthongs may theoretically arise when, for some reason or other, a connecting or inorganic a fails to lighten the heavy syllable by reducing it to two (see particularly § 65 for a well-defined class of such cases). Double diphthongs, however, are nearly always avoided in Takelma; there is evidently a rhythmic feeling here brought into play, a dislike of heavy syllables containing three qualitatively distinct sonantic elements.

In consequence of this, double diphthongs are regularly simplified by the loss of either the second or third element of the diphthong; in other words, they are quantitatively reduced by one mora (the simple double diphthongs now have a value of 2 morae, the over-long diphthongs 3 morae like ordinary long diphthongs), while qualitatively they now involve only two sonantic elements. An exception seems to be afforded by double diphthongs in -uy (e.g. -auy), which become dissyllabic by vocalizing the y to i, in other words, -auy becomes -awi:

\[ tsa\text{awi}k^t \text{ he ran fast; cf. } tsa\text{a-uya}^e^s \text{ fast runner, } tsa\text{awaya}^t' \text{ (aorist) you ran fast} \]
\[ yawi't'e^e \text{ I shall talk; cf. } yawaya'\text{t}' \text{ (aorist) you talked} \]
The -awi- (=theoretic -awy-) of these forms is related to the -away- of the aorist as the -ilw- of bilwa’z’s jumper to the -iliw- of the aorist biliwa’t’ YOU JUMPED.

Such double diphthongs as end in -w (e. g. -aiw, -a’ilw) simply lose the -w:

\[\text{gai} \, \text{eat it! } (=* \text{gaiw}) \; \text{gaik} \, \text{he ate it } (=* \text{gbik}) \; \text{compare} \; \text{ga-} \text{wa’a’n I shall eat it} \]

Other examples of this loss of w are given in § 18, 2. All other double diphthongs are simplified by the loss of the second vowel (i, u) or consonant (l, m, n); a glottal catch, if present after the second vowel or consonant, is always preserved in the simplified form of the double diphthong. Examples of simplified double diphthongs with initial short vowel are:

\[\text{gelheve’ha’s} \, (=* \text{hau’n I think; compare gelheve’} \text{hua’ he thinks} \; \text{imi’ha’s} \, (=* \text{ham’u I sent him; compare imi’ham he sent him} \; \text{mo’lo’ma’s} \, (=* \text{mal’n I stir it up; mo’lo’maln} \, (=* \text{maln I shall} \; \text{stir it up; compare parallel forms with connecting a: mo’lo’} \; \text{maln, mo’lo’malan, and third person aorist mo’lo’mal} \; \text{mæn’maln} \, (=* \text{man’n I count them; compare damæ’nmini’zn} \, (umlauted from -man-i’zn) I counted them up} \; \text{k’lemxa’t’e’e} \, (=* \text{k’lemnxa’t’e’e I shall make; compare k’lemnma’t’s maker and k’lem’a’n make it! (with inorganic a because accent is not thrown forward)} \]

Examples of simplified over-long diphthongs are:

\[\text{dæl’di’n} \, (=* \text{dæl’di’n I shall go to him for food; compare dæt’e’e I shall go for food} \; \text{et’gælx’ti} \, (=* \text{t’gelx’ti wagon (literally, rolling canoe); compare t’ge’ya’lx it rolls} \; \text{dat’lagæ’n} \, (=* \text{t’lagæ’n I build a fire; compare dat’lagæ’l he builds a fire} \; \text{k’lemæ’n} \, (=* \text{k’lemæ’n I make it; compare k’lemæ’l he makes it} \; \text{oyt’n} \, (=* \text{oyt’n I give it; compare third person oy’t’n he gives it} \]

In the inferential, less frequently passive participle and imperative, forms of the verb, double diphthongs, except those ending in w, generally fail to be simplified. If coming immediately before the inferential -k’- the double diphthong is preserved, for what reason is not evident (perhaps by analogy to other non-aorist forms in which the last element of the double diphthong belongs to the following syllable):

\[\text{§ 11}\]
‘ts’!aimk’ (but also ‘ts’!ayâm k’) he hid it; compare ‘ts’!a-ima’n I shall hide it
‘ōink’ he gave it; compare ‘ōina’n I shall give it
If the inferential -‘k’ does not immediately follow, an inorganic a seems to be regularly inserted between the second and third elements of the diphthong:
gelts’!aya’mxamk’nā since he concealed it from us
Examples of other than inferential forms with unsimplified double diphthong are:
‘ts’!aimhak’whidden
‘ōin give it! (yet ‘ts’!aya’m hide it! with inorganic a)

Consonants (§§ 12–24)

§ 12. System of Consonants

The Takelma consonant system is represented in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in teeth</td>
<td>media</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p!</td>
<td>v. unv.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t!</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>l’</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ts!, ts’</td>
<td>s, s’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttural</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k!</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusal</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spirants have been divided into two groups, those on the left-hand side of the column (labeled v.) being voiced, while those on the right-hand side (labeled unv.) are unvoiced. The rarely occurring palatal lateral l (see § 2, footnote) is also voiceless. Every one of the consonants tabulated may occur initially, except the voiceless labial spirant -‘w, which occurs only with k at the end of a syllable. Properly speaking, -‘k’w should be considered the syllabic final of the labialized guttural series (k’w, gw, k!w); a consideration of the consonant-clusters allowed in Takelma shows that these labialized consonants must be looked upon as phonetic units. The catch (‘) as organic consonant is found only medially and finally; the l only

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initially. In regard to the pronunciation of the various consonants, \( w, s, y, h, l, m, \) and \( n \) do not differ materially from the corresponding sounds in English.

The first two series of stops—tenuis (\( p', t', k' \)) and media (\( b, d, g \))—do not exactly correspond to the surd and sonant stops of English or French. The aspirated tenuis are, as their name implies, voiceless stops whose release is accompanied by an appreciable expulsion of breath. The voiceless mediae are also stops without voiced articulation; but they differ from the true tenues in the absence of aspiration and in the considerably weaker stress of articulation. Inasmuch as our English mediae combine sonancy with comparatively weak stress of articulation, while the tenues are at the same time unvoiced and pronounced with decided stress, it is apparent that a series of consonants which, like the Takelma voiceless mediae, combine weak stress with lack of voice will tend to be perceived by an American ear sometimes (particularly when initial) as surds, at other times (particularly between vowels) as sonants. On the other hand, the aspirated tenues will be regularly heard as ordinary surd-stops, so that an untrained American ear is apt to combine an uncalled-for differentiation with a disturbing lack of differentiation. While the Takelma tenuis and mediae are to a large extent morphologically equivalent consonants with manner of articulation determined by certain largely mechanical rules of position, yet in a considerable number of cases (notably as initials) they are to be rigidly kept apart etymologically. Words and stems which differ only in regard to the weak or strong stress and the absence or presence of aspiration of a stop, can be found in great number:

\[
\begin{align*}
d\ddag n & \text{- ear; } t\ddag n \text{ squirrel} \\
b\ddag u & \text{ now; } p\ddag u \text{ to blow} \\
g\ddag a & \text{ that; } k'a \text{ what} \\
d\ddag l & \text{ on top; } t\ddag l \text{ to drift} \\
b\ddag d & \text{ to pull out hair; } p\ddag u d \text{ to mix} \\
d\ddag g & \text{ to build fire; } d\ddag g \text{ to find; } t\ddag g \text{ to cry} \\
g\ddag i & \text{ to eat; } k'a i \text{ thing, what} \\
\end{align*}
\]

1 These two series of stops are not at all peculiar to Takelma. As far as could be ascertained, the same division is found also in the neighboring Chasta Costa, a good example of how a fundamental method of phonetic attack may be uniformly spread over an area in which far-reaching phonetic differences of detail are found and morphologic traits vary widely. The same series of stops are found also in Yana, in northern California. Farther to the east the two series are apparently found, besides a series of true sonant stops, in Pomo and Omaha (J. O. Dorsey’s \( p, t, k, \) and \( d, n, q \)). The Iroquois also (as could be tested by an opportunity to hear Mohawk) are, as regards the manner of articulating the two series, absolutely in accord with the Takelma. A more accurate phonetic knowledge of other languages would doubtless show a wide distribution in America of the voiceless media.
The forties (p!, t!, k!, ts! [=ts’!], and ḫ, which has been put in the same series because of its intimate phonetic and morphologic relation to the other consonants) are pronounced with the characteristic snatched or crackly effect (more or less decided stress of articulation of voiceless stop followed by explosion and momentary hiatus) prevalent on the Pacific coast. From the point of view of Takelma, p!, t!, and k! are in a way equivalent to p̬, t̬, and k̬, respectively, or rather to b̬, d̬, and g̬, for the fortis can never be aspirated. In some cases it was found difficult to tell whether a fortis, or a voiceless stop followed by a glottal stricture, was really heard:

\[\text{yap}!a^* \text{ and } \text{yap}^z a^* \text{ man} \]
\[\text{gā’p}!i^*i^* \text{ and } \text{gā’p}^z i^*i^* \text{ two} \]

In fact, a final tenuis + a catch inserted, as between vowels, to prevent phonetic amalgamation, regularly become, at least as far as acoustic effect is concerned, the homorganic fortis:

\[\text{āk}!a^* \text{ he indeed (}=\text{āk}’ \text{ he + deictic ‘a’; cf. } \text{ma}^z a^* \text{ you indeed}}\]
\[\text{sāk}! ett’ you shot him (= sāk’ he shot him + (t) ett’ you are)\]
\[\text{māp}!a^* \text{ just you [pl.]} (= \text{māp’ you [pl.]} + \text{a’} )\]

Nevertheless, p̬, t̬, k̬ are by no means phonetically identical with p!, t!, k!; in Yana, for instance, the two series are etymologically, as well as phonetically, distinct. One difference between the two may be the greater stress of articulation that has been often held to be the main characteristic of the fortis, but another factor, at least as far as Takelma (also Yana) is concerned, is probably of greater moment. This has regard to the duration of the glottal closure. In the case of p̬, t̬, and k̬ the glottis is closed immediately upon release of the stop-contact for p, t, and k. In the case of p!, t!, and k! the glottis is closed just before or simultaneously with the moment of consonant contact, is held closed during the full extent of the consonant articulation, and is not opened until after the consonant release; the fortis p!, e. g., may be symbolically represented as ḫp̬ (or ḫb̬, better as ḫb̬, i. e., a labial unaspirated stop immersed in a glottal catch). As the glottis is closed throughout the whole extent of the fortis articulation, no breath can escape through it; hence a fortis consonant is necessarily unaspirated. This explains why forties are so apt to be misheard as voiceless mediae or even voiced mediae rather than as aspirated tenues (p!, e. g., will be often misheard as b rather than p). The cracked effect of the forties, sometimes quite incorrectly

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—3

§ 12
referred to as a click, is due to the sudden opening of the closed chamber formed between the closed glottis and the point of consonant contact (compare the sound produced by the sudden withdrawal of a stopper from a closed bottle); the hiatus generally heard between a fortis and a following vowel is simply the interval of time elapsing between the consonant release and the release of the glottal closure. That the fortis consonant really does involve an initial glottal catch is abundantly illustrated in the author's manuscript material by such writings as:

\[ d\text{ü}\text{l}\text{ü}'t\text{t}i\text{l}i\text{n} = d\text{ü}\text{l}\text{ü}'t\text{t}i\text{l}i\text{n} \text{ I stuff it} \]
\[ d\text{ü}\text{l}\text{ü}'t\text{t}i\text{l}i\text{n} = d\text{ü}\text{l}\text{ü}'t\text{t}i\text{l}i\text{n} \text{ I shall stuff it} \]
\[ \text{l}e\text{m}e'^{e}\text{k}'\text{t}i\text{a}-\text{uda}^{a} = \text{l}e\text{m}e'^{e}\text{k}'\text{t}i\text{a}-\text{uda}^{a} \text{ as they go off} \]

Many facts of a phonetic and morphological character will meet us later on that serve to confirm the correctness of the phonetic analysis given (see §13, end; also §§ 30,4; 40,6; 40,13a, p. 113; 40,13b). Here it is enough to point out that \( p!, t!, k!, ts'! \) are etymologically related to \( b, d, g, s' \) as are \( i^{z}, u^{z}, i, i^{m}, i^{n} \) to \( i, u, l, m, n. \)

There is no tenuis or media affricative (\( ts-dz; ts', tc-dz', dj \)) corresponding in Takelma to the fortis \( ts!, ts'! \), though it seems possible that it originally existed but developed to \( x \) (cf. \( yeg\text{w}\text{e}'\text{ti} \) they bite me [upper Takelma \( yeg\text{w}\text{e}'\text{ti} \]); \( ts'!\text{i}'\text{x}i \) dog [from original \( *ts'!\text{its}'\text{i}'\text{t}^{z} \)]. Morphologically \( ts!, ts'! \) stand in the same relation to \( s, s' \) that \( p!, t! \); and \( k! \) stand in to \( b, d, g \). For example, Aorist stems:

\( t!'\text{omom}-\text{ kill, } p!'\text{ügūg}-\text{ start (war, basket), } k!'\text{olol}-\text{ dig—are related to their corresponding} \)

Future stems:

\( d\text{o}'\text{m}-, b\text{ū}'\text{g}, \text{gō}'\text{l}—\text{as are the} \)

Aorist stems:

\( ts'!'\text{adad}-\text{ mash, } ts'!'\text{elel}-\text{ paint—to their corresponding} \)

Future stems:

\( s'\text{ū}'\text{d}-, s'\text{e}'\text{e}^{l} \)

Of the other consonants, only \( x, -^{w} \), and \( s, s' \) call for remark. \( x \) is equivalent to the \( ch \) of German \( d\text{ach} \), though generally pronounced further forward (\( x \)). It frequently has a \( w \) tinge, even when no \( u \)-vowel or diphthong precedes, particularly before \( i \); examples are \( h\text{ā}'p\text{xw}^{w}i \text{ child and haxw}^{w}\text{iy}^{a} \) (ordinarily \( h\text{axi}^{a} \)) \text{ IN THE WATER}.

1 Doctor Goddard writes me that an examination of tracings made on the Rousselot machine leads to substantially the same phonetic interpretation of the fortés as has been given above.

2 See Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, American Anthropologist, n. s., ix, 257.
in which combination alone, as we have seen, -'s occurs, is the aspirated tenuis k' followed by a voiceless labial continuant approximately equivalent to the wh of English which, more nearly to the sound made in blowing out a candle. s is the ordinary English s as in sell; while s' is employed to represent a sibilant about midway in place of articulation between s and c (= sh in English shell), the fortes ts! and ts'! corresponding, respectively, in place of articulation to s and s'. The two sounds s and s' have been put together, as it is hardly probable that they represent morphologically distinct sounds, but seem rather to be the limits of a normal range of variation (both sal- with root and s'al-, e. g., were heard). The only distinction in use that can be made out is that s occurs more frequently before and after consonants and after €:

s'a's'ant'€ I shall stand
ogu'si€ he gave it to me, but ogu'shi€ he gave it to you
loga's'i€ his plaything 110.6
ulasgi'n I shall touch it
le'spsi€ feathers
yöls steel-head salmon
ha-uhana't€s it stopped (raining)

§ 13. Final Consonants

By a "final" consonant will always be meant one that stands at the end of a syllable, whether the syllable be the last in the word or not. Such a final position may be taken only by the aspirated tenues, the voiceless spirants, the catch, the liquid (l), and the nasals, not by the voiceless mediae, fortes, and semivowels (y and w); h occurs as a final only very rarely:

la'h excrement
lohlah'a'nk' he always caused them to die
A final semivowel unites with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong:

gaya'a he ate it (cf. gayawo't€n I ate it)
gät grow! (cf. gä'ya't€t' he will grow)
A final voiceless media always turns into the corresponding aspirated surd; so that in the various forms of one stem a constant alternation between the two manners of articulation is brought about:

se'b'at'€n I roasted it; se'p' he roasted it
xe'be't'€n he did it; xe'p'ga't' I did it
xuduma'ld'at'€n I whistle to him; xuduma'lt', xuduma'lt'gwa he whistles to him
tl'ayaq'at'€n I found it; tl'aya'k' he found it, dák'na't' since he found it

§ 13
A final fortis also becomes the corresponding aspirated surd (-ts! becoming -ts), but with a preceding catch by way of compensation for the loss of the fortis character of the consonant. This process is readily understood by a reference to the phonetic analysis of the fortis given above (§ 12). Final p!, for instance, really ^h(^), but with a preceding catch by way of compensation for the loss of the fortis character of the consonant. This process is readily understood by a reference to the phonetic analysis of the fortos given above (§ 12). Final p!, for instance, really ^h(^), is treated in absolutely parallel fashion to a final h; the final media implied in the p! must become an aspirated surd (this means, of course, that the glottal closure is released at the same time as the stop, not subsequently, as in the ordinary fortis), but the glottal attack of the ^h still remains. Examples are:

wasgā'p!in I shall make it tight; wasgā'p' make it tight
k'ap'la'k'ap'na^n I throw them under (fire, earth); future, k'a^p'-
k'a'p'nan
bāoxō't'lan I shall win over him; bāoxō't'w' win over him! bāoxō't'ga^t
I won over him
alxi'k!in I shall see him; alxi'k' see him! (contrast alxi'gi^n I
saw him; alxi'k' he saw him)
ha^wiha'nts!in I shall cause it to stop (raining); ha^wiha'n's
make it stop raining!
nō't's!at'gwan next door to each other; nō't's! next door
ha^imi't's!adan theimi't's six times 100; ha^imi't's six

Consonant Combinations (§§ 14–17)

§ 14. GENERAL REMARKS

Not all consonant combinations are allowable in Takelma, a certain limited number of possibilities occurring initially, while a larger number occur as finals. Medial combinations, as we shall see (§17), are simply combinations of syllabic final consonants or permissible consonant combinations and syllabic initial consonants or permissible consonant combinations.

§ 15. INITIAL COMBINATIONS

If, as seems necessary, we regard gw as a single labialized consonant, the general rule obtains that no combinations of three or more consonants can stand at the beginning of a word or syllable. The following table shows all the initial combinations of two consonants possible in Takelma, the first members of the various combinations being disposed in vertical columns and the second members, with which the first combine, being given in horizontal lines. Examples fill the spaces thus mapped out. Inasmuch as the mediae and fortes, §§ 14–15
the liquid, nasals, semivowels, and \( h \) never appear, or with very few exceptions, as the first members of initial combinations, it was not considered necessary to provide for them in the horizontal row. Similarly the tenues and fortes never occur as second members of initial combinations. A dash denotes non-occurrence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( p' )</th>
<th>( t' )</th>
<th>( k' )</th>
<th>( s )</th>
<th>( x )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( b )</td>
<td>( t')b( o)( a)g- hit</td>
<td></td>
<td>( s)( b)in beaver</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( s)( d)( ë)( l)( s)( d)( g)( w)a- put on style</td>
<td>( x)( d)( ë)( ë ) flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( t'g)( e)( i)l- roll</td>
<td></td>
<td>( s)( g)l'( s)i coyote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gw )</td>
<td>( t'g)( w)( w)' thunder</td>
<td></td>
<td>( s)( q)( w)( i)( n)i( i ) raccoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( s )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( z )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( l )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>( x)( l)( w)( i ) war feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( t'm)( l)( i)( d)( a)'px smooth</td>
<td></td>
<td>( s)( m)( a)( l)( m) smile</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( s)( n)( a ) mammal</td>
<td>( x)( n)( i )( k) acorn mush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( w )</td>
<td>( t'w)( a)( p)( l)( h)( a)'t( w)( a)'p' blink</td>
<td>( k)'(w( ë)( ë ) w- w- awaken)</td>
<td>( s)( w)( a)( i )g- pursue</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that only \( t' \) (\( p' \) and \( k' \) were given mainly for contrast) and the two voiceless spirants \( s \) and \( x \) combine with following consonants (\( k'w- \) is not to be analyzed into \( k'+w \), but is to be regarded as a single consonant, as also \( gw- \) and \( k'tw- \), both of which frequently occur as initials); furthermore that \( s \), \( x \), and \( y \) never combine with preceding consonants. The general law of initial combination is thus found to be: tenuis (\( t' \)) or voiceless spirant (\( s \), \( x \)) + media (\( b \), \( d \), \( g \)) or voiced continuant (\( l \), \( m \), \( n \), \( w \)). Of the combinations above tabulated, only \( t'b- \) \( t'g- \), \( sb- \), \( sg- \), and perhaps \( sq\)\( g\)\( w- \) and \( sw- \), can be considered as at all common, \( t'm- \), \( t'w- \), \( sd- \), \( sn- \), \( xd- \), \( xl- \), and \( xn- \) being very rare. \( sl- \), \( sb- \), \( xm- \), and \( xw- \) have not been found, but the analogy of \( xl- \) for the first, and of \( sb- \), \( sm- \), and \( sw- \) for the others, make it barely possible that they exist, though rarely; there may, however, be a distinct feeling against the combination \( x-\)labial (\( b \), \( m \), \( w \)).

Only two cases have been found of fortes or media + consonant:

\( t\)\( w\)\( e\)\( p\)\( l\)\( e\)\( t\)\( w\)\( a\)\( p\)\( x \) they fly about without lighting; future \( d\)\( w\)\( e\)\( p\)\( i- \)\( d\)\( w\)\( a\)\( p\)\( x\)\( d\)\( ë\)

This may possibly serve to explain why the affricative \( ts\)\( r \) (to correspond to \( ts'\)\( t\)) is not found in Takelma.

§ 15
Final consonant combinations are limited in possibility of occurrence by the fact that only aspirated tenues and voiceless spirants (p', t', k', k'w, s, and x) can stand as absolute finals after other consonants. The following table will give examples of all final combinations of two or three consonants that have been discovered in the available material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p'</th>
<th>t'</th>
<th>k'</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>bêlp' swan</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>s'a's'ân'p' stand(pl.)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>s'ge'le'ma'nt' he shouted to him</td>
<td>tâle'tëla'nt' he paints it</td>
<td>p'tâ'ant' his liver</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>xêp'k' he did it</td>
<td>p'ima't'k' my salmon</td>
<td>a'lk'silver-side salmon</td>
<td>za'mk' grizzle bear</td>
<td>döma'mk' he will kill him</td>
<td>mîla's'k' he loved her</td>
<td>K'ê'aw'wëk' he's awake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'w</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>të'ge'wë'k'w rat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yë'mk'w he took it along</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'k'</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>s'u'âl'p'k' he sat</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>s'e'ns'ap'k' he whooped</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'k'</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>döma't'k'my testicles</td>
<td>xäola'mt'k'my urine</td>
<td>bîlë'nt'k'my breast</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>la'ps blanket</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>bîls moss</td>
<td>gûms blind</td>
<td>pëns squirrel</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ge'ya'px round</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>t'ge'ya'lx it rolls</td>
<td>ya'mx grease</td>
<td>bîmëx hunger</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zk'</td>
<td>des'ëpxk' it closed</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>gû'ëk'bëxk' it was blazing</td>
<td>datë'të'mxk' it hurt</td>
<td>gëwa'nxk' he drank</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pz</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>sg'ëpx warm your back!</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No examples of -mk'w and -npx have been found, but the analogy of -lpx makes the existence of the latter of these almost certain (l and n are throughout parallel in treatment); the former (because of the double labial; cf. the absence of -mp') is much less probable, despite the analogy of -lt'w and -nk'w. It is possible also that -lsk', -msk', and -nsk' exist, though their occurrence can hardly be frequent. Of final clusters of four consonants -nt'p'k' has been found in s'a's'ant'p'k' he stood, but there can be small doubt that the -t' is merely a dental tenuis glide inserted in passing from the dental nasal to the labial tenuis; compare the morphologically analogous form se'ns'ap'k' he whooped. However, the combinations -lpzk' and -npzk' (if -npx exists), though not found in the available material, very probably ought to be listed, as they would naturally be the terminations of morphologically necessary forms (cf. des'tëpxk'). Most, if not all, of
the preceding final combinations may furthermore be complicated by the addition of \( \varepsilon \), which is inserted before the first tenuis or voiceless spirant of the group, i.e., after a possible liquid or nasal:

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{a}^t\varepsilon_t s \cdot k' & \text{ he laughed} \\
\kappa'o^t\varepsilon_p x & \text{ dust, ashes.} \\
ts^s!u'v'n's & \text{ (deerskin) cap}
\end{align*}
\]

As compared to the initial combinations, the table of final clusters seems to present a larger number of possibilities. It is significant, however, that only those that consist of \( l, m, \) or \( n + \) single consonant can ever be looked upon as integral portions of the stem (such as \( xa'mk' \) and \( t'gw\ell k'w \)); while those that end in \(-s\) can always be suspected of containing either the verbal suffix \(-s\)\( (=t+x) \), or the noun and adjective forming element \(-s\). All other combinations are the result of the addition of one or more grammatical elements to the stem (e.g., \( s^u'\varepsilon t a p'k' = s^u'\varepsilon t a l - t^p + k' \)). Further investigation shows that only two of the combinations, \(-t^p'\) (second personal plural subject aorist) and \(-t^k'\) (first personal singular possessive) are suffixal units; though \(-t^p'\) might be ultimately analyzed into \(-t^p\) (second personal singular subject aorist) + \(-p'\). It is interesting to note that these clusters are at the same time the only ones, except \( t'gw\), allowed initially, \( t'b\) and \( t'g\). The constitution of the Takelma word-stem may thus be formulated as

\[
\text{tenuis (or voiceless spirant) + media (or voiced continuant) + vowel (or diphthong) + liquid or nasal + stop (fortis or media—tenuis),}
\]

any or all of the members of which skeleton may be absent except the vowel; \( h \) may also be found before the vowel.

§ 17. MEDIAL COMBINATIONS

A medial combination consists simply of a syllabically final combination or single consonant + an initial combination or single consonant, so that theoretically a very large number of such medial combinations may occur. Quite a large number do indeed occur, yet there is no morphologic opportunity for many of them, such as \( k'\langle l, np'-m, \) and numerous others. Examples of medial combinations are:

\[
\begin{align*}
t'\text{tomoma}'n-\text{ma}' & \text{ when he was killed} \\
h\ell'k'-'n\alpha & \text{ when he sang} \\
dak'-'t'g\tilde{u}'\text{ba}'n & \text{ I put hollowed object (like hat) on top (as on head)}
\end{align*}
\]
The occurrence of such clusters as \(-k'n-\) must not for a moment be interpreted as a contradiction of the non-occurrence of the same clusters initially or finally, as they are not, syllabically speaking, clusters at all. Had such combinations as, say, \(-t'gn-\) (in which \(-t'\) would be the final of one syllable and \(gn-\) the initial of the next) occurred, we should be justified in speaking of an inconsistency in the treatment of clusters; but the significant thing is, that such clusters are never found. A Takelma word can thus ordinarily be cut up into a definite number of syllables:

- \(gai'k'na^z\) when he ate it \((= gai'k'-na^z)\)
- \(yo'k'yan\) I shall know it \((= yo'k'-yan)\)

but these syllables have only a phonetic, not necessarily a morphologic value (e. g., the morphologic division of the preceding forms is respectively \(gai-k'-na^z\) and \(yok'-y-an\)). The theory of syllabification implied by the phonetic structure of a Takelma word is therefore at complete variance with that found in the neighboring Athapascan dialects, in which the well-defined syllable has at least a relative morphologic value, the stem normally consisting of a distinct syllable in itself.

One important phonetic adjustment touching the medial combination of consonants should be noted. If the first syllable ends in a voiceless spirant or aspirated surd, the following syllable, as far as initial stops are concerned, will begin with a media (instead of aspirated surd) or aspirated surd + media; i. e., for a cluster of stops in medial position, the last can be a media only, while the others are aspirated surds. As also in the case of single consonants, this adjustment often brings about a variation in the manner of articulation of the final consonant in the cluster, according to whether its position in the word is medial or final. Thus we have:

- \(xep'ga^z\) I did it; \(xep'k'\) he did it

Contrast, with constant \(-V-\):

- \(alxi'k'a^z\) I saw it; \(alxi'k'\) he saw it

the \(-g-\) of the first form and the \(-k'\) of the second being the same morphological element; the \(-p'\) of both forms is the syllabically final \(b\) of the stem \(xe'b-\) do, so that \(xep'ga^z\) stands for a theoretical \(*xebk'a^z\), a phonetically impossible form. Other examples are:

\[^1\] This form is distinct from \(alxi'k'\) look at it!, quoted before. The imperative theoretically \(=*alxi'k'!\) the text form \(= *alxi'k'k'.\)
ga-iwa'fha^ ye shall eat it; gayawa't'p' ye ate it
di'n^xga^ I (as long object) was stretching out; di'n^xk' long object
was stretching

Consonant Processes (§§ 18–24)

§ 18. DROPPING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

There is a good deal to indicate that the comparatively limited number of possible final consonant-clusters is not a primary condition, but has been brought about by the dropping of a number of consonants that originally stood at the end.

1. The most important case is the loss of every final -t' that stood after a voiceless spirant or aspirated surd. Its former presence in such words can be safely inferred, either from morphologically parallel forms, or from other forms of the same stem where the phonetic conditions were such as to preserve the dental. Thus gwidi'k'w he threw it represents an older reduplicated *gwidi'k'w t' (= gwidi-i-gwd-), as proven by the corresponding form for the first person, gwidi'k'w da^n I threw it and gwidi'k'dagwa he threw him (122.13). Similarly all participles showing the bare verb stem are found to be phonetically such as not to permit of a final -t', and are therefore historically identical with the other participial forms that show the -t':

sâk' shooting (=*sâk't')
dôx gathering (=*dôxt')
ha-t'ulk' following in path (=*t'ulk't')
sanâp' fighting (=*sanâp't')

Compare:

yanât' going
loho't' dead
se'bê't' roasting
dômt' having killed
se'nsant' whooping
yi'lt' copulating with

The combinations -k'wt'k' (-k'wt'g-) and -k'w't'x-, however, seem to lose, not the -t', but the -k'w-, whereupon -t'k' (-t'g-) remains, while -t'x- regularly becomes -s- (see § 20, 2):

he's gwida't'k' (=*gwida'k'wt'-k', inferential of gwidi'k'w-d-) he lost it
he's gwida't'ga (=*gwida'k'wt'-ga') I lost it
xamgwida'sgwîde (=*gwida'k'w-x-gwi- or possibly *gwida'k'w-t'-
gwi-) I drowned myself

§ 18
2. Somewhat less transparent is the former existence of a -w after consonants. The following examples have been found in the material at disposal:

lāl she twined basket (=*lālw); cf. lāgwaw'zn I twine it (that -w really belongs to the stem is shown by the forms lāgwaw' I shall twine it; lēwi-twined it for me!)
kēl basket bucket (=*kēlw); cf. kēlwi't her bucket
k'āl penis (=*k'ālw); cf. k'ālwi't his penis.
sgelel (=*sgelelw) he keeps shouting; cf. sgelewaw't you shout, sgelewaw't' e I shall keep shouting
alsgālk'at (=*sgālwk'at) I turned my head to one side to look at him; cf. alsgālw'n I shall turn my head to look at him
alsgelēri (=*sgelēwi) he keeps turning his head to one side to look at me; cf. alsgalāliwi'zn I keep turning my head to look at him, future alsgalwalwi'n

This process, as further shown by cases like gat eat it! (=*gaw), is really a special case of the simplification of double diphthongs (see § 11). Perhaps such "dissimilated" cases as lā- and le- (for lāw- and lēw-), see § 7, really belong here.

Other consonants have doubtless dropped off under similar conditions, but the internal evidence of such a phenomenon is not as satisfactory as in the two cases listed. The loss of a final -n is probable in such forms as ūnegwe' hak'w he works, cf. ūnegwe' hak'wna'zn I work, and ūnegwe'hak'w 'nana'k we work. Certain verb-forms would be satisfactorily explained as originally reduplicated like gwidi'k'w, if we could suppose the loss of certain final consonants:

gini't-k' he went somewheres (=??gini-it-k'n)
gelqul'u'k'w he desired it (=??gul-u-k'w)

In the case of these examples, however, such a loss of consonants is entirely hypothetical.¹

§ 19. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

Morphologically doubled consonants occur very frequently in Takelma, but phonetically such theoretic doublings are simplified into single consonants; i. e., k'+g become k' or g, and correspondingly for other consonants. If one of the consonants is a fortis, the simplified result will be a fortis or aspirated surd with preceding catch, according to the phonetic circumstances of the case. If one of the

¹Many of the doubtful cases would perhaps be cleared up if material were available from the upper dialect, as it shows final clusters that would not be tolerated in the dialect treated in this paper; e. g. k'ūs na'k's t' relatives (cf. Takelma k'winazē my kin).
$k$-consonants is labialized, the resulting $k$-sound preserves the labial affection. Examples of consonant simplification are:

- $mo't'ek'$ my son-in-law ($= mo't' - + -dek'$
- $lakwok'$ he gave him to eat ($= lag + -k'wok'$)
- $dektya'k'iz$ if it goes on ($= dektya'g - + -k'i)$
- $li'qwa'n$ I shall fetch them home ($= li'q + -gwan$); cf. aorist
  $ligiga'z'n$
- $dihi'la'k'weemez$n I make him glad ($= hila'k'w$ glad + $k'emezn$ I make him)

A good example of three $k$-sounds simplifying to one is:

$ginak'wiiz$ if he comes ($= ginag-k'w-k'i$)

The interrogative element $di$ never unites with the -$t'$ of a second person singular aorist, but each dental preserves its individuality, a light $i$ being inserted to keep the two apart:

$xemelat'idi$ do you wish to eat? ($= xemela't + di$)

The operation of various phonetic processes of simplification often brings about a considerable number of homonymous forms. One example will serve for many. From the verb-stem $sa^ag$- shoot are derived:

1. Imperative $sak'$ shoot it!
2. Potential $sak'$ he can, might shoot it
3. Participle $sak'$ shooting ($=*sak't'$)
4. Inferential $sak'$ so he shot it ($=*sa^g-k'$)

The corresponding forms of the stem $yana$- go will bring home the fact that we are here really dealing with morphologically distinct formations:

1. $yana'$ go!
2. $yana't'$ he would have gone
3. $yana't'$ going
4. $yana'k'$ so he went

Another simplification of consonant groups may be mentioned here. When standing immediately after a stop, an organic, etymologically significant $h$ loses its individuality as such and unites with a preceding media or aspirated tenuis to form an aspirated tenuis, with a preceding fortis to form an aspirated tenuis preceded by a glottal catch (in the latter case the fortis, being a syllabic final, cannot preserve its original form). Thus, for the $k$-series, $g$ or $k'+h$ becomes $k'$, $kt$ (or $'k'$) + $h$ becomes $k'$; $gw$ or $k'w$ + $h$ becomes $k'w$, $k'w$ (or $'k'w$) + $h$ becomes $k'w$. Under suitable conditions of accent

§ 19
(see § 23) the contraction product $k'$ or $k'w$ may itself become $g$ or $gw$, so that all trace of the original $h$ seems to be lost. Examples for the $k$- sounds are:

\[ t'g\text{n\text{u}n}k'\ddot{\text{i}}^e = (t'g\text{n\text{u}n}k' + \text{quotative } -hi^e) \] it became warm, it is said

\[ n\text{ga}n\text{a}n'\ddot{a}k'\ddot{\text{i}}^e = (n\text{ga}n\text{a}n'\ddot{a}k' + \text{quotative } -hi^e) \] see § 22 he always said, it is said

\[ gw\text{-he}'k'\ddot{w}u\ddot{a}gw- = (\text{reduplicated } he'gw-h\ddot{a}gw-) \] relate; with accent thrown forward $gw\text{-he}gw\ddot{a}gw\text{-an-i-} = (hegw-h\ddot{a}gw-);

\[ s'o'wo^k'\ddot{\text{d}}p' = (s'o'wo^k'\ddot{\text{d}}p' = s'o'wok!-\text{hap'}) \] he jumps (\( \ddot{o} = wa \); see § 9) he jumps; compare $s'o'wo'k!\ddot{k}ana^n$ I cause him to jump

Similarly, $d$ or $t^\ddot{\text{a}} + h$ becomes $t^\ddot{\text{a}}$, $t!$ (or $\ddot{\text{a}}t^\ddot{\text{a}}$) becomes $\ddot{\text{a}}t^\ddot{\text{a}}$; $b$ or $p^\ddot{\text{a}} + h$ becomes $p^\ddot{\text{a}}$, $p!$ (or $\ddot{\text{a}}p^\ddot{\text{a}}$) + $h$ becomes $\ddot{\text{a}}p^\ddot{\text{a}}$:

\[ g\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}'t'\ddot{\text{i}} = (g\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}'t' + \text{emphatic } -hi) \] of just that sort

\[ yo'\ddot{t}'\ddot{\text{i}} = (yo'\ddot{t}' \text{ being } + \text{ emphatic } -hi) \] alive; compare plural

\[ yot'\ddot{\text{i}}'\ddot{\text{hi}} \] $he^e\ddot{\text{sg}}\ddot{u}'u't'\ddot{\text{d}}k^\ddot{\text{w}} = (\text{head} - h\ddot{a}k'w)$ cut away; compare $he^e\ddot{\text{sg}}\ddot{\text{o}}'\ddot{\text{w}}t!\ddot{\text{an}}$

I shall cut it away

$s'$ and $x$ also generally contract with $h$ to $s'$ and $x$, e. g.:

\[ n\ddot{o}n's'\ddot{\text{i}}^e = (n\ddot{o}n's' + -hi^e) \] next door, it is said.

§ 20. CONSONANTS BEFORE $x$

No stopped consonant or spirant may stand before $x$, except $p$. The dentals, guttural stops, and sibilants all simplify with $x$ into single sounds; the fortes (including $ts'$) following the example of the ordinary stops and of the $s$, but leaving a trace in the vicarious $\ddot{\text{e}}$.

1. All $k$- sounds ($k'$, $g$, $k!$, $k'w$, $gw$, $k!w$) simply disappear before $x$ without leaving any trace of their former existence, except in so far as $k!$ and $k!w$ remain as $\ddot{\text{e}}$; if $x$ is followed by a vowel, the $w$ of the labialized $k$-sounds unites with $x$ to form $xw$:

\[ al\ddot{\text{v}}\ddot{\text{t}}'\ddot{\text{x}}\ddot{\text{i}} \] he saw me ($=al-x\ddot{\text{t}}'g-x\ddot{\text{i}}$); cf. $al\ddot{\text{v}}\ddot{\text{t}}'g\ddot{\text{i}}n$ I saw him

\[ k'w\ddot{a}'x\ddot{d}e^e \] I awoke ($=k'w\ddot{a}'gw-x-de^e$); cf. $i\ddot{k}'w\ddot{a}'g\ddot{w}i^e$ I woke him up

\[ gel\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{u}lu'x\ddot{b}i^e \] I like you ($=-g\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{u}lu'gw-x-bi^e$); cf. $-g\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{u}lu'gw\ddot{a}^e$ I like him

\[ b\ddot{a}n'\ddot{d}i'n\ddot{i}'x^e \] (clouds) spread out on high ($=-d\ddot{a}n'k!-x$); cf. $d\ddot{i}'n\ddot{k}!a^n$ I stretch it out

\[ l\ddot{u}'x\ddot{w}a^e \] to trap ($=l\ddot{u}k!'-x\ddot{a}'$); cf. $l\ddot{o}'k!\ddot{\text{w}}an$ I shall trap (deer)

\[ y\ddot{e}xw'\ddot{\text{v}}n'k' = (=y\ddot{e}gw-x\ddot{w}n'k') \] he will bite me; but $y\ddot{e}x\ddot{d}a^e = (y\ddot{e}gw-x\ddot{d}a^e)$ you will bite me

§ 20
2. *tx* always simplifies to *s*, *t!x* to *s*. Whether the combination *tx* really spontaneously developed into *s* it is naturally impossible to say; all that can safely be stated is that, where we should by morphologic analogy expect *t+x*, this combination as such never appears, but is replaced by *s*. Examples are numerous:

lebe'sa^ she sews (=lebe't-xa^); cf., for -*t* of stem, lebe't' she sewed it, for suffix -*xa^*, lobo'xa^ she pounds
sgelewa'lsi he shouts to me (=sgelewa'ld-xi); cf. sgelewa'lda^n I shout to him
dâ))* bodoba'sa^z they pull out each other's hair, with reduplicated stem bodobad-+*x-
xa^t'be'k't'bagams it is all tied together (=-*t'bagamt-x*); cf. xâ)*t'bâ)a'gamda^n I tie it together
hansgô'as's he cut across, lay over (road) (=sgô'ut*-x*); cf. hansgô'ut'lan I shall cut it across

This change of *tx* to *s* is brought about constantly in the course of word-formation, and will be incidentally exemplified more than once in the morphology.

3. *sx* simplifies to *s*, *ts!x* (=^sx) to *s*. Examples are:

yimi's'a^ he dreams (=yimi's'-xa^, with suffix -*xa^* as in lobo'xa^ above
ha-uhana'^s it stopped (raining) (=*-hana'^sx*, stem hanats!-+*-x*)

§ 21. DISSIMILATION OF *n* TO *l* AND *m*

If a (generally) final *n* of a stem is immediately followed, or, less commonly, preceded by, a suffix containing a nasal, it dissimilates to *l*. The following examples have been found:

yalalana't* you lost it (cf. yalanada'^t* you will lose it, with *n* preserved because it forms a consonant-cluster with *l*)
ha-gwâ'l-a'm in the road (cf. gwân road)
Didâla'm Grant's Pass (probably =over[*d̃*-] the rocks[da'n])
wâla'm't'k' my urine; xala'xam't'e^ I urinate (cf. xân urine)
ba-^s'in-*=li'lik!wi'n* I blow my nose, with *l* due to -*n* of prefix *s'in-* nose (cf. *xin* mucus)
s'inp'i'l's flat-nosed, alongside of s'inp'i'n's

The possibility of a doublet in the last example shows that the prefix *s'in-* is not as thoroughly amalgamated with the rest of the word as are the suffixes; probably, also, the analogy of forms in -*p'inc^s* with other prefixes not containing an *n* would tend to restore an anomalous-sounding s'inp'i'l's to -*p'i'n's*.
A suffixed -(a)n dissimilates to -(a)l because of a preceding m in the stem:

s'imi'l' dew (cf. such nouns as p'iyi'n deer)
dak'-s'ëma'l on the mountain (s'ëmi' mountain)
döma'li'k' my testicles (döw'm testicles)

With these compare:

dāa-its'iwa'n by the ocean (its'i deep water)

In xāa-gulma'n among oaks, the l immediately preceding the m seems to have prevented the dissimilation of the -an to -al.

It is practically certain that the -am of hagwāla'm, Dīdala'm, and xāla'mt'k' is at bottom phonetically as well as functionally identical with the suffix -an (-al), seen in xāa-gulma'n (gulu'm oak) and dak'-s'ëma'l, and rests on a second dissimilation of the nasal lingual (n) of the suffix to a labial nasal (m), because of the lingual (l) of the stem. The history of a word like hagwāla'm is in that event as follows: An original *hagwāna'n in the road (stem gwa'n- + nominal characteristic -an) becomes first *hagwāla'n by the dissimilation of the first n because of the following n, then hagwāla'm by the dissimilation of this second n because of the preceding l. Similarly Dīdala'm and xāla'mt'k' would go back to *Dīdana'n and *xãna't'k' respectively; with the second form compare the reduplicated verb xala'xam- (=*xana'axan-) urinate. The probability of such a dissimilation of n to m is greatly strengthened by the fact that nearly all nouns with an evidently suffixal noun-forming element -(a)m have an l in the stem as compared to an -(a)n of nouns not so affected. Contrast:

-m
he'la'm board (cf. dīhe'liya sleeping on wooden platform)
gela'm river
ts'e'la'm hail (cf. stem ts'e'l-rattle)
xila'm sick, ghost

ts'ë'la'm wart ¹
habila'm empty

-n

daga'n turtle
wigin red lizard
p'iyi'n deer (-n here as suffix shown by p'iyi'x fawn)
yūtu'n white duck (cf. yut!-u'yidi'n I eat it greedily)
yū'xgan trout
xlàn eel (cf. hā-xdā'xdaqwa'n I throw something slippery far away)

¹No other example of final -im is known, so that this form was probably misheard for ts'ulî'm (cf. gulu'm oak).

§ 21
yuhi’m eagle (also yula’m is found)
gulu’m oak
k’üuíim fish (sp.?)
legem- kidney
dåⁿ- n- ear

It should not be concealed that a few words (such as hülũn ocean, tla’ga’m lake, and yuuki’um-a- bones) do not seem to conform to the phonetic law implied by the table; but more exact knowledge of the etymology of these and similar words would doubtless show such disagreement to be but apparent. It is probable that in delga’n- buttocks, bilga’n- breast, and do’lk’in-i- anus, the g, (k’) immediately following upon the l prevented the expected dissimilation of n to m; in le’k’wan- anus the dissimilation was perhaps thwarted by a counter-tendency to dissimilate the two labials (k’w and m) that would thus result. *yalan-an- lose (tr.), dissimilated, as we have seen, to yala’l-an-, fails to be further dissimilated to *yala’l-am- because, doubtless, there is a feeling against the obscuring of the phonetic form of the causative suffix -an-. The great probability of the existence of a dissimilatory tendency involving the change of n to m is clinched by the form do’lk’im-i- anus alongside of do’lk’in-i-.

A dissimilation of an original l to n (the reverse of the process first described), because of an l in the stem, is found in

\[yilî’na’mâ’n \text{ I keep asking for it (= original } *yilî’lama’n [l inserted as repetition of stem -l- in iterative formation from yilîma’n I ask him)]\]

\[le’ba’nxd’e\text{ I am carrying (object not specified) (= original } *le’ba’lxde\text{); cf. identical suffix -al-x-, e.g., ga’yawa’lxde I eat.}\]

In ga’ygwa’nxd’e I drink (stem āgw-); it hardly seems plausible that -an-x- is at all morphologically different from the -al (-an) -x- of these words, yet no satisfactory reason can be given here for a change of the l to n.

§ 22. CATCH DISSIMILATION

If to a form with a glottal catch in the last syllable is added a syntactic (conjunctive) element, itself containing a catch, the first catch is lost, but without involving a change in the character of the pitch-accent; the loss of the catch is frequently accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel (or rather, in many cases, a restoration of the original length). This phonetic process finds its most frequent
application in the subordinate form of the third person aorist intransitive:

\[
\begin{align*}
yā't'\text{da} & \text{ when he went (cf. } ya't'\text{ he went)} \\
gini't'k'\text{da} & \text{ when he went to (cf. } gini't'k' \text{ he went to)} \\
yava'a'\text{ida} & \text{ when he spoke (cf. } yava'a'\text{ he spoke)} \\
loho'\text{ida} & \text{ when he died (cf. } loho'\text{ he died)}
\end{align*}
\]

The connectives -\(hi\) it is said, and -\(si\) but, and are, in regard to this process, parallel to the -\(da\) of the preceding forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
naga'\text{ih} & \text{ he said, it is said} \text{(cf. } naga'\text{ he said)} \\
nō'\text{s}i & \text{ but, so (he went) next door (cf. } nō'\text{s} \text{ next door).} \\
a'\text{nī} & \text{ but not (cf. } a'\text{nī) not} \\
i'\text{s}i & \text{ but no matter how (often) (cf. } i'\text{s}i \text{ even if)} \\
dal'\text{wi} & \text{ but some (cf. } dal'\text{wi} \text{ sometimes; } -\text{wi} \text{ is related to } -\text{wi} \text{ as is } yā't'\text{da} \text{ to } ya'\text{)}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF PLACE AND KIND OF ACCENT ON MANNER OF ARTICULATION

The general phonetic rule may be laid down that an aspirated surd, when not immediately followed by another consonant, can, with comparatively few exceptions, be found as such medially only when the accent immediately precedes, provided that no consonant (except in certain circumstances \(l, m, n\)) intervene between the accented vowel and the aspirated surd; under other conditions it appears as a media. This phonetic limitation naturally brings about a constant interchange between the aspirated surd and the corresponding media in morphologically identical elements. Thus we have as doublets -\(da\) and -\(t'a\), third person possessive pronoun of certain nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bēmt'ā} & \text{ his stick} \\
\text{se'īlt'ā} & \text{ his writing} \\
\text{wīlu'ut'ā} & \text{ his arrow} \\
\text{ga'lt'ā} & \text{ his bow} \\
\text{mo't'ā} & \text{ his son-in-law; but} \\
\text{da'gaxda} & \text{ his head}
\end{align*}
\]

and numerous other nouns with -\(x\). This consonant in itself, as we have seen, demands a following media. Another pair of doublets is -\(de\) and -\(t'e\), first person singular subject intransitive aorist (-\(de\) and -\(t'e\) to correspond in future):

\[
\begin{align*}
p'\text{ele'xade} & \text{ I go to fight; } p'\text{elxa't'e} \text{ I shall go to war} \\
yānt'e & \text{ I go; } yana't'e \text{ I shall go} \\
nagātt'e & \text{ I say; } na't'e \text{ I shall say}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 23
but:

\[\text{wits'isma}de^*\] I keep moving; future \[\text{wits'le'sma}de^*\] (contrast \[\text{wits'lišt'e}^*\] I move and \[\text{wisma't'e}^*\] I shall move)

Other examples of interchange are:

\[\text{sgö'ut'sgadi}^*\text{n}\] I cut them to pieces; \[\text{sgö'ut'sgidi}^*\text{n}\] I cut them to pieces

\[\text{ts'lišt'mum}^*\text{t'a}^*\text{n}\] I boil it, \[\text{s'ūmt'an}\] I shall boil it (stem \[s'ūm-t'a^*\text{-}\]); \[\text{s'omoda}^*\text{n}\] I boil it, \[\text{s'omda}^*\text{n}\] I shall boil it (evidently related stem \[s'om-d-\]);

\[\text{s'as'inip'i}k^*\] we stand; \[e'bi'k^*\] we are

This phonetic rule must not be understood to mean that a media can never appear under the conditions given for the occurrence of a surd. The various grammatical elements involved are not all on one line. It seems necessary to assume that some contain a surd as the primary form of their consonant, while others contain an organic media. The more or less mechanical changes in manner of articulation, already treated of, have had the effect, however, of so inextricably interlocking the aspirated surds and media in medial and final positions that it becomes difficult to tell in many cases which manner of articulation should be considered the primary form of the consonant. Some of the medially occurring elements with primary tenuis are:

-\[\text{t'a}\], third person possessive
-\[\text{t'a}\], exclusive (as in \[k'wa'l't'a\] young, not old; younger one)
-\[\text{t'e}^*\], first person intransitive aorist (future, \[-t'e^*\])
-\[\text{t'ek}^*\], first person singular possessive (as in \[ga'l't'e\text{'}k\text{'\} my bow\])

Such elements show an aspirated consonant whether the preceding accent be rising or falling; e. g., \[bēmt'a\] like \[he'\text{'}lt'a\]. Some of those with primary media are:

-\[\text{da}\], third person possessive with preceding preposition (corresponding not to first person \[-t'ek^*\], \[-dek^*\], but to \[-dē\])
-\[a'ld-\] and \[-a'md-\] indirect object
-\[\text{da}^*\], subordinating element

This second set regularly keep the media whether the accent immediately precedes or not. The first two of these generally, if not always, require the preceding accent to be a falling one:

\[\text{dak'wilt'i}^*\text{da\ on his house}\]
\[\text{hat'gā'}^*\text{da\ in his country}\]
\[\text{xā'p'sa'lda\ between his toes}\]
\[\text{xā'ha'mda\ on his back}\]

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hawa'nda under him
sgelewa'lda'n I shout to him
ts'elelela'nda'n I paint it

The third retains its primary character as media when the preceding verb form has the falling accent:

ye'we'lda when he returned
naga'-lda when he said
baxa'nda when he came
hele'lda when he sang
xebe'nda when he did it

On the other hand it appears as an aspirate tenuis when preceded by the rising accent:

lā'lē'ta as it became
s'as'ini'ta when he stood

The rule first given, when interpreted in the light of a reconstructed historical development, would then mean that a rising accent preserved an immediately following aspirated surd (including always those cases in which l, m, or n intervened), and caused the change of a media to an aspirated surd; while a falling accent preserved a similarly situated media or aspirated surd in its original form. That the change in the phonetic circumstances defined of an original media to an aspirated surd is indeed conditioned by a preceding rising accent, is further indicated by such rather uncommon forms as hadedil-t'a everywhere. Here the -t'a is evidently the same as the -da of hawilli'da in his house, and the difference in manner of articulation is doubtless in direct relation to the difference of accent.

A modification of the general phonetic rule as first given remains to be mentioned. After l, m, or n an original aspirated tenuis retains its aspiration even if the accent falls on the preceding syllable but one; also after a short vowel preceded by l, m, or n, provided the accented vowel is short. Examples are:

alwe'k'alt'+e I shall shine; alwe'k'ap'igam we shall shine; alwe'k'talk'wa to shine
k'e'p'alt'+e I shall be absent; k'e'p'alk'wa to be absent
wulù'hamt'+e I have menstrual courses for the first time
xal't'am't'+e I urinate
i'mhak'am he was sent off (i is short, though close in quality; contrast domhigam he was killed)
i'mi'hamk'wit' he sent himself

§ 23
ts’!ümü’ts’!amt’as! I always boil it (cf. s’omoda’e! I boil it)
s’a’s.ont’e I shall stand; s’a’s’anp’igam we shall stand; s’a’s’an-
k’?wa to stand
sene’nant’e I whoop; se’nsant’e I shall whoop
dek’i’gak’wide I shall spread (it) out for myself
dasga’lit’a (grain) will lie scattered about

With -t’ä and -t’e above contrast the morphologically identical elements -däa and -de of the following examples, in which the same accentual condition prevails but with a consonant other than l, m, or n preceding the affected dental:
t’ge’its’idäa (round object) will lie (there)
s’u’k’didäa (string) will lie curled up
dak’tek’e xade’ I smoke (but future -xa’t’e because of immediately preceding accent)

§ 24. INORGANIC h

Whenever two morphologically distinct vowels come together within the word (verbal prefixes and postposed particles, such as deictic -a!, are not considered as integral parts of the word), the first (accented) vowel is separated from the second by an “inorganic” -h-:
it’ana’hi! I hold it (aorist stem t!ana- + instrumental -i!), but future it’an’i (stem t!an-)
dak’-da-hala’hin I shall answer him (future stem hala- + instrumental -i!), but aorist dak’-da-haoli! (stem hâ’l-)

This inorganic h is found also immediately following an m, n, or l preceded by the accent:
wayänha! I put him to sleep (cf. same form with change of accent wa-yâ’na’e!)
dâ!agânhi! I used to hear about it (cf. -agani’! I hear it)
livülâunt’e I kept looking (cf. livila’ut’e! I looked)
xa-it’i’l’ya’lhi he broke it in two (cf. with identical -i- suffix xâ’salt’i’vüli’vüll! he broke [somebody’s arm] by stepping)
i’mhâm’k’am he was sent off (also in aorist stem i’miham-)
wadömîk’i he killed him with it (stem dö’m- + -i-)

It will be observed that the insertion of the h is practically the same phonetic phenomenon as the occurrence of an aspirated tenuis instead of a media after an accented vowel. The vowel, nasal, or liquid may appropriately enough be considered as having become aspirated under the influence of the accent, just as in the case of the mediae.
MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25–114)

§ 25. Introductory

Takelma conforms to the supposedly typical morphology of American languages in that it is thoroughly incorporating, both as regards the pronominal, and, though somewhat less evidently, the nominal object. If by "polysynthetic" is merely meant the introduction into the verb-complex of ideas generally expressed by independent elements (adverbs or the like), then Takelma is also polysynthetic, yet only moderately so as compared with such extreme examples of the type as Eskimo or Kwakiutl. The degree of intimacy with which the pronominal objective elements on the one hand, and the nominal objective and polysynthetic (instrumental and local) elements on the other, are combined with the internal verb-structure is decidedly different. The former combine as suffixes to form an indissoluble part, as it were, of the verb-form, the subjective elements of the transitive verb, though in themselves absolutely without independent existence, being secondarily attached to the stem already provided with its pronominal object. The latter vary in degree of independence; they are strung along as prefixes to the verb, but form no integral part of its structure, and may, as far as grammatical coherence is concerned, fall away entirely.

The polysynthetic character of the Takelma verb (and by discussing the verb we touch, as so frequently in America, upon the most vital element of the sentence) seems, then, a comparatively accidental, superimposed feature. To use the term "polysynthetic" as a catch-word for the peculiar character of Takelma, as of many another American language, hardly hits the core of the matter. On the other hand, the term "incorporation," though generally of more value as a classificatory label than "polysynthesis," conveys information rather as to the treatment of a special, if important, set of concepts, than as to the general character of the process of form-building.

If we study the manner in which the stem unites in Takelma with derivative and grammatical elements to form the word, and the vocalic and consonantic changes that the stem itself undergoes for grammatical purposes, we shall hardly be able to find a tangible difference

§ 25
in general method, however much the details may vary, between Takelma and languages that have been dignified by the name "inflectional." It is generally said, in defining inflection, that languages of the inflectional as contrasted with those of the agglutinative type make use of words of indivisible psychic value, in which the stem and the various grammatical elements have entirely lost their single individualities, but have "chemically" (!) coalesced into a single form-unit; in other words, the word is not a mere mosaic of phonetic materials, of which each is the necessary symbol of some special concept (stem) or logical category (grammatical element).

In support of the actual existence of this admired lack of a one-to-one correspondence between a grammatical category and its phonetic expression is often quoted the multiplicity of elements that serve to symbolize the same concept; e.g., Lat. -e, -ae, -a, -es, -us, all indicate that the idea of a plurality of subjects is to be associated with the concrete idea given by the main body of the words to which they are attached. Furthermore, variability of the stem or base itself is frequently adduced as a proof of its lack of even a relative degree of individuality apart from the forms from which by analysis it has been abstracted; e.g., German bind-, band-, bund-, bänd-, bünd-. These two characteristics are very far indeed from constituting anything like a definition of inflection, but they are often referred to as peculiar to it, and hence may well serve us as approximate tests.

As regards the first test, we find that just such a multiplicity of phonetic symbols for the same, or approximately the same, concept, is characteristic of Takelma. The idea of possession of an object by a person or thing other than the speaker or person addressed is expressed by -xa, -a, -da (-t'a), -i', or -, all of which are best rendered by his, her, its, their (the ideas of gender and number do not here enter as requiring grammatical expression). Similarly, the idea of the person speaking as subject of the action or state predicated by the main body of the verb is expressed by the various elements -t'e (de), -t'e (de), -n, -n, -k'a (ga), all of which are best rendered in English by "I." -t'e is confined to the aorist of intransitive verbs; -t'e is future intransitive; -n is aorist transitive; -n is future transitive; and -k'a is used in all inferential forms, whether transitive or intransitive.

§ 25
As for the second test, it soon appears that the Takelma stem may undergo even more far-reaching changes than we are accustomed to in German or Greek. As examples may serve:

\[ \text{d}o^m-, \text{di}u^m-, \text{tl}omom- \ (\text{tl}om\text{o}^n-), \text{tl}u\text{m}u^g \ - \text{kill} \]
\[ \text{n}a^g-, \text{ne}^r-, \text{n}a\text{g}a-, \text{ne}\text{ge} \ - \text{say to} \]

The first form in each of these sets is the verb-stem, properly speaking, and is used in the formation of all but the aorist forms. The second is employed in non-aorist forms when the incorporated object of the verb is a first person singular, and in several derivative formations. The third is characteristic of the aorist. The fourth is used in the aorist under the same conditions as determine the use of the second form of the stem in other groups of forms. It needs but a moment's thought to bring home the general psychic identity of such stem-variability and the "ablaut" of many German verbs, or the Latin stem-variation in present and perfect:

\[ \text{frang-} : \text{frêg-} \ - \text{break} \]
\[ \text{da-} : \text{ded-} \ - \text{give} \]

If the typical verb (and, for that matter, noun) form of Takelma is thus found to be a firm phonetic and psychic unit, and to be characterized by some of the supposed earmarks of inflection, what is left but to frankly call the language "inflectional"? "Polysynthetic" and "incorporative" are not in the slightest degree terms that exclude such a designation, for they have reference rather to the detailed treatment of certain groups of concepts than to morphologic method. Everything depends on the point of view. If chief stress for purposes of classification is laid on the relative importance and fulness of the verb, Takelma is polysynthetic; if the criterion of classification be taken to be whether the verb takes the pronominal object within its structure or not, it is incorporating; if, finally, stress be laid on the general method of building up the word from smaller elements, it is inflective. Not that Takelma is in the least thereby relegated to a peculiar or in any way exceptional position. A more objective, unhampered study of languages spoken in various parts of the world will undoubtedly reveal a far wider prevalence than has been generally admitted of the inflectional type. The error, however, must not be made of taking such comparatively trivial characteristics as sex gender, or the presence of cases, as criteria of inflection. Inflection has reference to method, not to subject-matter.

§ 25
§ 26. General Remarks

There are four processes employed in Takelma for purposes of grammatical modification and word-formation: affixation (pre-, in-, and suffixation), reduplication, vocalic change (ablaut), and consonant change (consonant ablaut). Pitch-accent is of grammatical importance, but is most probably a product of purely phonetic causes. Of the processes mentioned, suffixation is by far the most important, while the presence of infixation will have to be allowed or denied according to the definition given of it.

§ 27. Prefixation

Prefixation is either of the loose polysynthetic type already referred to, or of the more firmly knit inflective type. Loose prefixation is extremely common, nominal objects, instruments, and local ideas of one kind or another finding admittance into the word-complex, as we have seen, in this manner. Examples of such loose prefixation are:

\[ \text{gwen-}a'l-yowo^z \] he looked back (\text{gwen-} in back; \text{al-} is difficult to define, but can perhaps be best described as indicative of action away from one's self, here with clear implication of sight directed outward; \text{yowo}^z \] he was, can be used as independent word

\[ s'in-\tilde{i}-\text{latslagi}^z'n \] I touched his nose (\text{s'in-} nose; \text{\tilde{i}-} with hand; \text{latslagi}^z'n \] I touched him, as independent word

\[ \text{gwent'ge}^z'm \] black necked (\text{gwen-} nape, neck; \text{\text{t'ge}^z'm} black)

The first example shows best the general character of loose prefixation. The prefixed elements \text{gwen-}, \text{al-}, \text{s'in-}, and \text{\tilde{i}-} have no separate existence as such, yet in themselves directly convey, except perhaps \text{al-}, a larger, more definitely apperceived, share of meaning than falls to the lot of most purely grammatical elements. In dealing with such elements as these, we are indeed on the borderland between independent word and affix. The contrast between them and grammatical suffixes comes out strongest in the fact that they may be entirely omitted without destroying the reality of the rest of the word, while the attempt to extract any of the other elements leaves an unmeaning remainder. At the same time, the first example well illustrates the point that they are not so loosely attached but that they may entirely alter the concrete meaning of the word. Prefixation of the inflective type is very rare. There is only one

\[ \text{§§ 26-27} \]
such prefix that occurs with considerable frequency, *wi-* , first person singular possessive of nouns of relationship:

\[ wiha'm \] my father

\[ hami't' \] your father

§ 28. **Suffixation**

Suffixation is the normal method employed in building up actual forms of nouns and verbs from stems. The suffixes in themselves have for the most part very little individuality, some of them being hardly evident at all except to the minute linguistic analyst. The notions they convey are partly derivational of one kind or other. In the verb they express such ideas as those of position, reciprocal action, causation, frequentative action, reflexive action, spontaneous activity, action directed to some one, action done in behalf of some one. From the verb-stem such adjectival and nominal derivations as participles, infinitives, or abstract nouns of action, and nouns of agent are formed by suffixation. In the noun itself various suffixed elements appear whose concrete meaning is practically nil. Other suffixes are formal in the narrower sense of the word. They express pronominal elements for subject and object in the verb, for the possessor in the noun, modal elements in the verb. Thus a word like *tlomoxininik' we kill one another* contains, besides the aorist stem *tlomō-* (formed from *dōw-m-*) , the suffixed elements *-x-* (expressing general idea of relation between subject and object), *-in-* umlauted from *-an-* (element denoting reciprocal action [-x-in- = EACH OTHER, ONE ANOTHER]), and *-ik'* (first personal plural subject intransitive aorist). As an example of suffixation in the noun may be given *tlibagwa'n-t'k' my pancreas*. This form contains, besides the stem *tliba-*, the suffixed elements *-gw-* (of no ascertainable concrete significance, but employed to form several body-part nouns; e.g., *tliba'k'w pancreas 47.17*), *-an-* (apparently meaningless in itself and appearing suffixed to many nouns when they are provided with possessive endings), and *-t'k'* (first personal singular possessive).

§ 29. **Infixation**

Infixation, or what superficially appears to be such, is found only in the formation of certain aorist stems and frequentatives. Thus the aorist stem *matslag-* (from *masg- put*) shows an intrusive or §§ 28–29
infixed -a- between the s (strengthened to ts!) and g of the stem. Similarly the aorist stem wits’im- (from wism- move) shows an infixed i. Infixation in frequentative forms is illustrated by:

yonoina’n I always sing (aorist stem yonon-)
tslaya’tk’ he used to shoot them (cf. tslaya’k’ he shot them)

On examination it is found that the infixed element is invariably a repetition of part of the phonetic material given by the stem. Thus the infixed -a- and -i- of matslaP- and wits’im- are repetitions of the -a- and -i- of the stems masg- and wism-; the infixed -i- of yonoin- and tslayaig- are similarly repetitions of the y- of yonon and -y- of tslaya-. It seems advisable, therefore, to consider all cases of infixation rather as stem-amplifications related to reduplication. An infixed element may itself be augmented by a second infixation. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
<th>Frequentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hemy- take out</td>
<td>hemeg-</td>
<td>hemyemg-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!a-im- hide</td>
<td>tslayam-</td>
<td>tslayam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masg- put</td>
<td>matslaP-</td>
<td>matslaP-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawi- talk</td>
<td>yawa-i-</td>
<td>yawa-iy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxm- come</td>
<td>baxam-</td>
<td>baxaixm-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 30. Reduplication

Reduplication is used in Takelma as a grammatical process with surprising frequency, probably as frequently as in the Salish languages. The most interesting point in connection with it is probably the fact that the reduplicating increment follows the base, never, as in most languages (Salish, Kwakiutl, Indo-Germanic), precedes it. It is, like the infixation spoken of above, employed partly in the formation of the aorist, partly to express frequentative or usitative action. Some nouns show reduplicated stems, though, as a process, reduplication is not nearly as important in the noun as in the verb. Some verbs, including a number that do not seem to imply a necessary repetitive action, are apparently never found in unreduplicated form. Four main types of reduplication, with various subtypes, occur:

1. A partial reduplication, consisting of the repetition of the vowel and final consonant of the stem:
   - aorist helel- (from hel- sing)
   - aorist tlomom- (from döm- kill)

The reduplicated vowel is lengthened in certain forms, e. g., helel-, tlomom-.

§ 30
1 a. A subtype of 1 is illustrated by such forms as exhibit an unreduplicated consonant after the reduplicated portion of the word, the second vowel in such cases being generally long

- aorist ts'ümümt’a- (from s’ümümt’a- boil)
- usitative aorist t’ülüülg- (from verb stem t’ülülg-, aorist t’ülülg- follow trail)
- usitative aorist gini’ing- (from verb stem ging-, aorist ginig- go to; ging-, ginig- itself is probably reduplicated from gin-)

2. A complete reduplication, consisting of the repetition of the entire base with a change of the stem-vowel to a:

- aorist t’ëtla’au- (from t’ëlau- play shiny)
- aorist bot’bad- (from bōd- pull out one’s hair)
- aorist bá’- sal- xo(x)zag come to a stand (pl.); aorist sal-xog-v- stand (pl.)

3. A complete reduplication, as in 2, with the addition of a connecting vowel repeated from the vowel of the stem:

- aorist yuluyal- (cf. verb stem yulyal- rub)
- aorist frequentative hōhōhag- keep running (from hōg- run)
- aorist frequentative s’wilis-wal- tear to pieces; verb stem s’wil-s’wal- (from aorist s’wil’is’-wal- tear; verb stem s’wil’-)

If the stem ends in a fortis consonant, the reduplicating syllable regularly shows the corresponding media (or aspirated tenuis):

- sgot’osgad- cut to pieces (from verb stem sgō’tl-, aorist sgō’d- cut)

3 a. A subgroup of 3 is formed by some verbs that leave out the -a- of the reduplicating syllable:

- gwidi’w’d- throw (base gwid-)

4. An irregular reduplication, consisting of a repetition of the vowel of the stem followed by -(e) a- + the last and first (or third) consonants of the stem in that order:

- frequentative aorist t’omoamad-, as though instead of *t’omo-tlam-; cf. non-aorist dōwmdam- (from aorist t’omom- kill)
- frequentative aorist k’leme’emg- (from k’leme’n- make; verb stem k’lem-n-)
- frequentative aorist pl’wūw’aug-, as though instead of *pl’wūpl’aug- (from aorist pl’wūk’- name)

It will be noticed that verbs of this type of reduplication all begin with fortis consonants. The glottal catch is best considered a partial representative of the initial fortis; in cases like k’leme’emg- an original § 30
-k'am (i. e., -'gam) may be conceived of as undergoing partial metathesis to -'amg.

Other rarer reduplications or stem-amplifications occur, and will be treated in speaking of aorist formations and frequentatives.

§ 31. Vowel-Ablaut

Vowel-ablaut consists of the palatalization of non-palatal stem-vowels in certain forms. Only o and a (with corresponding long vowels and diphthongs) are affected; they become respectively ū (ū) and ē. In sharp contradistinction to the i- umlaut of an original a to i, this ablaut affects only the radical portion of the word, and thus serves as a further criterion to identify the stem. Thus we have we'ga'si HE BROUGHT IT TO ME (from stem wā'a-y-, as shown also by wā'a-g-iwi'^n I BROUGHT IT TO HIM), but wege'sin'K HE WILL BRING IT TO ME (from stem waga-, as shown also by waga-wi'n I'LL BRING IT TO HIM), both i- umlaut and stem-ablaut serving in these cases to help analyze out the stems. Vowel-ablaut occurs in the following cases:

1. Whenever the object of the transitive verb or subject of the passive is the first person singular:

mele'xi he told it to me 172.17, but mala'xbi'n I told it to you (162.6)

nege's'i he said to me 186.22, but naga'sam he said to us (178.12)

dūmxina't I shall be slain (192.11), but dōmxbina't you will be slain (178.15)

gel-ŭhūģw'asi he avenges me, but-lohoigw'asi I avenge him (148.3)

Not infrequently vowel-ablaut in such cases is directly responsible for the existence of homonyms, as in yeweyagwa'si he TALKS ABOUT ME (from yaway-talk), and yeweyagwa'si he RETURNS WITH ME (from yewei-return).

2. With the passive participial endings -ak'w, -ik'w:

wase'gi'k'w wherewith it is shot (from sā'a-g- shoot)

me'zak'w having father (from ma'vexa his father)

wa'-i-dûxik'wdek' my gathered ones (= I have been gathering them) (from dō'x- gather)

dal'wa-p'ūtik'w mixed with (from p'ōtl- mix) 178.5

3. In some verbs that have the peculiar intransitive-forming suffix -x, by no means in all:

geyewa'lxde's I eat (136.15) (cf. gayawa't'n I eat it 30.11)

le'ba'nx he carries 178.6 (stem lā'ab-)
dādā'tbe' e'kk't'bcg-ams (= -amtx) they had their hair tied on sides of head (from base t'bā'o-g-) 142.17; cf. -t'bā'o gamda'n I tie his hair (27.1)

No satisfactory reason can be given why most verbs in -x- do not show this stem-palatalization. It is quite possible that its occurrence is confined to a restricted number of such verbs; at any rate, there is some limitation in its employment, which the material at hand has not been found extensive enough to define.

4. In nouns ending in -x-ap' (-s-ap' = -t-x-ap'), probably derived from such verbs in -x- as were referred to under 3:

xāōlē' e'sap' belt (cf. xāōlā' o ḍa'n I put it about my waist)
halū' u xo p' (= -xσap') shirt (cf. halō' us k' she put on[her dress])

5. In verbs provided with the suffix -xa-, which serves to relieve transitive verbs of the necessity of expressing the object:

lū' i x w a g w a d i n i n (= lūk!-xa-) I'll trap for him (stem lōk!-w-)
lū' p x a g w a n k' she shall pound with (stone pestle) (cf. lōbo'p' she pounds them)
kedëxadez I was out picking (cf. k'adāz n I pick them, k'adāi he picks them)
tse'eye'm x adez I hide things (cf. tsatayama'n I hide it)

6. In reflexive verbs ending in -gwi- or -k'wa- (-gwa-):

k'et' g w i p' pick them for yourself! (stem k'āq'd-)
alts' eye k' wi t' he washed himself with it (cf. alts'ayąp' he washed his own face)
ilets' e k' widez I touch myself (cf. ilats'ayq'i'n I touch him)
k'edēk'wa'n I pick them for myself (aorist stem k'adāi-)
almū' u k' wa he painted his own face. (stem nōgaw-)

Yet many, perhaps most, reflexive verbs fail to show the palatal ablaut:

p'agānk' wi t' he bathed himself
t'gwa' xa' n't' g w i d e I shall tattoo myself (but lū' a g w a n t' gw i d e I trap deer for myself)
xāō-sgō' e't' g w i d e I cut myself
izaxaga' xgw a n I scratch myself

We have here the same difficulty as in 3. Evidently some factor or factors enter into the use of the ablaut that it has not been found possible to determine.

7. Other cases undoubtedly occur, but there are not enough of them in the material gathered to allow of the setting up of further groups. All that can be done with those cases that do not fall
within the first six groups is to list them as miscellaneous cases. Such are:

\[ gwel-lety\text{ose} \] I shall be lame (cf. \[ gwel-la'is \] k\text{emna}n I shall make him lame

\[ le'psi' \] wing (if derived, as seems probable, from stem \[ l\text{a}^-b^- \] carry)

\[ t\text{emeyaw}niwu\text{a}'^\text{e}z \] people go along to see her married 178.1 (cf. \[ t\text{lamayana}n \] I take her somewheres to get her married [148.5])

Palatal ablaut, it should be noted, does not affect the \(-a^\) of the second member of reduplicated verbs:

\[ t\text{ga}^\text{a}l't\text{g}a'l \] it bounced from her 140.8

\[ t\text{ge}'t\text{g}a'lsi \] it bounced from me

The connecting vowel, however, of verbs reduplicated according to the third type always follows the stem-vowel:

\[ dak\text{da}-hele'halxade^e \] I am accustomed to answer (stem \(-l\text{a}^\text{a}l^-\))

It is difficult to find a very tangible psychic connection between the various cases that require the use of the palatal ablaut, nor is there the slightest indication that a phonetic cause lies at the bottom of the phenomenon. If we disregard the first group of cases, we shall find that they have this in common, they are all or nearly all intransitives derived from transitives by means of certain voice-forming elements (-\(x^-\), -\(xa^-\), -\(gw-i^-\), -\(k'wa^-\)), or else nominal passives or derivatives of such intransitives (-\(ak'w\), -\(x-ap^\prime\); -\(k'wa^-\), it is true, takes transitive pronominal forms; but it is logically intransitive in character in that it indicates action in reference to something belonging to the subject. The only trait that can be found in common to the first group and the remaining is that the action may be looked upon as self-centered; just as, e. g., a form in -\(xa^-\) denotes that the (logically) transitive action is not conceived of as directed toward some definite outside object, but is held within the sphere of the person of central interest (the subject), so, also, in a form with incorporated first person singular object, the action may be readily conceived of as taking place within the sphere of the person of central interest from the point of view of the speaker. No difficulty will be found in making this interpretation fit the other cases, though it is not conversely true that all forms implying self-centered action undergo palatalization. The explanation offered may be considered too vague to be convincing; but no better can be offered. In any event, the palatal ablaut will be explained as the symbolic expression of some general mental attitude rather than of a clear-cut grammatical concept.

§ 31
Besides these regular interchanges of non-palatal and palatalized vowels, there are a number of cases of words showing differing vowels, but whose genetic relationship seems evident. These vocalic variations have not been brought into the form of a rule; the number of examples is small and the process apparently touches rather the lexical material than the morphology. Variations of this character between a and e are:

\[ \text{gala-b-a'}^e n \text{ I twist it; } p!i^i\text{-wa-gele-g-i}'^e n \text{ I drill for fire with it} \]
\[ (88.12), \text{d}i^e\text{al-gelegal-a'}mda^e n \text{ I tie his hair up into top-knot} \]
\[ (172.2) \]
\[ d'a^e-dala-g-a'mda^e n \text{ I pierce his ear} \]
\[ (22.1) \]
\[ d'a^e-dele-b-i'^e n \text{ I stick it through his ear} \]
\[ la'' \text{ excrement} \]
\[ 122.2; \text{le'}-k'\text{w-an-t'k' my anus} \]

Variations between o (u) and ü are:

\[ s'o\text{moda}'^e n \text{ I boil it} \]
\[ (58.10); \text{t}s'\text{ümümt}'^a e n \text{ I boil it} \]
\[ (170.17) \]
\[ xum' \text{ food} \]
\[ 54.4; \text{xümü'}k'de\text{ I am sated} \]
\[ (130.18) \]

An a—ü variation is seen in:

\[ hau-hana'\text{es it stopped (raining)} \]
\[ 196.8; \text{p}!a'i\text{-hunü}'\text{es he shrank} \]
\[ 33.16 \]

Variations between a and i are:

\[ yau\text{ati}'e\text{ I talk} \]
\[ (132.3); \text{yiwiya'}\text{ut}'e\text{ I keep talking, I converse} \]
\[ (194.5); \text{yiwin talking, (power of) speech} \]
\[ 138.4 \]
\[ laba' \text{ I shall carry it} \]
\[ (124.5); \text{libin news (what is carried about from mouth to mouth[?])} \]
\[ 194.9 \]

Of o (u)—e variation there have been found:

\[ lohoi't'e\text{ I die} \]
\[ 184.18; \text{leheit}'e\text{ I drift dead ashore} \]
\[ (75.5) \]
\[ x'à^a-huk'\text{hak'na}'^e n \text{ I breathe; } x'à^a-hege'hak'na'n \text{ I breathe} \]
\[ (79.2) \]
\[ t'\text{los'}\text{ö}'u \text{ little} \]
\[ 180.20; \text{al-t'e's'}\text{it' little-eyed} \]
\[ 94.3 \]

An e—i variation is found in the probably related:

\[ pl'\text{eyënt}'e\text{ I lie} \]
\[ 71.5 \text{ (future p}!\text{ö}'t'e\text{ [146.9])}; \text{gwen-p'liyi'nk'wa}^e n \]
\[ \text{I lie on pillow (future gwen-p}!\text{ö}'k'\text{wan})} \]
\[ t'\text{ge}^e\text{ya}'\text{l's it rolls; } a'l-t'\text{gi}^\prime\text{ya'ls tears rolled from (his) eyes} \]
\[ 138.25 \]

§ 32. Consonant-Ablaut

Consonant-ablaut, ordinarily a rare method of word-formation, plays a rather important part in the tense-formation (aorist and non-aorist) of many verbs. The variation is in every case one between fortis and non-fortis; i. e., between p!, t!, k!, ts!, and b, d, g, s, respectively. Three main types of grammatical consonant change are to be recognized:

§ 32
1. An initial fortis in the aorist as opposed to an initial media in non-aorist forms:
   - aorist klolol- (stem qog- dig)
   - aorist tlebe- (stem ðeborah- arise)
   - aorist tlawayg- (stem ðakog- find)

2. A medial fortis followed by a vowel in the aorist as opposed to a medial tenuis followed by a consonant in non-aorist forms:
   - aorist loplod- (stem lopd- rain, snow, or hail)
   - aorist latslag- (stem lasg- touch)

3. A medial media in the aorist as opposed to a medial fortis in the remaining forms:
   - aorist nwel- (stem nwel- drown)
   - aorist witg- (stem witl- spread)

Needless to say, this consonant-ablaut has absolutely nothing to do with the various mechanical consonant-changes dealt with in the phonology.

A few examples of consonant-ablaut not connected with regular grammatical changes have also been found:
   - s'omod- boil; ts'ümümta- boil
   - hau-gwen-yutuyad-i- swallow down greedily (like duck or hog)

The second example illustrates an interchange not of fortis and non-fortis (for n̂ is related to n as is t! to ð), but of non-nasal stop and nasal.

I. The Verb (§§ 33–83)

§ 33. Introductory

The verb is by far the most important part of the Takelma sentence, and as such it will be treated before the independent pronoun, noun, or adjective. A general idea of the make-up of the typical verb-form will have been gained from the general remarks on morphology; nevertheless the following formula will be found useful by way of restatement:

Loosely attached prefixes + verb-stem (or aorist stem derived from verb-stem) + derivational suffixes + formal elements (chiefly pronominal) + syntactic element.

This skeleton will at the same time serve to suggest an order of treatment of the various factors entering into verb morphology.
Before taking up the purely formal or relational elements, it seems best to get an idea of the main body or core of the word to which these relational elements are attached. The prefixes, though not entering into the vital grammatical structure of the verb, are important for the part they play in giving the whole verb-form its exact material content. They may, therefore, with advantage be taken up first.

1. Verbal Prefixes (§§ 34–38)

§ 34. GENERAL REMARKS

Verbal prefixes may be classified into four groups when regard is mainly had to their function as determined largely by position with respect to other prefixes: incorporated objects, adverbial (including local) elements, incorporated instrumentals, and connective and modal particles. These various prefixes are simply strung along as particles in the same order in which they have been listed. Inasmuch as the exact function of a prefix is to a considerable extent determined by its position, it follows that the same prefix, phonetically speaking, may appear with slightly variant meanings according as it is to be interpreted as an object, local element, or instrument. Thus the prefix *i*- always has reference to the hand or to both hands; but the exact nature of the reference depends partly on the form of the verb and partly on the position of the prefix itself, so that *i*- may be translated, according to the circumstances of the case, as

**HAND(s):**

\[i-p'i'-nō'uk'wa^n\] I warm my hands

**WITH THE HAND:**

\[i-ō'din'i'^zn\] I hunt for it with the hand (= I am feeling around for it)

**IN THE HAND:**

\[p'im-i'-hō'gwagwa'zn\] I run with salmon in my hand

In the first of these three examples the *i*- as object precedes the incorporated instrumental *p'i' FIRE*, so that the form means literally *I WARM MY HANDS WITH FIRE*. In the third form the *i* as local element follows the incorporated object *p'im SALMON*. Such a triplicate use is found only in the case of incorporated nouns, particularly such as refer to parts of the body. These incorporated elements are to be kept distinct from certain other elements that are used in an
adverbial sense only, and regularly occupy the second position. The line between these two sets of prefixes is, however, difficult to draw when it comes to considering the place to be assigned to some of the prefixed elements. It is doubtful whether we are fully justified in making absolutely strict distinctions between the various uses of the body-part prefixes; at any rate, it is certainly preferable, from a native point of view, to translate the three examples of *i-* incorporation given above as:

I-hand-fire-warm (=as-regards-myself)
I-hand-hunt-for-it
I-salmon-hand-run-with

leaving in each case the exact delimitation in meaning of the element HAND to be gathered from the general nature of the form. The following examples will render the matter of position and function of the various prefixes somewhat clearer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēm- sticks</td>
<td><em>wa-</em> together</td>
<td><em>i-</em> hand</td>
<td></td>
<td>*tɨ̃r̥o'క itn I gather (them) (=I gather sticks together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>he-</em> away</td>
<td><em>wa-</em> with it</td>
<td></td>
<td>*wesq̥p̥i't itn she is bought (=she is brought with it) 176.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guwān- road</td>
<td><em>ha-</em> in</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yasa-continuously</em></td>
<td>*ttul̥i'k̥ag̥a't itn I follow (it) (=I keep following the trail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan- rocks</td>
<td><em>b̥u-</em> up</td>
<td><em>i-</em> hand</td>
<td></td>
<td>*sgete'goñid̥en I lifted (them) (=I lifted up the rocks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* han-* across</td>
<td><em>wapa-</em> knife</td>
<td></td>
<td>*swil̥êva'hi he tore him (=he tore him open with a knife) 73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* d̥ak-* above</td>
<td><em>da-</em> mouth</td>
<td>*wal̥a's̥ina-truly</td>
<td>*kasi'nd̥e't it answering him (=I did answer him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>za-</em> between,</td>
<td><em>i-</em> hand</td>
<td>*m̥l̥'i'wa-probably</td>
<td>*ag̥'õph̥en I cut him (=I'll probably cut him through) 34.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If two adverbial (local) elements are used, the body-part prefix follows that which is primarily adverbial in character; thus:

*ba-ide'*)*did̥i'nik̥lat*' did you stretch it out? (=*ba-i-* out + de-lip, in front + *di* interrogative particle + *di'nik̥lat* you stretched it)

In general it may be said that instances of a body-part prefix preceding a primarily adverbial element (like *ba-i-*-, *bā*a-, *he*e-, and others) are rare or entirely lacking.

From what has been said it might seem that the connective and modal elements (like *yasa*, *m̥l̥i'wa*, and *di*) are more closely associated with the verb form than are the other elements, yet this is only apparently the case. Properly speaking all these modal elements are post-positives that normally attach themselves to the first word of
the sentence, no matter what part the word plays in the sentence. Thus in a form like *me'-di-giniga't* DID YOU COME? (= *me*- HITHER + *di*- interrogative particle + *giniga't* YOU WENT TO), the modal (interrogative) element *di* regularly stands nearest the verb; but as soon as another word is introduced before the verb, the interrogative particle shoves back a step, and we have a form of sentence like, e. g., *hoida't's di me'-giniga't* DID YOU COME AS SINGER, i. e., TO SING? From this it becomes fairly evident that the *di* in the first example is not properly a verbal prefix at all, but merely a post-positive particle depending upon the preceding *me'*, in the same way that, in the second example, it depends upon the noun *hoida't*s SINGER. This inference is clinched by a form like *giniga't'idi* DID YOU GO (SOMEWHER)? for here the *di* is evidently an enclitic element, not a prefix.

In sharp contradistinction to such movability, the body-part and adverbial prefixes occupy rigidly fixed positions before the verb; they therefore belong to a class quite distinct from the modal particles. These latter are verbal prefixes only in so far as their post-positive tendency may force them to become embedded in the verb-complex, in which case they seem to cut loose the incorporated object, adverbial prefix, and instrumental element from the verb. Diagrammatically the last form tabulated may be represented by *xa-i-[m'i'wa] -sgi't'bi'n*. We may then dismiss the modal elements from our consideration of verbal prefixes, to return to them when speaking of connective and adverbial particles.

§ 35. INCORPORATED NOUNS

It may seem strange at first sight to interpret in the examples given above such elements as *bêm* STICKS, *gwân* ROAD, and *da'n* ROCKS as incorporated objects, when they occur as absolute nouns in that form as well, though a faint suggestion of incorporation is given by *gwân-ha-yaxa-t'ulülâlgat'en* I KEEP FOLLOWING THE TRAIL, in that the modal post-positive *yaxa* follows not *gwân*, but rather *ha*, as though the direct object were not quite felt to be an element independent of the verb. Without laying particular stress on this latter point, there are, it would seem, good reasons for considering the nouns referred to as incorporated, though in any event the incorporation must be called a loose one, and not at all comparable with the Iroquois usage.

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1. In the first place it is evident from such examples as *i-p’ti-nd’k’wa’i* I warm my hands and *han-waya-swilswa’lhi he tore him open with a knife*, that nouns (in these cases *p’ti fire* and *waya knife*) occur as incorporated instrumentals, for such elements as *i* and *han-* can not possibly be isolated from the verb (*han-* does not occur as independent adverb, but only as prefix; *i-* is inconceivable as independent noun); furthermore, if, in the forms just quoted, *p’ti* and *waya* be looked upon as absolutely independent nouns, they lose all semblance of grammatical form, there being, indeed, nothing but a definite position in a verb-complex that could here suggest the notion of instrumentality. It is also possible to isolate *waya*, but that would involve considerable readjustment of the verbal structure. To be stamped as an instrumental, *waya* must in that case be followed by a postposition *wa* with, so that the sentence then reads, *han-swilswa’lhi wa’ya wa’* (the phrase *wa’ya wa’* may also precede).

If we wish to incorporate the instrumental idea into the verb, and yet keep the noun outside of the verb-structure, we may let the *wa*, which seems properly to denote with, occupy the place of the incorporated *waya*, which, as an appositive of *wa*, then either precedes or follows the verb-form, *wa’ya han-wa-swilswa’lhi, or han-wa-swilswa’lhi waya’ he-across-with-it-tore-him* (it, i.e., the-knife). This construction is identical with the well-known appositional structure of Nahua or Chinook (e.g., *i-it-killed the-dog*), except that the incorporated element is here instrumental and not objective in character. The noun and its representative can not both be incorporated in the verb, such a form as *han-waya-wa-swilswa’lhi*, for instance, being quite impossible.

It becomes clear, therefore, that an incorporated instrumental noun like *wa’ya* is quite analogous to an instrumental body-part prefix like *i-* hand, with the difference that *wa’ya* may be isolated in that form, while *i-* must, when isolated, be provided with a possessive pronominal element. The form *han-i-swilswa’lhi i tore him open with my hand* is strictly analogous to *han-waya-swilswa’lhi; the sentence *iuxdek’ han-wa-swilswa’lhi my-hand i-across-with-it-tore-him* corresponds to *wa’ya han-wa-swilswa’lhi; and, finally, *han-swilswa’lhi iuxdek’ wa’ i-across-tore-him my-hand with (-it) is parallel to *han-swilswa’lhi wa’ya wa’*. Whatever is true morphologically of *i-* must be true of *wa’ya; the evident

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incorporation of \(\ddot{i}\) involves the incorporation of \(wa'ya\) in the analogous form.

As the incorporation of the noun as an instrument seems a rather important trait of Takelma, a number of further examples may be given:

\[
x\ddot{a}-be^n-\ddot{o}''\cdot k:\ddot{w}a''n \text{ I warm my back in (really = with) the sun (be\textsuperscript{e} sun); cf. 188.20}\n\]
\[
he'\ddot{e}^x-xi{-le}^me'k'i \text{ he destroyed them with water (xi water)}\n\]
\[
he'\ddot{e}^x-p\ddot{i}'{-le}^me'k'i \text{ he destroyed them with fire (p\ddot{i}' fire) 98.12}\n\]
\[
xa-dan-'t\ddot{g}^l't'ga''lhi \text{ he broke it with a rock (dan rock) 24.4}\n\]
\[
gwen{-waya-sgo''t'i \text{ he cut their necks off with his knife (waya'\textsuperscript{a} wa' with his knife, apart from verb-structure) 144.5, 22}\n\]
\[
xa-dan-fg'u''lhi \text{ I break it with a rock (dan rock) 24.4}\n\]
\[
gwen-waya-sgb''h'i \text{ I cut their necks off with his knife (waya'\textsuperscript{a} wa' with his knife, apart from verb-structure) 144.5, 22}\n\]

All these, except the last, begin with elements \((x\ddot{a}-, he'\ddot{e}^x, gwen-, d\ddot{a}-, d\ddot{v}-, de)\) that cannot be isolated from the verb.

Instrumentals, whether nouns or body-part prefixes, can occur only in transitive verbs. The forms \(n\ddot{o}xwa' yana{-wa-l}\ddot{o}bobi''n\) I POUND ACORNS WITH A PESTLE and \(n\ddot{o}xwa'-i{-lo}b\ddot{o}xag\ddot{w}a''n\) I POUND WITH A PESTLE, as compared with \(l\ddot{o}b\ddot{o}'x\ddot{a}d'e\) I POUND, will serve to illustrate this. The first sentence reads, when literally translated, PESTLE \((n\ddot{o}xwa')\) -ACORNS \((yana')\) -WITH-IT-POUND. The logical instrument \((n\ddot{o}xwa')\) stands outside the verb-complex and is in apposition with its incorporated instrumental representative \((wa-)\), \(yana'\) being the direct (incorporated) object. The form \(l\ddot{o}b\ddot{o}'x\ddot{a}d'e\) I POUND is made intransitive by the element -xa- (hence the change in pronominal form from transitive -\(\ddot{e}n\) to intransitive -\(de\)), and allows of no instrumental modification; a form like \(i{-lo}b\ddot{o}'x\ddot{a}d'e\) could hardly mean I POUND WITH THE HAND; at most it could signify I POUND IN THE HAND. If we wish, however, to express the logical instrument in some manner, and yet neglect to specify the object, we must get around the difficulty by making a secondary transitive of § 35
the intransitive in -xa-. This is done by the suffixed element -gw- having, attended by. The grammatical object of a transitive verb in -gw- is never the logical object of the action, but always dependent upon the comitative idea introduced by this suffix. Hence the second form is not provided with a true instrumental (with a pestle), but takes the logical instrument (noxwa’) as a direct object, while the i- is best rendered by in the hand; to translate literally, the form really means I POUND HAVING A PESTLE IN THE HAND.

It sometimes happens that a verb form has two instrumentals, one, generally i- WITH THE HAND, expressing indefinite or remote instrumentality, the second, a noun or demonstrative, expressing the actual instrument by means of which the action is accomplished. In such cases the second instrument is expressed outside of the verb-complex, but may be represented in the verb by the incorporated wa with it following the first instrumental element (i-). Examples of such double instrumentals are:

\[ gwalt' \ bän-i\-wa-xō'^t'i \] wind he-up-hand-with-it-caused-them-to-fall, i. e., he caused them to fall by means of a wind (that he made go up) 168.2

\[ ga \ i\-wa-molo^ma\'bhi \] that she-hand-with-it-stirs-it-up, i. e., she stirs it up with that (incidentally, of course, she uses her hand too) 170.16

\[ dan \ (object) \ k'anana \ (instr.) \ p'ai-i\-wa-sgá'^a^k'sgigën \] rocks tongs down-hand-with-it-pick-up, i. e., I pick up the rocks with the tongs (and put them) down

2. The noun as instrument has been shown to act in a manner entirely analogous to the instrumental body-part prefix. The latter can, without phonetic change, become the direct object of the verb by occupying the proper position:

\[ s\'in-i-latslagi^zn \] I touched his nose with my hand (s\'in- nose)

but, theoretically at least,

\[ i-s\'in-latslagi^zn \] I touched his hand with my nose

If we bear in mind that such elements as s\'in- and i- are really nothing but nouns in their stem form (with possessive pronoun: s\'in-i-x-da HIS NOSE; i-ū-x-da HIS HAND), the parallelism with such noun-objects as bën and gwän (see examples on p. 65) becomes complete. The fact that they may occur independently, while s\'in- and i- never do, is really irrelevant to the argument, as a body-part noun must necessarily be associated with some definite person. Entirely

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analogous to the nominal elements -ı̂-x- and -ū-x- of s‘ı̂nx da and v’ûxda is, e.g., the -am- of gwâl-a’m-t’k’ MY ROAD. Just as they drop off when the body-part nouns are incorporated, whether as object or instrument, into the verb, so, also, the -am- of gwâl-am- (=gwâl-an-on-) drops off when the noun is used without pronominal or prepositional modification. That the -am- has nothing per se to do with the pronominal affix, but is really a noun-forming element added to the stem, is proven by forms like ha-gwâl-a’m in the road. Thus:

object bēm, in bēm-wâ-t’l/o xo’xi’n I gather sticks, is related to object s’ı̂n-, in s’ı̂n-i-lats!agi’ën I touch his nose, as instrument bēm, in xā̂-be’m-k!wō’t’k!widi’n I broke it with a stick, to

instrument s’ı̂n-, in s’ı̂n-tlayagi’ën I find it with my nose (=I smell it)

In view of the complete parallelism of noun and body-part element and the transparent incorporation of the noun as instrument, nothing remains but to look upon the simple noun without pronominal affixes, when placed immediately before the local and instrumental prefixes of the verb, as itself a loosely incorporated object. Examples of noun-objects in such form and position are to be found in great number; in fact, the regularity with which the object is put before the verb, as contrasted with the freely movable subject, argues further for the close relation of the noun-object to the verb.

A few further examples of incorporated noun-objects are given by way of illustration:

he’l-gel-gulugwa’ën I desire to sing (literally, I-song-breast-desire; he’l song)
he’l-yuvuna’ën I sing a song (106.7)
will-wa-i-t’a’ni da’ you shall keep house (literally, you-house-together-hand-will-hold; will house) 28.13
abai’ë xuma-k’emna’ës cook (literally, in-the-house food-maker; xuma food) 54.3
wai-s’ilgu’ s’uxgwa’n I am sleepy (literally, I-sleep-am-confused? having; wai sleep)
p!i-i-da-tλagāi he built a fire (p!i fire) 96.17
p!i-i-bā’-yānk’w he picked up the fire (literally, he-fire-up-went-having) 96.25
xx-i-úguwa’n’k’ he will drink water (xx water) 162.17
s’xx-liji’k’w he brought home venison (s’xx venison) 134.4

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In none of these would the placing of the object after the verb-form be at all idiomatic; in some (as in *he'l*gel-gulugwa*n and *wai*-s*twig*š*uxgwa*n) it would be quite inconceivable. The incorporation must be considered particularly strong in those cases in which the object is what might be called a root-noun identical in form with a verb-stem of corresponding significance:

- *wai* sleep, to sleep
- *he'l* song, to sing
- *se'l* black paint, to paint

likewise where the object gives special color to the verb, determining the concrete significance of the form, as in *xuma-k'emu*n and *wili-wa-ii'ta'nida*.

3. Besides being used as instrumental and direct objects, a few incorporated nouns are found employed in set phrases, apparently as subjects. Such are:

- *bā*a-*be'-k'iy'ti'k'da* forenoon (literally, up-sun-going, or when-it-goes) (*bā*a is never used as independent adverb, so that be*-sun must here be considered part of the verb-complex)  
- *nō*'-be'-k'iy'ti'k'da* afternoon (literally, down-river [i.e., west]-sun-going)  

*mot'-wō'k* as son-in-law he visits wife's parents (= *mot'-son-in-law + wō'k*, probably identical with wōk' he arrived) 17.13, in which *mot* must be considered an integral part of the verb, because unprovided with pronominal affix (cf. *mot'a* his son-in-law), and, further, because the whole form may be accompanied by a non-incorporated subject (e.g., *bo'nx* *mot'wō'k* Otter visited his wife's parents, literally, something like: Otter son-in-law-arrived)

4. Several verb-forms seem to show an incorporated noun forming a local phrase with an immediately preceding local prefix; in such cases the whole phrase must be considered an incorporated unit, its lack of independence being evidenced either by the fact that it is itself preceded by a non-independent verbal prefix, or else differs in phonetic form from the corresponding independent local phrase. Examples are:

- *dā*'-ts*le*'-sgalawi's*n I looked at them out of the corners of my eyes (literally, 1-alongside-eye-looked-at-them); cf. *dā*'-ts*leid*' alongside my eyes

---

1 *wai*- indeed could not be obtained as an independent noun, its existence as substantive being inferred from forms such as cited above.

2 It may be, however, that this form is to be interpreted as 1-aside- (with-the-) eye-looked-at-them, *ts*le*'- being in that case an incorporated instrumental noun.

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ha-t'gā-qwidi'k'w he threw it into the open (literally, he-in-earth-threw-it); cf. ha-t'gān in the earth
ba-ı-dak'-wili-t'ādī't'ēn I ran out of the house (ba-ı- out, adverbial prefix + dak'- on top of + wili house) 24.13; cf. dak'-wili on top of the house
ha-yau-t'ge'nets!aśn I put it about my waist (literally, I-in-[under?]ribs-put-it-about); cf. ha-yawade inside my ribs

Such verbs with incorporated local phrases are naturally not to be confused with cases in which a local prefix is followed by an incorporated (instrumental) noun with which it is not, however, directly connected. Thus the ha- of ha-tgā-qwidi'k'w is not directly comparable to the ha- of a form like:

ha-p!i-t's!u'lk;iśn I set it on fire (p!i with fire) 73.9

Here ha-p!i- cannot be rendered in the fire.

Some verb-forms show an evidently incorporated noun that has so thoroughly amalgamated with the stem that it is difficult to make out its exact share in the building up of the material content of the verb. For example:

s'omloho'yaldaśn I doctor him as s'omloho'lxaśs
doubtless contains the incorporated noun s'om'ountain; but the implied allusion is not at all evident, except in so far as the protecting spirits of the s'omloho'lxaśs are largely mountain-spirits. The verb itself is probably a derivative of the verb-stem loho- die (aorist lohoi-).

§ 36. BODY-PART PREFIXES

Having disposed of the modal prefixes, which on analysis turned out to be verbal prefixes only in appearance, and of incorporated nouns, which one would hardly be inclined to term prefixes in the narrower sense of the term, there remain for our consideration two important sets of genuine prefixes, body-part elements and adverbial, chiefly local, prefixes. The former will be taken up first. By "body-part prefix" is not meant any body-part noun in its incorporated form (many of these, such as ts'eilei-eye, t'iba-pancreas, not differing morphologically from ordinary incorporated nouns), but only certain etymologically important monosyllabic elements that are used to indicate in a more general way what body-part is concerned in a particular action, and which may be regarded as in some degree verbal classifiers. With the exception of i- hand and s'in- nose, classed with the rest
because of their very extended use, they differ fundamentally from other body-part nouns in that they have, besides their literal, also a more formal, local value; in this capacity they are regularly employed, also, as the first element of noun and pronoun local phrases, and, some of them, as the second element of local postpositions. In the following list the second column gives the literal body-part significance; the third, the generalized local meaning; the fourth, the corresponding independent noun (in a few cases, it will be observed, there is no such corresponding noun); and the fifth column, an example of a local phrase:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>dak</strong>-</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>over, above</td>
<td>da'g-az-dek' my head</td>
<td>dak-will over the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[da-</td>
<td>mouth, lips</td>
<td>in front</td>
<td>de'-z-dek'</td>
<td>de' goa in front of himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>alongside</td>
<td>dā- n-x-dek'</td>
<td>dā-gela'm along the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā-</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>in back, behind</td>
<td>s'āni-z-x-dek'</td>
<td>gw-en-t'gā on east side of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'īn-</td>
<td>neck, nape</td>
<td>[bo'k dān-x-dek']</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i</strong>-</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>t-ā-z-dek'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>xel</strong>-</td>
<td>back, waist</td>
<td>between, in two</td>
<td>xel-x-za'm-keit'</td>
<td>xel- gwelde between my legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>di</strong>-</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>on top of</td>
<td>[dīl-x-x-dek']</td>
<td>dīl-āde over my hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gel</strong>-</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td>facing</td>
<td>[dīl-x-x-dek']</td>
<td>dīlited, in front of me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>di</strong>-</td>
<td>arms</td>
<td>in rear</td>
<td>[dīl-x-x-dek']</td>
<td>dīl-gā on west side of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ha</strong>-</td>
<td>woman’s private parts</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>hā-ā-x-dek'</td>
<td>hā-riya’ in the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gwel</strong>-</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>gwel-x-dek'</td>
<td>gwel-zign under water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>la</strong>-</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td></td>
<td>ṭū' excrement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sal</strong>-</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>down, below</td>
<td>sal-x-dek'</td>
<td>La-t’gā’ Uplands (=? front of the country)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>al</strong>-</td>
<td>eye, face</td>
<td>to, at</td>
<td>[tx' ele-x-ā'k’ my eye]</td>
<td>al-s’ōn-ma’l to the mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dival</strong>-</td>
<td>forehead (= above eye)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[hu-ge-az-dek’ my face]</td>
<td>dival’da at his forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gwenha-u</strong>-</td>
<td>nape (= neck under)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gwenha-u-x-dek’</td>
<td>gwenha-u’dē at my nape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last two are evidently compounded; the first of di’- ABOVE and al- EYE, FACE, the second of gwen-NECK and probably adverbial prefix ha-u- UNDER. The noun hau-x- WOMAN’S PRIVATE PARTS may possibly be connected with this prefix ha-u-, though, in view of the fact that ha- appears as the incorporated form of the noun, it seems more probable that the resemblance in form and meaning is accidental. It is possible that other rarer body-part prefixes occur, but those listed are all that have been found.

In not a few cases, where the body-part prefix evidently has neither objective nor instrumental meaning, it may yet be difficult to see a clearly local idea involved. This is apt to be the case particularly

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with many intransitive verbs, in which the share of meaning contributed by the body-part prefix is apparent enough but where the logical (syntactic) relation of its content to that of the verb proper is hardly capable of precise definition. Thus, from yowo\(^2\) he is are formed by means of body-part prefixes:

- \(al\)-yowo\(^2\) he-eye-is, i. e., he looks 62.6
- \(dā\)-yowo\(^2\) he-ear-is, i. e., he listens, pays attention 96.9
- \(bā\)-gel-yowo\(^2\) he-up-breast-is, i. e., he lies belly up 140.5

In these cases it is obviously impossible, yowo- being an intransitive verb not implying activity, to translate \(al\)-, \(dā\)-, and \(gel\)- as instrumentals (with the eye, ear, breast); nor is there any clear idea of location expressed, though such translations as at the eye, ear, breast would perhaps not be too far fetched. In many verbs the body-part prefix has hardly any recognizable meaning, but seems necessary for idiomatic reasons. In a few cases prefixes seem to interchange without perceptible change of meaning, e. g., \(al\)- and \(dak\)' in:

- \(aldēmxi\text{g}am\) we shall assemble (186.7)
- \(dak'dēmxia\text{t}t\)\(\) people (indef.) will assemble (136.11)

Where two body-part prefixes occur in a verb form, they may either both retain their original concrete significance, the first prefix being generally construed as object, the second as instrument (e. g., \(s'\)al-\(i\)-lats!agi\(\text{t}n\) 1-foot-hand-touch-him, i. e., I touch his foot with my hand); or the first prefix may have its secondary local significance, while the second is instrumental in force (e. g., \(de\)-\(i\)-wī\(\text{ti}\)\(gi\(\text{t}n\) 1-front-hand-spread-it, i. e., I spread it out); or both prefixes may have secondary local or indefinite significance (e. g., \(gwel\)-gel-yowo\(^2\) he-leg-breast-is, i. e., he faces away from him); rarely do we find that two body-part prefixes are concrete in significance and absolutely coordinated at the same time (see footnote to 12 below).

To illustrate the various uses of the body-part prefixes it seems preferable to cite examples under each separate prefix rather than to group them under such morphologic headings as objective, instrumental, and local, as by the former method the range of usage taken up by the various prefixes is more clearly demonstrated. The examples are in each case divided into two groups: (a) literal significance (objective, instrumental, or local) and (b) general adverbial (local) signification.

\(\S\) 36
1. **dak**-  
(a) **HEAD, WITH HEAD, IN HEAD:**

- **dak'ts!ayäp'de** I washed my head (literally, I washed in my head)
- **dak't'ba'agamt**' he tied together (their head hair)
- **dak'ilats!agi'z^n** I touched top of his head
- **dak'hagäit'e** I felt thrill in my head (as when sudden cold tremor goes through one)

(b) **ON TOP OF, ABOVE:**

- **dak't'gu'ba'z^n** I put rounded scooped-out object (like hat or canoe) on top (of head) (61.9)
- **dak't'ekle'xade** I smoke (literally, I raise [sc., tobacco-smoke] over [one's head]) (96.23)
- **dak'limämxwa't**' it (i. e., tree) falls on you (108.12)
- **dak'wä'ga'z^n** I finish it (literally, I bring it on top) (110.17)
- **wili dak'ya'nagwa'z^n** I pass house (?!literally, I go with house above me) (150.8)
- **dak'dahä'li'z^n** I answer him (61.6; 180.18)
- **dak'tlemexik**' we assembled together (43.9; 136.11)
- **dak'henê'da'z^n** I wait for him

The last three or four examples can hardly be said to show a transparent use of *dak*-. Evidently the meaning of the prefix has become merged in the general verbal content, becoming unrecognizable as such; cf. **UNDER** in English **UNDERSTAND**, **UNDERGO**.

2. **da-, de-**

It seems possible that we have here two distinct prefixes to begin with, **da- INSIDE OF MOUTH** (cf. **dats!ayäp'** he washed his mouth) and **de- LIPS** (cf. **dets!ayäp'** he washed his lips and noun **de-x- LIPS**), from the second of which developed the general local significance of **IN FRONT**; contrast also **hada't'-gwa** in his own mouth with **dêt'gwa** in front of himself. The strict delimitation of the two, however, is made difficult by the fact that **da-**, alone in this respect among non-radical verbal elements, undergoes palatal ablaut (thus becoming **de-**) whenever the stem shows a palatal vowel, whether primary or itself due to ablaut; observe also the stem-change from **da- to de-** in **hada't'gwa** 170.2 and **hadedë** in **MY MOUTH**. These

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apparently secondary *de-* prefixes will be listed together with and immediately following the *da-* prefixes, while the true, chiefly local, *de-*, (*da-*) prefixes will be put by themselves.

(a') *da-*, (*de-*) MOUTH, IN MOUTH, WITH MOUTH, LIPS, TEETH, TONGUE:

\[
\begin{align*}
&[\text{da'ogoʔi}]
&\text{he gave him to eat (lit., he mouth-gave him)}
&(186.25) \\
&[\text{de'ügi's}']
&\text{he gave me to eat}
&186.2 \\
&[\text{datlaya}']
&\text{he went to get something to eat}
&75.9 \\
&[\text{da'da'k' ŋa'k'}]
&\text{sharpen your teeth!}
&128.18; 128.23 \\
&[\text{dats!ala'ts}!ili'z]}n
&\text{I chew it}
& \text{I lick it} \\
&[\text{aldat'ele't}!ili'z]}n
&\text{I taste it (literally, I mouth-touch it)} \\
&[\text{aldap'op'iwi'i}z]n
&\text{I blow at it (194.1)} \\
&[\text{dadama}']z]
&\text{he was out of wind}
&26.5 \\
&[\text{dasmayama}']z]n
&\text{I smile}
&\text{I answer him (180.18)} \\
&[\text{hada'yovot}!da]\z]
&\text{(creek) going into (river) (literally, in-mouth-being)} \\
&[\text{dolats}!ali'z]}n
&\text{I taste it (story, talking)}
&50.4 \\
&[\text{delumvä'sgade}]
&\text{I tell truth (184.3)} \\
&[\text{dexebe}n'a't']
&\text{you said it (literally, you mouth-did it)}
&14.10; 15.6 \\
&[\text{aldets}!ü'li'k}i'z]n
&\text{I suck it}
&\text{I kiss her (first *de-* as object, her lips; second *de-* as instrument, with my lips)} \\
&[\text{dodets}!ü'li'k}i'z]n
&\text{I kiss her}
&\text{I taste it (cf. *i*-hemem - wrestle)} \\
&[\text{ba'-išehen}a't']
&\text{you are through eating (literally, you are out-mouth-done)}
&(136.16) \\
&[\text{deligia'lda}']z]n
&\text{I fetch it for him to eat}
&(130.9) \\
&[\text{dehe'yek}!ili'z]n
&\text{I left food over}
&\text{I left food over}
\end{align*}
\]

(b): *he'dele'lek'i'z]n
\text{I finished (story, talking)}
&&50.4 \\
&[\text{delumvä'sgade}]
&\text{I tell truth (184.3)} \\
&[\text{dexebe}n'a't']
&\text{you said it (literally, you mouth-did it)}
&14.10; 15.6 \\
&[\text{aldets}!ü'li'k}i'z]n
&\text{I suck it}
&\text{I kiss her (first *de-* as object, her lips; second *de-* as instrument, with my lips)} \\
&[\text{dodets}!ü'li'k}i'z]n
&\text{I kiss her}
&\text{I taste it (cf. *i*-hemem - wrestle)} \\
&[\text{ba'-išehen}a't']
&\text{you are through eating (literally, you are out-mouth-done)}
&(136.16) \\
&[\text{deligia'lda}']z]n
&\text{I fetch it for him to eat}
&(130.9) \\
&[\text{dehe'yek}!ili'z]n
&\text{I left food over}
&\text{I left food over}
\]

da- can not stand before *i- HAND, because of the palatal timbre of the latter. Examples of *de'v*-:

\[
\begin{align*}
&[\text{de'ida'mk!iink}']
&\text{it will get choked}
&\text{it will get choked} \\
&[\text{de'īlats!agi'z]}n
&\text{I touched his mouth (}*	ext{de-} = \text{da-} \text{as object; *i- as instrument. Contrast above } \text{da-lats!agi'z}]n
&\text{I tasted it, with } \text{da- as instrument}) \]

Similarly other palatal non-radical elements cause a change of *da- to *de-:

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de-his-gulu-gwa^n I want it in my mouth (＝I desire to eat [his＝trying])

(b) *de-*,(da-) IN FRONT, AHEAD, AT DOOR OF HOUSE:

dkehrala'k'ili'n (house) was scratched on door 154.1, 2, 3
dese'k' he opened door of house (cf. alse'k' he bowed to
him) 63.12

dezp'owo'k' he bent it

bāde'yeveya'k'w he started traveling again (literally, he
up-ahead-went-again-with it) 22.4; 24.9; 25.6
dewi'wa'^sl is she is fighting me 27.3
deywadi'k'w he stuck (threw) it into (fire) 27.8
dek'wak'auk'wa'n I brandish it before my face (172.12)
gasa'lhî de'hîslâga't's fast stepper (literally, quickly ahead-
stepper)

ba-ide'dî'nia's they marched by in regular order (literally, they out-ahead-stretched) 144.14
dezwi'qi'n I spread it out (120.1)
t'gâ de'hi k'îya'k'i' if the world goes on (literally, world
ahead-goes-if) 146.4
damatslak' he put it point foremost (into their eyes) 27.8

As in the case of *dak'*, so also here, not a few forms occur in which
the meaning of the prefix *da-* is far from being clearly in
evidence:

datlagâ'n I build a fire (96.17)
aldaç!u'lâ'wâk' he caught fire 98.3
lalâ!c!u'lâ'wâxi I caught fire
degü'k'alx it glows (142.1); 188.15
aldat'gyû'isî (fire) blisters my face (25.11)
dezit'a'mak'il'in I put out the fire
dat'ama'x the fire goes out
datlabaga't'en I finish it (176.6)
dasgayana't'en I lie down

As the first seven of these examples show, *da-* sometimes
imply a (probably secondary) reference to fire.

3. *da*-

(a) EAR, WITH EAR (referring to hearing), IN EAR, CHEEK, SIDES
OF HEAD:

dâts!ayâp' he washed his ear
dâzîts!ama'k' he squeezed his ears
dâzîlats!agî't'en I touched his ear, cheek
dâzaganî't'en I heard it (55.3; 108.16)
dâda'gî't'en I am able to hear it (literally, I can ear-find it)
(100.12)

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dālelagwa'zn I listen to him (55.1; 96.2; 146.5)
dā'lemnade I hear big noise 90.21
an'ge dā'iyovoz he did not listen to it (literally, he not there
ear-was) 96.9
dā'sgkeletha'zn I kept listening (102.3)
dā'ychet he went where he heard (noise of people singing or
gambling) 106.10.
dā'dele'p'i he stuck it across his ear
dā'dalaga'mt' he made holes in his ears
dā'dalaga'mt'be'cekt'bagams they had their hair tied on sides of head
(dā'dā- probably as incorporated phrase, over ears) 142.17
dā'bo't'bidи'zn I pull out his hair (from side of head) (194.7)

(b) ALONG, ON SIDE:

wi'la dā'swat'bā'agamdana arrows shall be tied along (their
length) with it (i. e., sinew) 28.1

4. s'in- NOSE, IN NOSE, WITH NOSE:
s'in'gile'sgwa he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7
s'intlayagi'zn I smell it (literally, I nose-find it) (160.20)
s'inalaga'mt' he made holes in septum (cf. under dā-) 22.1
s'inlō'uk'i he stuck it into nose
s'inde'le'p'gwa he stuck it up into his own nose
s'ingeya'zn he turned away his nose
s'in'yuwo'ezs he dodged with his nose (as when fly lights; cf.
under da-)

s'int'uwūk'de I feel warm in my nose
s'inxi'nī'xamp'de I sniff
s'inwilt'k'ap'de I blow my nose
als'inlō'ixa'zn they meet each other (24.12)

5. gwen-

(a) NECK:
gwenso'da'zn I cut his neck (144.2, 3, 5, 22)
gwentslayaga'zn I washed his neck
ha-ugwenyuwu'yini'zn I swallow it greedily (cf. 126.10)
gwenlō'k'i he stuck it in his throat (cf. under s'in-) 25.4
gwen'ilata'sagi'zn I touched back of his neck
gwenwayanagānhi he swung his knife over their necks 144.2

(b) BACK, BEHIND:
gwe'n'alyowo'ez he looked back
gwenyeveit'e'ez I went back (152.13; 188.19)
gwe'n'iwila'ez he looks back (on his tracks) 59.14; 94.9
gwenhegvā'agwanhi he related it to him 17.11

In gwen-ia'ezs GOOD SINGER, the part played by the prefix is not
clear.

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6.  

6- HAND, IN HAND, WITH HAND

No body-part prefix, except perhaps al-, is used with such frequency as 6-, the scrupulousness with which verbs implying action with the hand incorporate it seeming at times almost pedantic. Only a small selection out of the great number of occurrences need here be given:

- *itslaya* ıp he washed his hand
- *iπiⁿo* ıw ı warm my hands
- *wil* *ihoyoda* ı dance with arrow in hand
- *nāx ihelelag* I sing with pipe in hand
- *ipt* ın he took it 15.1; 31.8; 44.8; 47.9
- *ikwā* ıgwı* he woke him up 16.4
- *igaxaxi* ı he scratch him
- *igis'igis* ı* I tickle him
- *ihegwe* ıhn* I am working
- *xa'its'iw* ıt' he split it open 26.6
- *iheme* ım he wrestled with him 26.11; 27.10,11
- *iyonō* ı* he pulled it
- *iguyu* ı* she pushed her 55.14
- s'elēk'w *ilū* ıp*aq' * she shall pound with acorn pestle 55.9
- *he*eileme* ık' *he killed them off 55.1; 144.6.
- *itla'ut* ıt* I caught hold of her (29.12; 140.15)
- *itwi*yili* ın* I make it whirl up
- *al'iyululiyili* ın* I rub it
- *it'gwanye* ı* you enslaved her 16.14

In some cases one does not easily see the necessity for its use:

- *wi'tit'ge'yeexi* they are round about me (48.5)
- *al'iwuluyu* ıxbı* he ran away from you

7.  

7- (xa-)

(a) BACK, WAIST:

- *xā* ıts'ayāp' he washed his back
- *p'i* ıxā*dat'wuyū* ıgwı* his back got blistered 25.11
- *xā*izilats'agı* ın* I touched his back
- *xā*ap*il* ınō* ık* wa he warmed his back 188.20
- *xā*lā*o*da* ın* I put (belt) about my waist

(b) BETWEEN, IN TWO (in reference to breaking or cutting):

- *xā*ap*ila*-its'iu* ıd* I shall split it by throwing (stone) down on it (140.7)
- *xā*wisā* go-between (in settling feuds) 178.11, 13, 18
- *xā*sgow*a* ın* I cut, saw it (21.2, 4)
- *xā*isgī* ı*p'sgbik* ı (bodies) cut through 21.2

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xâjdan’q̓il’u’gal’hi he broke it with rock 24.4
xâa’te’k’t’bagams it is all tied together 27.13
xâasalt gwêl’q̓wil’i he broke it by stepping on it 31.4, 5
xâa’bemk’qwîtl’idi’n I broke it with stick

In xâhege’hal’na’ its BREATHE (79.2) and xâhuk’w’hal’na’ its BREATHE, the xa- may refer to the heaving motion up from the waist.

8. dî’-

(a) BACK:
The local uses of xâ- and dî- (in middle, between, and above, respectively) would indicate that, in their more literal significance, they refer respectively to the LOWER BACK about the waist and the UPPER BACK, though no direct information was obtained of the distinction.

dî’ts’layâp’ he washed himself in back of body
dî’hâx his back is burning
dî’tb’âk’âl’dxe’ I have warts on my back 102.20
dî’dû́’gwâ’n’k’ she will wear it (i.e., skirt) 55.9

(b) ABOVE, ON TOP:

dî’hel’liya sleeping on board platform 13.2
dî’dâ’a’tb’â’q̓am’t’q̓wîde’ I tie my hair on sides of my head (see under dâ-) (140.11; 142.17)
dî’algelega’mda’n I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)
dî’uyu’ts’l’dma’n I fool him (aorist uyuts!- laugh)
dî’hinx’q̓i’n I scare him
dî’mâs (earth) is lit up (78.1)
dî’hi’t’gwâ’n’ I am glad 22.2

dî’- is used in quite a number of verbs of mashing or squeezing, the primary idea being probably that of pressing down on top of something:

dî’p’ili’p’ili’n I squash (yellow-jackets) (74.3); contrast qel-be’m-p’ili’p’ili’n I whip him on his breast (literally, I-breast-stick-whip-him) (cf. 76.1, 2, 3)
dî’ili’i’si’n I mash them
ba-idûgwib’lí’wop’ it popped all around 27.14
dî’gum’s’t’gimi’n I squeezed and cracked many insects (such as fleas)

In many cases, as in some of the forms given above, the primary signification of dî- is greatly obscured. It is not at all certain but that we are at times (as in dî’uyu’ts’l’dma’n) dealing really with the phonetically similar prefix dî’- REAR.

§ 36
9. *gel-*

(a) **BREAST, WITH BREAST** (mental activities):

- *gelts/ayāp' he washed his breast*
- *gelts'īlats!ągi'ɛn I touched his breast*
- *bā'age'ɛyo lie down with belly up! (lit., up-belly-be!)*
- *gelqulugwa'ɛn I desire, want it*
- *gelhe've'ɛn he thought*
- *gelθo'igwa'ɛn I avenge him (apparently = I breast-die-with him)*
- *geltslaydp' he washed his breast*
- *it touched his breast*
- *ge'l'ayo I lie down with belly up! (lit., up-belly-be!)*
- *geλgulugwa'ɛn I desire, want it*
- *geλhe've'ɛn he thought*
- *geλθo'igwa'ɛn I avenge him (apparently = I breast-die-with him)*
- *geλts'laya'mxam'V she hid (certain facts) from us*
- *gelyaldxal'ɛn I forgot him (lit., I breast-lost him)*
- *gel'mxamba'mV she pushed him (literally, she held him [away]-facing her)*
- *gelwaydp' he slept with her (literally, he caused her to sleep facing him)*
- *wa't'gwan gel'yo'wɔ'ɛ they faced each other (literally, to each other they breast-were)*
- *gelk'iyi'ɛk' he turned around so as to face him*

(b) **FACING:**

- *gelts'ana'hi she pushed him (?literally, she held him [away]-facing her)*
- *gelway'wan he slept with her (literally, he caused her to sleep facing him)*
- *wa't'gwan gel'yo'wɔ'ɛ they faced each other (literally, to each other they breast-were)*
- *gelk'iyi'ɛk' he turned around so as to face him*

10. *di-*

(a) **ANUS:**

- *di'its'ayāp' he washed his anus*
- *ba-dit'qats!t'gisi'ɛn I stick out my anus*
- *di'hāx his anus is burning*
- *di'haqāi't'ɛ I feel ticklish in my anus (as though expecting to be kicked)*
- *di'xo'as (food) is spilling out from his anus, (acorns) spill out from hopper*

(b) **IN REAR, BEHIND:**

- *di'salyomo'hin I shall catch up with him in running*
- *be'ɛ di'its'iyi'k' afteroon came (lit., sun went in rear)*
- *da's'ol di'hiviliut'ɛ I ran close behind*

As happens more or less frequently with all body-part prefixes, the primary meaning, at least in English translation, of *di-* seems lost sight of at times:

- *abaidk'yo'wɔ'nda'ɛ coming into house to fight (abai- into house; yowɔ'nda'ɛ being)*

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1 Though perhaps better she held him with her breast, taking *gel-* as instrument.
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p!a-idi'hana'z's it stopped (wind, rain, snow, hail) 152.16

In a number of verbs di'z- expresses: felling, digging under, or erecting a tree or stick, the fundamental notion being probably that of activity at the butt end of a long object:

• di'sgot!ôlha bëm he was always cutting down trees 108.8
  di'k!olola'n (tree) was dug under 48.5
  di'sgûyû"k'ilìn (tree) was made to fall by being dug under
  48.7, 8, 12
  p!a-idi'lo"gwa'n I make (stick, pestle) stand up (by placing
  it on its butt end) (116.18; 176.1, 2)

11. ha-

(a) WOMAN'S PRIVATE PARTS:
  ha'tays'ayáp' she washed her private parts
  ha'tats'agi'zn he touched her private parts
  ha'twesga'hak's she spread apart her legs 26.4

(b) IN:
  (dänxDaqwa) ha'tays'ayâk' he washed inside (of his ear)
  (dëxda) halô'wk'i he stuck it into (his mouth)
  (s'inëxda) hatele'p'i he stuck it up into (his nose)
  halohôn he caught them in trap (literally, he caused them
to die in) (100.8)
  (gwaän) hat'üügwa'zn I follow in (trail) (96.8,9)
  halô'wk' she put on (her dress), they put on (their skins,
garments) 160.6
  ha'hišâlôhal they skinned them 160.5
  ha'ay'ge'nets'la'n I put on (my vest)

As the last examples show ha- sometimes conveys the special
notion of putting on or taking off a skin or garment.

12. gwe!-

(a) LEG, IN LEG, WITH LEG:
  gwe!ayâp' he washed his legs
  gwe!ye's'de' I am lame
  gwe!wêk's'w put on (your leggings)!
  gwe!wi'zn I beat him in running (lit., I-leg-left-him) (184.14)
  gwe!sal't!eyesna'zn I have no fat in my legs and feet 102.22

(b) UNDER, AWAY FROM VIEW:
  gwe!lats'la'k' they put (food) away (sc., under platforms)
  124.22; (132.8)
  gwe!l'yuõ'wa'da' he having his back to him (literally, facing
  him away from view) 122.7

1 This form is an excellent example of the rather uncommon coordinate use of two body-part prefixes
(gwel- leg and sal-foot).

§ 36
13. *la-*

(a) FRONT OF BODY (probably BELLY as contrasted with gel-breast):

latslayāp' he washed himself in front of body

(b) BURST, RIP OPEN:

lat'bā'ax it burst 24.17
laťtit'ba'ak!tit'ba' you (pl.) shall rip them open (like game after roasting) 118.5
lasalit'ba'agizn I burst it with my feet (140.22)
laťwayat'bā'agizn I rip it open with knife (waya knife, as incorporated instrument)

14. *sal-*

(a) FOOT, WITH FOOT:

salllats!agi'zn I stepped on it (instrument sal-: I foot-touched it) (196.18)
salšilats!agi'zn I touched his foot (object sal-; instrument ū-)
saltslayāp' he washed his feet
salzuqti they are standing 63.2
hetēsal'tgān kick him off! (24.17)
alsalb'tā'k' he kicked him 86.16,17,18
gelbam salgvi't'gwati kick it way up!
salyawoťs he suddenly lifted up his foot (as when frightened) (cf. under da- and s'in-)
salp'űtino'k'ważn I warmed my feet

15. *al-* FACE, WITH EYE, TO, AT

This is in all respects the most difficult prefix in regard to the satisfactory determination of its exact meaning. In a large number of cases it seems to involve the idea of sight, not infrequently adding that concept to a form which does not in itself convey any such implication. In most of the verb-forms, however, many of which have already been given under other prefixes, the al- seems to have no definitely ascertainable signification at all. In some cases it may be considered merely as an empty element serving as a support for a post-positive modal particle. For example:

al-his-gulugwaťzn I am desirous of something

where his trying can not occupy an initial position

al-di-yok!oya't' did you know him?

Here alyok!oya't' in itself hardly differs in content from yok!oya't' YOU KNEW HIM. The most satisfactory definition

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that can be given of al- in its more general and indefinite use is that it conveys the idea of motion out from the sphere of the person concerned, whether the motion be directed toward some definite goal (object) or not; an approximate translation in such cases would be to, at. The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by the fact that al- at times replaces a more definite local phrase, as though it were a substitute for it, of the same general formal but weaker material content.

*wā*da *lōgu*wa*n* to-him I-thrust-it, where *wā*da definitely expresses a local pronominal idea to, at him.

Compare:

allō*gwi*n I stretched it out to him

where the exact local definition of the action is not so clearly expressed; the direct object of the verb being here not the object thrust, but the person aimed at, while the indirectness of the action is interpreted by means of al- as an adverbial or local modification of the verbal content. The change of vowel in the ending, a—i, is closely connected, as we shall later see, with this change of "face" in the verb. The first form may be literally translated as to-him i-it-thrust; the second, as i-him-to-thrust (it). Similarly, in allō*ga*ns agi*n I touched his body, the al- is probably best considered as a general directive prefix replacing the more special prefixes (such as sal-, s'in-, and so on) that indicate the particular part of the body affected, or, as one might put it, the exact limit of motion. The use of al- in local phrases shows clearly its general local significance: allō* official* to, at the mountain; ga*a*l to that, as postposition equivalent to to, for, from.

(a) FACE, EYE:

allō*ndini*en I look around for him (cf. *ō*da*en* I hunt for him) (92.27)

alxī*g* ni*n I see, look at him (-xī*g- never occurs alone) 186.7; 188.11.

algaya*n he turned his face
alyebebi*en I showed it to him (77.8)
alyowōl*e I looked (cf. yowōl*e I was) (64.3)
alīlayaga*en I washed his face (64.5)
manx alnū'k*wa he painted his (own) face

§ 36
alt'aya'k' he found, discovered it (literally, he eye-found it; cf. under s'inv-, dā-, and gel-) 47.10; 92.27; 194.13
alsgalāliwi'n I looked at them (moving head slightly to side)
alt'bō'k'al'xde' I have pimples on my face (cf. 102.20)
alt'wap'at't'wap'na'n I blink with my eyes 102.20
alve'k'alα'n I shine
xa'a'li'nanahι they watched it (literally, they-between-eye-held it; xa'-al as incorporated local phrase[?]) 136.8

(b) TO, AT:

It is at least possible, if not very probable, that al- to, at, and al- EYE, FACE, are two entirely distinct prefixes. As many preceding examples have incidentally illustrated the local use of al-, only a few more need be given:

alp'oūp'auhi he blew on it 15.1
alhūyūxdē I go hunting (42.1; 58.14; 70.2; 126.21)
algeseagalat'e I was washing
alheme'k' they met him 24.11
al'ta'k'et'lap' he mashed it up into dough-like mass 94.11
al'tits'öt'ü'di'n I touch, reach it
alset'gi'n I bowed to him (172.10)

16. a[t'azal- FOEHEAD:

dītalts'ayāp' he washed his forehead
dītalgelega'ms he tied his hair up into top-knot 172.2
dīalk'āp'ga he put (dust) on his forehead 136.28

17. gwenha-ut- NAPE:

gwenha'-uts'ayaga'n I shoot off nape of neck

gwenha-ut'be'gams he has his hair tied in back of his head

It will have been noticed that several of the body-part prefixes have developed special uses that almost entitle them, at times, to being considered verbal in function. Thus xā- back, between has been seen to develop, from its latter local use, the more strictly verbal one of cutting, splitting, breaking, or rending in two; the ideas of between and of division in two are naturally closely associated. The specialized semiverbal uses of some of the prefixes may be thus listed:

da-, de- activity in reference to fire (burn, set on fire, glow)
xā- rend in two (cut, split, break)
di'- crushing activity (mash, squeeze)
di'- fell, erect (long object)
ha- dress, undress

§ 36
The resemblance between this use of the Takelma body-part prefixes and the Siouan use of verb prefixes denoting instrumental activities (e.g., Ponka ba- by pressing with the hand, ma- by cutting, ḍa- with the mouth, by blowing) is not far to seek, although in Takelma the development seems most plausibly explained from the local, rather than the instrumental, force of the prefixes. Neither the employment of Takelma body-part nor of Siouan instrumental prefixes with verb stems is in any morphologic respect comparable to the peculiar composition of initial and second-position verb stems characteristic of Algonkin and Yana. The same general psychic tendency toward the logical analysis of an apparently simple activity into its component elements, however, seems evident in the former as well as in the latter languages.

§ 37. LOCAL PREFIXES

The purely local prefixes, those that are not in any way associated with parts of the body, are to be divided into two groups:

(1) Such as are used also in the formation of noun and pronoun local phrases or of postpositions, these being in that regard closely allied to the body-part prefixes in their more general local use; and

(2) Such as are employed strictly as verbal prefixes, and are incapable of entering into combination with denoting elements. The following table gives all the common prefixes of both groups, examples of noun or pronoun local phrases being added in the last column:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Local phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>han-</td>
<td>across, through</td>
<td>hanawagn across the creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-u-</td>
<td>under, down</td>
<td>hawändé under me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-i-</td>
<td>away, off</td>
<td>hेओणी beyond the mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-</td>
<td>away into brush, among, between</td>
<td>dan yadit among rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā'i-</td>
<td>on both sides</td>
<td>hā'iyadit on both sides of, around me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-i-</td>
<td>yonder, far off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>around</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hauwi-</td>
<td>in front, still</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bō-a-</td>
<td>up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-i-</td>
<td>out, out of house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'a-i-</td>
<td>down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aba-i-</td>
<td>in house, into house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bam-</td>
<td>up into air</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zam-</td>
<td>in river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 37
Of these, the first five belong to the first group, the last nine to the second. The position of $hā^e$- and $me^e$- is somewhat doubtful; but the fairly evident etymological connection of the former with $hā^e^ya$ and the correlative relation in form and meaning between $me^e$- and $he^e^z$-, make it probable that they are to be classed with the first group. While some of these prefixes (such as $dal$- and $han$-) are inconceivable as separate adverbial elements, others (particularly $aba$-i, which is apparently composed of demonstrative element $a$-this + $ba$-i) are on the border-land between true prefix and independent adverb. $me^e$- and $he^e^z$-, though they are never used alone, stand in close etymological relation to a number of local adverbs (such as $eme^e$ here and $ge$ there), which also, though not so rigidly as to justify their being termed prefixes, tend to stand before the verb. The difference between local prefix and adverb is one of degree rather than of fundamental morphologic traits; in any case, it is rather artificial to draw the line between $me^e$- in such forms as $me^e^yē^a$ come back! and $ge$ in, e.g., $ge^e^yo^o^e$ there it is. Sometimes, though not frequently, two local prefixes, neither of them a body-part element, occur in a single verb form. See, e.g., $p'l'a^-hau$- under 2 below, also $abai-bā^- 62.1$.

1. $han$- THROUGH, ACROSS:

   hanyada$t'e$ I swim across
   hangwidi$'k'$ he threw it across 120.22
   han$'wa'$alxi$'k'$ he looked through it
   hanyewe$'i'$ he went back across 178.16
   gwān-hansgō$'sde^e$ I lie stretched across the trail (literally, I-road-across-cut) (148.8)

2. $ha$- UNDER, DOWN:

   ha-$ugwenyt!u'$yidi$^e$ I swallow it down greedily, making grunting noise (126.10)
   ha-$usāk'$ he paddled him down river ($bā^- up river$)
   ha-$uyowo^t'e^e$ I sweat (literally, I-under-am)
   e$'i'$pl'a^-ih$a^-ut$gā$'px canoe upset 60.8
   ha-$uhana$'s$ it stopped (raining) 196.8

3. $he$- OFF, AWAY:

   he$'l$eme$'k'$ he killed them off 14.13; 110.21; 144.6
   he$'sgō$'dā$'n I cut it off (44.4); 72.10; (92.14,16)
   he$'gwi$'i$'k'$ he threw it away
   he$'t$āk'$wa he went away from him (23.12; 146.18)
   he$'s$al$t$gū$'nt$gini$'n I kick him off (24.17)

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heez̤hū'lup'i'ìn I beat off bark (with stick)
heez̤l'k'ap'ai't'ib'i'ìn I chipped them off (92.3)
heez̤wāqga't'ìn I buy it (literally, I carry it off) (176.17)
heez̤'guyū'-it's it is blistered

4. *dal-* INTO BRUSH, AMONG:
dalyewe'ës he ran off into brush 14.6; 110.10
dal'gwi'di'k'w he threw it into brush
dal'p'o'wli'ìn I mix it with it (178.5)
dalxabili'as he jumped between them 106.20

5. *hā'ya-* ON BOTH SIDES:
hā'yagini'k' they passed each other
hā'yawatlemexi'à they assemble coming from both sides 144.23

6. *hā*e FAR OFF:
hā*e'guyū'ës they returned going far off 146.22; (47.4; 188.1)
hā'xdā'xa'dagwa'n I threw something slippery way off
This prefix is evidently identical with the demonstrative stem *hā*e
seen, e. g., in *hā'ga THAT ONE YONDER.

7. *me*e- HITHER:
me'gini'k' he came here 146.24 (ge gini'k' he went there 77.7)
ha'n'me'gini'k' they come from across (note two local prefixes;
hangini'k' they go across)
me'yè'ë come back! (yè' return!) (23.11,12,13,14; 96.5); 59.5
me'hivili'as he came running this way
Not infrequently *me*e- conveys the fuller idea of COME TO ——,
as in:
me'bëp'xi'p' come (pl.) and chop for me! 90.16

8. *wī-* AROUND:
wī'ët'ge'yē'ëxi they are surrounding me (48.13; 190.14)
wī't'ge'yē'ëëk'i they put it round about 176.14

9. *hawi-* IN FRONT, STILL:
\hawi'yānt'eë I go in front
\hawi'yana'e's front dancer
hawibaxa'e'm still they come, they keep coming 146.1
bō*u hawidegū'ilk'!axdā*a after a while it will blaze up (bō*u = now)

10. *wa-* TOGETHER:
waktoyōxini'k' we go together
waitsu'o'm'k' squeeze (your legs) together! (26.5)
bā'awawilik'i'w he traveled up along (river) (literally, he went up
having it together with him) 21.14
wayānk'i'w he followed him (literally, he went having him together
with him) 23.11
watlêmëxia\textsuperscript{ue} they are assembling together (110.3); 144.23
wa\textsuperscript{e}til/oxó\textsuperscript{xi} he gathered them together 112.6
wat\textsuperscript{ulik}'ni she gave them one each 130.4
wâ\textsuperscript{hînti}'t she talked to him 59.16; 63.10
da'gaxdek' wa\textsuperscript{alt}gëyat\textsuperscript{giy}i\textsuperscript{n} I tied it about my head (literally, my head-I-together-to-surround-it)
plâ\textsuperscript{gs} wak\textsuperscript{e}wa\textsuperscript{x}l\textsuperscript{gwa} snow is whirling around

Sometimes \textit{wa-} seems to indicate simultaneity of activity, as in:
wâ\textsuperscript{la}la'\textsuperscript{uhi} she kept twining basket (while talking) 61.5

In many cases the adverbial meaning of \textit{wa-} is hardly apparent, and one is sometimes in doubt whether to look upon it as the prefix here discussed or to identify it with the instrumental element \textit{wa-} with, with it; the two may indeed be at bottom identical.

11. \textit{bâ\textsuperscript{a}-} up (55.16; 59.10; 60.11; 63.6, 12):
bâ\textsuperscript{dini}\textsuperscript{ex} (clouds) were spread out in long strips (literally, they stretched up) 13.3
bâ\textsuperscript{et}lebe\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{e} I get up 186.14; (196.1)
bâ\textsuperscript{wa}dadaway\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{w} he flies up with it
bâ\textsuperscript{yânk}\textsuperscript{w} he picked it up 15.9; 24.3; 59.15
k\textsuperscript{lij}i\textsuperscript{x} bâ\textsuperscript{wôk}' smoke comes out (literally, up-arrives) 29.3
(dän\textsuperscript{x}da) bâ\textsuperscript{a}lgwili\textsuperscript{s} he turned up (his ear)
(dak'\textsuperscript{wili}) bâ\textsuperscript{gini}t\textsuperscript{uk}' he went up (on top of house) 30.6
bâ\textsuperscript{s\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{e}s}' stand up!
bâ\textsuperscript{yewe\textsuperscript{is}} he got better (literally, he-up-returned) (15.2)
bâ\textsuperscript{hawa}t\textsuperscript{k}' she dipped up (water)

12. \textit{ba\textsuperscript{i}-} out, out of house, out of water to land, from plain to mountain:
ba\textsuperscript{iyewe\textsuperscript{is}} they went out again
ba\textsuperscript{izodo\textsuperscript{zat}' she took off (her garment) 13.4
ba\textsuperscript{isili\textsuperscript{x}gwa he lands with (boat) 13.5
ba\textsuperscript{isâk}'\textsuperscript{w} he came to land
ba\textsuperscript{i\textsuperscript{a}lyowo\textsuperscript{w} he looked outside
ba\textsuperscript{ihimima\textsuperscript{zn} I drive him out
ba\textsuperscript{i gwidi\textsuperscript{k}'\textsuperscript{w} he threw it out 92.15, 16; (haxiya\textsuperscript{dat}') ba-\textsuperscript{i}gwidth\textsuperscript{k}'\textsuperscript{w} he threw it (from in the water) on to land (31.2)
ba\textsuperscript{ibiliwa\textsuperscript{t}' you jumped out of house 24.15; (46.6)
(hadede) ba\textsuperscript{iyewe\textsuperscript{in}t\textsuperscript{zn} I took it out (of my mouth) (literally, I-out-caused-it-to-return)
ba\textsuperscript{idehenena\textsuperscript{t}' you are through eating (literally, you-out-mouth-are-finished) (132.14)
ba\textsuperscript{i\textsuperscript{t}ixi'\textsuperscript{xi he pulled (guts) out 92.17
(dak's o\textsuperscript{ma}\textsuperscript{l}) ba\textsuperscript{iwôk}' he got up (on the mountain) 124.4; (60.9)
§ 37
In certain idiomatic turns the primary signification of ba-ì- is as good as lost:

(he*-l-)ba-imats!a'k' he began to sing (lit., he-song-out-put) 102.17 ba-ì-k'iyì'ë'k' he comes 92.1, 2; 156.24; 168.13

13. **p!a-ì-** DOWN:

p!aišìt!ana'hi'ë'n I held him down
p!a-ì-gwidi'k'ë'w he threw it down
p!a-ì-wayàa'ë'z he went to lie down, to sleep (lit., he down-slept) 25.9
p!a-ì-ilohoti'ë'z I fell down (literally, I down-died)

p!a-ì-ìyowò'ë'z they sat down (literally, they down-were) 56.2
p!a-ì-ìsgaya'pxde'z I lay down

14. **aba-ì-** IN HOUSE, INTO HOUSE

It would perhaps be best to consider this an independent adverb (demonstrative pronoun a- THIS + ba-ì-, formed analogously to emë'z HERE [= demonstrative adverb e- HERE + meë']); its correlative relation to ba-ì- makes it seem advisable to give examples of its occurrence here:

aba!qi'ë'k'ë'w he went inside 25.8; 76.13; 64.3
aba!hìwìlì'ë'z'z he ran inside 16.12
aba-ìvòk'ë'z they went into house 29.6; (44.7); 160.19
aba-ìyowòt'ë'z I stay at home
aba!ts!a'k'ë's!a'ë'k'ë'w he stepped into house 31.3

15. **bam-** UP INTO AIR

This prefix occurs often with preposed elements gel- or di- as gelbam- or di-bam-, which would seem to mean respectively WITH BELLY SIDE UP and WITH BACK SIDE UP, OR IN FRONT OF and DIRECTLY OVER ONE:

bamgwidi'k'ë'w he threw it up
gelbamgwidi'k'ë'w he threw it up
di'bamgwidi'k'ë'w he threw it up
gelbamsàk'ë'w he shot it up 22.5
gelbam'a'lyowò'z he looked up
gelba!ms'ë'ulì he was sitting up (in tree) 48.7

16. **xam-** IN RIVER, INTO WATER, FROM MOUNTAIN TO PLAIN:

xamals!a'yàp'ì he washed himself in river
xamgwidi'k'ë'w he threw it into river (33.6); 108.5
xamhiwìlì'w'ë'w he ran to river 29.13; 94.16
xa'mhilàp'ìauk'ì they became in river (=were drowned) 166.16
xam'a'lyowò'z he looked down from top of mountain 124.4 (contrast p!aiš!a'lyowò'z he looked down from ground 26.14)
§ 38. INSTRUMENTAL wa-

It is somewhat difficult to classify this prefix, as it does not belong either to the body-part or the purely local group. Strictly speaking it should be considered the incorporated form of the demonstrative pronoun in its instrumental function. As was seen above, it may represent an instrumental noun, but, while the noun may itself be incorporated to denote the instrument, this is not the case with the demonstrative pronoun. For example:

\[ ga \ \text{wede} \ \text{yap!a-wa-dōmhi}g\text{a} \ -\text{that not I-people-with-shall-kill (=-I shall not kill people therewith)} \]

In other words, it would seem likely that such a form as \( ga \ \text{al}^{\_}\text{wa}-\text{ts!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I wash him with that} \) is related to an \( \text{al}^{\_}\text{wats!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I wash him with it as, e.g., } \xi \ \text{al}^{\_}\text{wats!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I wash him with water, to the form } \text{al}^{\_}\text{xits!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I water-wash him, i.e., the } \text{wa-in } \text{al}^{\_}\text{wats!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{is to be regarded as an incorporated } \text{ga that, it (such forms as } *\text{algats!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{have never been found to occur). It will be noticed that the verb-forms with incorporated } \text{wa-} \ \text{are normally characterized by a suffixed } -i\text{- or } -hi\text{-; as soon, however, as the verb loses its instrumental "face," this } -i\text{- is replaced by the normal } -a\text{-.
}

Thus:

\[ \text{wilau wats!ayagi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{arrow I-shoot } ^1 \ -\text{him-with-it (with incorporated } \text{wa-}, \ \text{wila'}u \ \text{arrow being outside the verb-structure and in apposition with } \text{wa-}) \]

but:

\[ \text{ts!ayaga}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{wilau wa'} \ \text{I-shoot-him arrow with (in which also } \text{wa-} \ \text{stands outside the verb-complex, acting as an instrumental postposition to } \text{wila'}u) \]

Examples of instrumental wa- are:

\( (\text{salzdek}')\text{sal}^{\_}\text{walats!agi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I touched him with my foot (literally, my-foot I-foot-with-it-touched-him)} \)

\( (\text{xī}^i)\text{wa}^{\_}\text{gwa}^{\_}\text{nhī} \ \text{I drink (water) with it} \)

\( \text{yap!a}^{\_}\text{omomi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I kill (people) with it (but } \text{yap!a t!omoma}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I kill people) } \)

\( \text{alwats!eyēk'wide}^{\_} \ \text{I washed myself with it} \)

\( \text{ga his dō'mia gelwaguluvgi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I try to kill him with that (literally, that trying killing-him I-with-desire-it) } \)

\( \text{se'l-wats!elelamda}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I write with it } \)

\( \text{(vũxde'}k')\text{wagaya-iwi}^{\_}\text{e}n \ \text{I used to eat with (my hands) } \)

\(^1\ \text{Aorist } \text{ts!ayag- shoot and aorist } \text{ts!ayag- wash are only apparently identical, being respectively formed from stems } \text{sūg- and } \text{ts!ōg-).} \)
(p'im)wasana'hink' they will spear (salmon) with it 28.15 (cf. sana'nik' they will spear it)

Although, as was suggested before, the prefix wa- as instrument may be ultimately identical with the adverbial wa- TOGETHER (the concepts of DOING SOMETHING WITH, BY MEANS OF IT and DOING SOMETHING TOGETHER WITH IT are not very far removed), the two can not be regarded as convertible elements. This is clearly brought out in such forms as bêm wa'twat'oxo'xi'n I PICKED THEM TOGETHER WITH STICK. Literally translated, this sentence reads, STICK I-TOGETHER-HAND-WITH-IT-PICKED-THEM; the first wa- is the adverbial prefix; i-, the general instrumental idea conveyed by the character of the verb (GATHER WITH ONE'S HANDS); and the second wa-, the incorporated representative of the more specific instrument bêm STICK. If preferred, i- may be interpreted, though less probably, as a local element (-iwa- = with it in hand).

2. Formation of Verb-Stems (§§ 39, 40)

§ 39. GENERAL REMARKS

By a verb-stem will be here understood not so much the simplest possible form in which a verb appears after being stripped of all its prefixes, personal elements, tense-forming elements, and derivative suffixes, but rather the constant portion of the verb in all tense and mode forms except the aorist. The verb-stem thus defined will in the majority of cases coincide with the base or root, i.e., the simplest form at which it is possible to arrive, but not always. Generally speaking, the aorist is characterized by an enlargement of the base that we shall term "aorist stem," the other tense-modes showing this base in clearer form; in a minority of cases, however, it is the aorist stem that seems to coincide with the base, while the verb-stem is an amplification of it. Examples will serve to render these remarks somewhat clearer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Probable base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti'omom-</td>
<td>döwm-</td>
<td>döwm- kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naga-</td>
<td>náeg-</td>
<td>náeg-(nag-) say to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodi-</td>
<td>hodi-</td>
<td>hodi-answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odo-</td>
<td>odo-</td>
<td>odo- hunt for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohoi-</td>
<td>tohoi-</td>
<td>toh-die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuluqal-</td>
<td>yuluqal-</td>
<td>yulu-rub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 39
By far the larger number of verbal bases are monosyllabic. Where the simplest radical element that can be analyzed out remains disyllabic (as in dawi- fly, agan- perceive, yimi- lend), the probability is always very great that we have to reckon either with amplifications of the base, or with suffixes that have become so thoroughly amalgamated with the base as to be incapable of separation from it even in formal analysis; in some cases the disyllabic character of the verb-stem is due to a secondary phonetic reason (thus dawi- is for dawy-, cf. dawy-; while in agan- the second a is inorganic, the real stem thus being *agn-). Most bases end either in a vowel or, more frequently, in a single consonant; such as end in two consonants (as y alg- dive, s'omd- boil, bilw- jump) may often be plausibly suspected of containing a petrified suffixed element.

The few examples of verb and aorist stems already given suffice to indicate the lack of simple, thorough-going regularity in the formation of the aorist stem from the base. Given the verb-stem, it is possible only in the minority of cases to foretell the exact form of the aorist stem. Thus, if dom- had followed the analogy of the phonetically parallel nam- we should have in the aorist not t'omom-, but domo-; similarly, the phonetic similarity of odo- and loho- would lead us to expect an aorist stem linah-, and not lohoi-, for the latter. Nor is it safe to guess the form of the verb-stem from a given aorist stem. Thus, while the aorist lohoi- corresponds to a verb-stem loho-, yewei- corresponds to yew- return; nagai-, to na- say, do; and klemi- to klem- do, make. Mere phonetic form has, indeed, comparatively little to do with determining the relation of the two stems. This is clearly evidenced by the following cases of homonymous but etymologically distinct bases with corresponding aorist stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heem-</td>
<td>1. mock</td>
<td>hemeham-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. wrestle</td>
<td>hemen-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heqy-</td>
<td>1. work</td>
<td>heqwehaguy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. relate</td>
<td>heqwe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heom-</td>
<td>1. be finished</td>
<td>hemen-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. wait for</td>
<td>hene-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daw-</td>
<td>1. find</td>
<td>tlayag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. build fire</td>
<td>tlapal-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The signification of the verb-stem gives almost no information as to the form of the aorist stem, the various types of aorist formation being each exemplified by a heterogeneous array of verbs, as far as any discernible similarity of meaning is concerned. It is true that, in a comparatively few cases, certain types of aorist formation can be shown to be characteristic of intransitive verbs; but in these the formation of the aorist stem involves the addition of a distinct phonetic element that has every appearance of being a worn-down suffix.

Not the least remarkable feature of tense-formation lies in the fact that the most frequently used of the tense-modes, the aorist (equivalent to immediate future, present, and past), generally shows the derived or amplified form of the base; while the far less important tense-modes, the future, inferential, potential, and present and future imperatives employ the generally more fundamental verb-stem. In its naked form the aorist stem appears as the third person subject third person object aorist transitive. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t'omōm} & \text{ he killed him} \\
\text{naga'} & \text{ he said to him} \\
\text{-hāl} & \text{ he answered him} \\
\text{o'ut} & \text{ he hunted for him}
\end{align*}
\]

The bare verb-stem appears as the second person singular (third person object) present imperative intransitive and transitive. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dōu}m & \text{ kill him!} \\
\text{odo'} & \text{ hunt for him!} \\
\text{na'} & \text{ say! do!}
\end{align*}
\]

and as the first element of the periphrastic future, that will later receive treatment.

In striking contrast to the extensive use in Athapascan of distinct and unrelated stems for the singular and plural, only a very few such cases have been discovered in Takelma; and even in these the singular stem may, it seems, also be used in the plural.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Sing. verb-stem} & \text{Pl. verb-stem} & \text{Sing. form} & \text{Pl. form} \\
\hline
\text{s'as'-stand} & \text{sal-zogw'-} & \text{s'as'ol he stands} & \text{sal-zogw' they stand} \\
\text{s'ut'-sit} & \text{al-zali} & \text{b'as'as'adet} (= \text{b'as'sas'}) \text{ I come to a stand} & \text{b'as'al-zogw'agenak' (= zog-zag') we come to a stand} \\
\text{s'ut'-sit} & \text{al-zali} & \text{s'ut'wil'et} (= \text{s'ut'ali'}) \text{ I am seated} & \text{al-zaliyana'k' we are seated} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
It is interesting to observe that, while stand and sit are intran-
sitive in the singular, the plural stems sal-xog- and al-xali- make
transitive forms with a third personal object (-ana'k' first person
plural aorist transitive, -'i'k' intransitive; cf. t'momama'k' we kill
him, but s'as'ip'ik' we stand and s'uwillip'ik' we are seated, dwell,
stay).

The great majority of verb-stems are either necessarily transitive
or intransitive, or are made such by appropriate suffixes. Only a
few cases occur of verbs that are both transitive and intransitive,
the respective forms being kept distinct only by the varying pro-
nominal suffixes. Such are:

moyugw-a'n-te I am spoiled, and moyugw-an-a'n I spoil him
ligi-n-te I rest, and ligi-n-a'n I rest him
k'uwu they ran away in flight, and k'uwu he sowed, threw
them about

Certain forms are alike for both transitive and intransitive; e.g.,
second person plural subject: k'uwuwa'tp'.

§ 40. TYPES OF STEM-FORMATION

In looking over the many examples of verb and corresponding
aorist stems obtained, it was found possible to make out sixteen types
of stem-relations. Of this large number of types about half are of
frequent occurrence, while of each of the rest but few examples have
been found. It is not claimed for a moment that all of these types
should be regarded as being exactly on a par, but merely that they
have the value of forming a convenient systematization of the some-
what bewildering mass of methods of radical or base changes encoun-
tered. It is very probable that some of these are ramifications of
others, while some types show more or less petrified suffixes that for
some reason or other became specialized in certain tenses. As com-
parative linguistic material is entirely lacking, however, we can not
make a genetic classification of types; a purely descriptive classifi-
cation must suffice.

In the following table of types of stem-formation, c means conso-
nant; v, vowel; c', the fortis correspondent of c; c₁, c₂, and so on, other
consonants; v" denotes pseudo-diphthong; other letters are to be
literally interpreted.

§ 40
### Table of Types of Stem-Formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type No.</th>
<th>Formula verb-stem</th>
<th>Formula aorist stem</th>
<th>Example verb-stem</th>
<th>Example aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$ob$- dig up</td>
<td>$öv$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$v+(c)$</td>
<td>$v+c+v$</td>
<td>$yo$- be</td>
<td>$yov$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$v+c_i$</td>
<td>$füt$-t laugh</td>
<td>$füüt$-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$v+c_i+v$</td>
<td>$mazg$- put</td>
<td>$mazg$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$v+c_i+c+i$</td>
<td>$t$-äng- cry</td>
<td>$t$-äng-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$loho$- die</td>
<td>$loho$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$v+c_i$</td>
<td>$yana$- go</td>
<td>$yöam$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+v$</td>
<td>$pöö$-t mix</td>
<td>$pöö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+v+i$</td>
<td>$deb$- arise</td>
<td>$töö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+c+v$</td>
<td>$dän$-g- wear</td>
<td>$töö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+c+v_i$</td>
<td>$göö$- dig</td>
<td>$köö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>$c+v+(c+c_i)$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$dän$-g- find</td>
<td>$töö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>$c+v+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$löö$- play</td>
<td>$töö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$sana$- fight</td>
<td>$söö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c_i+c+c_i$</td>
<td>$göö$- talk</td>
<td>$söö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c+a+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c+a+c_i$</td>
<td>$tök$-u play shiny</td>
<td>$tök$-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13b</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c+c+a+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c+a+c_i$</td>
<td>$sensa$- whoop</td>
<td>$sensa$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13c</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c+a+c_i$</td>
<td>$c+v+c+c+c+a+c_i$</td>
<td>$dült$-t stuff with</td>
<td>$dült$-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>$v+c$</td>
<td>$v+c+v+n$</td>
<td>$zer$-b do</td>
<td>$zö$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>$-i$</td>
<td>$sara$- stand</td>
<td>$sar$-</td>
<td>$sara$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>$-i$</td>
<td>$dink$-a-s spread out</td>
<td>$dink$-a-s</td>
<td>$dink$-as-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>$v+c+c_i+i$</td>
<td>$v+c+c_i+c_i$</td>
<td>$kił$-ts- be lean</td>
<td>$kił$-as-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all forms find an exact parallel in one of the sixteen types here listed. There is a considerable number of more or less isolated cases left, particularly of frequentative or usitative forms, that it is difficult to classify; but on closer examination some at least of these are seen to be secondary developments. Verb-stem *al-sgalwal*($aw$)- keep looking by turning head slightly to side, as compared to aorist stem *al-sgalₐₐl*($aw$)-, looks anomalous because of its apparently inserted first *-w*-; but these two forms become explicable as frequentative developments, according to Type 8, of their corresponding simplexes, verb-stem *al-sgalₐₐw*- look by turning head to side and aorist stem *al-sgalₐₐw*-.

It will be convenient to dispose of such anomalous and difficult cases under such headings as allow them to appear as at least comparatively regular formations. It should not be supposed that a particular verb-stem always and necessarily involves a fixed aorist stem in all possible derivations of the verb, though in probably the larger number of cases such a fixed parallelism may be traced. As examples of the occurrence of more than one aorist stem to match a verb-stem may be mentioned:

§ 40
verb-stem -\textit{xik}!- see; aorist Type 6 -\textit{xii}g- and Type 2 -\textit{xik}!i-xa- see (without object)

verb-stem \textit{yeu}- return; aorist intransitive Type 4 \textit{yewei}-, causative Type 2 \textit{yewei}*-n-, and, according to Type 8, \textit{yelew-}ald- go back for some one

There are few if any verbs whose verb and aorist stems absolutely coincide. If in nothing else the two differ at least in the quantity of the stem vowel, the aorist stem always tending to show a long vowel. In some cases the two (dissyllabic) stems seem identical in phonetic form because of the persistence of an inorganic \textit{a} in the second syllable of the verb-stem and the presence of a repeated radical \textit{a} in the second syllable of the aorist stem. Sometimes only certain of the forms built on the verb-stem exhibit the inorganic \textit{a}; in such cases the secondary character of the \textit{a} is directly proven by the forms that lack it. A case in point is:

aorist stem \textit{ts'}ai}am- hide; verb-stem \textit{ts'}ai}am*-m- and \textit{ts'}al-im-

Other verbs, however, are phonetically so constituted as to require the presence of the inorganic \textit{a} in all forms derived from the verb-stem. Such are:

aorist stem \textit{agan}- feel, hear; verb-stem \textit{ag[a]n}-
aorist stem \textit{plahan}- be ripe, done; verb stem \textit{plah[a]n}-

Under such circumstances ambiguous forms may result; e. g., \textit{wa}^*\textit{agani}^*\textit{t} may be construed either as an aorist (YOU FELT IT) or as a potential (YOU WOULD FEEL IT) derived from the stem \textit{ag[a]n}-.

But evidence is not lacking even in these cases to prove the inorganic character of the second \textit{a} in the non-aorist forms. One test has been already referred to in another connection—the incapability of a secondary diphthong (a diphthong involving an inorganic \textit{a}) to have a rising accent. Thus:

aorist \textit{da}^a\textit{taga}n (\textit{aga}n) he heard it; but imperative \textit{da}^a\textit{tag[a]'n} hear it!

A second test is the failure of inorganic \textit{a} to become ablauted to \textit{e}. Thus:

aorist \textit{pleh}en- \textit{a}nx\textit{i} he causes me to be done; but future \textit{pleh[a]n}- \textit{a}nxink' he will cause me to be done

The various types of stem-formation will now be taken up in the order of their occurrence in the table.

\footnote{Brackets indicate an inorganic element.}
Type 1. Verb-stem \( v + e \); aorist \( v^* + e \). In this type are embraced partly monosyllabic and partly dissyllabic verb-stems that either seem to undergo no change at all in the aorist or merely lengthen the stem-vowel. The number of verbs that follow the type does not seem to be very great. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wogaa't'</td>
<td>wo'k' he arrived 47.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ova'n</td>
<td>oba'z' he dug it up (48.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil'</td>
<td>yil' he copulated with her 26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ùgwa'n</td>
<td>ùgwa'z' he drank it 186.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogwana'n</td>
<td>hó'gwana'z' he made him run (79.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hin'z-niwa'z's</td>
<td>hin'x-niwa'z'n I was afraid (17.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wit'e</td>
<td>wit'e' I traveled (90.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thla'mxade'</td>
<td>thla'amxade' I went fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yimi'hin</td>
<td>yimi'ya'n I lend it to him (98.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huli'nt'e</td>
<td>húl'nt'e' I was tired out (102.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haga't'e</td>
<td>haga't'e' I had a cold thrill 166.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loho'na'z'n</td>
<td>loho'na'z'n I caused him to die (100.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-ge'yande'</td>
<td>al-geyan'z'n I turned my face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the accent of the stem syllable, the examples show that, whenever accented, it takes the rising pitch when long, the raised pitch when short (and final). Compare further:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò'p'</td>
<td>hin'x-nóo he was afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak'z'</td>
<td>al-geya'n he turned his face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 2. Verb-stem \( v + c \); aorist \( v + c + v \). If, as seems probable, the second consonant of verbal bases ending in two consonants is in many cases really a petrified suffix, a very large proportion of those verbs that might be listed under Type 3 really belong here, thus making Type 2 probably the most numerously represented of all types. In some forms it is possible to detect the derivative character of the second consonant by a comparison of etymologically related forms that lack it; e. g., in ts'el'm- RATTLE (aorist ts'elems-), the -m- is shown to be a suffix, though of no determinable signification, because of its absence in the corresponding frequentative ts'elelets:tal-. A corroborative phonetic test lies in the treatment of the first consonant of the cluster, in so far as verbs following Type 3 show a fortis in the aorist as against a media or tenuis in the verb-stem, while those

§ 40
of Type 2 suffer no change in this respect; e.g., verb-stem *wism- move has aorist according to Type 3, *wits'!im-, as contrasted with verb-stem *t'gisim- get green with aorist of Type 2 *t'gisim- (t'gisim- should therefore be analyzed as base t'gis- + suffix -m-). This criterion enables us to pick out an otherwise unsuspected suffix in verbs like *t!ap'g- finish, aorist *t!abag- (not Type 3, *t!ap'ag-), but can be applied only where the first consonant of the verb-stem is s, b, d, or g. A more general phonetic test would seem to be the position occupied by the inorganic vowel -a-. In those cases in which we have most reason to consider the second consonant as part of the base, this -a- follows the cluster as "constant" a; while otherwise, and indeed in the majority of cases, it is inserted between the two consonants: *wisma't'e" I shall move (base wism-), but *t'gisa'mt'e" I (as plant) shall get green. An application of these various criteria, were sufficient material at hand, would probably show that but a comparatively small number of verbs follow Type 3.

Examples of verbs of Type 2 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ī-t!ani'n I shall hold him (28.11)</td>
<td>ī-t!ana'hi'n I held him 73.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-klō*ya'n I shall go with him</td>
<td>wa-klo'yō³'n I went with him (33.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'sbin (= ? ok-s-) I shall give it to you (178.15)</td>
<td>ogu'sbi'n I gave it to you 23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oina'n I shall give it</td>
<td>oyonat'e'n I gave it (180.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yālxa'dan I shall lose it (188.18)</td>
<td>yalaxa'dan I lost it (77.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo't'e&quot; I shall be (33.10)</td>
<td>yowoft'e&quot; I was (42.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāk'ink' he will say to him (94.16)</td>
<td>naga¹ he said to him 180.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-sgā'pdxde&quot; I shall lie down</td>
<td>da-sgaya'pdxde&quot; I am lying down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ūv'gā'et' it will get hot</td>
<td>t'ūw't'k'r it got hot 94.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'omda'n I shall cook it</td>
<td>s'omoda't'en I cooked it (58.10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples illustrating the intrusive -a- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bila'ut'e&quot; I shall jump (160.17)</td>
<td>biliunt'e&quot; I jumped¹ (45.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milada'n I shall love her</td>
<td>milil'da't'en I love her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kliya'k'de&quot; I shall come 196.1</td>
<td>-kliyik'k'de&quot; I came (156.24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gina'k'de&quot; I shall go somewhere 14.3</td>
<td>gini'k'k'de&quot; I went somewhere 21.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūwa'k'de&quot; I shall be good</td>
<td>dūwük'k'de&quot; I was good (146.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Perhaps best considered as belonging to Type 3 (verb-stem bila-).
Verb-stem | Aorist stem
---|---
xuma'k'de^ I shall be satiated | xumü'k'de^ I was satiated (130.18)
wiya'k'de^ I shall groan | wiyi'k'de^ I groaned (192.11)
xuda'mt'e^ I shall whistle | xudumt'e^ I whistled (33.16)
ts'-leld'mt'e^ I shall rattle | ts'-lelem't'e^ I rattled (102.13)
ts'-lus.a'mt'e^ I shall make whistling noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip | ts'us'am't'e^ I made whistling noise (78.9,10,12)
li'ga'n't'e^ I shall rest | ligint'e^ I rested (79.2,4)
yala'n't'e^ I shall be lost (of. 14.3) | yala'nt'e^ I am lost (note difference in accent between aorist and future)

It is to be understood, of course, that this -a- is in no sense a characterizing future or non-aorist element, as, when the phonetic conditions allow, it drops out altogether. This takes place when the consonant following the intrusive -a- is itself followed by a vowel. Thus the second person singular future (-ada'e) of some of the verbs listed has no -a-: bilwada'e, gingada'e, důgada'e, wi'gada'e, yalnada'e. Similarly the simple stem xud-whistle appears in xut'ma's whistler.

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be observed that the verbs of this type divide themselves into two classes—those with short verb-stem vowel (such as tlan-, og-, s'om-d-, gin-g-, yal-n-) and those with long verb-stem vowel (k!d^y-y-, yâl-x-ald-, li'g-[a]n-, t'âw'-g-, mîł-[a]d-). The first and second stem vowels of the aorist of verbs of the first class are regularly both short (tlana-, ogo-, s'omo-d-, gini-g-, yala-n-); the aorists of the second class seem generally to have a short first but long second vowel (k!lo(yôw-, yalâ'o-x-ald, lîgî-n-, t'âw-w'-g-, mîlî-d-). The verb nô'g- (aorist naga-) say to and perhaps a few others (sqâi-p-x-, aorist sgaya-p-x-; al-tsâî-q- wash aorist al-ts'aya-g-; but al-ts'âî-p'- wash oneself; aorist al-ts'ayâ'o-p'-) do not follow this rule. Of the verb yo- (aorist yowo-) forms of both accent classes are found (yot'e^ as well as yot'e^, yowo't'e^ as well as yowoît'e^), and indeed a lengthening of the second vowel of aorists of the first class seems to occur with considerable frequency. The rising for long and the raised for final short stem vowels seem to be the normal accents for verbs of Type 2, whether the stress falls on the first or second (in aorists) vowel. If, however, the accented vowel is followed by a
glottal catch or fortis consonant the accent, as generally in such a case, is a falling one. Thus:

\[ s'\text{o'-us}k'\text{öp'de} I shall jump (148.8) s'\text{o-wo'-us}k'\text{öp'de} I jump (48.15; 49.1) \]

Such forms as \( wa-k\text{loy-o^n} \) are only apparently opposed to the rule (see § 65).

**Type 3.** Verb-stem \( v + c + c_1; \) aorist \( v + c! + v + c_1. \) The most satisfactory test of a verb of this type is the intervocalic fortis consonant of the aorist stem as contrasted with the corresponding non-fortis consonant of the verb-stem. As only the minority of base-final consonant-clusters begin with a consonant that is capable of being changed to a fortis, there are in the material available only a few verbs to which the test can be applied. Those showing an intervocalic fortis (changed from non-fortis) in the aorist stem are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t-lasgi'n ) I shall touch it</td>
<td>( t-lats!agi'ë^-n ) I touched it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( m\text{asga'n} ) I shall put it (102.15)</td>
<td>( m\text{ats!aga'ë^-n} ) I put it 74.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( w\text{isima'^n} ) you will move</td>
<td>( w\text{its'ima't} ) you moved 148.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( yo'k'yan ) I shall know it (162.6)</td>
<td>( yok\text{loya'ë^-n} ) I knew it 50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( lop'dia'us't ) it will rain</td>
<td>( lop!od\text{ia'us} ) it rained 152.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other verbs of this type the only characteristic of the aorist stem is the repetition between the consonants of the cluster of the stem-vowel. The following verb-forms exemplify this group, with the reservation that if in any case the second consonant of the cluster be really a suffix, the form should be assigned to Type 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t\text{lamuyana'ë-n} I shall go to get her married (150.5,19)</td>
<td>( t\text{lamayana'ë^-n} ) I went to get her married (148.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ts\text{!a-uyat'ë's fast runner 138.2}</td>
<td>( ts\text{!awa't'ë} ) I ran fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( dît'ū'its\text{.'am atol' fool him!}</td>
<td>( dît\text{uyût\text{.}'amda'ë-n} ) I fooled him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( baxa'mat'ë'ë = (baxm-) ) I shall come</td>
<td>( baxa'mat'ë'ë ) I came (114.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ga\text{-iwa'ë-n} ) I shall eat it 128.18</td>
<td>( gayawa'ë^-n ) I ate it 30.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( moig\text{wana'ë-n} ) I shall spoil it</td>
<td>( moyug\text{wana'ë^-n} ) I spoiled it (31.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( yo'us'na^n ) I shall scare him (186.10)</td>
<td>( yowo'us'na^n ) I scared him (186.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( malgini'ë-n ) I shall tell him</td>
<td>( malgini'ë^-n ) I told him (30.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ba-i-xilgwi'ë-n ) I shall snatch it out</td>
<td>( ba-i-xilg\text{wi'ë^-n} ) I snatched it out (33.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)This verb clearly belongs to Type 3 because of constant -\( a^-\) following \( -xm^-\). Had it belonged to Type 2 it would have assumed the form \(*ba-xam't'ë*\.

\( § \) 40
Verb-stem  

\[ gwel-le\mathring{s}de^e \] I shall be lame  
\[ da-uya'^v's \] fly out  
\[ ba-i-hemga'n \] I shall take (food) out (16.10)  
\[ han-g\mathring{il}ba'n \] I shall put (beam) across (176.3)  
\[ ba-i-k\mathring{la}si'n \] I shall take it out (25.4)  
\[ p'elga'n \] I shall go to war against them (124.19)  
\[ yamda'n \] I shall ask him (70.6)  
\[ yi'ms'alda'n \] I shall dream about him (186.3)  
\[ ha-u-ha'n^s\mathring{d}a^a \] it will stop (raining) (198.9)  
\[ y\mathring{o}^u'ga'n \] I shall marry her (192.16) 

Aorist stem  

\[ gwel-le'ye\mathring{s}de^e \] I am lame  
\[ dawait'e^v \] I flew (166.18)  
\[ ba-i-hemega't'n \] I took (food) out (58.9; 118.12)  
\[ han-g\mathring{il}ba't'n \] I put (beam) across (176.3)  
\[ ba-i-k\mathring{la}si't'n \] I took it out (25.4)  
\[ p'elga't'n \] I went to war against them (110.4)  
\[ yamda't'n \] I asked him (56.3)  
\[ yimis'alda't'n \] I dreamed about him (186.3)  
\[ ha-u-hana't's \] it stopped (raining) (196.8)  
\[ yowoga't'n \] I married her (43.3) 

As long as the first consonant of the cluster is a semivowel (w, y) or a liquid or nasal (l, m, n), the question as to whether the verb belongs to Type 2 or Type 3 is a purely etymological or historical one. Descriptively it makes no difference whether a form like \[ p'elga't^n \] I WENT TO WAR AGAINST THEM is derived from \[ p'eleg- \] by the insertion of the stem-vowel -e- between l and g (Type 3), or from \[ p'el-g- \] by the addition of the -e- to a base \[ p'el- \] (Type 2). From a purely descriptive point of view, then, the most typical aorist formation in Takelma may be said to be characterized by the repetition of the stem-vowel immediately after the first consonant following the stem-vowel.

From the point of view of vocalic quantity the verbs of Type 3 fall into the same two classes as those of Type 2—such as have a short vowel in the stem (t\[ tripsy\] , t\[ idawy\] , malg\[ p\] , \[ hants!\] ) and such as have a long vowel (\[ tidy\] , g\[ ilib\] , k\[ alas\] ), these latter being apparently much less numerous than in Type 2. The quantity of both the stem vowels of the aorist is regularly short, even when the verb-stem vowel is long (gilib\[ k\] ; only rarely is the second vowel of the aorist stem long (leye\[ s\] , u\[ iy)*\] ). The accent of stressed stem vowels follows the same rules as in the case of verbs of Type 3 (dowait'e\[ p\] , han-gili'p\[ with rising or raised pitch; but han'\[ s\] , he\[ s\] -d\[ a\] HE WILL BE LEFT OVER, u\[ iy)*\] I LAUGH, with falling accent because of the glottal catch).

§ 40
Type 4. Verb-stem \( v^+c(+/v) \); aorist \( v+c+v+i \). Verbs of this type are intransitive, the -\( i \)-, though confined to the aorist, being evidently in some way connected with the intransitive character. That it is really a derivative element characteristic of the aorist is shown by its conduct in transitive forms derived from the intransitive. In the causative in -\( n \)- it drops out:

\[ t'ag\=na\=n \] I make him cry

while in certain other transitive derivatives it is preserved:

\[ t'agayagwa\=n \] I cry having it

The contradiction in treatment is here only apparent, as the absence or presence of the -\( i \)- would seem to depend not so much on the transitive or intransitive form of the verb as on whether the action expressed by the verb is logically transitive or not (in a causative the action is necessarily directed toward an object, in a comitative the formal object is not concerned in the action of the verb at all). Types 4\( a \) and 4\( b \) may properly be considered subclasses of Types 2 and 1 respectively, though it should be noted that the -\( i \)- occurs nowhere except in one special tense—the aorist. Examples of Type 4\( a \) are:

\begin{align*}
\text{Verb-stem} & & \text{Aorist stem} \\
y\=\text{u}t\=e^e & \text{I shall return (92.24)} & y\=\text{we}t\=e^e & \text{I returned (58.9,13)} \\
p\=\text{ak}\=\text{d}e^e & \text{I shall bathe (58.5; 118.7)} & p\=\text{agai}t\=e^e & \text{I bathed 58.2} \\
t\=\text{ak}\=\text{d}e^e & \text{I shall cry (29.11)} & t\=\text{agai}t\=e^e & \text{I cried (29.13; 62.2)} \\
\text{na'\=e^e} & \text{(irregular) I shall say, do 196.5} & \text{nagai}t\=e^e & \text{I said, did 126.3; 180.1}
\end{align*}

Even less numerous are the examples of 4\( b \) that have been found:

\begin{align*}
\text{Verb-stem} & & \text{Aorist stem} \\
\text{loho'} & \text{dead (98.10; 170.1; 186.21)} & \text{lohoi}t\=e^e & \text{I died 184.18} \\
\text{lehe'} & \text{drifting dead to land 75.5} & \text{lehe'} & \text{he drifted dead to land 75.5}
\end{align*}

The aorist of verbs of Type 4 regularly have the rising accent on the -\( i \)- dipthong formed by the repeated stem vowel and the -\( i \)- suffix. The stressed stem-vowel of forms built on the verb-stem regularly has the rising (4\( a \)) or raised accent (second vowel of 4\( b \)). \( na' \), which is irregular also in other respects, has a short vowel in the verb-stem and takes the raised accent in non-aorist forms under appropriate conditions (\( na'\) saying; \( na' \) say it!).

Type 5. Verb-stem \( v+c+v \); aorist \( v^+c \). This type of verb is morphologically very difficult to understand, as it is in effect the very opposite of Type 2. Morphologically \( yana- \) go; \( tlan- \) hold = \( y\=\text{a}n- \): 

\[ \S \ 40 \]
tlana-; but phonetically the proportion would gain in symmetry by reversing the positions of its first and third terms. Examples are:

**Verb-stem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wagawi'\n</th>
<th>I shall bring it to him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(45.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wege'sink'</td>
<td>he will bring it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana'te\n</td>
<td>I shall go 14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haxa'te\n</td>
<td>I shall burn (92.29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak'-da-hala'\n</td>
<td>I shall answer him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laba'</td>
<td>carry it! (70.5); 192.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagwa'</td>
<td>paddle it! 112.3,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wede'k'ink'</td>
<td>he will take it from him (16.10,11; 17.10,11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebe'\n</td>
<td>I shall pick it up and eat it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebe'\n</td>
<td>I shall roast it (44.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'\n</td>
<td>-iwixink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawax-xiwiit'\n</td>
<td>I shall rot (194.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odo'\n</td>
<td>I shall hunt for it (116.7,11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woo'\n</td>
<td>he will go to get it (162.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'uyumda'\n</td>
<td>I shall smoke them out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yomo'\n</td>
<td>I shall catch up with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46.7; 136.12,13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Aorist stem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wihagiwi'\n</th>
<th>I brought it to him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(176.17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wega'\n</td>
<td>he brought it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(194.11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan\n</td>
<td>I went 14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haxde\n</td>
<td>I burnt (98.1,4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak'-da-ha\n</td>
<td>I answered him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se\n</td>
<td>(122.4; 146.14; 180.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap'</td>
<td>he carried it 160.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa\n</td>
<td>I paddled it (14.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wot'gi</td>
<td>he took it from him 16.13; (76.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leba'\n</td>
<td>I picked and ate it 94.5,12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seba'\n</td>
<td>I roasted it (118.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'\n</td>
<td>-its'\n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(184.14,15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawax-xi\n</td>
<td>I am rotting (100.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o\n</td>
<td>da'\n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo\n</td>
<td>it'\n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p\n</td>
<td>oyamda'\n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(76.11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo\n</td>
<td>miya'\n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(final -\n</td>
<td>of aorist stem unexplained) (140.14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two stem vowels of the verb-stem are always short in quantity, the second regularly having the raised accent (imperatives yana', lebe', odo', woo'). The long stem vowel of the aorist, when stressed, takes the rising accent. To this latter rule there is one curious exception. The verb odo- hunt for always has the falling accent on the \( \ddot{a}_1 \) of the aorist (\( \ddot{a}_1'\) he hunted for it 13.9; 88.8, never \( \ddot{a}_1'\)), but the non-aorist forms follow in everything the analogy of other verbs of this type. This anomaly is quite unexplained. Can it be that a leveling out of two originally distinct paradigms has taken place (\( \dddot{a}_2\) of Type 5 and \( \dddot{a}_2\) of Type 6)?

**Type 6. Verb-stem \( v(\dot{v})+ct \); aorist \( v^v+c \).** Most of the verbs that follow this type have as second consonant in the aorist one capable of

---

1 Such forms as lebe'\n, with falling accent on the second vowel, are only apparently opposed to this rule, as in these cases the falling accent regularly goes with the personal ending \( -n \). Practically all violations of the accent rules found in the examples are of this merely apparent character and will be readily explained away when the subject of personal endings is considered.

§ 40
becoming a fortis; such as do not, introduce a catch before the second consonant in non-aorist forms. There seem to be no primarily intransitive verbs of this type. Examples of the type are:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Verb-stem} & \text{Aorist stem} \\
\{i-k'wā'\text{agwī}n & i-k'wā'\text{agwī}n \text{ I woke him up} \\
\text{I shall wake him up} & 16.4; (75.6) \\
\text{I shall wake up} (190.5) & \text{k'wā'\text{alex}e} \text{ I woke up} (16.3, 5) \\
\text{I shall put it about} & \text{xā'\text{lad}a} \text{ I put it about} \\
\text{my waist} & \text{xā'\text{lad}a} \text{ I put it about} \\
\text{I shall burst it} & \text{my waist} \\
(118.5) & \text{I shall burst it} (24.17) \\
\text{I shall make it tight} & \text{wa-\text{sgā}p\text{lin}} \text{I made it tight} (140.6) \\
\text{I shall see him} (146.21) & \text{aorist} \\
\text{I shall spread it out} & \text{al-xi} \text{gīn} \text{I saw him} 188.9 \\
(120.1) & \text{aorist} \\
\text{I shall give him to} & \text{dak'-t'é\text{egīn} I gave him to smoke} \\
\text{smoke} (170.13) & \text{dak'-t'é\text{egīn} I gave him to smoke} (170.13) \\
\text{I shall win over him} & \text{bā'\text{xō\text{da}n} I won over him} \\
(170.9) & \text{bā'\text{xō\text{da}n} I won over him} (168.5) \\
\text{I shall thrust it} & \text{al-xo'\text{wa}n} \text{I thrust it} (152.19) \\
\text{I shall mix it} (178.5) & \text{al-xo'\text{wa}n} \text{I thrust it} (152.19) \\
\text{I shall drown him} & \text{al-xo'\text{wa}n} \text{I thrust it} (152.19) \\
\text{I shall fill it} & \text{dal-pō'\text{dy}n} \text{I mixed it} \\
\text{I'\text{na} take it!} (102.14) & \text{dal-pō'\text{dy}n} \text{I mixed it} \\
\text{\text{I'\text{na} take it!} (102.14)} & \text{dal-pō'\text{dy}n} \text{I mixed it} \\
\end{array}
\]

Despite the change of the second consonant from fortis to non-fortis, it is not certain that it is always an integral part of the stem; in \text{de-bū'\text{gīn} n the g (k!) seems to be a verbifying suffix (cf. \text{de-bū'\text{e full}} as adjective). The accent of the base of verbs of Type 6 differs materially from that of verbs of types heretofore discussed. The normal pitch-accent of most verb-bases is the rising tone for long, the raised for final short, vowels, unless a catch immediately follows. Thus in Type 5 \text{dak'-da-hāl he answered him}; Type 2 \text{naga' he said to him}; but with catch Type 4 \text{naga'\text{is he said}. The verbs, however, of Type 6, as will have been noticed, all have the falling accent in both aorist and non-aorist forms. This variation from the accentual norm becomes intelligible if we remember that a fortis is the equivalent of a catch + a media; e. g., \text{alxī'k'lin I shall see him}; \text{alxī'k' see him! As the catch tends to bring about a falling accent before it, the falling accent peculiar to verbs of Type 6 may plausibly be ascribed to the fortis (i. e., glottal catch) quality of the final consonant of the stem. Compare also, in Type 3, \text{he'ik'lin}}
I shall leave it over. The retention of the falling accent in the aorist, although the presumable cause of it has been removed, is an example of form-parallelism, and argues, at least in verbs of this type, for the secondary origin of the aorist stem. The relation between xo'tlan and xo'o^nd is, then, the same as that which obtains between yowo't he was and yowo'o^nd when he was 79.7.

The organic character of the fortis consonant of verbs of this type is still further evidenced by many derivative forms (iteratives, continuatives, -xa-forms used to imply lack of object) which are regularly derived from the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, even in their aorist forms. Thus from sgō'tul!- 45.10 (aorist sgō'o^nd- 72.10) cut are derived the derivative aorists sgō'l-o'sgāde^ 1 cut frequently (62.1), sgō!-o'la^n 1 I keep cutting it (108.8), sgōlii'xāde^ 1 cut (without object). (92.2). Parallel forms are derived from most other verbs of this type, such as xi'o^k!, lō'o^k!, sgō'ip!- cut, sgo'et!- lift up. A few verbs of Type 6, however, form the aorists of these derivatives from the aorist stems of the simple verbs. Such forms are the frequentatives t'bagalt'bag- 14.12 (from t'ba'o^k!- 136.20) and sgo'sag- 172.10 (from sgo'o^k!- nod to, open door 138.18).

Type 7. Verb-stem c+v+c; aorist c!+v+c_i+v(+i). The second sub-group (7b) of this sparsely represented type of verbs is apparently related to the first (7a) as are verbs of Type 4a to those of Type 2. It is very improbable, however, that the characteristic -i- element of the aorist is morphologically the same in both Type 4 and Type 7b, as verbs of the latter type are clearly transitive, while in Type 4 the -i- was found to be a clearly intransitivizing element. A further difference between the two types lies in the marked length of the repeated vowel in verbs of Type 7b. This vocalic length is perhaps responsible for the loss of the -i- in certain forms; e.g., di-tlūgū? he wore it, but di-tlūgū^n I wore it. (See § 65.)

Of Type 7a only the following examples have been found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāa-dēp'de^</td>
<td>bāa-t!ebe't'^e^ I arose 186.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-dilnhin</td>
<td>wa-t!ilik'ni^n I have distributed them (130.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwe'p'dwa'pzdā^ they will fly t!wep!e' t!wapx they flew with out lighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last example follows also Types 6 and 13a.

§ 40
To Type 7b belong:

Verb-stem  | Aorist stem
---|---
da-dāk' build a fire!  | da-tlagāi he built a fire 96.17
dī-dûgwa'nk' she will wear it 55.9  | dī-tlūgūi she wore it 96.16
t'gwa'xa'nit'gwidē I shall tattoo myself  | t'gwa'xa'nk'widē I tattooed myself
k!a'da'nk' he will pick them  | k!adāi he picked them
(116.17)  | swadāi he beat him in gambling

The last three verbs happen to have stems beginning with a consonant or consonant-combination that does not allow of development into a fortis, so that there is no initial modification in the aorist. A few other transitive verbs have aorist stems like those of type 7b, but form their non-aorist forms according to other models, as the aorists klemēi- make (only with third personal object; otherwise kileme(e)-n-, corresponding verb-stem klem-n- of Type 2) and yehei- hear singing far away (verb-stem yehei-). In both aorist and non-aorist forms the stem vowel or long i-dipthong, when stressed, bears the rising or raised accent (k!āt' pick them! bās-t!ebet' he arose).

**TYPE 8.** Verb-stem $e+e^+e^+$; aorist $e!+e+e^+e$. The aorist stem of this type is characterized by reduplication of Type 1 (see § 30) combined, wherever possible, with change to fortis of the initial consonant. Examples are:

Verb-stem  | Aorist stem
---|---
gāit'e$e$ I shall grow (77.9)  | k!ayaite$e$ I grew (77.9)
gōda'n I shall bury him (118.3)  | k!ododa't$e$n I buried him (96.16)
gōula'n I shall dig it  | k!olola't$e$n I dug it 73.10,14
gū'wa'n I shall plant it (94.10)  | k!ūwūwa't$e$n I planted it (132.10)
dōma'n I shall kill him (178.14)  | t!omoma't$e$n I killed him 71.7
wa$e$-i-dōxin I shall gather them  | wa$e$-i-t!oxoxi$e$n I gathered them (112.6,11; 192.4)
ba$e$-i-dōxin I shall pull (guts) out  | ba$e$-i-t!ixi$e$n I pulled (guts) out (92.17)
dā$e$ka'n I shall crack it  | t!alalala't$e$n I cracked it
degwa'ldan I shall watch for him (116.20; 126.20)  | t!egwegwa'ldan I watched for him (118.2; 158.12)
wa$e$-i-de'mi'n I shall gather them (for war)  | wa$e$-i-t!ileme'm he gathered them (for war) 110.3
bā$e$ba'n I shall chop it (90.16)  | p!ababa't$e$n I chopped it (90.11)
dī-būgwa'n I shall start (war, basket) (110.21; 170.10)  | dī-plūgūgwa't$e$n I started it
sā$e$da'n I shall mash it  | ts!adada't$e$n I mashed it (130.23)
Verb-stem | Aorist stem
---|---
s'üm't'an | ts'üm't'a'n | I shall boil it (170.16)
de'-i-s'ibin | de'-i-ts'ibibi'n | I shall close door (90.4)
yegw'at'n | yegw'at'n | I bit him (88.2)
lö'ba'n | lö'ba'7i | I shall pound them (16.6)
l'i'mat'I | l'im tree will fall (108.11)
hêt'e | I shall sing (106.15)

In the transitive verbs of this type the repeated consonant of the aorist is found only when the object is of the third person; otherwise it is dropped, with lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus:

tlomo'n he killed him 16.15; but tlomoxbi'n he killed you.(cf. 178.12)

Before certain intransitivizing derivative suffixes, particularly -x- (see §56) and -xa- (see §53), the same loss of the repeated consonant of the aorist stem is to be noted. Thus:
p'aba'p' he chopped it 90.11; but plebe'xa he chopped 55.6
wa'-i-t'lemen' he gathered them together; but dak'-t'lemen' they are gathered together 43.9; 136.11

With -x- the preceding vowel is lengthened, with -xa- it remains short. The second consonant of the stems of verbs of Type 8 never involves a radical glottal catch, hence the falling accent is never found on either the first or second stem vowel.

Type 9. Verb-stem c+v+c1; aorist c1+v+y+v+c1. This type is not at all a common one. It differs from Type 7a in that the added vowel (in every case a, as far as the material goes) is put before the last consonant of the base, the y serving perhaps merely to connect the stem -a- and added -a-.

Of Type 9, examples are:

Verb-stem | Aorist stem
---|---
dä'ga'n | t'ayaga'ez'n | I shall find it (110.15)
sä'ga'n | t'ayaga'ez'n | I shall shoot him (110.15)
da-dät'e (dä'-y-) | da-t'ayait'e | I shall go to get something to eat (33.9)
da-dä'ldi'n (dä'-ld, see §11) | da-t'ayald'i | I shall go to get it to eat (33.9)

1 This verb might be considered as entirely parallel to gäy- (aorist k'ayai) of Type 8. The derivative in -ld-, however, seems to prove it to be of Type 9; the -ld-forms, if belonging to Type 8, would probably appear as *da-däya'ldin, *da-t'ayaya'ldi'n.

§ 40
Type 10. Verb-stem $c+v ( + c)$; aorist $c+v + \left\{ c + c_1 \right\} ( + v)$. This type embraces the few verbs that form their aorist stem by merely repeating the initial consonant of the verb-stem. Of 10a, that is, those that introduce the initial consonant immediately after the stem-vowel, there have been found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lō&quot;x to play 31.7; (31.6, 8, 9)</td>
<td>lō&quot;l'e I played</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāp'de I shall become (25.2)</td>
<td>lāl'it'ë I became (also of Type 15a) 186.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāwa'n I shall twine basket</td>
<td>lāw'l'ën I twined basket (61.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'-ī-le'(d)k'ën I shall let him go (182.20)</td>
<td>he'-ī-le'l'ëk'ën I let him go (50.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last verb differs from the others in that it repeats in the aorist both the consonant and the vowel of the verb-stem; it is the only verb known which shows perfect duplication of the verb-stem (assuming the suffixed character of the -k!-).\(^1\) Perhaps -lëk!- is misheard for -le[k]!-.

The only certain example of 10b is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sana' spear it! (33.9)</td>
<td>sāns he speared it (110.20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb-stem here is of Type 5. The simple base (san-) is best seen in the fully reduplicated sāansa'n-sinia" they are fighting each other 23.14. An aorist of Type 10 b is probably also:

ha-u-gwen-yutl'i'hi (=*yut!y-[h]i) he gobbled it down (cf. frequentative yutlwyad-)

See also aorist yō'umī- under Type 5. Stems of this type are more frequent among nouns than verbs, e. g., belp' swan (see § 86, 5).

Type 11. Verb-stem $c+v + c_1 + c$; aorist $c+v + c_1 + v + c$. Verbs belonging to this type differ in the aorist from those of the preceding type in that they introduce before the repeated initial consonant also the vowel of the stem, thus approaching in form the more fully reduplicating Type 13. Only a few examples of the type occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loma'l'te I (a is inorganic)</td>
<td>lomöl'të I choked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shall choke</td>
<td>xala'xam'të I urinated (cf. xā̃l-am- urine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) There are many apparently perfect duplications of verb-stems in -a-, but the -a- of the second member is never a repetition of the stem-vowel. See Type 12.

\(^2\) This verb is better considered as belonging to Type 13a, xalxam- and zalaxam- being respectively dissimilated from *xan'zan- and *san'zan- (see §21).

§ 40
It is quite possible that many verbs whose verb-stem ends in a consonant identical with their initial consonant (and that one would be inclined to list under Type 2) really belong to Type 11. In such cases as:

\[
\begin{align*}
g\text{ing-} & \text{ go somewhere (aorist } g\text{inig-}) \\
k!\text{iy}[\alpha]g- & \text{ go, come (aorist } k!\text{iyig-}) \\
g\text{el-}\text{gul}[\alpha]g- & \text{ desire (aorist- } g\text{ulug-)}
\end{align*}
\]

it is not easy to decide whether the final -g- is a suffixed element, as in many verbs of Type 2, or a repetition of the initial consonant of the base. As to the genesis of the form in verbs of Type 11, it seems clear that it is only a secondary development of the far more richly represented Type 13. This is indicated by the existence of second forms of Type 13 alongside those of Type 11:

\[
\begin{align*}
da-\text{bok}\text{'ob}\text{k'na} & \text{I make bubbles } y\text{iwiya'ut'e}^z \text{ I talk (148.9)} \\
m\text{o'lo}'\text{mal}^z & \text{I turn things over (170.16)}
\end{align*}
\]

A form like \textit{mo'lo}'\textit{mat} you turned things over may go back to a *\textit{mo'lo}'\textit{mat}' (Type 13b), itself a reduced form of the fully reduplicating \textit{mo'lo}'\textit{malat}'; but see § 65.

Type 12. Verb-stem \(c + v^e + c_4\); aorist \(c + v^e + c_4 + c + a + c_4\). Verbs of this type form their aorist by reduplicating the verb-stem according to Type 2 (see § 30); the \(a\) of the second syllable of the aorist stem is regularly umlauted to \(i\) by an \(i\) of the following syllable (see § 8, 3a). Morphologically such aorist stems are practically identical with the verb-stems of Type 13a, though no further deductions can be drawn from this fact. Contrary to what one might expect, most verbs of the type show no marked iterative or frequentative signifi-
cation. Examples of this rather frequently recurring type are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sana'n I shall fight him (28.15)</td>
<td>sānsa'nt'e I was fighting 184.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'e-sal-t'gu'ni'n I shall kick it off</td>
<td>he'e-sal-t'gu'ni'n I kicked it off (24.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!eunt'e I shall play shinny</td>
<td>t!eunt'au't'e I played shinny (47.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū-t!aawi'n I shall catch him (33.8)</td>
<td>ū-t!aawi'n I caught him 33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāg-d'idga'n I shall make it stand up</td>
<td>bāg-d'idga'n I made it stand up (59.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'e-s-wilxk' it is torn</td>
<td>ū-s-wils-wili'n I tore it (73.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!a-ga'et' he will step</td>
<td>ts!a-ga'et' he stepped 32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā-ū-bōdvi'n I shall pull out his hair</td>
<td>dā-ū-bōdvi'n I pulled out his hair (194.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-t-sgā'gi'n I shall pick it up</td>
<td>bā-t-sgā'gi'n I picked it up (32.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāawi'n I shall call him by name</td>
<td>lāalliwi'n I called him by name (for lāa- = lāu- see § 7) (116.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a tendency to prevent a long u-diphthong of the first syllable of the aorist stem from standing immediately before a diphthong-forming semivowel or consonant (y, w, l, m, n) of the second syllable. In such cases the u is either lost, as in the last example above (dissimilation is also a possible explanation) or a connecting -i- is introduced between the u, which now becomes w, and the following consonant. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lēuxink' he will call me by name</td>
<td>lewila'usi 2 he calls me by name 59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liūt'e I shall look (142.18)</td>
<td>liwila'ut'e 3 I look (59.14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem vowel of verbs of Type 12 is regularly long, and, when stressed, as it generally is in aorist forms, receives the rising accent. The a of the second syllable of the aorist stem is stressed only when forming a secondary diphthong with a following repeated radical element, in which case it receives a falling (lāala'uhl hi called him) or raised accent (he'e-sal-t'gu'ni'ga'n).

1 The various forms of this verb seem to be made up of three distinct stems. The non-aorist forms of both transitive and intransitive (sana'p'de I shall fight) employ a stem (sana-) of Type 5. Most aorist forms, including the reciprocal aorist, use the stem sōnsan- of Type 12 (sōnsan-sī he fights me; sōnsan-sinik' we fight each other). The stem sōnsan- of Type 10b is probably limited to such transitive forms of the aorist as have a third person object (sōnsan-sī he fights me; sōns he fought him).

2 Parallel form, perhaps with iterative significance, to lech'usi', § 7.

3 This verb has a short i in the first syllable of the aorist, so that, as far as the aorist stem is concerned, it seems to belong to Type 13a. Perhaps it is best considered a verb of mixed type (13a in aorist, 12 in non-aorist).
Type 13. Verb-stem $c+v+c_1+c+a+c_1$; aorist $c+v+c_1+v+c+a+c_1$. For $i$- umlaut of the $a$ see § 8, 3a. This type embraces a very large number of verbs, chiefly of iterative, usitative, or intensive signification. Of these, some are the iterative or usitative derivatives of simpler verbs; others, again, are hardly found in simpler form, the action they express being of a necessarily repetitive character (e.g., RUB, RATTLE, CHEW); in still others the repetitive idea is not strongly marked or is even absent. Of Type 13a, which covers practically the whole number of type-cases, examples will be given under the characteristic stem-vowels.

Verb-stem

1. $a$:
   $i$-gaxgixi'n I shall scratch him
   $da$-ts!a'lts!ilin I shall chew it
   $he$-i-k'a'p'k'ibi'n I shall chip them off

2. $e$:
   $i$-ts'le'lts'ilin I shall rattle it
   $i$-he'gwa'k'wman (see § 19) I shall work
   al-gesgasa'lt'e I shall be washing
   se'nsant'e I shall whoop
   hemhamo'nk' he will imitate him

3. $o$ ($u$):
   $dii$-t'gum't'ga'm squeeze and crack (insects)!
   $i$-yulya'l rub it!
   al-$p$'$i$-ts'lu'lts'alhip do ye put it on fire!

4. $i$:
   $i$-smilsmilin I shall swing it
   $i$-s'wil'swilin I shall tear it to pieces
   ts!'i'nts'lanxde I shall be angry
   $i$-s'i'ls'ali' distribution it!
   de-k'i'uk'wan I shall brandish it before my face
   (172.11)
   yiwiyawa's one who talks 148.18

Aorist stem

1. $i$-gaxgixi'i'n I scratched him
   $da$-ts'ala'ts'ili'n I chewed it
   $he$-i-k'ap'la'k'ibi'n I chipped them off (118.11; 120.16)

2. $i$-ts'le'ts'ilin I rattled it
   $i$-hegwe'hak'wman I worked
   sene' sant'e I whooped (180.15)
   heme'ham he imitated him 24.4, 8

3. $dii$-t'gumu't'gimi'n I squeezed and cracked (insects)
   $i$-yulu'yilin I rubbed it
   al-$p$'$i$-ts'lu'lu'ts'li'dn I put it on fire (152.20)

4. $i$-smili'smilin I swung it (72.10)
   $i$-s'wilis'wili'n I tore it to pieces
   ts'lini'ts'lanxde I was angry (24.16; 148.15)
   $i$-s'ili's'alhi' he distributed it 31.1
   de-k'iw'il'k'auk'wan I bran-
   $i$-s'ili's'alhi' he distributed it before my face
   (172.12)
   yiwiyaw'he talks, makes a
   sound 148.9
The verb-stem of the last example seems at first sight identical with the aorist stem, but the second i is to be explained as a connective element similar to the i of *lewilau- above (see under Type 12); *ywiyawe's is thus developed from a theoretical *ywiyawa's.

The verb *k'ap'ak'ab- above illustrates a slightly divergent subtype of Type 13a. If the final consonant of the stem is a fortis, it appears as a non-fortis (voiceless or aspirated surd according to the phonetic circumstances) when repeated. This phenomenon is best explained as an example of catch dissimilation; *k'ap!ak'ap!-, i.e., *k'a'b'ak'a'b- is dissimilated to k'ap!ak'ab-, k'ap!ak'ab- (see § 22).

In non-aorist forms, where the fortis becomes a syllabic final, it naturally gives way to the equivalent catch aspirated surd. Further examples of this subtype are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-s'gos't'sgidin I shall cut them</td>
<td>i-sgot!o'sgidin I cut them one after another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one after another (21.2,4)</td>
<td>(144.2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-u-gwen-yu't'yidin I shall</td>
<td>ha-u-gwen-yut!'yidin I gobbled them all down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gobble them all down (126.10)</td>
<td>(22.9; 138.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa-i-sgt'ep'sgibin I shall cut them</td>
<td>xa-i-sgpli'sgibi'n I cut them through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21.2)</td>
<td>(29.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-a-t'e'k'ua'xāa (=-ta'q-x-)</td>
<td>bāa-t'eka't'ax they all bobbed up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they will all bob up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-i-dī-t'gn'st'gā's stick out</td>
<td>ba-i-dī-t'gats!a't'gisi'n I stuck out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your anus! 164.19; 166.1,6</td>
<td>out my anus (166.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be noticed that both the stem vowel and the repeated vowel are generally short. Comparatively few cases are found with long stem-vowel in non-aorist forms (he'tgwagw-, swi'lswal-, sgōnst'sgad-). Indeed the shortness of the vowel of the verb-stem is about the only mark of difference between verb-stems of Type 13 and aorist stems of Type 12. Thus:

i-s'wil's'wal (non-aorist of Type 13) tear it to pieces!; but i-s'wil's'wa'l (aorist of Type 12) he tore it (with one tear)

A few verbs allow the repeated vowel, particularly in third personal forms, to be long; when stressed, as it generally is, it has a falling accent. Besides ts'ini't's'anx- (also ts'ini'uts't'anx- or ts'ini'uts't'anx-190.19), may be mentioned:

gwen-hegwe'chagwanhi he related it to him 57.9; cf. 59.6
plulū'aplakā they marched in single file 192.3

In non-aorist forms the vowel, if long and stressed, takes the rising accent; before a glottal catch, however, we regularly have the

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—§ 40
falling accent (sgo\'u\'s\'sgad-, sgi\'is\'p\'sgab-). In the aorist the stress generally falls on the repeated vowel.

Only two verbs have been found that at first sight conform to Type 13 b. They are:

**Verb-stem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>de'i-ge'ukli'win</th>
<th>I shall tie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (a) de\'i-gewe\'kli\'i\'n | I tied it bow-
| string-fashion | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d'u'lt'il'in</th>
<th>I shall stuff them into it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'u'lt'i'l'i'n</td>
<td>I stuffed them into it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(122.19; 138.17)

This curious type of verb is easily explained if we assume that the bases are not geu- and d\'u\'-, respectively, but geu\'- and d\'u\'-.

They are, then, strictly comparable to verbs like sgo\'u\'sga\'- discussed above; instead of having a fortis consonant, i.e., a stop with glottal closure, as the final consonant of the base, they have a semivowel or diphthong-forming consonant (w, y, l, m, n) as the base final. The verb and aorist stems of geu\'- and d\'u\'-, formed according to Type 13a, are theoretically *geu\'gau\'-, *gewe\'gau\'- and *d\'u\'-dal\'-, *d\'u\'-dal\'-, respectively. Allowing, as in the case of the forms like k\'ap\'la\'k\'ab-discussed above, for catch dissimilation, these forms are seen to be phonetically equivalent to geuk\'au-, gewe\'kau- and d\'u\'-tal-, d\'u\'-tal-,

respectively (see § 12). If the initial consonant of the verb happens not to be a media, then there is no opportunity for the development of a fortis in the second syllable of the verb-stem. It is clear, then, that the following verbs are further examples of Type 13 b:

**Verb-stem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b'a'-al-mo'l'i'nalan</th>
<th>I shall turn things over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'a'-al-mo'lo's'mal'a'n</td>
<td>I turn things over</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d'a'-t'm'ugal-le'u'li'win</th>
<th>I shall shake shells in my ears</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'a'-t'm'ugal-le'ewe'li'i'n</td>
<td>I shook shells in my ears</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(122.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha'-u-gwen-yu'n'yinin</th>
<th>I shall gobble them down</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'-u-gwen-yunu't'yinin</td>
<td>I gobbled them down (cf. yut'uyad-above)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem syllable of verbs of Type 13 b, when bearing the stress, naturally have the falling accent.

Examples of Type 13 c are not common and have also by-forms of Type 13 a:

**Verb-stem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gwid'ak'dan</th>
<th>I shall throw it (a inorganic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gwid'i'k''da'n</th>
<th>I threw it (122.13);</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cf. 'i-gwidigwidi'n</td>
<td>(108.21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lobo'lp'na'n</th>
<th>I used to pound them;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cf. lobo'lap'na'n</td>
<td>(57.14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is very probable that the -a- in the second member of reduplicated stems (Types 12 and 13) is the inorganic -a- we have already met with. Its persistence, even in cases where the otherwise resulting phonetic combination is a possible one, may be ascribed to the analogic influence of the probably larger number of cases where its presence is phonetically necessary.

**Type 14.** Verb-stem $v + c$; aorist $v + c + v + n$. The -n of the few verbs that make up this class is probably a petrified derivative element, yet it must be considered as characteristic of the aorist stem in an even more formal sense than, for example, the aoristic -i- of Type 4. The only examples that have been found are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xep'de$^e$ I shall do so (110.22)</td>
<td>xebeníte$^e$ I did so (14.10; 168.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait'e$^e$ I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)</td>
<td>wayánt'e$^e$ I slept (188.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwen-p!ik'wan (= -p!iy-) I shall lie on pillow</td>
<td>gwen-p!iyi'nik'wan I lay on pillow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p!e't he will be lying down</td>
<td>p!eyén'te$^e$ I was lying down 71.5 146.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last verb seems to insert a -y- in the aorist, between the -e- of the verb-stem and that of the aoristic addition, in the manner of verbs of Type 9b. In regard to vocalic quantity these verbs differ among themselves. The verb-stem of all but wai- is long in vocalism. The first vowel of the aorist stem is short in every case, the repeated vowel is sometimes short (xeben-, p!iyin-), sometimes long (wayá'n-) p!eye'n-. The stressed stem vowel bears a rising accent.

The -n of wayá'n- and p!eye'n- is eclipsed before a catch in the third person:

- wayáte$^e$ he slept 152.22; 154.6
- p!eye$^e$ he was lying down 49.5

but:

- xebé'n he did it 78.9; 118.14

The loss of the -n takes place also in the third person aorist of yá'n-go (Type 5). Thus:

- yáte$^e$ he went 153,11; 59.1; 92.26

Subordinate form yá'tada$^e$ 58.8 and (rarely) yá'tanda$^e$ when he went.

**Type 15.** Verb-stem $\{ -as \}$; aorist stem -iti. The ending -iti-, found in a considerable number of verbs of position, is not, properly speaking, a stem-forming element at all, as shown by the fact that

$\S\ 40$
suffixed elements may intervene between it and the base; yet, being wanting in the non-aorist forms of many verbs, it has something of the appearance of such. The non-aoristic -as- of a few verbs has absolutely no appreciable derivative force, and may be regarded as a purely formal element characterizing the non-aorist forms of the verb. As examples of Type 15a may be given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s'a's'ant'ẽe</td>
<td>s'as'init'ẽe I stand (34.1;77.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'u'al'tẽe</td>
<td>s'u'wili'tẽe I sat (21.1;178.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'e'p'al'tẽe</td>
<td>k'ebili'tẽe I was long absent (124.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāp'dẽeẽe</td>
<td>lā²li'tẽe I became (see also Type 10a) 186.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of examples of Type 15b may be mentioned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dink!a'sdāa</td>
<td>dink!i it lies stretched out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!obaga'sdāa</td>
<td>t!obigi he lay like one dead (148.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This non-aoristic -as- seems to occur also in:

da-smá-imá'sdeẽe I shall smile da-smayamn he smiled

which otherwise belongs to Type 2 or 3 (if the second -m- is part of the base).

**Type 16.** Verb-stem \( v + c + c_1 + i \); aorist \( v + c + v + c_1 \). This type embraces only an inconsiderable number of verbs. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dĩ-k!ala'snaẽn</td>
<td>dĩ-k!ala'snaẽn I am lean in my rump 102.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwel-sal-té'isideẽe</td>
<td>gwel-sal-té'isideẽe I shall be lean in legs and feet 102.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several verbs of position that show an \(-i^t-\) in the aorist show an \(-i- in non-aorist forms. Whether this \(-i-\) is merely a shortened form of the aoristic \(-i^t-\), or identical with the non-aoristic \(-i-\) of verbs of Type 16, is doubtful; but, in view of the absence of the \(-i^t-\) in non-aoristic forms of verbs of Type 15, the latter alternative seems more probable. Such verbs are:

§ 40
Verb-stem  
\(da-sga'lit\bar{\alpha}u\) it will lie scattered about

Aorist stem  
\(da-sgal\) it lies scattered about

p'ildi'\(\bar{\gamma}\) flat thing will lie
t'ge'iti's'\(\bar{\lambda}d\) round thing will lie

s'elni'\(\bar{\alpha}\) it will lie with opening on top (like box)
s'ul'k'id\(\bar{\lambda}\) it will lie curled up
w'il'k'id\(\bar{\lambda}\) it will lie heaped about

Of similar appearance, though the aorist (not the future) is transitive in form, is:

Verb-stem  
\(d\bar{\alpha}°-sge'k\!i\) I shall listen

Aorist stem  
\(d\bar{\alpha}°-sgekliya\) I listened (third person)

In speaking of verbs of Types 15 and 16, the terms verb-stem and aorist stem are used in a purely relative sense, the portions of the listed forms printed in Roman characters not being really on a par with those similarly marked in the first fourteen classes. These last two types have significance as such only in so far as certain elements of an essentially derivative character (-\(\bar{\nu}^\prime\)-, -\(\bar{i}^\prime\)-, -\(\bar{a}s\)-) are at the same time formal means of distinguishing aorist from non-aorist forms. It is not difficult to show that in several cases these elements are themselves preceded by non-radical elements.

One or two aorists have been found in the material obtained that cannot be well classified under any of the sixteen types illustrated above. They are:

\(gwen-\) xogxog\(\wedge\)a\(\bar{\gamma}\)n I string (salmon) together (= fully reduplicated xogxog-; otherwise to be analyzed as xoxo-g- of Type 10 a) 74.14

\(sal-s\bar{\alpha}°x\bar{\i}^\prime x\) he slid

This latter verb with its mysterious \(\bar{v}^\prime\) in the repeated syllable is absolutely without known parallel. Irregular is also the defective verb ei- be (see §60, fourth footnote).

3. Verbal Suffixes of Derivation (§§ 41-58)

§ 41. GENERAL REMARKS

Although the absolute number of non-pronominal suffixes in the verb is considerable (almost or quite thirty), the number of those that have a well-defined, more or less transparent signification is not large (hardly more than a dozen or so) when compared with what
one is accustomed to in certain other American languages. Of these, barely one or two (a frequentative and a comitative) can be said to convey anything like a material notion, the rest being of the more or less formal or relational character met with in suffixes of inflective languages—intransitivizing elements, causative, reflexive, passive, reciprocal, and others of less easily described signification. Those suffixes that have no clearly defined value may be put in a class by themselves as "petrified" suffixes, the justification for such a classification being purely descriptive; genetically they probably form a heterogeneous group.

§ 42. PETRIFIED SUFFIXES

In speaking of verbs of Types 2 and 3, it was pointed out that in a large number of cases certain consonants that one would naturally be inclined to consider part of the verb-stem could be shown by more careful analysis to be really of a suffixal character. The criteria for such a suffix are partly, as was there indicated, the existence of evidently related forms in which the consonant is lacking, partly certain phonetic features. In a considerable number of cases different suffixes are found joined to the same verbal base, yet hardly ever determining so specific a meaning that their primary signification can be detected. The following examples,

- *t'geits:*ti something round lies (138.24)
- *t'geyebax*i I roll it
- *t'geya'lxde* I run around
- *al-t'geyet'giyax*i I tie it around (my head) 188.5
- *wii-t'i't'geye'k'lin he is surrounded on all sides 48.13

evidently all contain the same radical element or base (*t'gey-*), which has reference to circular action or position. The suffixes -*ts*i, -*b*, and -*k*i, however, can not be shown to be directly responsible for the specific meanings of the different forms, these being determined chiefly, it would seem, by the succeeding suffixes, the prefixes, and the general form (transitive or intransitive) of the verb. Similarly, the forms *he*<sup>e</sup>*-sgaya'pxde* I lie down, *da-sgaya-nax*i I lie down, and possibly also *da-sgal* it lies scattered about (like grain), contain the same radical element (*sga[y]-*); but, as in the examples first cited, the abstracted suffixes -*p*, -*n*, and -*l*, refuse to yield anything tangible. The stems *galb-* twist and *gelg-* twirl fire-drill are very probably related, though neither

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the difference in vowel nor the use of different consonants can be explained. The same difficulty is met with in \( di\text{'n}ik! a^2 n \) I stretched it out (62.1) and \( b\vec{a}^g-din\text{'t}!t\a^2 n \) I hung them on line (59.9). In some cases a difference of suffix is associated with a difference of direction of verbal action, transitive and intransitive. Thus we have:

\[ al-ts\!ayaga^2 n \] I wash him (64.5): \[ al-ts\!ay\acute{a}p^2 de^z \] I wash myself (not reflexive in form)

\[ p\!ala^gag^2 n \] I relate a myth to him: \[ p\!ala^g^p^2 de^z \] I relate a myth

\[ ts\!ayama^2 n \] I hide it (124.23): \[ ts\!ay\acute{a}p^2 de^z \] I hide

The various petrified suffixes found will be listed with examples under each.

1. \(-b\) -. There seem to be two quite distinct \(-b\) - suffixes, one characteristic of transitives, the other of a certain group of intransitives. Examples of transitive \(-b\) - are:

\[ t\acute{g}eyeb\acute{a}^2 n \] I roll it (base \( t\acute{g}e\)-), with secondarily intransitive derivative:

\[ al-t\acute{g}eya^2 px \] it is round (literally, it rolls)

\[ he^e^z-sgaya^e^e^z px de^z \] I lie down (derived, like \( al-t\acute{g}eya^2 px \), from some such transitive as \( *he^e^z-sgayab\acute{a}^2 \) I lay it down flat, that, however, does not happen to occur in the material at hand)

\[ de^e^z-gene\acute{p}^2 gw\acute{a} \] he lay curled up like dog (also \(-gene\acute{u}\)\(k\)\(\prime\)wa)

\[ galaba^2 n \] I twist it by rolling (cf. \( gelg\)- twirl fire-drill)

\[ sg\acute{u}\acute{p}x \] warm your back! (seems to imply \( *sg\acute{u}\acute{f}b\acute{a}n \) I shall warm his back) (25.8, 9)

All intransitives in \(-b\) - (\(-p^i\) -), whether or not secondarily derived from transitives, belong to that class of verbs to be later discussed as Intransitive Verbs, Class II. Among those with primarily intransitive \(-p^i\) - are:

\[ al-ts\!ay\acute{a}p^2 de^z \] I washed my face

\[ ts\!ay\acute{a}p^2 de^z \] I hid

\[ p\!al\acute{a}p^2 de^z \] I tell a myth

\[ s\acute{a}n-xin\acute{u}xanp^2 de^z \] I sniff (cf. \( x\acute{u}n \) mucus)

\[ s\acute{a}s\acute{a}'n\acute{h}ap^2 de^z \] I stand around (not trying to help anyone) (cf \( s\acute{a}'s\acute{a}n\acute{t}e^e^z \) I shall stand)

\[ s\acute{a}n-wil\acute{t}i\acute{k}^2 ap^2 de^z \] I blow my nose

\[ b\vec{a}^g-s\acute{o}w\acute{u}z\acute{e}k\acute{a}'p^2 de^z \] I jump up (48.15; 49.1)

A number of Class II intransitive verbs show a suffixed \(-p^i\) - in all forms but the aorist. It is not possible to say whether this \(-p^i\) - is morphologically identical with the \(-p^i\) - of verbs like

\(§ 42\)
tslayypad'e or not, but such seems likely. Intransitives with non-aoristic -p'- are:
lap'de I shall become (92.11) (aorist là®lit'e®) 186.19
sana'p'de I shall fight (aorist sànsa'nt'e® [154.13])
tgunp'de I shall be cold (aorist t'gunük'de® [90.3])

Finally, all Class II intransitives have a -p'- before the formal elements in the first person plural and impersonal of the aorist and future and in the imperative and inferential modes:

s'as'initp'ik' we stand
s'a's'anp'ia'st' they (indef.) will stand
s'a's'anp' stand!
s'a's'anp'apn' do ye stand!
s'a's'anp'ga'm stand! (future)
s'a's'anp'k' he stood, it seems

There is small doubt, however, that this -p'-' is quite distinct from the non-aoristic -p'- of verbs like lap'de, which occurs in the entire future. A form like lap' become! is in that event perhaps to be analyzed as là®-p'-p', the first -p'- being the non-aoristic element found also in lap'de, while the second -p'- is identical with the imperative-inferential -p'-' of s'a's'anp'. This analysis is purely theoretical, however, as contraction to a single -p'- is unavoidable in any case.

2. -p!. This consonant is evidently a suffixed element in:
ha-iz-hülläp;i®n I skinned them (cf. ha°iz-hüllü®hal they skinned them all 160.5)

3. -m-. Apparently as transitive element -m- appears in:
tslayama'zn I hide it (124.23) (cf. tslayypad'e I hide [24.2])

As intransitive suffix it appears in:
t'gisi°m it gets green
xudüm't'e® I whistle (base xud-; related to zde^-t' flute[?]) (33.16)
t's'us'um't'e® I make noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip (78.9,10,12; 79.1,3,5; 96.9,10,12)

It may not be altogether accidental that the latter two verbs both express the making of a noise. This idea is found expressed also in:

ts'elemt'e® I rattle (102.13) (cf. t-ts'ele'et's'ilin I rattle it)

*but the -m- of this verb may be really an older -n- dissimilated to -m- because of the preceding -l-. The -m- corresponds to an evidently identical suffixed -am- of the related noun ts'ela'm

HAIL 152.12,16.
4. -d-, -t'- seems to be found only with transitive verbs:

\[\text{wāhīmida}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I speak to him (but with unexpressed object \[\text{wāhīmīxade}^\text{e}\] I was talking [to somebody]) \(\text{(59.16; 63.10)}\)

\[\text{dak}'-\text{hene}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I wait for him (cf. \[\text{hene}^\text{xade}^\text{e}\] I wait)

\[\text{k'ūyūmī}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I call his name from distance, greet him \(\text{(198.11)}\)

\[\text{dak}'-\text{Jiene}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I wait for him (cf. \[\text{Jiene}^\text{xade}^\text{e}\] I wait)

\[\text{Icluyumida}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I call his name from distance, greet him \(\text{(198.11)}\)

\[\text{S'omoda}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I cook \(\text{(58.10)}\)

\[\text{ts'i}^\text{umumVa}^\text{en}\] I cook \(\text{(170.17, 19)}\)

\[\text{daP}'-\text{mini}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I taught him; future \[\text{dd}^-\text{mini}^\text{a}^\text{en}\]

\[\text{lawadana}^\text{en}\] I hurt him \(\text{(186.12)}\)

\[\text{yamada}^\text{en}\] I work supernatural power on him \(\text{(57.1)}\)

\[\text{wiyimada}^\text{en}\] I ‘wish’ to him, work supernatural power on him \(\text{(57.1)}\)

\[\text{mūti}^\text{a}^\text{en}\] I love her

\[\text{xa}^-\text{ts}'\text{liwW}\] he split it \(\text{(26.6)}\)

It will be noticed that most of the verbs listed imply, not direct physical action, but rather the direction of one’s thought or words toward another person. It is therefore highly probable that the -d- (except possibly in \[\text{s'omd}^-\text{cook}\]) is identical with the -d- implied in the -s- (= -tx-) of the indirect object (§ 47).

Unlike the -d- here discussed, however, the -s- of the indirect object can be used only if the indirect object is not of the third person. It is clear that -d- is not really quite in line with the other suffixes that we have termed ‘petrified,’ this being shown, among other things, by the fact that it may be preceded by other suffixes, as in \[\text{dāa}^-\text{minī-k}'-\text{da}^\text{en}\].

Evidently quite distinct from this indirective -d- suffix is the -(a)d- suffix of a few intransitive class II verbs in which the -d- is followed by -t' in aorist, -i- in non-aorist forms (see § 40, 16). This aoristic -ad- appears always umlauted to -id-.

cugwidl', non-aorist \[\text{cuk}^\text{dī}^-\text{lie curled up}\]

wik'lidl', non-aorist \[\text{wik}^\text{dī}^-\text{lie heaped about}\]

t'guplīdī \(\text{(box, canoe) lies bottom side up}\)

5. -t'. This consonant has been found as an evident suffix in:

\[\text{bāa}^-\text{dī'ni}^\text{t'ana}^\text{en}\] I strung (dentalia) on line \(\text{(59.9)}\)

\[\text{t'gemūt'ha}^\text{e}^-\text{it gets dark 188.14 (cf. t'ge'mt'ga'mx it is quite dark [196.7]; alt'ge'm black 162.4; [196.6])}\]
6. -g-, -k'. As in the case of -b-, it seems advisable to recognize two distinct -g- suffixes, the one appearing as a transitivizing element, the other as a verb-making element added on to nouns or adjectives. Examples of its transitive use are:

p!dagaga'n I tell him a myth
al-ts/ayaga'n I wash him (64.5)
p!i-t-wa-gelegi'n I drill for fire with it (88.12)

\(\text{\textcopyright}k!u\text{si}x'\text{a}התנהגות') he will pinch me (116.8,12) (cf. \(\text{\textcopyright}k!u\text{si}\text{wa}k!wa\text{as'}i\) he always pinches me)
da-t!abaga'n I finish it (61.8; 176.6)
d\(\text{\textcopyright}a\text{-dalaga'mda'n I put holes in his ear (22.1) (cf. d\(\text{\textcopyright}a\text{-dele'p'i\) he stuck it across his ear)}

swad\(\text{\textcopyright}i\)ga'n I run after him (59.13; 75.3; 120.19, 20)

Examples of its use in adjectival intransitives are:

t\(\text{\textcopyright}u\text{w\textcopyright}i\text{ka}'k\) he feels hot, it is hot 94.15 (cf. t\(\text{\textcopyright}ui\) hot 57.15)
d\(\text{\textcopyright}u\text{w\textcopyright}i\text{ka}'k\) it is good, he does right 180.11 (cf. d\(\text{\textcopyright}a\) good, beautiful 58,7,8)

t\(\text{\textcopyright}g\text{\textcopyright}un\text{\textcopyright}i\text{ka}'kd\text{\textcopyright}e\) I feel cold (90.3) (cf. t\(\text{\textcopyright}g\text{\textcopyright}un\text{\textcopyright}ip'ia\text{\textcopyright}ut'\text{\textcopyright} it will be cold)
xuma'k\text{\textcopyright}k'de\) I shall be full, satiated (123.11) (cf. xu'ma food 54.4 and s\(\text{\textcopyright}tx\text{-\textcopyright}xu'm dried venison 43.12,13)
gel-dulu'k\text{\textcopyright}k'de\) I am lazy

Further examples of -k' - that are difficult to classify are:

de-l\text{\textcopyright}um\text{\textcopyright}is\text{\textcopyright}gad\text{\textcopyright}e\) I tell the truth (184.3)
s\(\text{\textcopyright}i'n-wi\text{\textcopyright}lik'ap'dam you blow your nose
yala'k\text{\textcopyright}k'de\) I dive (connected with yal- lose [?]) (60.10.11; 61.11)

In wa-t\text{\textcopyright}il\text{\textcopyright}ik'ni\text{\textcopyright}n I gave EACH one (130.4) (future wa-d\text{\textcopyright}\text{lnh\text{\textcopyright}in) and in the morphologically analogous d\(\text{\textcopyright}a\text{-mi\text{\textcopyright}n\text{\textcopyright}ik'da'n I taught him (future d\(\text{\textcopyright}a\text{-mi\text{\textcopyright}nt'an), the -k'} - is confined to the aorist. In \text{\textcopyright}et'gi he took it from him 16.13, the -g- is found only in the third personal object of the various tense-modes (\text{\textcopyright}et'gin it was taken from him 13.11; \text{\textcopyright}ede'k'ink' he will take it from him (17.10,11). All other forms of the aorist stem \text{\textcopyright}et-d- (verb-stem \text{\textcopyright}ede-) lack it:

\(\text{\textcopyright}es\)i (from \(\text{\textcopyright}et'si) he took it from me (17.3)
\text{\textcopyright}ede'sbink' he will take it from you (16.10,11)

7. -k!-, -k!w-. These elements seem to be characteristic of transitives. Examples are:

\(\text{\textcopyright}i\text{-t'ge'ye'k\text{\textcopyright}lin he is surrounded on all sides (transitives and passives are closely related) 48.5,13; (176.14)

al-p\(\text{\textcopyright}i\text{-ts'}ul\text{\textcopyright}ukh\text{\textcopyright}n I burn it (73.9,12; 96.26) (cf. al-p\(\text{\textcopyright}i\text{-ts'}ul\text{\textcopyright}ts'}ul\text{\textcopyright}kip' do ye burn it) 198.10)

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I make it fall (48.7, 8, 12)
I finished talking (50.4)
I left it over (61.7, 196.8)
Name him (158.5) (cf. p'atu'w'ausi he keeps calling me)
I stretched it (see under suffix -t!-)
I left it over (61.7; 196.8)
I keep calling me)
I keep calling me)
I keep calling me)
I keep calling me)
I keep calling me)
I put it about my waist (152.16)
I stretched it out (di'mTcla^n).
The idea of unbroken continuity is fairly evidently shown by these examples to be connected with the suffix -(a)l-.  

10. -(a)n-. Quite a number of intransitives are found that have this element, to which no particular meaning can be assigned.  

Such are:

s'as'init'e² I stand (34.1; 77.9; 144.14,17)  
mo'yugw'nt'e² I'm spoiled  
hil'it'e² I am tired (102.1) (cf. hilü'hilint'e² I used to be tired [48.11])  
ligint'e² I am resting (100.14) (cf. ligilaga'nt' he kept resting 102.1)

In a large number of transitives a suffixed -n- is also found, without its being clearly possible to identify it either with the causative -n- or the indirect objective -n(an)- for:

lawadana'zn I hurt him (186.12)  
ts'tibina'zn I make a speech to him (146.11; 178.11)  
wa-titlik'ni²n I gave each one (130.4)  
klemna'n I shall make it (28.2,13,14) (aorist without object k'lem'nxaz he makes)  
wa²-w³gwininzn I drink it with it (w³gwa'nxdɛ² I drink)  
he⁶-wa²-w³gini'n she is bought with it

The last two examples are rather different in character from the others. See § 64.

11. -w-. Two apparently quite distinct -w-suffixes must be taken account of.

(1) A suffixed -w- is found to characterize in all forms a group of intransitives belonging to Type 2; it is only in certain derivative forms that the -w- is lacking, and thereby possibly shown to be a non-radical element:

hiwiliü'te² I ran to (24.1), but hiwiliüte² I used to run to  
sgeleü'te² I shouted (196.1), but sgeleüte² I kept shouting (59.3)

Examples of this group of verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future (non-aorist)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sgele'ue</td>
<td>sgelwa'ez' he will shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiwili'ue</td>
<td>hilü'hiit' he will run to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bili'ue</td>
<td>bilwa'ez' he will jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-wiliwada'zn</td>
<td>de-wilwa'ldan I shall fight him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilü'ue</td>
<td>hilu'ez' he will climb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Still, in these frequentative (instative) forms the absence of the -w- may be accounted for by supposing that it dropped off as a syllabic final after a consonant (see § 18). Then sgelit'e² is for an older sgelitw'e². This supposition is greatly strengthened by the future sgelwa'ez' I'LL KEEP SHOUTING (cf. sgelwadz' you will shout).

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In non-aoristic forms the phonetic conditions may, as usual, necessitate an inorganic -a-:

\[ \text{ge wila'u run there! (29.10)} \]
\[ \text{sgela'ut'e} \text{ I shall shout} \]
\[ \text{bila'ut'e} \text{ I shall jump (160.17)} \]

In these cases the evidence for the suffixal character of the -w- is rather slim. In one verb, however, it has a clearly intransitivizing influence:

\[ \text{t!emeyana'ne} \text{ (second a inorganic) he goes with woman to see her married (148.6)} \]

\[ \text{t!emeya'nwi'ne} \text{ they (indef.) go with her to see her married 178.1} \]

(2) -w- (-aw- after a consonant in the aorist) is characteristic of all tense-modes but, in some cases, the present imperative and inferential (probably for phonetic reasons, see §§ 11 and 18) of a number of transitive verbs, provided the object is of the third person. Such verbs are:

\[ \text{gayawa'ne} \text{ I eat it 30.11 (gaya'n he ate it 54.5); future ga-iwa'n 128.18; noun of agent ga-iwa'ns eater (of it) 94.3; but imperative ga! eat it! 32.4; ga!k' he ate it (inferential) 142.19} \]

\[ \text{al-sgalawi'ne} \text{ I turn my head to look at him; future sgalwalwi'n; part. sgalwa'uk: (-a' is inorganic) 144.17; but sgalk'a I looked at him turning my head (inferential) 178.1} \]

\[ \text{al-sgalalwi'ne} \text{(Type 8) I keep turning my head to look at him; future sgalwalwi'n; but sgelëlxI he keeps turning his head to look at me} \]

\[ \text{ba-i-de-ye'giwida'ne you will drive (sickness) out of (body) 198.4,5; imperative -ye'ga'u} \]

\[ \text{wâ'giwita'ne I brought it to him (176.17); future wagawi'n; but wâ'ga'sbî'ne I brought it to you (194.11)}, \]
\[ \text{lâ'la'úhi he caused them to become (lâ'q- become) 43.1} \]

It is very likely that the absence of the -w- is conditioned, at least in certain forms, rather by phonetic than by morphologic motives (ga! from *ga!w; sgalk'a from *sgalwk'a). This is rendered plausible by a form like ga-iwawa'lsbink' they will always eat you 26.8 (repetition of -w- in frequentative as in al-sgalwalwi'n), in which the object is not of the third person. The -w- seems to have been retained here because of the following vowel. The form wâ'ga'te'ne I brought it (110.17) as com-
pared with \( w^a\,g\text{iwi}'n \) I BROUGHT IT TO HIM (future \( waga'n; \)
\( wagawi'n \)) suggests that the signification of the \(-w-\) in transi-
tive verbs is to indicate the indirect object, at least for the third person. It is, however, almost certainly accidental that \( w^a\,g\text{iwi}'n \) stands by the side of \( w^a\,ga's\,b\text{i}'n \) with \(-s-\) to indicate the indirect object. That \(-w-\) is not the morphologic equivalent of \(-s-\) is evidenced by the fact that it stands also by the side of the transitive connective consonant \(-x-\) (cf. \( al-sgalawi'^n; \)
\( al-sgala'\text{xbi}'n \) I TURN MY HEAD TO LOOK AT YOU). It must be confessed that after all no very distinct signification can be attached to either the intransitive or transitive \(-w-\).

12. Constant \(-a\). A number of verbs whose stem (including petrified suffix) ends in two consonants add to this stem an \(-a-\) that appears in all their forms, even though the conso-
nant combination is one that may stand in a final position (cf. footnote, § 10). No reason can be assigned for the retention of the \(-a-\) in all forms, except the ruling analogy of the aorist; in this tense-mode the \(-a-\) is in all probability directly due to the consonant-cluster, as the aorist verb-forms to be presently given differ in this very respect from the aorist forms of other stems ending in two consonants (e. g., non-aorist \( s'\,l\,\text{ummt}'a- \) BOIL with constant \(-a-\), though ending in a finally permissible consonant-cluster, because of aorist \( ts'\,l\,\text{ummt}'a-; \)
contrast non-aorist \( s'\,\text{omd}- \) BOIL without \(-a-\) because of aorist \( s'\,\text{omod}-\).) The following are examples of verbs of the char-
acter described:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Non-aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( swad,\text{t}^a',ga ) he followed him 75.3</td>
<td>( swa't^a',\text{ga} ) follow him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( mats',\text{dsga} ) he always put it 132.9</td>
<td>( mas',\text{ga}' ) put it! 104.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ts',\text{l,ummt}'a ) he boils it 30.2</td>
<td>( s',\text{,l,umt}'a ) boil it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| \( d\,\text{a}^a-\text{\,minik}'\,\text{da} \) he taught him | \( d\,\text{a}^a-\text{\,mi\,nt}'\,\text{a} \) teach him! (con-
|                                            |       trast \( \,w\,\text{\,a\,\,h\,\,m\,t}' \) talk to him! |
|                                            |       with aorist \(-\,\text{\,him\,d}-\) |

If the verb is instrumental in vocalism (see § 64), the constant \( a \)
is replaced by the instrumental \( i \). Thus:

\( \,\text{\,k\,l\,o\,s}\,\text{\,d\,\,s\,\,g\,\,y}'i \) he keeps pinching him

That this constant \(-a-\) is felt to be somewhat different in character from ordinary inorganic or connective \(-a-\) (as in \( ts'\,\text{\,l\,ela\,\,\,m\,t}'\,\,e^* \) or \( w^a\,ga's\,b\text{i}'n \)) is shown by the fact that it is changed to \(-i-\) when-

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ever the object is not of the third person, in reciprocals, in reflexives, and in verbs with non-agentive -x-:

swedët'gixi he followed me
däa'-minik'dixbi he taught you
yowö'wsinizbi'n I cause you to start (but parallel yowö'utslanxbi'n with connecting a)
wayánkhixbi'n I put you to sleep; warnhixigam I was put to sleep
\(\ddot{v}-k!\ddot{u}s'\ddot{u}s'gixi\) he keeps pinching me; \(\ddot{v}-k!\ddot{u}s'gi'xink'\) he will pinch me
\(\ddot{v}-t!ene'hisdam\) you hold me 86.13,14.
\(\ddot{v}-lasgixant'p\) touch one another!
\(\ddot{v}-lesgi'k'wit'\) touching himself
bāa'-t'eklélhixde' I keep bobbing up (60,11,13,14)

§ 43. FREQUENTATIVES AND USITATIVES

Frequentatives, continuatives, and usitatives are formed from simpler verb forms in great part by various methods of repetition of all or part of the phonetic material of the stem, to a somewhat less extent by means of suffixation. In many repetitive forms a distinct tendency to use a long vowel provided with a rising pitch-accent is observable. As it has not been found feasible to draw anything like sharp lines between the exact significations of the various repetitive forms, it seems best to dispose of the material from a purely formal point of view rather than to attempt to classify it rigidly into frequentatives, iteratives, usitatives, and continuatives. The methods of forming repetitives will be taken up in order.

1. **Type 13 of Stem-Formation.** It was remarked before that most verbs of this type normally employed in that form are such as to imply a repetition of the action they express. The type may, moreover, be freely formed from bases implying non-repetitive action whenever it is desired to convey a general frequentative or usitative meaning. The frequentative idea may have reference to the repetition of the act itself (iterative or usitative) or to the plurality of the transitive object or intransitive subject affected (distributive); any sharp characterization of the manner of the frequentative action in each case is, however, doubtless artificial apart from the context. The following examples of repetitive with corresponding non-repetitive forms will illustrate the general frequentative force:

§ 43
Non-repetitive verb-stem

lebe- pick up and eat (seeds)

loho-n- cause to die

wog- arrive

loxo- (aorist) gather

do^m- (non-aorist)

hen-d- wait for

odo- hunt for

og- give to

dolu- kill

wi- go, travel

plä- swim

tl:io- split

sgpl- cut

kil'- skin, peel off bark

hoy- run

he'l- sing

al-hui-x- hunt

Repetitive

le"p'lap' (non-aorist) pick and eat many (seeds)! 34.2

loho'lahana'n I used to kill them

wogova'k' many arrived 112.2

wa'-ti-ixo't'iixo'n I used to gather them

wa'-ti-dóxda'xk' they have been gathering them (inferential)

hene'handan I always used to wait for him

odo'at' she always hunted for them 116.6

ogo'ak'i he always gave them 112.17

dolu'da'mk he used to kill them (inferential) 25.1; 27.15

wi'ywi't'e I used to go (there) (96.1)

plaga'pla'v he used to swim

xa'-ti-ts':iwi'ts'lau he split it to pieces

sgö'ti'sgö'p'gam they had been all cut up (21.2; 138.7)

he'-i-kil'lühal he kept peeling off bark (160.5)

högo'hak'cí I am always running

he'l'hal'he used to sing

al-hui'hix he always hunted (-hi'=-hay-, §8) 86.1

It will be observed that the repetitive form is, on the whole, built up on the verbal base, not the verb or aorist stem. Thus, e.g., the verb-stems lebe- and loho- do not enter into the formation of the frequentatives at all, which are formed, according to Type 13a, directly from the simple bases leb- (verb-stem le"p'lab', aorist lebelab-) and loh- (verb-stem loholah-, aorist loholah-). Similarly, a form like plaga'p'ak' shows no trace of the aorist stem plagai- of the simplex; verbs of Type 6 generally show the fortis consonant of the base in all forms of the frequentative (see §40, 6): sgö'to'sgidi'n I cut it to pieces (144.2) (cf. sgö'uda'n I cut it 72.10, base sgötl- § 43
Suffixes with no distinct derivative signification drop off in the frequentative (cf. ts′i′iu-d- and hūl-p!- above, also §42 passim), but, if they are functional elements, are put after the reduplicated complex (cf. loho-n- and ĥen-d- above); frequentatives thus become, as was indicated in the treatment of petrified suffixes, criteria for the determination of the simple base. Some verbs, however, retain a petrified suffix in the frequentative without apparent reason: ts′i′ūmūmt′a he boils it; ts′i′ūmūl′ts′lamCa he always boils it.

The only use made of the aorist stem in the formation of frequentatives is in the case of such forms as have an initial fortis in the aorist as against a media in the verb-stem, mainly verbs of Type 8. The aorist of the corresponding frequentative also shows the initial fortis, but is not otherwise influenced by the form of the aorist stem of its simplex; e. g., aorist of simplex, tloxo′x-, but of frequentative, tloxo′x-o-tlx- with retained tl-. Such verbs as aorist tloxo′txlox-, non-aorist dōw◦xdlx-, are to be considered as of mixed type (in this case partly 8, partly 13a).

Verbs like odoo′xad- and ogo′xag- with a secondarily developed glottal catch in the aorist (see §6) seem to retain this catch in non-aorist forms, a stop + the catch resulting in a fortis:

aorist ogo′xag- always give to; non-aorist o′k′![w]ag-

A small sub-class is formed by those frequentatives that omit the -a- of the repeated base (Type 13c). Such are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-stem</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa-yanawqan</td>
<td>wa-yanawqan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait′e</td>
<td>waya′nhide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he′l-yo′na′n</td>
<td>yonoina′n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waga′n</td>
<td>wagao′k′na′n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A very peculiar type of frequentative formation is illustrated by:

loha′lhik′ (a′ is inorganic) they used to die (inferential)(168.9); aorist stem doubtless loholhi- derived from aorist lohoi- die, non-aorist loho- (contrast aorist loholah-an-, non-aorist lohlah-an in the causative). The otherwise purely aoristic -i- of Type 4 is here dragged into the non-aorist forms.

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—9 § 43
2. Type 4 of Reduplication. This method of forming the frequentative seems to be but a variant of the first (the repeated initial consonant coming last instead of immediately after the connecting vowel, or the initial consonant not being repeated at all if there is a petrified suffix), and is found in only a few verbs, where it takes the place of the first method. A glottal catch generally separates the repeated vowel of the stem from the immediately following a. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'eleme [-n-] make</td>
<td>k'eleme'\textsuperscript{a}ama\textsuperscript{n} I always make it (instead of *k'eleme'-k'ama\textsuperscript{n}) (77.5); k'lem\textsuperscript{a}mk' (= *am\textsuperscript{a}-k' he used to make it (inferential) 122.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlomom- kill</td>
<td>tlomo'm\textsuperscript{a}nda\textsuperscript{n} I used to kill them (instead of *tlomo'-tlama\textsuperscript{n}) (13.10; 54.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'lw\textsuperscript{w}w- throw away (pl. obj.)</td>
<td>k'lw\textsuperscript{w}w'\textsuperscript{a}uga\textsuperscript{n} I used to throw them away (instead of *k'lw\textsuperscript{w}w'k\textsuperscript{a}wa\textsuperscript{n}) (134.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}-k!- call, name</td>
<td>pl\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'\textsuperscript{a}-uga\textsuperscript{n} I keep calling his name (100.21) (instead of *pl\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'plaukla\textsuperscript{n}; cf. pl\textsuperscript{w}-w\textsuperscript{u}'\textsuperscript{a}us\textsuperscript{i} he keeps calling me by name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-ts'ini\textsuperscript{a}-x-(=ts'\textsuperscript{a}ini\textsuperscript{-}k!-x-) die</td>
<td>de-ts'\textsuperscript{a}ini\textsuperscript{a}anx he always died (instead of *ts'\textsuperscript{a}ini\textsuperscript{a}ts'\textsuperscript{a}lanx) 74.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leme-k!- take along (cf. 108.10)</td>
<td>leme'\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}k' he used to take (everything) (instead of *leme'\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the initial consonant is a fortis, it becomes a media when repeated, as illustrated in the first three examples. This may be explained by catch dissimilation (see §22)—e. g., a theoretical *k'lw\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'aw\textsuperscript{k}' (from *k'lw\textsuperscript{w}w'k\textsuperscript{a}au) is dissimilated to k'lw\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'auk'. Similarly a theoretical *pl\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'aw\textsuperscript{k}' (from *pl\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'p\textsuperscript{w}au\textsuperscript{k}') is dissimilated to pl\textsuperscript{w}w\textsuperscript{u}'auk'. The non-aorist frequentative forms of these verbs sometimes follow the first method of formation (cf. d\textsuperscript{o}mdo'm\textsuperscript{k}' under method 1), sometimes the second (as k'leme\textsuperscript{a}am\textsuperscript{g}-).

3. e + v + c\textsubscript{1} + v + e. The few verbs that belong here differ from the preceding in that they repeat only the initial consonant after the repeated stem-vowel (Type 11). An example is:

§ 43
As in the first method, so also in the second and third, non-radical functionless elements of the simplex disappear in the frequentative. Thus the suffixed -i- of klemēt he made it and -n- of klemēnxa he makes, also the aorist characteristic of di-tlugū he wore it, are not found in their corresponding frequentative forms.

4. $v + c + v' + c$. The large number of verbs whose frequentatives follow this formula (1a of types of reduplication) always have another consonant, whether part of the stem or a petrified suffix, after the non-fortis repeated consonant characterizing the frequentative, so that the appearance at least of infixation is often produced. Externally, frequentatives of this type resemble aorists of verbs of Type 8, but differ from them in the consistent length of the repeated vowel. In signification these verbs are generally continuative or usitative rather than properly frequentative or iterative. As examples may be given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist stem</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>klos'o-g- pinch</td>
<td>i-klos'os'gi he is always pinching him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himi-d- talk to</td>
<td>wā'-himi'nda'ën I used to talk to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxam- come</td>
<td>baxām'ia'ë they keep coming (194.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ūlū-g- follow</td>
<td>ha-t'ūlūg'g'ën I keep following in (trail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-sgal-aw- turn head to look at</td>
<td>al-sgalā'l'iwë'ën I keep turning my head to look at them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaya-w- eat</td>
<td>gayā'wa'ën I used to eat it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hene-d- wait for</td>
<td>hene'nda'ën I keep waiting for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptalag- tell a myth</td>
<td>ptalā'ga'ën the myth is always told</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hem-g- take out</td>
<td>ba-i-heme'mga'ën I always took them out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūyūs'- laugh</td>
<td>ūyū'ës'dë (dissimilated from *ūyū'ës'-dë-[?]) I keep laughing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ayag- shoot</td>
<td>ts'ayaïk' he used to shoot them (154.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilim- ask for</td>
<td>yilimi'ma'ën I keep asking for it (see § 21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The verb *yewe'- return* seems to form its frequentative according to method 4, but with added -g-:

*yewe'ok'* he used to come back 47.4; 116.2; *yewèoga't* you used to come back; *yewèo'k'de*, *yewèûk'de* 11 I used to come back

There is not enough material available to determine in every case the non-aoristic forms of the frequentatives of this group. As a general rule, however, it seems that the non-aoristic stem of the frequentative is formed by repeating a consonant or semi-vowel, but in such a manner as to indicate the non-aoristic simplex back of it. Thus the frequentative of the inferential *ts'laym* he hid it is *ts'laimk* he was always hiding it; of *bilwa'uk* he jumped 160.17 it is *bilwâlk* (? = *bilwâluk*) they always jumped 160.16. From *gai'k* (inferential) he ate it 142.19 is formed *gayaâk* (if really inferential in form; perhaps third person subject aorist *gayaig* in contrast to -gâyâw of other persons, see above) he used to eat it 54.6, which, though resembling the aorist in the repetition of the stem-vowel, differs from it, probably for phonetic reasons, in the absence of the -w-.

The form *wits'îsmade* he will keep moving, given as the future of *wits'îsmade*, can not, for want of parallel forms, be accounted for. From *sgâlwa*-, non-aorist of *sgâlaw*-, is formed the frequentative *sgâlw-âlw* (perhaps according to Type 8, *lw* being a consonatic unit).

5. **Vowel lengthening.** Many verbs, particularly such as belong to Type 2, obtain a usitative signification by merely lengthening the short repeated vowel of the stem, this vowel, when stressed, assuming the falling accent. Examples of this simple process are:

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1 It is not at all certain that the -o- (-w-) of these forms really represents the -w- of the stem. It is quite probable that there is a distinct type of frequentative in repeated vowel-*og*-, in which case *wagoo'-k'ana* I used to bring it (see above under 1) would be another example.

§ 43
Simplex

*yimin{s'a* he dreams
*liik!u'xa* he sets traps
*geyewa'lxde'dad* ba-ik'iyyi'k' when
  I ate he came

Repetitive

*yimin'{s'a* he is always dreaming
*liik!u'wxa* he used to set traps
*geyewa'lxde'dad* ba-i-k'iyyi'k'
  whenever I used to eat he came

*k'ewe'k'awa'l he barks

As the last example shows, by this method verbs which are already frequentative in form can be made to take on a usitative meaning.

6. *v* + (e+) *hu*. The accented vowel (*v*) of frequentatives conforming to this formula is either the second vowel of the stem of the simplex or the repeated vowel of the stem not found in the simplex, and is followed by the last consonant (semi-vowel) of such verb-stems as end in two consonants. The forms that belong to this group seem in some cases to have rather a continuative than iterative force. Examples are:

Simplex

| *lo'hon* he caused them to die (100.8) |
| *liwila'ut'e* I looked (59.14) |
| *wo'o*t she went for (wood) (non-aorist *woo*) (162.3); 198.8 |
| *da'ag* he listened 102.8 |
| *da'agani'z*n I heard it (55.3) |
| *s'u'wil* he sits, stays 21.1 |
| *s'as'init'e* I stand (34.1) |

Repetitive

| *lo'honha* he keeps killing them |
| *liwihaut'e* I kept looking (144.19) |
| *wo'o*ha she used to go for wood 43.15; 158.18 |
| *da'ag* he listened around 102.8 |
| *da'agani'z*n I used to hear about it |
| *s'a't'aha* they always stayed (together) 112.2 |
| *s'a't'alhibik* we always stay together |
| *s'as'anhap'de* I stand around |

The last two examples do not show a rising pitch-accent, because the vowel (-a-) preceding the -l- and -n- respectively is inorganic and therefore incapable of carrying a rising or raised accent (cf. as parallel *bila'ut'e* I SHALL JUMP, not *bila'at'e*, because of inorganic -a-). They also illustrate the loss in the frequentative of a non-radical element (-i-) of the simplex; in *s'a't'alha* the loss of the -i- involves also the transfer of the verb to the first class of intransitives (second person singular, Class I, *s'a't'alhat* YOU STAY AROUND; Class II, *s'wil*am YOU SIT).
7. ṇ + lha. It is very probable that the verbs that belong here contain the continuative -l- treated under the head of petrified suffixes (see § 42, 9). The formula may then be considered morphologically identical with that listed as method 5, except that the continuative -l- is introduced before the -ha. Examples of this group are:

**Aorist (or verb) stem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplex</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’oxoz- gather</td>
<td>wa-ti-t’oxólhi’n I always gather them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bā-t’ek!-x emerge)</td>
<td>bā-t’ek’elhixia*s they all emerged 60.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sgip!- cut)</td>
<td>xa-st-sgip’tih he cut them all through 26.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k!ot’k!ad- break</td>
<td>xa-st-yā-k’odōhī he always just broke them in two 29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(al-xik!- see)</td>
<td>al-xik’tihin I used to see him (inferential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwidi(k’uw)- throw</td>
<td>gwidi lhā he kept throwing it (164.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lok!- trap)</td>
<td>lok’hōha he was always trapping them 78.4; 100.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-aoristic forms of these frequentatives dispense with the repeated vowel (ū) characteristic of the aorist, so that the introduction of an inorganic -a’- is necessitated:

- gwida’lhān I shall keep throwing it
- al-xik’a’lhik’ I used to see him (inferential)

The remarks made under method 1 in regard to the formation of frequentatives directly from the verb-stem rather than the aorist stem apply also here (sgot!olha 108.8 from verb-stem sgōt!- cut, aorist sgōd!, like sgot!o’sgat’).

8. v + v + v + lha. Only two verbs have been found that follow this very irregular formula for the frequentative:

**Simplex**

| lāp’ become! 25.2 | lawa’lhip’ always become! (78.5) |
| lā contrasting 22.7 | dahōxa lawa’lhida’e whenever it became evening 44.1; 78.6 |

| ligigwa’n I fetch (game) | liwii’lhaqu’a’n I always come home (70.3,5; 164.4) |

The latter of these shows at the same time an accountable loss of the -g- of the stem; the future of the simplex, li’gwa’n, probably does not exhibit an absolute loss of the -g-, but rather a contraction of li’g-gw- to li’gw-.
§ 44. General Remarks

Under this head may be conveniently listed a number of suffixes that either transitivize intransitives (causative, comitative, directive -amdt-, -ald-) or are characteristic of transitive verbs (directive -s- = -tx-to, directive -an(an) - for, indirect reflexive). It must be confessed, however, that the various suffixes may be so thoroughly interwoven among themselves and with the purely formal elements that follow, that a certain amount of arbitrariness can hardly be avoided in treating of them. The suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 45. Causative -(a)n-

Causatives are formed from intransitives by the addition of -n- to the intransitive form, minus, of course, its formal pronominal elements. If the final sound preceding the -n- is a vowel, the suffix can be directly appended, the vowel being generally lengthened; a final consonant (or semivowel), however, generally, though not always, requires a connective -a- (-i when umlauted) between it and the suffix; doublets (with and without connective -a-) sometimes occur, the combination of consonant + -n- then taking a constant -a (-i) after it. If the accented vowel (ō) of the aorist immediately precedes the -n- in all forms, an inorganic -h- must be introduced, the combination -nh- then necessitating a following constant -a; doublets, conditioned by the position of the accent, here also occur. Certain suffixed elements (-i-, -ii-) characteristic of intransitives drop off before the causative -n-, yet in some forms they are retained; transitivizing elements naturally remain, for without them the verb would itself be transitive and incapable of becoming a causative. The aorist and non-aorist forms of the causative, with the qualification just made, are built up on the corresponding tense-mode forms of the primitive verb. Examples of causative -(a)n- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yelnada’ō you will be lost (a palatalized by preceding y to -e-) 14.3</td>
<td>yalanada’ō you will lose it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yowo’ē he is 21.1</td>
<td>bāō-n-yowoni’ēn I woke him up (literally, I caused him to be up with my hand) 16.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 44-45
Intransitive

\[ \text{ba-i-yowona}^t \text{en} \quad \text{I miss him in shooting} \quad (\text{\(\text{?=I cause him to be out}\)} \quad (138.5) \]

\[ \text{ba-i-yowonha}^t \text{en} \quad \text{I make him hot} \]

\[ \text{t'uwugana}^t \text{en} \quad \text{I make him run} \quad \text{out} \]

\[ \text{ba-i-biliwana}^t \text{en} \quad \text{he ran him out} \]

\[ \text{haxna} \quad \text{he burned it} \]

\[ \text{haxank'wa} \quad \text{he burned him up} \]

\[ \text{ha-i-yowoii}^n \quad \text{I make him hot} \]

\[ \text{fuwugsiJia}^n \quad \text{I make him run} \]

\[ \text{ha-i-hiliwsina}^n \quad \text{he ran him out} \]

\[ \text{hax} \quad \text{it burns} \]

\[ \text{t'aga}^t \text{is} \quad \text{he cries} \]

\[ \text{hooyo}^t \text{t} \quad \text{he dances} \]

\[ \text{hoida}^t \text{t} \quad \text{he will dance} \]

\[ \text{yaa}^n \quad \text{go} \quad \text{aorist} \]

\[ \text{yana} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{non-aorist} \]

\[ \text{henet}^t \text{en} \quad \text{they were used up} \]

\[ \text{yowo}^t \text{es} \quad \text{he started, was startled} \]

\[ \text{186.10} \]

\[ \text{yoo}^t \text{s} \text{dada}^a \quad \text{he will start} \]

\[ \text{t'obigii} \quad \text{he lies like dead} \]

\[ \text{t'obaga'sd}^a \text{a} \quad \text{he will lie like dead} \quad (148.8) \]

\[ \text{s'as'inii} \quad \text{he stands} \]

\[ \text{s'a's'ant'aa} \quad \text{he will stand} \]

\[ \text{de-gulul'k'alx} \quad \text{it blazes} \]

\[ \text{p'ele'xa}^t \quad \text{he goes to war} \]

\[ \text{126.13} \]

\[ \text{dak'-limimxgwa}^t \quad \text{(tree) falls on him} \]

\[ \text{108.12} \]

\[ \text{1 Also yana'k'nan I SHALL MAKE HIM GO, with inserted and unexplained suffix -k'.} \]

\[ \text{§ 45} \]
The causative in -onha- is sometimes usitative in meaning:

lo hernha he used to kill them; lo hern he killed them 142.9

Examples occur of transitives in -n- formed from intransitives in which no causative notion can be detected:

da-lophana'n I lied to him; de-lunhixi he lied to me (intransitive dala-tot'e I shall lie [110.23])
gel-woya'na'ne'n I slept with her (26.4); gel-wa-ina'n I shall sleep with her (108.3) (intransitive wayant'e I sleep [188.22]; wai'te I shall sleep [188.20]); but wayinhe'n I cause him to sleep (162.1); wa'ihlan I shall cause him to sleep, wa'ihna put him to sleep! 106.4.8

The connective a of the causative suffix -an- in the aorist is treated differently from the a of the non-aorist forms in so far as in the former case the -an- diphthong, when stressed, receives a raised accent, while in the latter the a, as a strictly inorganic element, takes the falling accent. Thus:

Aorist

ho'gwa'ne'n he made him run
(yewen he caused him to return)
(plag'an he bathed him [186.25])

Non-aorist

hoga'ne'n make him run!
(yewa'ne'n make him return!
(pla'ga'ne'n bathe him! 186.24

In other words, the phonetic relation between aorist and non-aorist illustrated by several verb types (e.g., agan-: ag[a]n-) is reflected also in the causative suffix (-an-: [-a]n-). The same is true of other [-a]n-suffixes not causative in signification (see § 42, 10):

Aorist

i-k!wma'ne'n he fixed it 150.13
(kle'menxbi'n I make you 27.9)

Non-aorist

i-k!uma'ne'n fix it!
klem'a'ne'n make it! 186.24

§ 46. Comitative -a) gw-

Comitatives, i.e., transitive forms with the general meaning of TO DO SOME ACTION (expressed by verb-stem) TOGETHER WITH, ATTENDED BY, HAVING SOMETHING (expressed by object of verb), may be formed only from intransitives by the suffix -gw- (final -k'w, rarely -k'wa in monosyllables); after a consonant (including semivowel) a connective -a- appears before the -gw-, though in a few cases (as in aorist yaa'n- go) the -gw- is directly appended. Dissyllabic stems ending in vowel + -g- or -w- often add the comitative -gw- directly, in
which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened; doublets, however, are sometimes found with connecting a. The second vowel of aorist stems is apt to be lengthened in comitative forms, yet not as consistently as in the case of causatives. Differing in this respect from the causative -n-, the comitative suffix does not require the loss of a final aoristic intransitive element (e. g., -i-). From aorist lohoi-die are formed loho-any-cause to die, but lohoy-agw-die together with. The reason seems clear. While the action of a causative verb is logically transitive, that of a comitative is really intransitive, and the verb is only formally transitive. In the former case the subject of the verb does not undergo the action that would be expressed by the intransitive stem (lohoi-); in the latter it does. Examples of the comitative are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yāa'n- go (aorist)</td>
<td>yānk'w he takes it along (lit., he goes having it) 17.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana-  (non-aorist)</td>
<td>yanagwa'nk' he will take it along 70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līgi- come home from hunt (aorist)</td>
<td>līgwa'nk' (= līg-gwa'nk') he will fetch game home (130.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līgi-  (non-aorist)</td>
<td>giniigwa'tn I take it to (31.11); also giniyagwa'tn (13.12); future gina-gwa'n with inorganic a because of preceding n) (146.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginig- go to</td>
<td>dal-yeweya'k'w he ran away with it 14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-yeweys- run away</td>
<td>wīk'wa he travels around with it (124.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'- travel</td>
<td>lōulagwa'tn I play with him (30.1; 47.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōul- play</td>
<td>bā-wa-dawaya'k'w he flies with it (43.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daway- fly</td>
<td>yeweyagwa'tn I fetch them back (30.1; 47.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heney- use up, be satiated</td>
<td>yawayagwa'tn I talk about it (lit., I talk having it) 108.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yewey- return</td>
<td>nāez-helelagwa'tn I shall sing with pipe in hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaway- talk</td>
<td>i-helelagwa'tn I sing with it in hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[he'l- sing (non-aorist)</td>
<td>[helel- (aorist)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intransitive

$t!obagas$- lie like dead (non-
aorist)

$\tilde{\upsilon}\tilde{u}\tilde{u}$'s$-$ laugh

$baxam-$ come

Comitative

$n\tilde{a}x-da-t!obaga$'sgwan$'$ he lies
like dead with pipe in mouth

$\tilde{u}\tilde{y}\tilde{u}$'s$'gwa$'n I laugh at him

d$-ya$wix $baxama$'k$'w they
came talking (literally,
mouth-talking they-came-
with) 126.2

$l\tilde{o}$\textsuperscript{$\mu$x} $biliugwa$'n$' we play at
fighting (literally, play we-
fight-having)

$w$a$-biliugwa$'z$'n I jump having
it (=*biliugwa$'z$'n, see §7)

$biliw-$ fight, jump

If the object of the comitative verb is other than a third person, the
suffix -$gw-$ is followed by the indirective -$d-$, which does not ordinarily
appear as such, but unites with the immediately following transitive
connective -$x-$ to form -$s-$; a connective -$a-$ is inserted between the
-$gw-$ and the -$s-$, so that the whole comitative suffix for a first or
second personal object is -(a)gw$as$-. Examples are:

$\tilde{u}\tilde{y}\tilde{u}$'s$'gwasi he laughs at me

$\tilde{h}e\tilde{n}$nagwa$'s$am he ate us up (192.15)

$b\tilde{a}$'wa$-dawiyagwa$'sbink$' he will fly up with you

The form -$gwad-$ of the comitative suffix appears as such preceding
-$in-$ (umlauted from -$an-$) in the third personal object of indirect for-
forms built up on intransitive verbs derived from transitives:

$l\tilde{u}kt\tilde{\mu}'xagwandini$'n I trap for him (probably = I cause [-in] him
to be having [-gwad-] [some one] to trap [l$\tilde{u}k$\textsuperscript{$\tilde{\iota}$}i-xa-] [for him]);

but $l\tilde{u}kt\tilde{\mu}'xagwas$i he traps for me

$p'e\tilde{e}$'lexagwandini$'n I go to war for him; but $p'e\tilde{e}$'lexagwas$i he goes
to war for me

It is highly probable, however, that in such cases the -$gwad-$ is to be
definitely analyzed into a comitative element -$gwa-$ + an indirective
element -$d-$ (-$t$-) TO, FOR; this seems to be pointed out by the fact
that when the FOR-object becomes identical with the subject, i. e.,
when the verb becomes an indirect reflexive (FOR ONE'S SELF), the -$d-$
immediately precedes the regular reflexive suffix -$gw$-i-, leaving the
causative suffix -(a)n- between it and the comitative suffix -$gw$-:

$l\tilde{u}k$\textsuperscript{$\tilde{\iota}$}i-xagwant'gwide$' I trap for myself (probably = I cause[-an-]
myself [-$gw$-] to be having [-$gw-$] [some one] to trap [l$\tilde{u}k$\textsuperscript{$\tilde{\iota}$}i-xa-]
for [-$t$-][me])

§ 46
Comitatives in -gw- are formed not only from intransitivized transitives in -xa- (e.g., i-lūhū’xakʷʷ she pounds with it in hand [55.10]; 56.1), but also from non-agentive intransitives in -x- (see below, § 56). Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-agentive</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{sgō'ud} \text{d-x} )</td>
<td>( \text{sgō'usgw} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{I cut} ) (without implied object), am across (148.8)</td>
<td>( \text{I got tired} ) of it (21.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{he²-m} \text{t'bō'uk}'b'ax} ) he lay down with his arms folded, lay rolled up and put away (cf. ( \text{he²-m} \text{t'bō'uk}'t'bag} ) I roll it up and put it away)</td>
<td>( \text{he²-wa-t'bō'uk}'t'ba'xgw} ) he lay down with it clasped in his arms 154.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{t'ge²ya'l}x ) it runs around, rolls</td>
<td>( \text{wa-t'ge²ya'l}xgw} ) I roll with it ( \text{wa-i-s'uyg} \text{s'xgw} ) I am sleepy (literally, something like: I am confused having sleep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ba-i-s'ili'}x ) he landed</td>
<td>( \text{ba-i-s'ili'}xgw} ) he landed with (his canoe) 13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The obverse, as it were, of these transitive forms in -x-gwa-, is given by certain rather curious Class I intransitive forms in -x-gwa- built up on intransitive, not, like normal -x- derivatives, on transitive stems; they may be literally translated as to be with (or having) (something) doing or being. Thus from the intransitive aorist \( \text{dak'-limi'm-} \) (tree) falls on top of is formed the intransitive \( \text{dak'-limi'mxgw} \) it falls on top of me (108.12), in which the logical subject (tree) becomes an implied object, while the real object or goal of motion (me) is treated as the grammatical subject. The form quoted would have to be literally translated as I am with (or having) (it) falling on top of (me). I (as tree) fall having it, together with it would probably be something like *\( \text{dak'-limi'mgw} \). Morphologically similar to \( \text{dak'-limi'mxgw} \) are doubtless:

\( \text{hewe'hōxgw} \) I yawn (literally, I am having —[?])

\( \text{yele'xgw} \) ( = yelet!-x-gwa-) I am sweating (literally, I am —having it, i.e., perspiration [?])

With such an interpretation, the form \( \text{dak'-limi'mxgwadini} \) chop it on to him becomes readily intelligible as a causative built

\( \text{§ 46} \)

---

1. \( \text{sgō'ud} \) and \( \text{sgō'usgw} \) are morphologically quite clearly related, though in signification the latter form has widely departed from what must have been its primary meaning.
up on an intransitive in -xgwa-; literally translated it would read I CAUSE (-in) HIM TO BE WITH (-gwad-) (IT) FALLING (limi^m-x-) ON TOP OF (dak'-) (HIM). This chimes in well with the interpretation given above of the really very perplexing "for" forms in -gwadin- and -gwant'gwi.

As will have been noticed from some of the examples already given (yawayagw- TALK ABOUT, òyâts'gwa- LAUGH AT, sgōas'gwa- BE TIRED OF, henenagw- CONSUME), the primarily comitative meaning of the -gw- suffix is sometimes greatly obscured, at times practically lost. Other examples illustrating this weakening of the fundamental signification are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hoyod-</td>
<td>hoyod-agw- dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâ'-yâ'n-</td>
<td>bâ'-yâ'n-gw- pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-i-ginig-</td>
<td>ba-i-ginîl-gw- take out (no leg motion necessarily implied)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xeben-</td>
<td>xebey-agw-^1 hurt, destroy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 47. Indirective -d-(-s-)

The -d- of the indirect object never appears in its naked form (except, as we have seen, in certain forms in -gwad-; see also under -d- in petrified suffixes), but always combined into -s- with the following element -x- that serves to bind pronominal objects of the first and second persons to the verb-stem with its derivative suffixes (see §64). The indirect object of the third person is not normally expressed by this -d-, but, like an ordinary direct third personal object, is left unexpressed, the general character of the verb being impliedly indirective. As a matter of fact, an incorporated pronominal indirect object is used only when the direct object is of the third person, never of the first or second; and, since the pronominal object of the third person is never expressed in the verb, this means that what is translated as the indirect object is in reality morphologically the direct object of the verb. The indirective idea is merely a derivative development; or, more correctly, certain transitive verbs with indirective "face" require an -s- (= -d- + -x-) instead of -x- with an incorporated object of the first or second person. I GIVE IT TO HIM is, then, really rendered in Takelma by i-him-give; I GIVE IT TO YOU, by i-

^1 For the change of non-causative -n- to -y- (-î-) cf. klemê- and klemem- MAKE.
YOU-GIVE; I GIVE HIM FOOD, by I-HIM-FOOD-GIVE, in which the logically indirect object HIM must be looked upon as the direct object of the verbal complex FOOD-GIVE (FOOD, not being a pronominal object, is loosely incorporated as a prefix in the verb); I GIVE YOU FOOD, by I-YOU-FOOD-GIVE, the pronominal combination I you being expressed at the end of the verb-complex in the same form as in a simple transitive like I-YOU-SEE, except that it is preceded by -s- instead of -x-; such combinations as I GIVE YOU TO HIM, ME and HE GIVES ME TO YOU, HIM can not be expressed by one verb-form. In these latter cases the grammatical object of the verb is no longer indirectly affected by the action; hence another, though probably etymologically related, verb-stem is employed, while the indirect object is expressed by a local phrase outside the verb: I GIVE YOU TO HIM (= I-YOU-GIVE [not indirective "face"] HIM-TO), -x-, not -s-, preceding the combination I you. The idea of to in intransitives like go, run, and so on, is regularly expressed by such an extra-verbal local phrase. Many verbs that, from our point of view, seem ordinary transitives, are in Takelma provided with the indirective -s-. Examples illustrating the use of this -s- are:

Aorist                                             Future

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o}g\text{oyi}'n & \text{ I give it to him } 180.11 \quad \text{o}'k'in \ (170.13; 180.9,16) \\
\text{ogu'sbi}'n & \text{ I give it to you } 23.3 \quad \text{o'sbi'n} \ (178.15) \\
(\text{ogonxbi}'n & \text{ I give you}) \quad (\text{oinxbin} \ \text{I shall give you}) \\
\text{we}t'g'i'n & \text{ (for -g- see §42, 5) I took it from him } 76.1 \quad \text{wede'k'in} \ (17.10,11) \\
\text{we'sbi}'n & \text{ I took it from you } (15.1) \quad \text{wede'sbi'n} \ (16.10,11) \\
\text{al-da-p'\ddot{o}wp'iwi}'n & \text{ I blew at it} (17.3) \quad \text{wagawi'n} \ \text{I shall bring it to him} \\
\text{al-da-p'ap'ausbti}'n & \text{ I blew at you (for -w- see §42, 11)} \ (176.17) \quad \text{wege'sink' he will bring it to me} \\
\text{wa}a\text{ga'sam} & \text{ he brought it to us} \ (194.11) \\
\text{e'i}y'i'n & \text{ I hurt him} \\
\text{eisbi}'n & \text{ I hurt you} \\
\text{gay}a & \text{ he ate him } 54.5 \quad \text{ga-iwa'nk'} \ 130.5 \\
\text{gayausbi}'n & \text{ I ate you} \quad \text{gaisbin' he will eat you } 26.8 \\
\text{al-yebeti}'n & \text{ I showed it to him} (77.8) \quad \text{al-ye'bi'n} \ \text{I shall show it to him} \\
\text{al-yebet'psbi}'n & \text{ I showed it to you} \quad \text{al-yépsí show it to me!}
\end{align*}
\]

1 The -y- is peculiar to aorist forms of this verb with a third personal object (\text{o}g\text{oyi}'n \ \text{YOU TO HIM}; \text{o}g\text{obi} \ \text{HE TO HIM} 122.11) and to the third personal passive aorist (\text{o}g\text{oyi}'n \ \text{HE WAS GIVEN} 15.2)

2 With connecting -a before s. In o'sbi'n above -g- + -s-gives -s-, but \text{*we}sadam (= \text{we}g-\text{sadam}) would become confused with \text{wisdam} (= \text{we}d-\text{adam}) you took it from me.

§ 47
Some verbs that belong here show the -s- only in the aorist, other forms having only -x-. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;-'i-wi'&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt; I went away from him 23.12</td>
<td>he&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;'-wi'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;-'i-usb&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt; I went away from you (184.14,15)</td>
<td>he&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;'-wi'xbin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sup&gt;mi&lt;/sup&gt;usb&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;n I lent it to you 98.15</td>
<td>yimi'xi lend it to me! 98.14,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tlavat'lwi'&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt; I catch him 33.4</td>
<td>i-tlavat'lwi'&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt; (33.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tlavat'l'usb&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt; he caught you</td>
<td>i-tlavat'l'usb&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt; (140.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naga'&lt;sup&gt;z&lt;/sup&gt;n I said to him 72.9</td>
<td>naga'&lt;sup&gt;g&lt;/sup&gt;i'n (15.15; 196.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naga'&lt;sup&gt;z&lt;/sup&gt;n I said to you 108.4</td>
<td>naxbin (60.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak'-da-h&lt;sup&gt;z&lt;/sup&gt;li'&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt; I answered him (61.6)</td>
<td>dak'-da-hala'hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak'-da-h&lt;sup&gt;z&lt;/sup&gt;lsb&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;n I answered you (134.20)</td>
<td>dak'-da-hala'xbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa&lt;sup&gt;g&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sup&gt;nsa&lt;/sup&gt;'n I fight him (110.20)</td>
<td>sana'n (28.15; 33.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa&lt;sup&gt;g&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sup&gt;nsa&lt;/sup&gt;'nsb&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;n I fight you</td>
<td>sana'xbin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 48. Indirective - (a')ld-

This suffix is probably composed of the continuative -I- (see § 42, 9) and the indirective -d-, though, unlike the latter suffix, it is always employed to transitivize intransitives, a characteristic intransitive element of the aorist (e. g., -i-) regularly remaining. After vowels, the suffix appears simply as -ld-; after consonants and semivowels, a connective -a- is generally introduced, which, when accented, receives a falling pitch. The general idea conveyed by the suffix is that of purposive action toward some person or object, so that it may be conveniently translated by moving at or toward, in order to reach, going to get. Examples of its use are:

hili'ute<sup>e</sup> I climb

ya'da'te<sup>e</sup> I swim (yada-)  

bili'ue he jumped 32.13; 78.11

[da-tlayat'e] they went to get (something) to eat 75.9

[da-d<sup>a</sup>ya'et' (future) (33.9) sgele'ue<sup>e</sup> he shouted 59.4; 90.8

hiliwa'lda<sup>e</sup>n I climb for it (77.8)  
yada'da'lda<sup>a</sup>n I swim for him (to save him from drowning)  
yededa'lsi he swims for me  
biliwa'lsa<sup>a</sup>n they fought (literally, they jumped at, for each other) 27.4

da-tlayal'di'<sup>z</sup>n I went to get it to eat; da-tlayalt' he went to get it to eat (á shows by its accent that it is part of stem) 76.9

da-d<sup>a</sup>ldi'n (future) (33.9) sgelewalt' he shouted to, for him 59.4; (94.1)
wiliw- go, run
xudum’a’l da’n I go and show it to him
xudum’a’l da’n I fight him (27.3)
xudum’a’l da’n I whistled to him (33.16)
ligi’k’w he fetched home (game)
de-ligia’l’t’ he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9

70.3; 128.12; 131.5
he came home (with game) 124.22
he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9

Iwiliw’dia^n I fight him (27.3)
Xde-wiliw’dia^n I fetch it (33.16)
Xde-wiliw’dia^n I going, run (go)
whistled he whistled
He came home (with game)
Iwhi’s’i’l’dia^n I go and show it to him
Xde-wiliw’dia’n I fight him (27.3)
I whistled to him (33.16)
ligi’k’w he fetched home (game)
de-ligia’l’t’ he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9

yonoba’l’t’ they held nets waiting for fish 32.1

In wö’ult’ he went after it 29.12 the -l’d- is confined to the aorist; non-aorist forms have the stem woo- without suffix: woo’n I shall go after it (162.8,10).

§ 49. Indirective -(a’)md-

There hardly seems to be any significant difference between this and the preceding suffix, except that the indirective force of -(a’)md- seems in many cases to be much less clear and that it may be appended to transitive as well as to intransitive stems. It is quite probable that in some of the examples the -m- of the suffix is really the dissimilated product of an original -l- because of an -l- of the stem (see § 21); yet this explanation could not be made to apply to all the cases. Those forms that contain a radical -l- are given first:

Simple form

malagia’ns they are jealous (cf. malag-, malagan- tell)
yala’k’dal I dive (61.8)
(lagag- feed)
legwe’l he sucked it (186.18)
(geleg- twirl)

uyûts!- laugh
ya’mt’ ask him! 70.6

klemen- make

bak’-k’klemen’a’mad’l I make him ready to go (76.13)
dak’-k’gû’ubam’t’ she covered it (basket) over 61.9

§ 49

|wiliwa’l da’n I go and show it to him
|de-wiliwa’l da’n I fight him (27.3)
xudum’a’l da’n I whistled to him (33.16)
ligi’k’w he fetched home (game)
de-ligia’l’t’ he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9

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Simple form

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dak’-k’gû’ubam’t’ she covered it (basket) over 61.9
§ 50. Indirective

-(a)n(an)- "for"

From transitives, never from intransitives, are formed verbs in -(a)n or -(a)nan- (the first -a- is the connective vowel already spoken of) signifying TO DO (the act expressed by the verb-stem) FOR, IN BEHALF OF (the object of the verb). No rule can be given as to when -(a)n- or -(a)nan- is to be used, the two suffixes being frequently found to interchange in the same form. It is not likely that -(a)nan- is a mere duplication of the simpler -(a)n-, as no other case of suffix-reduplication could be shown to exist in Takelma, but rather a compound suffix consisting of two distinct elements that happen to be homonymous. Neither of the -(a)n- elements in-(a)nan-, however, can be identified with either the causative -(a)n- or the petrified -(a)n- of certain transitive verbs (see § 42,10), for the full -(a)nan- suffix is found suffixed to them (e. g., lōhōwminin'īn'īn I KILLED HIM FOR HIM[ = I CAUSED HIM TO DIE FOR HIM]). As in the case of the ordinary indirect object-suffix -s-, only the third person (and that, as far as the pronoun is concerned, by implication) is tolerated as the logical object, the grammatical object being always the person in whose behalf the action is done. If the formal (i. e., indirect) object of the verb is of the third person, the -(a)n- or -(a)nan- is nearly always followed by the "instrumental" i (see § 64), an umlaut of the suffix to -(i)n- or -(i)nin- necessarily resulting (see § 8, 3c). The longer form of the suffix -(a)nan is apt to be limited to the aorist forms with third personal object; non-aorist forms and aorist forms with first or second personal object generally have the shorter form of the suffix, -(a)n-. What was said above of a phonetic character in regard to the causative -(a)n- applies also here. Examples are:

Transitive

\[\text{wa}^\nu-t\text{-}l\text{-}oxōxi^n \text{I gather them} \]
(192.4)

\[\text{i-k}^\nu\text{-}mam' in \text{he fixed it} \]
(150.13; 186.16,18)

Indirective

\[\text{wa}^\nu-t\text{-}l\text{-}oxōxini^n \text{I gather them for him} \]
\[\text{wa}^\nu-t\text{-}l\text{-}uxuxanxi \text{he gathers them for me} \]
\[\text{i-k}^\nu\text{-}umininini^n' \text{I fixed it for him} \]
\[\text{i-k}^\nu\text{-}umininini'nk' \text{he will fix it for him} \]
\[\text{i-k}^\nu\text{-}manan'xi \text{he fixed it for me} \]
\[\text{i-k}^\nu\text{-}umanan'nh \text{fix it for him!} \]

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—10

§ 50
Transitive

lā^a^ba'zn I carry it (178.4,5,6)

ā'ga'zn I trap them (78.5)

k!ødäi- pick (aorist)

k!ødä- pick (non-aorist)

dé^-i-wi'gi'zn I spread it out (120.1)

k!le!men- make

limimana'zn I fell tree (cause it to fall) (108.11)

lohö'na'zn I cause him to die (142.9)

dö^unk'wank' he will kill him (116.18)

sä'gwaz'zn I paddle it (60.1; 112.9)

Indirective

lā^a^binini'zn I carry it for him

lā^a^ba'nhà^n

le'ba'nxi he carries it for me

lō^a^ginini'zn I trap them for him

lō^a^ginini'zn

(p!i'jìn) lu'ganxi he traps (deer) for me

lō'k!iminìn I shall trap them for him

k!ädäyini'zn I pick them for him

k!ädäzhini'zn

k!ede!ya'nxí he picks them for him

k!lā^adinini'zn I shall pick them for him

dé^-i-wi'ganxi he spreads it out for me

k!le!menini'zn I make it for him

k!le!mnin'zn I shall make it for him

limimini'zn I fell it for him

lohö'nninini'zn I killed him for him

lohö'nana'nñhi he killed him for him

lā'ha'na'nñxi he killed him for me

dö^mana'nk'wank' he will kill him for him

han-se'gwaz'nsin I am paddled across (literally, it, i.e., canoe, is paddled across for me)

plahanani'zn I cause it to be cooked, done

plahayini'zn I make it done for him

A number of transitive verbs in -(a)n(an)- in which the for (in behalf of) idea is not clearly apparent nevertheless doubtless belong here. Such are:

§ 50

1 For the change of suffixed n to y see § 46, second footnote.
It not infrequently happens in verbs where the logical relation existing between the subject and a first or second personal object can hardly be other than an indirect one, that the FOR idea is expressed by means of the simple transitive form with -x- or -s- instead of the more explicit indirective -(a)n(an)-, as shown in the following examples:

kedēisi he picks them for me (literally, he picks to me, alongside of kedeya'nxı he picks them for me)\(^1\)
meš'ep'xiıp' come and chop out (a hole) for me (to enable me to get out) (literally, come and chop me!) 90.16

gel-ts'eye'mxı he hid it from me (158.7); but gel-ts'ayamini'nxı I hid it from him

The idea of DOING SOMETHING FOR SOME ONE when the action is an intransitive one cannot be expressed in the verb itself, so that periphrases of one kind or another are resorted to; e. g., I GO FOR HIM is expressed by I GO, HE HAVING SENT ME. In verbs that are intransitive only in form, but logically still transitive, that is, in transitive verbs with unexpressed object, the FOR idea is expressed by the complex suffix -gua'dan- (with first or second personal object -gwas-), the analysis of which has been attempted above (see § 46). Thus we have (p'iyin) lō'wgin(in)i'nxı I TRAP (DEER) FOR HIM built up on a transitive in both form and meaning (i. e., lō'nga'nxı), but liük!ü'xagwadini'nxı I TRAP FOR HIM built up on a formal intransitive (liük!ü'xa'tı). The idea of FOR, IN BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF is rendered in transitive verbs by adding to the indirective suffix -(a)n(an)- the regular reflexive suffix -k'wi- (-gwi-):

dō'mana'nk'widā he will kill them for himself
	šümāk'wan̓k'widè I kill them for myself
dé'-t-wi't'gank'widè I spread it out for myself
han-se'gua'nk'widè I paddle myself across, really, I paddle (canoe) across for myself

\(^1\)There must be a difference in signification, however, between kedēisi and kedeya'nxı. The former probably means "he picks them for me, i.e., in order to give them to me;" the latter "he picks them in my behalf (perhaps because I am sick and cannot do so myself.)" Compare also dē'kse'cxi HE OPENED THE DOOR FOR ME (i.e., in order to let me in) (63.12) with dē'kse'ganzı HE OPENED THE DOOR ON MY BEHALF (perhaps because I was unable to do so myself).
In intransitive verbs with implied transitive force a -t' is inserted between the indirective -(a)n(an) and the reflexive -gwi:  

lük'tit'xagwant'gwi' he traps for himself  
Also this form in -gwant'gwi- was explained above.

§ 51. Indirect Reflexive -gwa-

By indirect reflexive is here meant action in reference to something belonging to one's self, not action in behalf of one's self. From the latter idea (expressed, as we have seen, by -(a)n(an)k'wi- and -(a)n(an)-t'gwi-) the indirect reflexive in -gwa- differs in being always found in a transitive setting; from the comitative -(a)gw(a)- it differs phonetically in being formed only from transitive verbs with expressed object and in the constancy of the final -a- (third person aorist -k'wa, not -k'w). Examples of its use are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sín-é'i-t'gili'ësgwa</td>
<td>he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mánx al-nó'o'k'wa (= gw-k'wa)</td>
<td>he painted his own face (cf. nów'gw-i'ë I paint it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-gaxaxá'xgwa'ë</td>
<td>I scratch myself, i.e., my own (cf. i-gúxágixi'ë I scratch him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-p'ël-ë-nó'o'k'wà</td>
<td>warm your hands! (188.20) (cf. i-p'ël-ë-nó'o'k'wà I warm his hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sín-delet'p'gwa</td>
<td>he stuck it into his own nose (cf. dà'o-delet'p'i he pierced his — another's — ear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bils 'al-giliga'lk'wa'ë</td>
<td>I covered myself with moss (48.14) (cf. bils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-giliga'lk'wà'ë</td>
<td>I covered him with moss (cf. bils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bils 'i-giliga'lk'wà'ë</td>
<td>I covered my hands with moss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwen-p'ëiy'ënk'wa</td>
<td>he lies on pillow (probably = he causes his neck to lie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'tedé'k'wà'ë</td>
<td>I pick them for myself (literally, I pick my own)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-k'ëuk'wak'</td>
<td>he brandished it before his face 172.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-k'lëma'ñk'wa</td>
<td>he prepared himself, got ready 172.2 (cf. i-k'lëma'ñk'wa he fixed it, got it ready 114.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that whenever what in English we are accustomed to consider a direct reflexive is really such only in form, not in fact, the Takelma idiom requires the indirect -k'wa- form, not the direct reflexive in -gwi-. Thus, I see or scratch myself is not logically a reflexive in the same sense as I kill, drown, or hang myself, the former involving strictly action on what belongs to the subject, not on the subject itself: I see or scratch my own (flesh). Still such distinctions can

1The object, generally a body-part, to which the action refers is printed in Roman characters.
2p'ëyin-connected with -p'ëyin-LIE?
hardly be insisted upon; much depends on idiomatic usage. The indirect reflexive suffix, it would seem, is employed only when the direct object is incorporated in the verb; if the direct object is taken out of the verb-complex and provided with a possessive pronoun; all ambiguity as to the relation between subject and object is removed and the -gwa- falls out. Thus we have dāⁿ-dē'le'p'ī gwa HE PIERCED HIS OWN EAR with indirect reflexive -gwa- to show the possession of the object (dāⁿ- EAR) by the subject; dāⁿ-dele'p'ī would mean HE PIERCED ANOTHER’S EAR. The former sentence can also be expressed more analytically by dānxda gwa hadele'p'ī HIS-OWN (-dagwa) -EAR HE-IN-PIERCED-IT; dānxda hadele'p'ī would then have reference to the piercing of another’s ear. In other words, the reflexive idea is expressed in the verb or in the noun according to whether the latter is incorporated or independent.

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 52-57)

§ 52. General Remarks

Under this head are included such suffixes as intransitivize a transitive verb by removing the object (-xa-), transferring the object from without to within the sphere of the subject (reflexive, reciprocal), or changing the character of the action altogether (non-agentive, positional). The passive intransitivizes by removing, not the object, but the subject, the former remaining in exactly the same form in which we find it in the corresponding transitive; the voice is characterized by peculiar suffixes that differ for the various tense-modes, and which, following as they do the pronominal elements of the verb, will receive appropriate treatment in discussing the purely formal verbal elements. The normal transitive, its ancillary passive, the active intransitive (-xa-), the reflexive, the reciprocal, the non-agentive, and the positional may be looked upon as the seven voices of a transitive verb, of which only the first five (possibly also the sixth), however, can be freely formed from any transitive stem. Of the seven voices, the first two are provided with a distinct set of pronominal object (and transitive subject) suffixes; the third and the fifth, with Class I intransitive subjects; the remaining, with Class II intransitive subjects.

Before giving examples of the intransitive suffixes, it may be useful to rapidly follow out a particular transitive stem (dink!- STRETCH OUT [= base din- + transitive petrified suffix-k!-]) in its various voices. First
of all, we may form an ordinary active transitive verb with expressed object by attaching to the verb or aorist stem the appropriate pronominal suffixes: ba-i-de-di'nik!a^x an I STRETCH IT OUT (LIKE A RUBBER BAND or the like) (62.1). Secondly, from this may be formed a passive by the addition to the stem (dinik!-') of the pronominal object and characteristic passive suffix: ba-i-de-di'nik!an IT IS OR WAS (ACTIVELY) STRETCHED OUT. Thirdly, the transitive stem may be made intransitive by a failure to specify the object: ba-i-de-di'nik!xade^x I STRETCH (SOMETHING) OUT. Fourthly, a direct reflexive is formed by the suffix -gwi-: ba-i-de-di'ni^xk'wide^x I (actually, if such were possible) STRETCH MYSELF OUT, in as literal a sense as in, e.g., I KILL MYSELF. Fifthly, the transitive form may be made reciprocal by the compound suffix -x-(or -s-)an-: ba-i-de-di'ni^xza^x THEY (actively and literally) STRETCH ONE ANOTHER OUT. Sixthly, the non-agentive voice is formed by a suffixed -x-: ba-i-de-dini^tx it stretches out (144.14), in the sense in which a sore might be supposed to spread, without volition and without apparent agency; this particular form is idiomatically employed to refer to the stretching out, advancing, marching, of a single column, the figure here being evidently that of a long string-like line moving out without distinctly sensed agency. Similarly, bā^a-dini^tx (CLOUDS) SPREAD UP IN LONG STRIPS 13.3 are not actively spread out by some one, do not spread out some unexpressed object, are not conceived of as actually spreading themselves out, and are not conceived of as being in the static, purely positional condition of lying extended. Seventhly, the last, positional voice is expressed by an aoristic -i-, non-aoristic -as-: dink!i it LIES SPREAD OUT, referring to a long string or other elongated body extended on the ground; future dink!a'sdā^a. A synopsis for the second person singular (and reciprocal plural) of dink!-(dinik!-) SPREAD of the seven voices in the six tense-modes is given in Appendix A. The intransitive suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 53. Active Intransitive -xa-

The -a- of this suffix is a constant element except before a personal ending beginning with a vowel: p'ele'xik' we go to fight. Like other non-radical -a- vowels it may be umlauted to i: s'om-lū-hūtxiya^x THEY (indef.) OPERATE AS s'omlōho'lōxa^x (class of medicine men) 172.14. The final consonant of the aorist stem of verbs of Type
8 falls out before the -xa-, also an indirective d (including the -d- of -[a]md-, [a]d; a final radical -d-, however, unites with -xa- to form -sa-). Verbs of Type 5 employ not the aorist, but the verb-stem, in the aorist of the -xa- derivative (cf. the parallel phenomenon in the formation of the frequentative, § 43, 1 and 6; for exceptions see § 40, 5), inserting the repeated stem-vowel between the fortis consonant of the stem and the suffix; -xa- derivatives of Type 5 verbs thus belong to Type 2. For the vocalism of the stem of -xa- forms, see § 31, 5. Verbs in -xa- of Types 2 and 3 regularly have a short second stem vowel, even if the quantity in the primitive verb is long; this short vowel may, however, be secondarily lengthened, with falling accent, to express a frequentative idea. In non-aorist forms the stress tends to fall on the -xa-. Verbs in -xa- can be formed, of course, only from transitives, and, although in form they are strictly intransitive, they always logically imply an object. Examples of -xa- are:

lūbū'xa⁴ she pounded 16.9; ḫ-lū'pxaqwank⁴ she will pound having it (pestle) 55.10 (aorist transitive lobo'p' she pounded them 16.9)

tʰi'la'.mxade⁸ I went fishing (tʰi'la'mda⁸n I fished for them)
klā°wa'nxa⁸ she sifts 57.15 (k!łā°wa'nda⁸n I sift acorn meal [16.10])
dak'-t'ek'e'xa⁸ he smokes 96.23 (Type 5 dak'-t'e'*gì⁸n I give him to smoke [170.13])
p!ebe'xa⁸ he beat off (bark) 55.6 (p!labab- chop [90.11])
lebe'sade⁸ I sew (lebeda⁸n I sew it)
sgūt!u'xa⁸ he is cutting 92.2 (Type 5 aorist sgōu⁸d- 72.10)
al-xīkt'i'xa⁸ he looked around 102.12 (Type 5 aorist al-xīlq- 124.8)
lūk!u'xa⁸ he traps (Type 5 aorist lōu⁸g'- 78.5); future lū'xʷugwa-dinin I shall trap for him
wā°-himi'xa⁸ I was talking to somebody (wā°-himida⁸n I talked to him [59.16])
dak'-da-hele'halxade⁸ I always answer (dak'-da-hā°li⁸n I answer him [146.14])
dak'-hene'xa⁸ he waits; future dak'-henxa't'ee⁸ I shall wait (dak'-hene'da⁸n I wait for him)
yims'as⁸ (= -s-xa⁸) he dreams; future yims'as't'ee⁸; imperative yims'as'

In klēmxa⁸n I was making, working (future klēmaxa't'ee⁸) the loss of the -n- in the non-aorist forms (cf. klēmna'n I shall make it [28.14]) may be due to a purely phonetic cause (see § 11)
§ 54. Reflexive -gwi-

The final consonant of the aorist stem of some verbs of Type 8 is eclipsed, with lengthening of preceding vowel, also before the reflexive -gwi- (see § 40, 8), in the case of others it is preserved. Where the -gwi- reflexive is derived from indirect transitives in -d- (-amd-, -gwadan-), there is often practically no difference in signification between it and the indirect reflexive -gwa-. Examples of -gwi- are:

- t!omôk'wide I kill myself (from !omom-)
- al-yebé p'gwi he showed himself (yebeb-)
- al-xôk'wí I looked at myself
- p!agǎnk'wide I bathed (literally, I caused myself to bathe; cf. p!agâna'n I bathe him)
- se'la'mt'gwi I shall paint myself (se'la'mdan I shall paint him)
- t'gwaxâk'wide I tattooed myself (t'gwaxât he tattooed him)
- t'gwâxa'nt'gwi I shall tattoo myself (=for myself)
- n-gis'iga's'gwi I tickle myself
- al-wa-ts!eyék'wide I washed myself with it
- dôa-delega'mt'gwi (= dôa-dele'p'gwa'n) I pierce my ears
- (yâk') ktemenk'wit' they made themselves (strong) 27.12
- xuma ogok'wide I give food to myself (=I food-give myself)
- n-leqgâk'wide I shall touch myself

Before the imperative endings -p', -p'anp' the reflexive suffix becomes lengthened to -gwi-:

- klet'gwi'p'! pick them for yourself!
- de'gwail't'gwi'p'anp' take care of yourselves! 126.20; (128.24)

The reflexive of nagâ- say to is irregular in that is is formed not from the transitive stem, but from the corresponding intransitive nagai- say: nagai'wit' he said to himself 104.1 (cf. nagai'wa, §62).

§ 55. Reciprocal \((-x\) \(-s\)) -an-

The -x- and -s- preceding the characteristic reciprocal -an- (umlauted -in-) suffix are nothing but the connective consonant of direct and indirect transitive verbs respectively, the choice in the reciprocal form between the two depending entirely upon which is used in the corresponding simple transitive. A difference, however, in the use of this -x- (-s-) between the transitive and reciprocal is found in so far as in the latter it appears with a third as well as first and second

1 Indirect reflexive (for oneself) in signification, though without indirective suffix of any kind. The form is thus analogous to such as kitâkâsi mentioned above (see §90). That the reflexive action is thought of as indirective in character seems to be indicated by the ablaut of the stem (k/ôa-); see §31, 6.
personal object. The phonetic form of what precedes the -x- (-s-) is the same as in the transitive from which the reciprocal is derived. The reciprocal element -an- is the only one of the verbal suffixes that is placed between the connecting -x- and the personal endings, so that it may rightly be looked upon as in a way equivalent to the incorporated objective pronouns. Examples of -x-an- are:

\[ k\text{}'loyōxinik}\'] we go together, accompany one another (33.15)  
\[ tlē\text{'}xinibənət \] let us play shinny!
\[ i\text{-lats}la\text{'xinik}' \] we touch one another
\[ al-s\text{'in}-lō'wxa\text{'n} \] they meet each other (literally, they thrust noses to one another)
\[ tlomōxa\text{'n} \] they kill one another (33.10)
\[ gel-wayānxā\text{'n} \] they were sleeping together (literally, they caused each other to sleep facing each other) 190.2
\[ al-xi\text{'t}xa\text{'n} \] they looked at each other

Examples of -s-an-, i.e., of indirect reciprocals, are:

\[ naga\text{'}sa\text{'n} \] they said to each other 31.9 (cf. naga\text{'}shi\text{'n} I said to you [100.1]); future nāxan\text{'}t (cf. nāxbin [60.3])
\[ sā\text{'}nsa\text{'n}sa\text{'n} \] they fight one another (23.14; 184.13) (cf. sā\text{'}nsa\text{'n}ns-bi\text{'n}'); future san\text{'}xan\text{'}t (23.15) (cf. san\text{'}xbin)
\[ he\text{e}^\text{e}\text{-tā}s\text{'a}n\text{'n} \] they went away from one another (cf. he\text{e}^\text{e}\text{-ī}ūsbi\text{'n} [184.14]); future he\text{e}^\text{e}\text{-ī}wī\text{'xan\text{'}t} (cf. he\text{e}^\text{e}\text{-ī}wī\text{'xbin})
\[ lā\text{'}ma\text{'ls}a\text{'n} \] they quarreled with each other 27.2; 86.10
\[ wā\text{'}hīmī\text{'sa}\text{'n} \] they talked to one another 124.14(cf. wā\text{'}hīmī\text{'s}bi\text{'n})
\[ lō\text{'}gwa\text{'s}in\text{'}ba\text{'n} \] let us play 32.5 (cf. lō\text{'}gwa\text{'s}bin future)
\[ ti\text{'}ūl\text{'}lal\text{'}s\text{'}in\text{'}ba\text{'n} \] let us play at gambling-sticks (tī\text{'}ūl\') 31.9
\[ al\text{-sege\text{'s}ak\text{'sinik\'} \] we keep nodding to one another; seck\text{'}sa\text{'k\'}-sank\' they nodded to one another (inferential)172.10 (but unduplicated al-se\text{'}e\text{'xinik\'} we nodded to each other)

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\[ wā\text{'}hīmī\text{'sa}\text{'n} \] they talked to one another 124.14(cf. wā\text{'}hīmī\text{'s}bi\text{'n})
\[ lō\text{'}gwa\text{'s}in\text{'}ba\text{'n} \] let us play 32.5 (cf. lō\text{'}gwa\text{'s}bin future)
\[ ti\text{'}ūl\text{'}lal\text{'}s\text{'}in\text{'}ba\text{'n} \] let us play at gambling-sticks (tī\text{'}ūl\') 31.9
\[ al\text{-sege\text{'s}ak\text{'sinik\'} \] we keep nodding to one another; seck\text{'}sa\text{'k\'}-sank\' they nodded to one another (inferential)172.10 (but unduplicated al-se\text{'}e\text{'xinik\'} we nodded to each other)

§ 56. Non-agentive -x-

The difference in signification between the non-agentive -x- and the intransitive -xa- may be well brought out by a comparison with the distinctly double signification of English intransitively used transitives. If such a transitive word as split be relieved of its object, it may be employed in two quite distinct senses, either to indicate the same sort of action that is expressed by the transitive, but without explicit direction (as, THE CARPENTER CAN SPLiT, i.e., can split beams, boards); or to indicate a spontaneous non-volitional activity resulting in a static condition identical with that induced by the corresponding transitive action (as, THE BEAMS, BOARDS, SPliT, i.e., spontaneously

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undergo motion resulting in that condition which is brought about by corresponding activity from without: THE CARPENTER SPLITS THE BEAMS, BOARDS. SPLIT in the former case is rendered in Takelma by xā*-ts-liwi’ixa₄ (aorist transitive ts’liwi-d-); in the latter, by xā*-ts-liwi’s’ (= -ts’liwi’d-x). It is true that in some cases the use of -x does not seem to be logically justified (e.g., al-hūyxdaexe I HUNT 136.18; al-ho-yoiyate’n I HUNT THEM); but something must be allowed for idiomatic, not literally translatable usage. Such petrified suffixes as -d- do not drop out before the -x-; the repeated consonant of Type 8 verbs falls off as usual (yet cf. forms like limim-x-gwa-, §46). Examples of the non-agentive are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Non-agentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-k’wā’aqwin</td>
<td>k’wā’axde'I awoke (16.3) (future i-k’wā’k!win)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leme’s’k’ they took them along</td>
<td>leme’s’x they all went 136.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-t’ge’yili’ezn</td>
<td>t’ge’ya’lx it rolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-ts’iibi’p’ he closed door</td>
<td>de-ts’iib’ix (door) shut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl’a-i-ha-u-t’gū’u’p’ he upset it</td>
<td>pl’a-i-ha-u-t’gū’upx it upset 60.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa’t’lemex’m he assembled them</td>
<td>wa-t’temexia’uz people assembled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110.3</td>
<td>144.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha+w-i-ha’nants!izn I made it stop</td>
<td>ha-u-hana’ezs(=a’tsx)it stopped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dī-sgū’yūk’li’zn I knock it down</td>
<td>dī-sgū’t’sxl’ it fell (nobody pushing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48.7, 8)</td>
<td>(59.11; 62.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-qwidiqwa’t’i he threw them</td>
<td>kū’bū’nk’wa (tiredness) gwidiq-wa’s (= -a’tx) he was plumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(108.21; 138.3)</td>
<td>tired out (probably = he tottered with tiredness) 120.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-smili’smili’zn I swing it</td>
<td>smili’smalxdaexe I swing ¹ (73.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāa-t’ez’gū’izn I lift it up (Type 5)</td>
<td>bāa-t’ek’et’ax it bobs up and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>down (60.11,13,14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some verbs -alx- (= continuative -al- + non-agentive -x-) seems to be quite equivalent to the intransitive -xa-:

geyewa’lxdexe I am eating (31.3) (but, hortatory, ge’xaba’z let us eat)  
le’ba’nxdaexe I carry (178.6) (lāba’tzn I carry it [178.3,4])  
ūgwa’nxdaexe I drink (see § 21).

The non-agentive character of verbs in -x- may be reflected in transitives (causatives) derived from them, in that in such causatives

¹ It may not be uninteresting to note, as throwing light on the native feeling for -x-, that this form sounded somewhat queer to Mrs. Johnson, for, as she intimated, one can’t very well be swinging without either actively swinging one’s self or being swung by some one.

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the subject is not thought of as being the direct cause of the state or activity predicated, but is rather considered as indirectly responsible for it. Thus, from the aorist stem *t'gwiliw* (water, blood drops, drips 58.1) are formed:

\[ p\text{-}a\text{-}i\text{-}t\text{'}gwili\text{'k}wana\text{'}n \ (\text{voluntarily}) \text{ } \text{drop}, \text{spill it} \\
\text{p}\text{-}a\text{-}i\text{-}t\text{'}gwili\text{'}zna\text{'}n \ I \text{ } \text{have it drop} \ (\text{unavoidably}), \text{spill it (72.8,16)} \]

§ 57. Positional-\text{\textit{i}}-

As we have already seen (§ 40, 15), this suffix, though of clearly derivational character, is generally, probably always, confined to the aorist. A positional verb in -\text{\textit{i}}- may be defined as expressing the state or condition resulting from the completed action of a transitive or non-agentive; e. g., \text{p}a\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t\text{'}gup\text{'}idí IT (box-like object) lies upside down is a verb expressing the result of the action defined in \text{p}a\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t\text{'}gá\text{'}\text{\text{\text{\textit{va}}}n} I \text{upset IT} and \text{p}a\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t\text{'}gá\text{'}\text{\text{\text{\textit{px}}} it} \text{upset 60.8.} 

From one point of view the suffix -\text{\textit{i}}- serves to mark off a class of purely positional verbs, a different verb-stem being used for each general form-category of the object described. Such verbs of position are:

\text{dink}\text{!}IT long, stretched out object lies (transitive aorist \text{dinik!}-)
\text{t'geits'}IT round object lies (138.24) (t'geyets'!-
\text{p'ildí} flat object lies
\text{t'obiqí} corpse, dead-looking body lies
\text{s'ainí} box-like object with opening on top lies
\text{p}a\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t\text{'}gup\text{'}idí box-like object with opening below lies (t'gá\text{'}\text{\text{\text{\textit{b}}}--}
\text{s}'u\text{\text{\text{\textit{g}w}idí} curled-up object (like bundle of rope) lies
\text{da-sgalí} scattered objects (like grain on floor) lie
\text{wik'lidí} several objects heaped together lie (wí\text{\text{\text{\textit{g}}}--}
\text{s'as'iní} erect object is, he stands 34.1; 45.12; 77.9
\text{s'uwilí sitting object (person) is, he sits, dwells 21.1; 57.2
\text{k'ebilí} absent object is, he is long absent 124.20

Not so clearly positional are:
\text{lá}\text{\text{\text{\textit{i}}} (generally heard as lá\text{\text{\text{\textit{l}e}')}} it becomes 33.17; 45.3
\text{yamli} he looks pretty

Of these verbs those that are directly derived from transitives, it will be observed, use in the aorist the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, of their simplex (thus \text{dink!}-, not \text{dinik!}-). The derivational -(a)d- (see § 42, 4) that seems to characterize a number of positional verbs cannot be explained.
Certain Takelma place-names in -i (or -i-k', -i'-k' with suffix -k' characteristic of geographical names) can hardly be otherwise explained than as positional verbs in -i'-, derived from nouns and provided with local prefixes defining the position of the noun. Such are:

- **Di^-dani** (Table Rock (probably = rock[da'n] is [-i] west [di^-]; west of the rock would be di^-dana' (cf. dana'r'k' my rock)

- **Dak'-t'gami-k'** (cf. Dak'-t'gamiya' the person from D.) (= place where [-k'] elks[t'ga'm] are [i] above, on top [dak'-])

- **Dal-daniyla'** (cf. Dal-daniya' one from D.) (= place where [-k'-] in brush, away from creek[dal-] is [-i] rock[da'n])

- **Han-xilmali** ghost land (= across river[han-] are [-i] ghosts[xila'm])

- **De-di'iwi** near the falls of Rogue River (= in front [-de-] are [-i] falls [di'au])

§ 58. IMPERSONAL -iau-

Vering toward the purely formal (pronominal) elements of the verb is the suffix -iau-. Forms in -iau- are intransitive, and may be formed from all intransitives and all transitives with incorporated pronominal object, the function of the suffix being to give an indefinite, generalized collective, or impersonal, signification (cf. German MAN, French on) to the always third personal pronominal (Class I intransitive) subject. Examples are:

- **yâ'nia'ue people go 58.14; 152.5**
- **wa^-i-t'lemexia'ue people assemble 144.23**
- **e'bia'ue people are 192.7 (cf. e'bi'k' we are 180.13)**
- **tslûyô'ya'uk' there was (inferential) deep water(cf. 188.14)**
- **sâ'nsa'nsinia'ue fighting is going on 23.14**

- **dömxbiya'ue people will kill you** (intransitive; but transitive with definite third personal subject dömxbin'k' they will kill you) (33.10)

In particular, states of the weather or season, necessarily involving indefiniteness of subject, are referred to by forms provided with the indefinite suffix -iau-. Examples are:

1This example is due to Mr. H. H. St. Clair 2d, from whose Manuscript Notes on Takelma it was taken. It is there written *Di'tani*.
loplodia'us it is raining, hailing, or snowing 90.1; 152.11 (but definitely nōx lop!o't' it rains 90.1; (198.9); ts'ielam lop!o't' it hails; pā'ā'as lop!o't' it snows 90.2; 196.7) lep'niya'uk' it has gotten to be winter samgisa'atu it will be summer (92.9) sam giaaugulugwa'n it is about to be summer (literally, it is summer-intended, see §68) (cf. 48.13) t'uwugia'atu it is hot (i.e., it is hot weather; but t'uwu'lek' it, some object, is hot [25.10]; 94.15) we'egia-uda when it is daybreak 73.6; 126.13


§ 59. Introductory

Every Takelma verb except, so far as known, the defective copula ett'e I AM, has forms of six tense-modes—aorist, future, potential, inferential, present imperative, and future imperative. Of these, all but the aorist, which is built up on a derived aorist stem, are formed from the verb-stem. A special tense or mode sign, apart from the peculiar stem of the aorist, is found in none of the tense-modes except the inferential, which, in all the voices, is throughout characterized by a -k'-(g-) following the objective, but preceding the subjective, pronominal elements. Each of the tense-modes except the potential, which uses the personal endings of the aorist, is, however, characterized by its own set of pronominal endings. It is for this very reason that it has seemed best to use the term tense-modes for the various modes and tenses, instead of attempting a necessarily artificial classification into tenses (aorist and future) and modes (indicative, potential, imperative, and inferential), the method of distinguishing the latter being fundamentally the same as that employed to form the former, i.e., the use of special pronominal schemes.

The purely temporal idea is only slightly developed in the verb. The aorist does duty for the preterite (including the narrative past), the present, and the immediate future, as in now I SHALL GO; while the future is employed to refer to future time distinctly set off from the present, as in I SHALL GO THIS EVENING, TO-MORROW. A similar distinction between the immediate and more remote future is made in the imperative. The present imperative expresses a command which, it is intended, is to pass into more or less immediate fulfillment, as in GO AWAY! while the command expressed by the future

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imperative is not to be carried out until some stated or implied point of time definitely removed from the immediate present, as in come to-morrow!, give her to eat (when she recovers). The uses of the potential and inferential will be best illustrated by examples given after the forms themselves have been tabulated. In a general way the potential implies the ability to do a thing, or the possibility of the occurrence of a certain action or condition (I can, could go if I care, cared to), and thus is appropriately used in the apodosis of an unfulfilled or contrary-to-fact condition; it is also regularly employed in the expression of the negative imperative (prohibitive). The peculiar form of the potential (verb-stem with aorist pronoun endings) seems in a measure to reflect its modal signification, the identity of its stem with that of the future indicating apparently their lack of fulfillment of the action, while the aoristic pronominal elements may be interpreted as expressing the certainty of such fulfillment under the expressed or implied circumstances by the person referred to.

The inferential implies that the action expressed by the verb is not directly known or stated on the authority of the speaker, but is only inferred from the circumstances of the case or rests on the authority of one other than the speaker. Thus, if I say the bear killed the man, and wish to state the event as a mere matter of fact, the truth of which is directly known from my own or another's experience, the aorist form would normally be employed:

\[\text{men}a'\, (\text{bear}) \, \text{ yap!a} \, (\text{man}) \, t!omōk'\, w\text{a} \] (it killed him)

If I wish, however, to imply that it is not definitely known from unmistakable evidence that the event really took place, or that it is inferred from certain facts (such as the finding of the man's corpse or the presence of a bear's footprints in the neighborhood of the house), or that the statement is not made on my own authority, the inferential would be employed:

\[\text{men}a' \, \text{ yap!a} \, dōmk'\, wak' \] it seems that the bear killed the man; the bear must have, evidently has, killed the man

Inasmuch as mythical narration is necessarily told on hearsay, one would expect the regular use of the inferential in the myths; yet, in the great majority of cases, the aorist was employed, either because the constant use of the relatively uncommon inferential forms would have been felt as intrusive and laborious, or because the events related in the myths are to be looked upon as objectively certain.

\[\S\ 59\]
The inferential is also regularly employed in expressing the negative future.

Not only do the pronominal elements vary for the different tense-modes, but they change also for the two main classes of intransitive verbs and for the transitive (subject and object), except that in the present imperative and inferential no such class-differences are discernible, though even in these the characteristic \(-p'\) of Class II intransitives brings about a striking formal, if not strictly personal, difference. We thus have the following eleven pronominal schemes to deal with:

Aorist subject intransitive I.
Aorist subject intransitive II.
Aorist subject transitive.
Future subject intransitive I.
Future subject intransitive II.
Future subject transitive.
Inferential subject.
Present imperative subject.
Future imperative subject intransitive I and transitive.
Future imperative subject intransitive II.
Object transitive (and subject passive).

The transitive objects are alike for all tense-modes, except that the combination of the first person singular object and second person singular or plural subject (i.e., thou or ye me) always agrees with the corresponding subject form of intransitive II. Not all the personal forms in these schemes stand alone, there being a number of intercrossings between the schemes of the three classes of verbs. The total number of personal endings is furthermore greatly lessened by the absence of a dual and the lack of a distinct plural form for the third person. The third person subject is positively characterized by a distinct personal ending only in the aorist subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive II, and the future subject transitive; as object, it is never characterized at all, except in so far as the third person object, when referring to human beings, is optionally indicated by a special suffix \(-k'wa-\) (\(-gwa-\)). In all other cases the third person is negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending. The second singular subject of the present imperative is similarly negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending, though the \(-p'\) of the present imperative intransitive II superficially contradicts this statement (see § 61).
The pronominal schemes, with illustrative paradigms, will now be taken up according to the verb-classes.

§ 60. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS I

This class embraces most of the intransitives of the language, particularly those of active significance (e.g., come, go, run, dance, play, sing, die, shout, jump, yet also such as be, sleep), verbs in -xa-, indefinites in -iau-, and reciprocals. The tense-modes of such verbs have the following characteristic subjective personal endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Infential</th>
<th>Present Imperative</th>
<th>Future Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-e^t, -de^t</td>
<td>-e'e, -de e</td>
<td>-k'-a^n</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(a')^k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-(a')^t</td>
<td>-(a'da)^e</td>
<td>-k' 'ael</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-k'</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td>-y'k'</td>
<td>-(i)^ga'm</td>
<td>-k'-ana'k'</td>
<td>-(a)ba^t</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-(a')t^p'</td>
<td>-(a')t^ba't</td>
<td>-k' 'et^p</td>
<td>(a')^p^p</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-(a')t^p'</td>
<td>-(a')t^ba't</td>
<td>-k' 'et^p</td>
<td>(a')^p^p</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 It is possible that this suffix is really -k'a^n:n' after a catch is practically without sonority, and very easily missed by the ear. The first person singular and plural inferential endings are then both intransitives in form (cf. -a^n and -ana'k' as first person singular and plural subject of intransitives); the third person is without ending in both. The ending -k'-a^n is made particularly likely by the subordinate in -k'-a'nd-a^t (see § 70).

The imperative is necessarily lacking in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural in - (a)ba^t of the present imperative is used as a hortatory: yanabat  LET US GO! 158.11; (cf. 168.11). This - (a)ba^t is not infrequently followed by emphasizing particles: -ni (e.g., yubat  let us be! [cf. 158.8]); -hi (e.g., ye'ba'hi let us return! 63.1; see § 114, 2), or -ha'n (e.g., ya'nabat ha'n let us go 64.1), the last of these being clearly identical with the nominal plural element -han (see § 99); -nih'an is also found (ya'nabat  niha'n let us all go, pray! [cf. 150.24; 152.6]). No true future hortatory and second person plural imperative seem to exist; for the latter, the ordinary indicative form in -t'ba^t (dabat in the other classes) was always given. The connective -a- is used with most of the consonantal endings, as indicated in the table, when the preceding part of the word ends in a consonant, otherwise the ending is directly attached; in the reciprocal -t'p', -t', and -t'ba^t are directly added to the suffix -an-. Before the only vocative ending, -a^k', a glide -y- is introduced if the preceding sound is a vowel (e.g., al-yowoyi'k' we look). In the first person plural of the future -iga'm (-aorist -ig- + a'm; cf. da'm in possessive

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pronouns, §§ 91–3) is used after consonants, -\(ga'm\) after vowels. The first form of the second person plural imperative (-\('np'\)) is used to follow most consonants (-\(np\) to follow a "constant" -a- of the stem), -\(p'\) being found only after vowels and probably \(m\) and \(n\) (e. g., \(yu'p'\) BE YE!; \(yana'p'\) GO YE!).

In regard to the etymology of the endings, it is clear that the second person plural aorist is derived from the corresponding singular form by the addition of a characteristic -\(p'\) (cf. the imperative), that the second persons of the future are differentiated from the aorist forms by an added -\(a\), and that the first person singular future is identical with the corresponding form in the aorist, except for the lack of a catch. The second persons of the inferential are periphrastic forms, consisting of the third personal form in -\(k'\) (mode-sign, not personal ending) plus \(et'l'\) THOU ART, \(et'l'p'\) YE ARE.

As paradigmatic examples are chosen a stem ending in a vowel (aorist \(yowo-\) BE), one ending in a consonant (aorist \(baxam-\) COME), a reciprocal (aorist \(s\(\text{s}\)\(\text{n}\)\(\text{n}\)\(\text{s}\)\(\text{n}\)\(-\)san-\(\text{s}\)\(\text{n}\)\(\text{s}\)\(\text{a}\)\(-\)fight with one another), and an indefinite in -\(iau-\) (aorist \(t'\)\(\text{w}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{w}\)\(-\)\(g\)\(-\)iau-\) BE HOT).

### AORIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>(yowo')st</th>
<th>(baxam')st</th>
<th>I come</th>
<th>the y</th>
<th>(t')(\text{w})(\text{u})(\text{w})(-)(a)(-)it is hot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>(yowo)st</td>
<td>(baxam)st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>(yowo)t</td>
<td>(baxam)t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>(yowo)e</td>
<td>(baxam)e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td>(yowo)'|k'</td>
<td>(baxam)'|k'</td>
<td>(s(\text{s})(\text{n})(\text{s})(\text{n})(-)san)(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)fight</td>
<td>(s(\text{s})(\text{n})(\text{s})(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s)(\text{n})(-)(s).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### INFERENTIAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>yu’k’</th>
<th>barma’k’</th>
<th>sana’zank’</th>
<th>t’umiau’k’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>yu’k’</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural:</th>
<th>yu’k’ana’k’</th>
<th>barma’k’ana’k’</th>
<th>sana’zank’ana’k’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>yu’k’lelt’</td>
<td>barma’k’lelt’</td>
<td>sana’zank’lelt’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>yu’k’lelt’p’</td>
<td>barma’k’lelt’p’</td>
<td>sana’zank’lelt’p’</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 -k‘+t= k! See § 12.

### PRESENT IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>yu’</th>
<th>barma’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural:</th>
<th>yuba’</th>
<th>baxma’a</th>
<th>sana’zini�at</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>yu’p’</td>
<td>baxma’n’p’</td>
<td>(?)sana’zan’a’n’p’</td>
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<td>Second person</td>
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</table>

### FUTURE IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>yu’k’</th>
<th>barma’k’</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
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</table>

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A few intransitives of this class add the consonantal pronominal endings directly to the final semi-vowel (-y-) of the stem, instead of employing the connective -a-. Such are:

* eit’ 1 thou art 108.2, eit’ p’ ye are 14.10 (contrast yeweya’t thou returnest [58.13], but yeweit’e I return [188.4] like eit’e I am 198.2)

* nagait’t thou sayest 56.5, nagait’ p’ ye say 170.4 (contrast t’agaya’t thou criest, but t’agait’e I cry [180.5] like nagait’e I say 180.1)

To this somewhat irregular group of verbs belongs probably also lōu-play, though, not ending in a semi-vowel in either the verb or aorist stem, it shows no forms directly comparable to those just given; its third person aorist, however, shows a rising accent before the catch: lōu’l’t 2 70.4 (not *lōu’u’l’t*), a phenomenon that seems connected (see below, § 65) with the lack of a connecting vowel before the personal endings.

A few stray verbs, otherwise following the normal scheme of intransitive Class I endings, seem to lack a catch in the third person aorist:

---

1 This verb is defective, having only the three forms given above, the first person plural eebi’k’ 180.13, and the (cf. class 11) indefinite eebi’a’t 192.7, the latter two with less of t and intrusive -b-. The third person and the non-aorist forms are supplied by yo-Be.

2 = appears also in certain usitatives: hivili’t he used to run, agel’ he kept shouting, in which the rising accent is probably radical (see § 43, 4); these forms, furthermore, have lost a w, § 18 (cf. hivili’t’e I run, agel’te I shout).
loptot\(^1\) it rains 90.1, 2 (yet loplo\(\delta\)a\(\text{'t}\) you are raining 198.9; 
lopd\(\delta\)a\(\text{'}t\) it will rain; lop\(\delta\)a\(\text{'}z\) to rain, § 74, 1)
h\(\text{x}\) it burns 98.1 (yet haxa\(\text{'}z\) it will burn)

Several intransitive Class I usitatives seem to lack the catch of the third person aorist also:

gin\(\text{'}n\)k' he always went to 46.11 (from gin\(\text{'}\)n\(\text{'}k' he went to)
wite\(\text{'}\)isma he keeps moving (from wit\(\text{'}\)i\(\text{'}\)t\(\text{'}\)m he moves 148.12)
yew\(\text{'}\)o\(\text{'}\)k' he is wont to return 47.4; 116.2 (yet yew\(\text{'}\)o\(\text{'}\)ga\(\text{'}\)t' you are 
are wont to return)

No explanation can be given of this irregularity.

The inferential endings, as has been already remarked, are ident-
tical for all classes of verbs, so that the following applies to Class II 
intransitives and to transitives as well as to Class I intransitives. 
The mode-sign -\(k'\) is added directly to the final vowel or consonant 
of the verb-stem (or stem with its added derivative and pronominal 
object suffixes) without connecting a. All combinations of conso-
nants are here allowed that are at all possible as syllabically final 
clusters (see § 16); indeed some of the final consonant clusters, as 
-\(sk'\), -\(p'k'\), -\(np'k'\), -\(lp'k'\), hardly occur, if at all, outside the inferential. 
If the resulting consonant combination would be phonetically im-
possible an inorganic a is introduced between the two consonants that 
precede the inferential -\(k'\); secondary diphthongs with raised accent 
may thus arise:

klema'\(nk'\) he made it (verb-stem kle\(\text{'}mn\)-) 
bila'\(uk'\) he jumped 160.17 (verb-stem bil\(\text{'}w\)-) 

Double diphthongs are often allowed to stand unaltered before -\(k'\) 
(e.g., o\(\text{'}n\)k'HE GAVE THEM; also imperative o\(\text{'}n\) give THEM!); sometimes 
doublets, with double diphthong or with inorganic a, are found (e. g., 
ts\(\text{'}a\)imk' or ts\(\text{'}\)aya\(\text{'}\)m\(\text{'}k' HE HID IT; also passive participle ts\(\text{'}\)ai\(\text{'}\)mhak'\(w\) 
HIDDEN, but ts\(\text{'}\)aya\'m HIDE IT! ts\(\text{'}\)eya\'m\(\text{'}\)i HIDE ME! ts\(\text{'}\)aya\'m\(\text{'}\)ax\(\text{'}\)mk' HE 
HID US [158.7]). With a final -\(g\)- or -\(gw\)- the inferential -\(k'\) unites 
to form -\(k'\) or -\(k'w\), but with lengthening of the preceding vowel; 
-\(k'\)+-\(k'\) becomes -\(\text{'sk}'\). Examples are:

he\(\text{'}\)n\(\text{'}\)\(\text{'}\)a\(\text{'}k'\w (=\(=\)a'\(\text{'}gw-k'\)) he consumed them (cf. 48.10); but he\(\text{'}\)na\(\text{'}\)k'\w 
consume them!

wa-yana\(\text{'}\)k'\w (=\(=\)yana'\(\text{'}gw-k'\)) he ran after them 98.10; but wa-
yana\(\text{'}\)k'\w run after them!

\(^1\) This form can not possibly have been misheard for *loptot'st, the form to be expected, as the subor-
dinate is lop\(\delta\)\(\text{'}\)a\(\text{'}\), not *loptot\(\text{'}\)\(\text{'}\)d\(\text{'}\)a\(\text{'}\), which would be required by a *loptot'st (see §70).

§ 60
§ 61. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS II

Most verbs of Class II intransitives, unlike those that are most typical of Class I, are derived from transitives, the majority of examples falling under the heads of non-agentives in -x-, reflexives in -gwi-, positionals in -i-, and verbs with intransitivizing -p' either in all their tense-modes or in all but the aorist (see § 42, 1). Besides these main groups there are a straggling number of not easily classified verbs that also show the peculiarities of the class; such are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{sene'sant'e} & \text{ I whoop (110.20; 150.15)} \\
\textit{wilt'e} & \text{ I go about (90.1; 92.29; 122.23)} \\
\textit{lit\text{int}'e} & \text{ I rest (48.11; 79.2, 4; 102.1)} \\
\textit{h\ddot{u}\ddot{u}\ddot{b}l\text{in'te}} & \text{ I am tired (48.4, 11; 102.1, 8; 120.11)}
\end{align*}
\]

In a rough way the main characteristic of Class II intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, is that they denote conditions and processes, while Class I intransitives are in great part verbs of action. Following is the scheme of subjective pronominal endings characteristic of Class II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
<th>Future imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-'e, -de</td>
<td>t'e, -de</td>
<td>('p')-gaz</td>
<td>('p')</td>
<td>('p')-gasm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-'am, -dam</td>
<td>-'a, -da</td>
<td>('p')-k'*\text{iet}</td>
<td>('p')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-t'</td>
<td>-'a, -da</td>
<td>('p')-k'</td>
<td>('p')</td>
<td>('p')-anp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>('p')-ik</td>
<td>('p')-igam</td>
<td>('p')-g-anak'</td>
<td>('p')-aba'</td>
<td>('p')-anp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-'ap', -dap'</td>
<td>-'aba', -dapa'</td>
<td>('p')-k'*\text{iet}p'</td>
<td>('p')-anp'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparing these endings with those of Class I intransitives, it is seen that the characteristic peculiarities of Class II intransitives are: the -\text{am} of the second person singular aorist and future imperative (-'t'\text{am} [= -t' + -am], -gaz\text{m} [= -'k' + -am]); the -a- between the -t'- and the -p'- (-b-) in the second person plural aorist and future; the lack of a catch in the third person aorist; the ending -t'\text{a} of the third person future; and the presence of a -p'- (-b-) in the first person plural aorist and future and in the inferential, present imperative, and future imperative forms. The last feature is, however, absent in the non-agentive -x- verbs and in the future of reflexives. The labial in § 61
the first person plural of the aorist and future is evidently connected with the -b- of e'bi'k' we are (see § 60, fourth footnote); the parallelism is made complete by the fact that impersonal forms in -iau- derived from Class II intransitives (except non-agentives) show a -p' - before the suffix, analogously to e'bia'ae:

\[sene'sanp'ia^ae\] there is whooping, \[se'nsanp'ia^a^e^t\] there will be whooping

In the third person of the aorist, positionals in -i^l-, non-agentives, and verbs in -p' - and other consonants (except n and probably l, m) lack a positive ending, while reflexives and most of the miscellaneous verbs (ending in a vowel or n, l, and m) show a final -t'. There is every reason to believe that the absence of a -t' in the former group of forms is due to phonetic conditions that brought about its loss (see § 18).

As examples of verbs of this class will serve a non-agentive (aorist ha-u-hana's- stop), a reflexive (aorist 7-letslek'wi- touch one's self), a positional (aorist s'as'ini^i- stand), and one of the miscellaneous verbs (wili- go about).

**AORIST.**

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<th>Plural:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>hana'sedex I stop</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>hana'sedam</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>hana'si^s</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Plural:</td>
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<tr>
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<td>First person</td>
<td>hana'sak'</td>
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<td>Second person</td>
<td>hana'sadap'</td>
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**FUTURE**

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Singular:</th>
<th>Plural:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>ha'n^sedo</td>
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<td>Second person</td>
<td>ha'n^sedak'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ha'n^sedi^a</td>
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<td>Plural:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>ha'n^sedigam</td>
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</table>

**POTENTIAL.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>First person</td>
<td>ha'n^sedex</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>ha'n^sedam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ha'n^s</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Plural:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>ha'n^sek'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>ha'n^sadi^p</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Those verbs of this class that are characterized, either throughout their forms or in all non-aorist forms, by a suffixed \( p' \) have this element coalesce with the \( -p' \) of the first person plural, inferential, and imperative, but with lengthening of an immediately preceding vowel. In the imperative this lengthened vowel seems to take on a falling accent:

\[
\text{plalā}^a p' \text{ tell a myth! (cf. plalā} p'de\text{ I shall tell a myth, with inorganic second a)}
\]

\[
sanā\text{'}p' \text{ fight! (cf. sanā} p'de\text{ I shall fight, with radical second a)}
\]

The verb wog- ARRIVE is peculiar in that the aorist is formed after the manner of Class II verbs (wōk' \text{ he arrives 47.15}; wōk'dam \text{ you arrive}), while the non-aorist forms belong to Class I (e. g., woga'zti \text{ he will arrive}). It is further noteworthy that many, perhaps most, Class II intransitives form their usitative and frequentative forms according to Class I. Examples, showing the third person aorist catch, are:

\[
s'ū'^zalha\text{ they always dwell 112.2 (from s'ω'wili 21.1; but first person plural s'ū'^zalhibik'); contrast Class II s'as'a'nhap' he keeps standing (from s'as'inī 34.1)}
\]

\[
wogowa'z'k' \text{ they keep arriving 112.2 (from wōk')}
\]

\[
s'o'wo'ω's'a'^z they keep jumping (112.5,10) (from s'owō'^us'k'ap' 48.15)
\]
Several non-agentives in -x- drop the -x- and become Class I intransitives in the frequentative:

\[ \text{pla}-i-t'gwi-lil't'gwai \text{e} \] (water) keeps dripping down (cf. \[ \text{pla}-i-t'gwi-lil'\text{e} \text{x} \] it drips down 58.1)

\[ \text{x}a}'-\text{sgo}'\text{sga}'\text{t}' \] it breaks to pieces 62.1 (cf. \[ \text{x}a}'-\text{sgo}'\text{us}=\text{sgo}'\text{d}-x \] it breaks [61.13])

\[ \text{x}a}'-\text{sgo}'\text{us}'\text{sgada}'\text{t}' \] it will break to pieces (cf. \[ \text{x}a}'-\text{sgo}'\text{us}'\text{lda} \] it will break [148.8])

**TRANSITIVES, CLASS III (§§ 62-66)**

§ 62. General Remarks

The subject pronominal elements of the transitive verb combine with the objective elements to form rather closely welded compound endings, yet hardly ever so that the two can not separately be recognized as such; the order of composition is in every case pronominal object + subject. It is only in the combinations **THOU** or **YE** — **ME** that such composition does not take place; in these the first person singular object is, properly speaking, not expressed at all, except in so far as the stem undergoes palatalization if possible (see § 31, 1), while the second person subject assumes the form in which it is found in Class II of intransitive verbs. The pronominal objects are decidedly a more integral part of the verb-form than the subjects, for not only do they precede these, but in passives, periphrastic futures, nouns of agency, and infinitives they are found unaccompanied by them. For example:

\[ d\text{o}mxbi'na}\text{e} \] you will be killed (178.15)
\[ d\text{o}mxbigulu'k'w \] he will kill you
\[ d\text{o}mxbi'\text{is} \] one who kills you
\[ d\text{o}mxbi'ya \] to kill you

are analogous, as far as the incorporated pronominal object (-bi-) is concerned, to:

\[ d\text{o}mxbi'nk' \] he will kill you; \[ t\text{o}m\text{o}xbi'n \] I kill you

The pronominal objects are found in all the tense-modes, as far as the meaning of these permits, and are entirely distinct from all the subjective elements, except that the ending of the second person plural coincides with one form of the second person singular present imperative of the intransitive, -anp'. These elements are:

Singular: First person, -xi (with third subjective); second person, -bi; third person, ——; third person (human), -k'wa. Plural: First person, -am; second person, -anp' (—anb—).
It does not seem that -k'wa-, which is optionally used as the third personal object when reference is distinctly had to a human being (or to a mythical animal conceived of as a human being), can be combined with other than a third personal subject (at least no other examples have been found); nor can it be used as an indirect object if the verb already contains among its prefixes an incorporated indirect object. These restrictions on the use of -k'wa- enable us effectually to distinguish it from the indirect reflexive -k'wa- which has already been discussed, this element normally requiring an incorporated object prefixed to the verb. Examples of the objective -k'wa- are:

- t'omōk'wa it killed him 15.16; 28.11
- he's-t'āk'wa he went away from him
- hāxank'wa he burnt him 27.16
- sā'nsa'nk'wa he fought with him 28.10
- nagāk'wa he said to him 152.3 (with very puzzling intransitive -i-; contrast nagā' he said to him)
- wē't'gīgwa she took (it) away from him (49.6)
- lāk'wok' (inferential) he gave him to eat

In several respects this -k'wa differs fundamentally from the other object suffixes. It allows no connective -x- to stand before it (see § 64); the indirective -d- of -a'ld- (see § 48) drops out before it:

- gayawwa'lk'wa he ate him; cf. gayawa'lsbi he ate you (26.8)

and, differing in this respect from the suffixless third person object, it allows no instrumental i to stand before it (see § 64):

- i-tlāna'hagwa he held him (25.10); cf. i-tlāna'hi he held it 27.4
- dak'-da-hālk'wa he answered him 180.18; cf. dak'-da-hāšli'zn I answered him (146.14)

It is thus evident that forms with suffixed -k'wa approximate intransitives in form (cf. nagāk'wa above). With a stem-final g, gw the suffix unites to form -k'wa, the preceding vowel being lengthened and receiving a rising accent; with a stem-final k! it unites to form -k'wa, the preceding vowel being lengthened with falling accent. Examples are:

- tlayāk'wa he found him 71.14; cf. tlaya'k' he found it 43.4; 134.17
- malāk'wa he told him 22.8; (72.14); cf. malagana'nhi he told it to him (see § 50) 30.15

1 The final consonant of the aoristic stem of Type 8 verbs is regularly lost before -k'wa.

§ 62
Verbs that have a suffixed comitative -(a)gw\- show, in combination with the objective -k'wa-, a probably dissimilated suffix -gik'wa (-gigw\-), the connecting a preceding this compound suffix being of course umlauted to i:

\[
\text{xebeyigi'k'wa he hurt him (cf. xebeyagwa'zn I hurt him [136.23])}
\]
\[
\text{uyu'^sgigwa he laughed at him 27.5 (cf. uyu'^sgwa'zn I laugh at him [71.7])}
\]

It is rather interesting to observe how the objective -k'wa- may serve to remove some of the ambiguities that are apt to arise in Takelma in the use of the third person. He gave it to him is expressed in the inferential by the forms o'k'ik' and o'k'igwak', the latter of which necessarily refers to a human indirect object. If a noun or independent pronoun be put before these apparently synonymous forms, sentences are framed of quite divergent signification. In the first sentence (noun + o'k'ik') the prefixed noun would naturally be taken as the object (direct or indirect) of the verb (e. g., ne'k'di o'k'ik', he who-gave it? [ = to whom did he give it?]); in the second (noun + o'k'igwak'), as subject, a doubly expressed object being inadmissible (e. g., ne'k'di o'k'igwak' who gave it to him?). To whom did he bring it? with incorporated object ne'k'di reads ne'k'di me'-wak'literally, he-who-hither-brought-it? who brought it to him? with subject ne'k'di reads (as inferential form) ne'k'di wagawo'k'wak' (-o- unexplained). He found the ants is expressed by tlibis'it tlayak', but the ants found him by tlibis'it tlayak'wa. The usage illustrated may be stated thus: whenever the third personal object refers to a human being and the subject is expressed as a noun, suffixed -k'wa must be used to indicate the object; if it is not used, the expressed noun will most naturally be construed as the object of the verb. An effective means is thus present in Takelma for the distinction of a personal subject and object.

§ 62
§ 63. Transitive Subject Pronouns

The various tense-modal schemes of subject pronouns in the transitive verb are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
<th>Future imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-(a)'n</td>
<td>-(a)'n</td>
<td>-k'-'a'</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(a)'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-(dam) (1st sing.</td>
<td>-(da')</td>
<td>-k'-'e'</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(pa)'m (1st sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-(a)'nk'</td>
<td>-(a)'nk'</td>
<td>-k'</td>
<td>-e'</td>
<td>obj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-(a)nak'</td>
<td>-(a)naga'm</td>
<td>k'-anak'</td>
<td>-(a) be'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-(dap') (1st sing.</td>
<td>-(dad')</td>
<td>-k'-'e'</td>
<td>-(p')</td>
<td>-(a)nap'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Setting aside the peculiar second personal subject first personal singular object terminations, it will be observed that the subjective forms of the transitive are identical with those of the intransitive (Class I) except in the first person singular and plural aorist and future, and in the third person aorist and future. The loss in the future of the catch of the first person singular aorist (-t'ε: t'ε= -n: -n) and the addition in the future of -am to the first person plural aorist (-ik': -igam=-nak': -nagam) are quite parallel phenomena. It will be observed also that the first person plural, probably also singular, aorist of the transitive, is in form identical, except for the mode-sign -k', with the corresponding form of the inferential, so that one is justified in suspecting this tense-mode to consist, morphologically speaking, of transitive forms with third personal object (see § 60, first footnote).

The forms of dōμm- (aorist t/onom- ) kill will show the method of combining subjective and objective pronominal elements.

AORIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>First person singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>tlüum'ixad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>tlüum'ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>tlüum'ixi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>tlüum'ixad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>tlüum'ixad'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Not to be confused with t/onom'azar'p' ye are killing each other!
### FUTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First person singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Second person singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><strong>dūmzi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td><strong>dūmzi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td><strong>dūmzi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><strong>dūmzina</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td><strong>dūmzina</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PRESENT IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd per.</strong></td>
<td><strong>dūm</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><strong>dūm</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td><strong>dūm</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FUTURE IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd per.</strong></td>
<td><strong>dūmzina</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1 \text{These forms were not actually obtained, but can hardly be considered as doubtful.}

\[2 \text{Probably expressed by simple future dūmzida.}

It is not necessary to give the transitive potential and inferential forms, as the former can be easily constructed by substituting in the future forms the aorist endings for those of the future:

\[\text{dūmxi he would kill me}
\[dōum\text{a' }n \text{ I should, could kill him}
\[dōum \text{ he would, could kill him}

The inferential forms can be built up from the corresponding future forms by substituting for the subject endings of the latter those given in the table for the inferential mode:

\[\text{dūmzik' he killed me}
\[dōmzamk'ett' you killed us
\[dōmk'a' } I \text{ killed him}
\[dōmxanp' gana'h' we killed you

The only point to which attention need be called in the aorist and future forms is the use of a connecting vowel -i- instead of -a- when the first personal plural object (-am-) is combined with a second singular or plural subject (-i' , -i'p', -ida', -i'ba'); this -i- naturally

\[\text{§ 63}
carries the umlaut of -am- to -im- with it, but -am- reappears when -i- drops out, cf. inferential dōmxamkëṭt'. With the -i- of these forms compare the -i- of the first person plural intransitives -ik', -iga'm, -iba² (§ 60 and § 60, second footnote).

§ 64. Connecting -x- and -i-

It will have been observed that in all forms but those provided with a third personal object the endings are not directly added to the stem, but are joined to it by a connecting consonant -x- (amalgamating with preceding -t- to -s-). This element we have seen to be identical with the -x- (-s-) of reciprocal forms; and there is a possibility of its being related to the -xx- of active intransitive verbs, hardly, however, to the non-agentive -x-. Though it appears as a purely formal, apparently meaningless element, its original function must have been to indicate the objective relation in which the immediately following pronominal suffix stands to the verb. From this point of view it is absent in a third personal object form simply because there is no expressed pronominal element for it to objectivize, as it were. The final aoristic consonant of Type 8 verbs regularly disappears before the connecting -x-, so that its retention becomes a probably secondary mark of a third personal pronominal object. The fact that the third personal objective element -k'wa- (-gwa-) does not tolerate a preceding connective -x- puts it in a class by itself, affiliating it to some extent with the derivational suffixes of the verb.

There are, comparatively speaking, few transitive stems ending in a vowel, so that it does not often happen that the subjective personal endings, the third personal object being unexpressed, are directly attached to the verb or aorist stem, as in:

naga'ën I say to him 72.9, cf. naga' he said to him 92.24
sebê'n I shall roast it (44.6); future imperative odo'k' hunt for him! (116.7)

Ordinarily forms involving the third personal object require a connecting vowel between the stem and the pronominal suffix. Not all verbs, however, show the purely non-significant -a- of, e.g., lomoma'ën, but have a to a large extent probably functional -i-. This -i- occurs first of all in all third personal object forms of verbs that have an instrumental prefix:

tslayaga'ën I shoot him (192.10), but wa-tslayagi'ën I shoot (him)
with it
ī-lats!agi'ët' you touched it

§ 64
The greater number of cases will probably be found to come under this head, so that the -i- may be conveniently termed Instrumental -i-. Not all forms with -i-, by any means, can be explained, however, as instrumental in force. A great many verbs, many of them characterized by the directive prefix al- (see § 36, 15), require an -i- as their regular connecting vowel:

lagagi'ën I gave him to eat (30.12)
l̥k'iwën I call him by name (116.17)
lùwginini'ën I trap them for him (and most other for-indirectives in -anan-)

Examples of -i-verbs with indirect object are:

ogoyi'ën I give it to him 180.11 (contrast oyonöën I gave it [180.20])
vàgîwi'ën I brought it to him (176.17) (contrast vàgâta'ën I brought it [162.13])

A number of verbs have -a- in the aorist, but -i- in all other tenses:

yi'minya'ën I lend it to him, but yimî'hi'n I shall lend it to him
naga'ën I said to him (second -a- part of stem) 72.9, but nàgî'n
I shall say to him; nàga'ëlk' say to him! (future) 196.20; nàk'ik'
he said to him (inferential) 94.16; 170.9; 172.12

The general significance of -i- seems not unlike that of the prefixed directive al-, though the application of the former element is very much wider; i.e., it refers to action directed toward some person or object distinctly outside the sphere of the subject. Hence the -i- is never found used together with the indirect reflexive -k'wa-, even though this suffix is accompanied by an instrumental prefix:

xàa-plî'-nô'âk'wa'ën I warm my own back (188.20)

In a few cases the applicability of the action of the verb can be shifted from the sphere of the subject to that of another person or thing by a mere change of the connective -a- to -i-, without the added use of prefix or suffix:

xàa-là'at'lan I shall put it about my waist, but xàa-là'ët'î'n I shall put it about his waist

In the form of the third personal subject with third personal object of the aorist, the imperative with third personal object, and the inferential with third personal object, the -i- generally appears as a suffixed -hi- (-'i-), incapable of causing umlaut:

malagana'hî he told him 30.15, but malagini'ën I told him (172.1)
wa-tlomômhi he killed him with it

§ 64
It should be noted, however, that many verbs with characteristic
-i- either may or regularly do leave out the final -i:

\[
\begin{align*}
alxi'^k &: \text{ he saw him } 124.6, 8 (\text{ cf. al-xi''gi'n I saw him, 188.11}) \\
i-lats'la'k &: \text{ he touched him (cf. i-lats'lagi'n I touched him)} \\
bai'-i-yewa'n &: \text{ revive him! (15.2) (cf. ba''-i-yewe'n I revived)} \\
he''-i-lele'^k &: \text{ he let him go (13.6) (cf. he''-i-le'lekhi'n I let him go} \\
(50.4)) \\
he''-i-le'l'le'^k &: \text{ let him go! 182.15 (cf. he''-i-le'lekhi'n I shall let him go)} \\
ba-i-dii't gai''st gai''s &: \text{ stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.6 (cf.} \\
ba-i-dii't gais'l' gisi'n &: \text{ I stuck out my anus [166.8]} \\
i-k''-wu'ma'n &: \text{ he prepared it 190.22 (cf. i-k''-wu'mini'n I prepared it)}
\end{align*}
\]

It must be confessed that it has not been found possible to find a
simple rule that would enable one to tell whether an i-verb does or
does not keep a final -hi (-i'). Certain verbs, even without
instrumental signification, show an -i- (or -hi-) in all forms with third
personal object. Such are:

- aorist ogoy'- give to (ogo'ihi he gave it to him 156.20)
- aorist wet'-g- take away from (wet'gi he took it from him, 16.13)
- aorist lagag- feed (lagag'k'i he gave him to eat 30.12; läk'i give
  him to eat! läk'iganak we seem to have given him to eat)

and indirect verbs in -anan-. Irregularities of an unaccountable
character occur. Thus we have:

\[
\begin{align*}
he''-i'n &: \text{ he left him (cf. he''-iwi'n I left him); but imperative} \\
he''-iwi'h'i &: \text{ leave him! (not *-iwi', as we might expect)}
\end{align*}
\]

In many cases the loss or retention of the final -hi seems directly
connected with syntactic considerations. A large class of verbs with
instrumental prefix (generally i-) drop the final -hi, presumably
because the instrumentality is only indefinitely referred to (cf. §
35, 1). Examples of such have been given above. As soon, however,
as the instrument is explicitly referred to, as when an instrumental
noun is incorporated in or precedes the verb, the -hi is restored.

\[\text{§ 64}\]
la-\textsuperscript{t}i-t'\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{a}t'ak' he burst it (cf. -t'\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{a}t'\textsuperscript{g}n \ I burst it) \\
\textit{i-}\textsuperscript{wili's}wal he tore it to pieces (cf. -s'\textsuperscript{wili}s'\textsuperscript{wili}n \ I tore it to pieces) \\
\textit{i-}\textsuperscript{wili's}wal tear it to pieces! \\
\textit{i-}\textsuperscript{wili's}wal' he tore it (once) \\
\textit{i-heme'm} he wrestled with him 22.10 (cf. -hemem\textsuperscript{t}n \ I wrestled with him) \\
despite the prefixed \textit{-i-}; but:

\begin{align*}
\textit{la-waya-t'\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{a}t'ak}' & \text{ he burst it with a knife} \\
\textit{han-waya-s'\textsuperscript{wili's}wal'hi} & \text{ tear it through in pieces with a knife!} \\
\text{(73.3)}
\end{align*}

Similarly:

\begin{align*}
\textit{b\textsuperscript{a}-}\textit{I-s}\textsuperscript{wili's}wal' & \text{ he tore it to pieces!} \\
\textit{l-s}\textsuperscript{wili's}wal & \text{ he tore it (once)} \\
\text{he} & \text{ picked him up 31.11 (cf. -sg\textsuperscript{a}k'sgigi}n \ I picked him up) but:} \\
\textit{k!a'm\textsuperscript{a} dan b\textsuperscript{a}-s\textsuperscript{g\textsuperscript{a}k'sg\textsuperscript{a}k'i} tongs} rocks he-picked-them-up-with
\text{(he picked up rocks with tongs) 170.17} \\
despite the lack of an instrumental prefix in the verb. Explicit instrumentality, however, can hardly be the most fundamental function of the \textit{-hi}. It seems that whenever a transitive verb that primarily takes but one object is made to take a second (generally instrumental or indirective in character) the instrumental \textit{-i-} (with retained \textit{-hi}) is employed. Thus:

\textit{ma'xla k\textsuperscript{u}w\textsuperscript{u} he threw dust}

but:

\begin{align*}
\textit{ma'xla \textit{t\textsuperscript{a}lki}w\textsuperscript{u}hi} & \text{ dust he-throw-it-at-him (perhaps best translated as he-bethrew-him-with-dust) cf. 184.5} \\
\end{align*}

where the logically direct object is \textit{ma'xla}, while the logically indirect, perhaps grammatically direct, object is implied by the final \textit{-hi} and the prefix \textit{al-}. Similarly, in:

\begin{align*}
\textit{k\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{e}px bababa't'\textsuperscript{i} w\textsuperscript{a}d\textsuperscript{i}x\textsuperscript{a} ashes} he-clapped-them-over his-body}
\text{(perhaps best rendered by: he-beclapped-his-body-with-ashes) 182.9} \\
\end{align*}

the logically direct object is \textit{k\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{e}px}, the logically indirect object, his-body, seems to be implied by the \textit{-'i}. This interpretation of the \textit{-hi} as being dependent upon the presence of two explicit objects is confirmed by the fact that most, if not all, simple verbs that regularly retain it (such as \textsc{give to}, \textsc{say to} in non-aorist forms, \textsc{bring to}, verbs in \textit{-anan-}) logically demand two objects.
As soon as the verb ceases to be transitive (or passive) in form or when the third personal object is the personal -k'wa, the instrumental -i- disappears:

\[\text{gel-yalå'xalî'gwît} \text{ he forgot himself 77.10 (cf. gel-yalå'xalî'ni n I forgot him)}\]

\[\text{ogoîk'wa he gave it to him 96.18 (cf. ogoîhi he gave it to him 188.12)}\]

It is possible that in \text{wêt'gigwa he took it from him} the -gi- is a peculiar suffix not compounded of petrified -g- (see § 42, 6) and instrumental -i-; contrast \text{î-tlana'hi he held it with î-tlana'hagwa he held him}. Any ordinary transitive verb may lose its object and take a new instrumental object, whereupon the instrumental -i- becomes necessary. Examples of such instrumentalized transitives are:

\[\text{ga'î} \text{wa-ts'ayagi'n bow I-with-shoot-it (cf. ts'ayaga'n I shoot him)}\]

\[\text{wa-î'gwî'tî n I drink with it (cf. î'gwâ'tî n I drink it)}\]

If, however, it is desired to keep the old object as well as the new instrumental object, a suffix -an- seems necessary. Thus:

\[\text{yap'î a wa-sâqimina' people they-will-be-shot-with-it \text{ xî'i} \text{ wa-î'gwînî'n water I-drink-it-with-it}}\]

It is not clear whether or not this -an- is related to either of the -an- elements of -anan- (§ 50).

A final -'i is kept phonetically distinct in that it does not unite with a preceding fortis, but allows the fortis to be treated as a syllabic final, i. e., to become \(\varepsilon + \text{aspirated surd:} \)

\[\text{he's'-î-le'mêk'î' he killed them off, but -le'mek'tî'n I killed them off} \]

Forms without connective vowel whose stem ends in a vowel, and yet (as instrumentals or otherwise) require an -î-, simply insert this element (under proper phonetic conditions as -hî-) before the modal and personal suffixes:

\[\text{wa-woo'hî'n I shall go to get it with it (contrast woo'n I shall go to get it)}\]

\[\text{î-tlana'hi'n I hold it; î-tlana'hi he holds it 27.4 \text{ di-s'îl-yomo'hî'n I shall run behind and catch up with him; di-s'îl-yomo'hî catch up with him! (contrast yomo'n I shall catch up with him)}\]

\[\text{wa-sana'hînk' they will spear them with them 28.15 (verb-stem sana-)}\]

A constant -a- used to support a preceding consonant combination is, in -î- verbs, colored to -i-:

\[\text{î-lasgi' touch him! (cf. masga' put it! [104.8])}\]

§ 65
It is remarkable that several verbs with instrumental vocalism lose the -i- and substitute the ordinary connective -a- in the frequentative. Such are:

\[ \text{\textit{\v i}-go\textquotesingle yokli\textquoteright n I nudge him; \v i-goyogiy\textquoteright en I keep pushing him} \]

\[ \text{\textit{\v i}-t\textit{\textacute{e}si\textquoteright en I crush it; \v i-t\textit{\textacute{e}si\textquoteright t\textacute{e}i\textacute{a}\textquoteright en I keep crushing them} \]

It can hardly be accidental that in both these cases the loss of the -i- is accompanied by the loss of a petrified consonant (-kl-, -s-).

The following scheme of the instrumental forms of \( \text{d\textacute{o}w\textendash m\textendash k} \) (third personal object) will best illustrate the phonetic behavior of -i-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
<th>Future imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>( t\textit{\textacute{e}momi\textacute{t}n} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}ml\textacute{t}n} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}ml\textacute{t}n} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhig\textacute{a}\textacute{t}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhi} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhik\textacute{t}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>( t\textit{\textacute{e}momi\textacute{t\acute{e}}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mida\textacute{t}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{t}n\acute{e}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhik\textacute{t\acute{e}}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhi} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhik\textacute{t}} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>( t\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{h}bi} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{h}bi\textacute{t}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{h}bi\textacute{t}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhik\textacute{t}} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhi} )</td>
<td>( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhik\textacute{t}} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plural: |            |            |             |             |                    |                  |
| First person | \( t\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{m}ina\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{m}ing\textacute{a}\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{m}ina\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhig\textacute{a}s\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhib\textacute{t}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhib\textacute{t}} \) |
| Second person | \( t\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{m}i\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{m}i\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}m\textacute{m}i\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhig\textacute{a}s\textacute{t\acute{e}}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhib\textacute{t}} \) | \( d\textit{\textacute{e}mhib\textacute{t}} \) |

§ 65. Forms Without Connecting Vowel

A considerable number of transitive verbs whose aorist stem ends in a long diphthong with rising pitch (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid) treat this diphthong as a vocalic unit, i. e., do not allow the second element of the diphthong to become semivocalic and thus capable of being followed by a connective -a- before the personal endings (cf. intransitive forms like \( \text{et\textacute{t}} \), § 60). If such a long diphthong is final, or precedes a consonant (like -t') that is itself incapable of entering into diphthongal combination with a preceding vowel, no difficulty arises. If, however, the long diphthong precedes an -n- (in such endings as \( \text{\v i}-\text{n} \), \( \text{-n} \), \( \text{-nak}' \)), which, as has been seen, is phonetically on a line with the semivowels \( y (i) \) and \( w (u) \), a long double diphthong (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid + n of time-value 4) results. Such a diphthong can not be tolerated, but must be reduced to an ordinary long diphthong of time-value 3 by the loss of the second element (semivowel, nasal, or liquid) of the diphthong of the stem (see § 11). Thus the coexistence of such apparently contradictory forms as \( \text{d\textacute{o}w\textendash yeh\textacute{e}t\acute{t}} \) \( \text{YOU GO WHERE THERE IS SINGING} \) and \( \text{d\textacute{o}w\textendash yeh\textacute{e}n} \) (with passive -n) \( \text{IT WAS GONE WHERE THERE WAS SINGING} \) (from \( \text{yeh\textacute{e}n} \)) can be explained by a simple consideration of syllabic
weight. The rising pitch-accent, it should be noted, is always preserved as an integral element of the diphthong, even though a -u' stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding form of the great mass of transitive verbs (-v'p). The first person plural subject third person object and the third personal passive are always parallel in form to the first person singular subject third person object in -u (kladāu'k' and kladān like kladāu). Examples of transitives with aorist stems ending in long diphthongs not followed by connective -a- are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t'gwaxāu'n} & \text{ I tattoo him} & \text{t'gwaxāu' you tattoo him} \\
\text{dī-tdūgā'n} & \text{ I wear it} & \text{dī-tdūgā' he wears it 96.16} \\
\text{dāa-yehēu'n} & \text{ I go where there is singing} & \text{dāa-yehēu' you go where there is singing (106.10)} \\
\text{dāa-yehēn} & \text{(third person passive)} & \\
\text{dāa-yehēu'n} & \text{(first person plural)} & \\
\text{kladāu'n} & \text{I picked them up} & \text{kladāu' he picked them up} \\
\text{da-tlagāu'n} & \text{I built a fire} & \text{da-tlagāu' he built a fire 88.12; 96.17} \\
\text{swadān} & \text{(passive) they got beaten in gambling} & \text{swadāsa' they are gambling with one another} \\
\text{oyn'u'n} & \text{I give it (= *oyon'u'n) but also oyona' with connecting -a-} & \\
\text{klemēu'n} & \text{I did it 74.13} & \text{klemē' he did it 92.22; 144.6; 176.1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In aorist klemē- make the -i-, actually or impliedly, appears only when the object is of the third person (singular first, klemēu; second, klemēu; third, klemēu; plural first, klemēnu'k'; second, klemēti'p'); all other aoristic and all non-aoristic forms replace the -i- by a -u-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{klemēnxu'i'n} & \text{I make you 27.9} \\
\text{klemēnxu'a'n} & \text{they make one another; future klemēna'k' he will make it 28.14} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A few reduplicated transitives ending, in both aorist and verb-stems, in a short diphthong (-al-, -am-, -an-, -aw-), lack a connective -a-

---

1 It may be noted in passing that the Takelma reduction of an over-long diphthong (zin to zen) offers in some respects a remarkable parallel to the reduction of an Indo-Germanic long diphthong to a simple long vowel before certain consonants, chiefly -m (e.g., Indo-Germanic *dīyu's = Skr. dyau's, Gk. Zeγ, with preserved -y- because followed by -s, a consonant not capable of entering into diphthongal combination; but Indo-Germanic acc. *dīym = Ved. Skr. dyāṁ, Hom. Gk. Zeγ with lost -y- because followed by -m, a consonant capable of entering into diphthongal combination). I do not wish to imply, however, that the accent of forms like yehēu is, as in dyēm, the compensating result of contraction.
before the personal endings, so that a loss of the final consonant (-l, -m-, -n-, -w-) takes place in third personal objective forms before a consonantal personal ending. Such verbs are:

\[ \text{hemel'ha^n I mocked him (=} \text{hemel'ham he mocked him} \]  
\[ =-\text{ham}^n \]  
\[ =24.4, 5, 8; 182.6, 7 \]

\[ \text{imi'ha^n I sent him (=} \text{-am}^n \]  
\[ =\text{imihamsin I was sent (43.2} \]

\[ (\text{gel-he}w'e'ha^n 1 \text{ I think (=} \text{gel-he}w'e'hau he thought 44.11; } \]
\[ \text{gel-he}w'e'hat' you think \]  
\[ =142.20 \]

\[ \text{pla-i-di'-sgimi'sga^n2 I set them } \]  
\[ \text{pla-i-di'-sgimi'sgam set in ground (=} \text{-am}^n \]  
\[ =\text{them in ground} \]  
\[ =\text{b-\text{al-mo'}lo'mal} \text{ I turned them over (} \text{170.16} \]

\[ \text{b-\text{al-mo'}lo'mai} \text{ I shall turn them over (=} \text{-al}^n \]

\[ \text{sa^nsa'n I fight him (=} \text{-an}^n \]  
\[ =\text{s ana'sa'n he fights him (28.10} \]  
\[ \text{(but also s a's, see } \text{§ 40, 10b} \]

\[ \text{m a^n'ma'n I count them } \]  
\[ \text{da-ma'n'mini'n I count them up (156.14} \]  
\[ \text{(but also m a'n= } \text{*ma'nm he counted them } \]
\[ =\text{78.8; 100.8} \]

How explain the genesis of these two sets of contract verb forms, and how explain the existence of doublets like mo'lo'sma^n and mo'-lo'sma'la^n, mo'lo'smat and mo'lo'smalat, oyö^n and oyona'\text{e^n, s a'nsa'n} and s a'n? The most plausible explanation that can be offered is that originally the personal endings were added directly to the stem and that later a connecting -a- developed whenever the preceding consonant or the personal ending was not of a character to form a diphthong. Hence the original paradigms may have been:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Oyö^n</th>
<th>Mo'lo'sma^n</th>
<th>Mo'lo'sma'la^n</th>
<th>Mo'lo'smat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Oyö^n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which were then leveled out to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oyona'\text{e^n}</th>
<th>Mo'lo'sma'la^n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oyona'\text{t'}</td>
<td>Mo'lo'smalat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyö^n</td>
<td>Mo'lo'mal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

because of the analogy of a vast number of verbs with connecting -a- in both first and second persons, e. g., ts'ayaga'\text{e^n, ts'ayaga'\text{t'}}. Forms like mo'lo'smat', s a'nsa'\text{t'}, would arise from leveling to the first

1 This verb is transitive only in form, intransitive in meaning. The true transitive (think of) employs the full stem he\text{w}ech\text{h}au with connective -i- for third personal object, and -e- for other objects: \text{gel-he}w'e'hau'n I think of him; gel-he\text{w}ech\text{h}au'sam you think of me.

2 The form sgimi'sga'n is interesting as a test case of these contract verb forms. The stem must be sgimi'sgam; it can not be sgimi'sga'n, as sg- could hardly be treated as a repeated initial consonant. No cases are known of initial consonant clusters treated as phonetic units.

§ 65
person by the analogy of such forms as *t'omoma'ën, *t'omoma'ët. The third person generally brings out the original diphthong, yet sometimes the analogy set by the first person seems to be carried over to the third person (e.g., sâns beside sânsa'ën), as well as to the third person passive and first person plural subject transitive. Such forms as oyõën are best considered as survivals of an older “athematic” type of forms, later put on the wane by the spread of the “thematic” type with connecting -a- (e.g., gayawa'ën, not *gayaën from *gayaën). Owing to the fact that the operation of phonetic laws gave rise to various paradigmatic irregularities in the “athematic” forms, these sank into the background. They are now represented by aorists of Type 2 verbs like naga'-ën I say to him and wa-k!ooyõ-ën I go with him,¹ non-aorist forms of Type 5 verbs (e.g., odo'-ën), and such isolated irregularities as intransitive eî-t' and nagaî-t' (contrast yewey-a't' and t'agaya't') and transitive contract verbs like k!iadâën and sânsa‘ën.

§ 66. Passives

Passives, which occur in Takelma texts with great frequency, must be looked upon as amplifications of transitive forms with third personal subject. Every such transitive form may be converted into a passive by the omission of the transitive subject and the addition of elements characteristic of that voice; the pronominal object of the transitive becomes the logical, not formal, subject of the passive (passives, properly speaking, have no subject). The passive suffixes referred to are -(a)n for the aorist, -(a)naë for the future, and -am for the inferential. Imperatives were not obtained, nor is it certain that they exist. Following are the passive forms of dō'm-, instrumental forms being put in parentheses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>tōmāźin</td>
<td>dōmāźinaë</td>
<td>dōmāźin</td>
<td>dōmāźigam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>tōmōźin</td>
<td>dōmōźinaë</td>
<td>dōmōźin</td>
<td>dōmōźigam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>tōmōmā'ën</td>
<td>dōmōmā'ën</td>
<td>dōmōmā'ën</td>
<td>dōmōmā'äm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tōmōmā'ën')</td>
<td></td>
<td>(dōmōmā'ën')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>tōmōźimīn</td>
<td>dōmōźimīnaë</td>
<td>dōmōźimīn</td>
<td>dōmōźimīk'äm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>tōmōźanban</td>
<td>dōmōźanbān</td>
<td>dōmōźanban</td>
<td>dōmōźanp'äm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Some verbs whose aorist stem ends in a vowel take a constant -a- with preceding inorganic h instead of adding the personal endings directly. Such a verb is t'-tāna-hold; the constant -a- or -i- of forms like t'-tāna'huu, t'-tene'hi-o'dam is perhaps due to the analogy of the instrumental -i- of forms like t'-tāna'hi'n.
The connective -a-, it will be observed, is replaced by -i- when the formal object is the first person plural (-am-); compare the entirely analogous phenomenon in the second personal subjective first personal plural objective forms of the transitive (§ 63). It is curious that the third person aorist of the passive can in every single case be mechanically formed with perfect safety by simply removing the catch from the first personal singular subjective third personal objective of the transitive; the falling accent (rising accent for verbs like kIemë'n) remains unchanged:

\[i-tla'ut!iwi^n I caught him : i-tla'ut!iwin he was caught\]
\[naga'^n I said to him : naga'n he was spoken to\]
\[kIemë'n I made it : kIemën it was made\]

It is hardly possible that a genetic relation exists between the two forms, though a mechanical association is not psychologically incredible.

Not only morphologically, but also syntactically, are passives closely related to transitive forms. It is the logical unexpressed subject of a passive sentence, not the grammatical subject (logical and formal object), that is referred to by the reflexive possessive in -gwa (see §§ 91, 92). Thus:

\[dik!olola'nt'gd°p'dagwanwa^ he-was-dug-up their-own-horns (not his-own-horns) with (in other words, they dug him up with their own horns)\]

There is no real way of expressing the agent of a passive construction. The commonest method is to use a periphrasis with xebe'n he did so. Thus:

\[et salk!omo'k'limin pliyin xebe'n canoe it-was-kicked-to-pieces deer they-did-so (in other words, the canoe was kicked to pieces by the deer)\]

§ 67. VERBS OF MIXED CLASS, CLASS IV

A fairly considerable number of verbs are made up of forms that belong partly to Class I or Class II intransitives, partly to the transitives. These may be conveniently grouped together as Class IV, but are again to be subdivided into three groups. A few intransitive verbs showing forms of both Class I and II have been already spoken of (pp. 162–3, 166).

1. Probably the larger number is taken up by Type 13 verbs in -n-, all the forms of which are transitives except those with second person singular or plural subject. These latter are forms of Class II (i.e., aorist singular -dam, plural -dap'; future singular -da°, plural
The -n- appears only in the first person singular and plural (aorist -na^n and -nana'k'), yet its absence in the other persons may, though not probably, be due to a secondary loss induced by the phonetic conditions. The forms, though in part morphologically transitive (and, for some of the verbs, apparently so in meaning), are in effect intransitive. The object, as far as the signification of the verb allows one to grant its existence, is always a pronominally unexpressed third person, and the instrumental -i- can not be used before the personal endings. Among these semitransitives in -n- are:

\[
\begin{align*}
gwen-sgut'u'sqat'na^n & \text{ I cut necks} \\
gwen-sgut'u'sqat' & \text{he cut necks 144.2 (cf. transitive instrumentals} \\
gwen-waya-sgut'u'sgidi^n, & \text{ gwen-waya-sgut'u'sqat'i 144.3) } \\
da-bok'oba'k'na^n & \text{ I make bubbles (or da-bok'io'p'na^n 102.22) } \\
da-bok'io'p'dam & \text{ you make bubbles } \\
\text{ bā'-zada'zat'na^n I hang them up in row} \\
lobola'p'na^n & \text{ I used to pound them (57.14) (or lobol'p'na^n) } \\
lobol'p'dam & \text{ you used to pound them } \\
\text{ i-layā'k'na^n I coil a basket 122.2} \\
i-layā'k' & \text{ she coils a basket } \\
\text{ k'ada'k'at'na^n I used to pick them up (116.11)} \\
da-dagada'k'na^n & \text{ I sharpen my teeth (126.18)} \\
\text{ āgū'ak'na^n I always drink it} \\
\text{ wagao'k'na^n I always bring it 43.16; 45.6)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Morphologically identical with these, yet with no trace of transitive signification, are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ i-hegwe'hak' } & \text{ I am working } \\
\text{ xa-hegwe'hak'na^n I breathe (78.12; 79.1, 2, 4) } \\
\text{ xax-hegwe'hak'na^n (third person xa-huk'tu'hak') } \\
al-t'wap!a't'waps'na^n & \text{ I blink with my eyes 102.20} \\
al-t'wap!a't'wap'dam & \text{ you blink with your eyes } \\
\end{align*}
\]

The following forms of i-hegwe'hagw- (verb-stem i-hegwe'hagw- [-hegwe'hagw-]) work will serve to illustrate the -n- formation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>hegwe'hak'w'na^n</td>
<td>hegwe'k'wanan</td>
<td>hegwe'k'wanan (=kw'-k'a')</td>
<td>he'k'waka'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>hegwe'hak'w'dam</td>
<td>hegwe'k'wa'</td>
<td>hegwe'k'we'l'</td>
<td>he'k'waka'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>hegwe'hak'w</td>
<td></td>
<td>hegwe'k'w</td>
<td>he'k'waka'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>hegwe'hak'w'nanak'</td>
<td>hegwe'k'wananagam</td>
<td>hegwe'k'wanak'</td>
<td>he'k'waka'k'w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>hegwe'hak'w'dap'</td>
<td>hegwe'k'wa'</td>
<td>hegwe'k'we'l'p'</td>
<td>he'k'waka'k'w'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Practically a sub-group of the preceding set of verbs is formed by a very few verbs that have their aorist like i-hegwe'hak'w'na^n, § 67.
but their non-aorist forms like Class II intransitives. They evidently waver between Class II, to which they seem properly to belong, and the semi-transitive -n- forms. Such are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dī-k'ala'sna}^e & \quad \text{future dī-k'ala'side}^e \\
\text{dī-k'ala'sde}^e & \quad \text{I am lean in my rump} \\
\text{dī-k'ala'sdam} & \quad \text{future dī-k'ala'sida}^e \\
\text{gvel-sal-t!eyē'na}^e & \quad \text{I have no flesh on my legs and feet} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It may be observed that the existence of a form like \*gvel-sal-t!eyē'sinan was denied, so that we are not here dealing with a mere mistaken mixture of distinct, though in meaning identical, verbs.

3. The most curious set of verbs belonging to Class IV is formed by a small number of intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, with a thoroughly transitive aorist, but with non-aorist forms belonging entirely to Class II. This is the only group of verbs in which a difference in tense is associated with a radical difference in class. Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dā^a-sgekt′iya}^e & \quad \text{I listened : future dā^a-sgek′it′e}^e \\
\text{dā^a-sgekt′i} & \quad \text{you listened} \\
\text{dā^a-sgekt′i} & \quad \text{he listened} \\
\text{al-ve′k′ala}^e & \quad \text{I shine : future al-ve′k′al}^e \\
\text{al-ve′k′alat′} & \quad \text{you shine} \\
\text{al-ve′k′alana}^e & \quad \text{we shine} \\
\text{al-geyana}^e & \quad \text{I turn away : future al-ge′yande}^e \\
\text{al-geyana}^e & \quad \text{my face} \\
\text{dā-smayama}^e & \quad \text{I smile : future dā-smima}^e \\
\text{dā-smayama}^e & \quad \text{he smiles} \\
\text{dā-smayama}^e & \quad \text{we smile} \\
\end{align*}
\]

To these should probably be added also \text{dā-sgayana}^e I lie down (3d \text{dā-sgayana}), though no future was obtained. Here again it may be noted that the existence of \*dā-smima as a possible (and indeed to be expected) future of \text{dā-smayama}^e was denied.\footnote{There are in Takelma also a number of logically intransitive verbs with transitive forms throughout all the tense-modes: \text{al-sayana}^e' \text{K WE ARE SEATED} (56.2; 150.20); passive \text{al-sayana}^e \text{PEOPLE ARE SEATED} 152.18. Similar is \text{al-naya} they stand; cf. also \text{gel-hcow′bau HE THINKS}, p. 173, note 1. As these, however, have nothing to mark them off morphologically from ordinary transitives, they give no occasion for special treatment. It is probable that in them the action is conceived of as directed toward some implied third personal object.}
$68. \textit{PERIPHRASTIC FUTURES}$

Periphrastic future forms are brought about by prefixing to the third personal (unexpressed) objective forms of the \textit{aorist stem -gulug"- DESIRE, INTEND} the verb-stem (if transitive, with its appended pronominal object) of the verb whose future tense is desired. The pronominal subject of such a form is given by the transitive subject pronoun of the second element (-gulug") of the compound; while the object of the whole form, if the verb is transitive, is coincident with the incorporated pronominal object of the first element. The form of the verb-stem preceding the -gulug"- suffix is identical with the form it takes in the inferential. Thus:

$ba-i-hema'k'uluk'w$ he will take it out (cf. inferential $ba-i-hema'k'=-hemp-k'$), but imperative $ba-i-he'mk'$ 16.10

but, without inorganic $a$:

$i-hemgulu'k'w$ he will wrestle with him (cf. inferential $hemk'$)

Indeed, it is quite likely that the main verb is used in the inferential form, the -$k'$ of the inferential amalgamating with the $g$- of -gulug"- to form $g$ or $k'$. This seems to be proved by the form:

$loho'k'-di-gulugwa't'$ do you intend to die? ($di=$ interrogative particle)

Morphologically the verb-stem with its incorporated object must itself be considered as a verb-noun incorporated as a prefix in the verb -gulug"- and replacing the prefix gel- breast of gel-gulugwa'zn I desire it 32.5, 6, 7. Alongside, e. g., of the ordinary future form $dō^u-ma'n$ I SHALL KILL HIM may be used the periphrastic $dō^u-m-gulugwa'zn$ literally, I KILL (HIM)-DESIRE, INTEND. This latter form is not by any means a mere desiderative (I DESIRE TO KILL HIM would be expressed by $dō^u-mia' gel-gulugwa'zn$ [= TO-KILL-HIM I-IT-DESIRE]), but a purely formal future. Similarly, $dōmxī-gulu'k'w$ is used alongside of the simpler $dōmzink'$ HE WILL KILL ME. As a matter of fact the third personal subjective future in -gulu'k'w is used about as frequently as the regular paradigmatic forms heretofore given:

$yana'-k'ulu'k'w$ he will go (128.9)
$sanda'p'-gulu'k'w$ he will fight (cf. 48.10)
$yomo'k'wagulu'k'w$ she was about to catch up with him 140.18
$alxi'xbi-gulu'k'w$ he will see you

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The reason is obvious. The normal futures (yana'x'i he will go; sana'h'dá'ò; alx'id'xbínl') imply a bald certainty, as it were, of the future action of a third person, a certainty that is not in ordinary life generally justifiable. The periphrastic forms, on the other hand, have a less rigid tone about them, and seem often to have a slight intenitive force: he intends, is about to go. The difference between the two futures may perhaps be brought out by a comparison with the English I shall kill him (=dô'ña'ma'n) and I'm going to kill him (dô'ñ-m-gulugwa'x'n).

Though a form like dûmxi-gulu'k'w' he will kill me is in a way analogous to s'in-ì-lets!e'xi he touches my nose, the incorporated object dûmxi- kill-me of the former being parallel to s'in- nose of the latter, there is an important difference between the two in that the object of the periphrastic future is always associated with the logically (dô'ñ-m-), not formally (-gulugw'), main verb. This difference may be graphically expressed as follows: he-[kill-me]-intends-it, but he-[nose-hand]-touches-me; strict analogy with the latter form would require *dô'ñ-m-gulv'xi he-[kill]-intends-me, a type of form that is not found. It is not necessary to give a paradigm of periphrastic future forms, as any desired form can be readily constructed from what has already been said. The incorporated pronominal object is always independent of the subject-suffix, so that you will kill me, for example, is rendered by dûmxi-gulugwa't', the ordinary you—me forms (singular -dam, plural -dap') finding no place here.

Inasmuch as all active periphrastic futures are transitive in form, passive futures of the same type (all ending in -gulugwa'n) can be formed from all verbs, whether transitive or intransitive. When formed from transitive stems, these forms are equivalent to the normal future passives in -(a)na'ë: dô'ñ-m-gulugwa'n he will, is about to, is going to be killed dûmxi-gulugwa'n I am to be killed, it is intended to kill me

As the intransitive stem in the periphrastic future is never accompanied by pronominal affixes, there is only one passive future form that can be constructed from an intransitive verb. This form always refers to the third person, generally to the intended or imminent action of a group of people:

hoida-gulugwa'n (verb-stem hoid- + inorganic -a-) there will be dancing

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"lo'-gulu'gwa'n people are going to play (literally, it is play-intended)
The passive future in -gulu'gwa'n can also be used with the indefinite form in -iau-:
sana'xiniau-gulu'gwa'n it is intended, about to be that people
fight one another; there will be fighting
The extreme of abstract expression seems to be reached in such not
uncommon forms as:
we'giau-gulu'gwa'n it was going to be daylight (literally, it was
being-daylight intended) 48.13
As the suffixed pronominal objects of reciprocal forms are intransitive in character, the first element of a periphrastic future of the reciprocal must show an incorporated intransitive pronoun, but of aorist, not future form:
l-di-lasgi'xanfp'-gulu'gwa'p' are you going to touch one another?
(aorist l-lats'ia'xanfp'; future l-lasgi'xanf'ba')
§ 69. PERIPHRASTIC PHRASES IN na(g)- DO, ACT
The verbal base na(g)1 (intransitive na-; transitive nā'g-) has
hitherto been translated as SAY (intransitive), SAY TO (transitive).
This, however, is only a specialized meaning of the constantly
recurring base, its more general signification being DO, ACT, BE IN
MOTION indefinitely. It is really never used alone, but is regularly
accompanied by some preceding word or phrase with which it is
connected in a periphrastic construction; the na(g)- form playing
the part of an auxiliary. As a verb of saying, na(g)- is regularly
preceded by a quotation, or else some word or phrase, generally a
demonstrative pronoun, grammatically summarizing the quotation.
Properly speaking, then, a sentence like I SHALL GO, HE SAID (TO ME)
(=yana't'e [ga] naga'te [or nege's'-i]) is rendered in Takelma by I
SHALL GO (THAT) HE DID (OR HE DID TO ME), in which the quotation
yana't'e I SHALL GO, or else its representative ga THAT, is incorp-
orated as prefix in the general verb of action.
The most interesting point in connection with periphrastic phrases
in na(g)- is the use of a number of invariable, generally monosyl-
labic, verbal bases as incorporated prefixes. The main idea, logi-
cally speaking, of the phrase is expressed in the prefix, the na(g)-

1 Most of its forms, as far as known, are listed, for convenience of reference, in Appendix A, pp. 286-90.
It will be seen to be irregular in several respects. Examples of its forms are to be found in great number in "Takelma Texts."

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element serving merely to give it grammatical form. This usage is identical with that so frequently employed in Chinookan dialects, where significant uninflected particles are joined into periphrastic constructions with some form of the verb-stem -x- do, make, become (e.g., Wasco tɬu'w b itciux he cut it [literally, cut he-it-made]), except that in Takelma the particles are identical with the bases of normally formed verbs. It is not known how many such verb-particles there are, or even whether they are at all numerous. The few examples obtained are:

na’s do (cf. na’t’e’ I shall say, do)  
s’as’ come to a stand (cf. s’as’iint he stands 144.14)  
s’il paddle canoe (cf. ei-ba-i-s’ili’xqwa he landed with his canoe 13.5)  
t’gel fall, drop  
ts’el el rattle (cf. ts’e’le’em it rattles 102.13)  
t’b’o’ux make a racket (cf. t’b’o’uxde’ I make a noise)  
liw’a’ look (cf. liwiya’ut’e’ I looked [60.7])  
le’yas lame (cf. gwel-le’yed’e’ I am lame)  
p’i’was jumping lightly (cf. p’iwits’ana’e’n I make it bounce)  
we’k’al’k’ shining (cf. al-we’k’ala’n I shine)  
sgala’uk’ look moving one’s head to side (cf. al-sgalawi’n I shall look at him moving my head to side)

The last two are evidently representatives of a whole class of quasi-adverbial -k’-derivatives from verb-stems, and, though syntactically similar to the rest, hardly belong to them morphologically. The -k’ of these invariable verb-derivatives can hardly be identified with the inferential -k’, as it is treated differently. Thus:

we’k’al’k’ shining 126.3; 128.14, but inferential al-we’k’al-p’-k’ (Class IV, 3) he shone

Most frequently employed of those listed is na’s, which is in all probability nothing but the base na- do, to forms of which it is itself prefixed; its function is to make of the base na(g)- a pure verb of action or motion in contradistinction to the use of the latter as a verb of saying:

ga-nak’i say that to him! 55.8, but ga-na’sek’i do that to him! 182.4; 184.4  
ga-naga’ie he said that 72.12, but ga-na’sek’ara’ie he did that 58.3  
gwalt’ a-na’sna’st the wind will blow as it is blowing now (literally, wind [gwalt’] this [a-] do [na’s]-act-will [na’s’t]) (152.8)  
ga-na’sne’x thus, in that way (literally, that do-acting, doing) 71.6; 110.21; but ga-ne’x that saying, to say that 184.10

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Examples of the other elements are:

ei-s’i’l-naga’iz 1 he paddled his canoe (literally, he canoe-paddle-did) 13.5
s’as-naga’iz he came to a stand 22.6; 31.14, 15; 55.12; 96.23
s’as-nā{q}i’n I shall bring him to a halt (literally, I shall s’as-do to him)

liwā’a-naga’iz’e I looked (55.6; 78.10, 13; 79.5)
t’ge’l’-naga’iz I fell, dropped down

Syntactically analogous to these are the frequent examples of postpositions (see § 96), adverbs, and local phrases prefixed to forms of the undefined verb of action na(g)-, the exact sense in which the latter is to be taken being determined by the particular circumstances of the locution. Examples are:

gada’k’-naga’iz they passed over it (literally, thereon they did) 190.21
ganau-nagana’iz’k’ he went from one (trap) to another (literally, therein he kept doing) 78.5

Examples of the other elements are:

s’as-naga’iz he come-to-a-stand-did, like ge naga’iz he there-did

Compare the similar parallelism in Wasco of:

1 stl has been found as a prefix also in the comitative ei-s’il-gā’ngwa’ən I come in a canoe (literally, I-CANOE-PADDLING-GO-HAVING).
hlwa'c gali'xux afraid he-made-himself (= he became afraid) (see "Wishram Texts," 152.9)
kwO'ba gali'xux there he-made-himself (= he got to be there, came there)

Here may also be mentioned the use of verb-stems prefixed to the forms of k'lemn- make and naqg- say to. Such locutions are causative in signification, but probably differ from formal causatives in that the activity of the subject is more clearly defined. Examples are:

wede wo'k' klemna't' do not let him arrive! (literally, not arrive make-him!)
wo'k' klemana'nxi let me come! (literally, arrive make-me!)
gwel-lets klemna'n I shall make him lame (literally, be-lame I-shall-make-him)
yana nak'i let him go (literally, go say-to-him)

The forms involving k'lemn- are quite similar morphologically to periphrastic futures in -gulugu-, the main point of difference being that, while k'lemn- occurs as independent verb, -gulugu- is never found without a prefix. The forms involving naqg- are probably best considered as consisting of an imperative followed by a quotative verb form. Thus yana nak'i is perhaps best rendered as "go!" say it to him! The form hoida-yo'k'ya's (hoid- dance + connective -a-) one who knows how to dance suggests that similar compound verbs can be formed from yok'y- know.

§ 70. SUBORDINATING FORMS

A number of syntactic suffixes are found in Takelma, which, when appended to a verbal form, serve to give it a subordinate or dependent value. Such subordinate forms bear a temporal, causal, conditional, or relative relation to the main verb of the sentence, but are often best translated simply as participles. Four such subordinating suffixes have been found:

-da²(-t'a²), serving to subordiuate the active forms of the aorist.
-

¥-ma², subordinating those of the passive aorist.

¥-na², subordinating all inferential forms in -¥. Periphrastic inferential forms in ett and ett'p' are treated like aorists, the form-giving elements of such periphrases being indeed nothing but the second person singular and plural aorist of ei- be.

¥-k'i² (-qi²), appended directly to the non-aorist stem, forming dependent clauses of unfulfilled action, its most frequent use being

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the formation of conditions. Before examples are given of subordinate constructions, a few remarks on the subordinate forms themselves will be in place.

The aoristic -daε- forms of an intransitive verb like hōg*- run are:

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Subordinate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>hō'k'deε I run</td>
<td>hō'k'de'daε when I ran, I running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>hōgwat'</td>
<td>hōgwadaε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>hō'εk'</td>
<td>hō'k'daε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>hōgwik'</td>
<td>hōgwiga'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>hōgwat'p'</td>
<td>hōgwa'tbaε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>hōgwia'uaε</td>
<td>hōgwia'-udaε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these forms, that of the first person plural in -a'm is identical, as far as the suffix is concerned, with the future form of the corresponding person and number. The example given above (hōgwiga'm) was found used quite analogously to the more transparently subordinate forms of the other persons (alx'i'xam hōgwiga'm he saw us run, like alx'i'xi hō'k'de'daε he saw me run); the form of the stem is all that keeps apart the future and the subordinate aorist of the first person plural (thus hōgwiga'm we shall run with short o). No form in -i'k'daε, such as might perhaps be expected, was found. The catch of the first and third person singular of class I verbs disappears before the -daε (see § 22). The falling accent of the stem, however, remains, and the quantity of the stressed vowel is lengthened unless followed by a diphthong-forming element. Thus:

yā'^adaε when he went 58.8 (ya'^ε he went 96.8); cf. 188.17
ba-i-k!iyi't'k'daε when he came (ba-i-ki'iyi't'k' he came 156.24)
yawa'idaε as they were talking 130.13 (yawa'^ε they talked)
xēbe'ndaε when he did so 142.10 (xēbe'^ε he did so 118.14)

The subordinate form of the third person aorist of class II intransitives ends in -t'aε if the immediately preceding vowel has a rising accent. Thus:

s'as'init'aε when he stood (s'as'ini he stood 120.12)
loplōt'aε when it rained (loplōt' it rained 90.1)

In the second person singular the personal -t' and the -d- of the subordinating suffix amalgamate to -d-. The subordinate second person plural in -t'baε is not improbably simply formed on the analogy of the corresponding singular form in -daε, the normal difference
between the singular and plural of the second person consisting simply of the added \(-b\) (-\(p\)) of the latter; similarly, \(e\)-ida'\(e\) when thou art and \(e\)it'ba\(e\) when ye are. Judging by the analogy of the subordinates of transitive forms in \(-\text{dam}\) and \(-\text{dap'}\) the subordinate forms of the second persons of class II intransitives end in \(-\text{a}^e\) (-\(\text{da}^e\)) and \(-\text{t'ba}^e\) (-\(\text{daba}^e\)):

\(s'\text{as'init'ta}^e\) when you stood \((s'\text{as'init'tam} \text{ you stood})\)

\(s'\text{as'init'tba}^e\) when ye stood \((s'\text{as'init'tap'} \text{ ye stood})\)

Note the ambiguity of the form \(s'\text{as'init'ta}^e\) when he or you stood; compare the similar ambiguity in \(\text{naga}'\text{ida}^e\) when he said and \(\text{naga}'\text{ida}^e\) when you said 130.14; 132.23.

The transitive subordinates of the aorist are also characterized by a suffixed \(-\text{da}^e\), except that forms with a third personal subject invariably substitute \(-(a)\text{na}^e\) (-\(\text{ina}^e\)) with first person plural object), and that the personal endings \(-\text{dam}\) (thou—me) and \(-\text{dap'}\) (ye—me) become simply \(-\text{da}^e\) and \(-\text{daba}^e\) respectively. The latter forms are thus distinguished from non-subordinate futures merely by the aoristic stem \((\text{al}-\text{x'i}'\text{xda}^e\) when you saw me, but \(\text{al}-\text{x'i}'\text{xda}^e\) you will see me). Analogously to what we have seen to take place in the intransitive, \(-\text{t'p'}\) becomes \(-\text{t'ba}^e\). The subordinate aorists of \(\text{t'omom-}\) kill are: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(\text{tomözbíida}^e) ((\text{tomözbíin}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(\text{tomözdáza}^e) ((\text{tomözdám}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(\text{tomözi'xína}^e) ((\text{tomözi'xíi}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(\text{tomözi'xína}^e) ((\text{tomözi'xíi}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(\text{tomözína}^e) ((\text{tomözíin}))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms with first personal plural subject (-\(\text{na}'\text{h}^e\)) and second personal object were not obtained, but the corresponding forms in \(-\text{iga}'\text{m}\) (first person plural intransitive) and \(-\text{anaga}'\text{m}\) (first person plural subject third person object) leave no doubt as to their correctness. These forms differ from ordinary futures of the same

---

1 The corresponding non-subordinate forms are given in parentheses.
number and person only in the use of the aorist stem. Only very few examples of subordinate -anaga'm have been found:

\[\text{aga'hi lligigwanaga'm} \text{just-these which-we-brought-home} \text{134.18;} \]
\[\text{contrast lligwanaga'm} \text{we shall bring them home} \]
\[\text{yewe} \text{we} \text{bagwanaga'm} \text{if we should slay him (literally, perhaps that-we-slay-him)} \text{136.23;} \]
\[\text{contrast xe} \text{we} \text{bagwanaga'm} \text{we shall slay him} \]

The use of the aorist stem in the subordinate, it will be observed, is also the only characteristic that serves to keep distinct the third personal subjective subordinates and the future forms of the passive:

\[\text{al-xi'xbina^ when he saw you, but al-xi'xbina^ you will be seen} \]

It may be noted that the third personal subjective aorist forms of the transitive may be mechanically formed, like the passives of the same tense, from the first person singular subject third person object aorist by merely dropping the glottal catch of the latter form and adding -a^.

Thus:

\[\text{gel-hewe'hana^ when he thought 45.2; 142.10, 13, 16 (cf. gel-hewe'ha^n I thought); but gel-hewe'hau} \text{he thought 44.11} \]

The subordinate of the form with personal object -k'wa is formed by adding -na^:

\[\text{malak'wana^ when he told him 72.14 (malak'wa} \text{he told him 142.4)} \]

The aorist passive subordinates cause no trouble whatever, the characteristic -ma^ being in every case simply appended to the final -n of the passive form:

\[\text{tlomoma'namna^ when he was killed 146.22 (from tlomoma'n he was killed 148.3)} \]
\[\text{tlomoxanbanma^ when you (plural) were killed} \]

The complete subordinate inferential paradigm is rather motley in appearance; -na^ is suffixed to the third personal subject in -k':

\[\text{plak'na^ when he bathed} \]
\[\text{laba'k'na^ when he carried it 126.5} \]
\[\text{gaik'na^ when he ate it} \]
\[\text{dumxik'na^ when he killed me} \]

The first person singular in -k'a^(n) becomes -k'anda^; the first person plural subordinate was not obtained, but doubtless has -k'anaga'm as ending. The subordinate of the passive in -k'am is regularly formed by the addition of -na^:

\[\text{gaik'amna^ when it was eaten} \]
\[\text{domxamk'amna^ when we were killed} \]

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The periphrastic forms in *eit’* and *eit’p’* become -\(k’\) + *eida’z* and *eit’ba’z* in the subordinate; e. g., *wāhīmt’k!eida’z* when you answered him. The active inferential subordinates of *dō’m-* with third personal object thus are:

Singular:
- First person, *dōmk’anda’z*
- Second person, *dōmk’eida’z*

Plural:
- First person, *dōmk’anaga’m*
- Second person, *dōmk’eit’ba’z*
- Third person, *dōmk’na’z*; personal, *dōmk’wak’na’z*
- Impersonal *dōmwak’na’z*

The subordinating element -\(na’z\) also makes a subordinate clause out of a -\(t’\) participle (see §76):

\[
gwi na’t’na’z \text{ ga’z a’ldī naga’n how-he-looked (gwi na’t’ how-looking) that all he-was-called 60.5; (cf. 78.3)}
\]

\[
yapa’la ga na’t’na’z \text{ that number of people 110.15}
\]

Also adjectives and local phrases may be turned into subordinate clauses by the suffixing of -\(na’z\):

\[
xilam-na’z \text{ when she was sick 188.10}
\]

\[
aga dō’k’ gwelda-na’z \text{ this log under-it when (= while he was under this log) 190.20}
\]

Examples will now be given of constructions illustrating the use of subordinate forms. It is artificial, from a rigidly native point of view, to speak of causal, temporal, relative, and other uses of the subordinate; yet an arrangement of Takelma examples from the view-point of English syntax has the advantage of bringing out more clearly the range of possibility in the use of subordinates. The subordinate clause may be directly attached to the rest of the sentence, or, if its temporal, causal, or other significance needs to be clearly brought out, it may be introduced by a relative adverb or pronoun (where, when, how, who). Both constructions are sometimes possible; e. g., a sentence like I DO NOT KNOW WHO KILLED HIM may be rendered either by NOT I-IT-KNOW WHO HE-HIM-KILLING or NOT I-WHOM-KNOW HE-HIM-KILLING. Subordinate constructions with causal signification are:

\[
ts’’olx (1) w’’s’i (2) t’’umāxda’z (3) give me (2) dentalia (1), for you have struck me (3) (cf. 15.8)
\]

\[
a’ni’z (1) gel-gūli’xi (2) gayawa’nada’z (3) he does not (1) like me (2), because I ate it (3)
\]

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—13
guxde (1) gayawana (2) goyo (3) yap!a (4) aldî (5) he-i-lemê’ikit (6) you killed off (6) all (5) the people (4), because shamans (3) ate (2) your wife (1) 146.11
a’nu (1) ya’ (2) gi’ (3) me’-wô’k’de’dà (4) ga’al (5) he did not (1) go (2), because I (3) came (4); ga’al (on account of, for) is employed to render preceding subordinate unambiguously causal
a’nu (1) s’in-ho’k’wal (2) yu’k’na (3) ga (4) ga’al (5) sb’n’a (6) xa’m-hî (7) lâp’k’ (8) not (1) being (3) nose-holed (2), for (5) that (4) (reason) Beaver (6) got to be (8) under water (7) 166.18

A temporal signification is found in:

hô’-yewe’ (1) aldî (2) t’omoma’nnna (3) they all (2) returned far off (1), after (many of them) had been slain (3) 146.22
go (1) gel-lohoigwa’nnna (2) when shamans (1) are avenged (2) 148.2
ba-i-k’iyi’k’ (1) p’im (2) gayawa’nda (3) he came (1) when I was eating (3) salmon (2)
al-xî’gi’n (1) gwi’ne (2) yâ’dà (3) I saw him (1) when (2) he went (3)

Relative clauses of one kind and another, including indirect questions, are illustrated in:

a’nu (1) nek’ (2) yok’oya’zn (3) lege’xina (4) I do not (1) know (3) who (2) gave me to eat (4) (literally, not I-whom-know he-giving-me-to-eat)
yok’oya’zn (1) nek’ (2) laga’ximina (3) I know (1) who (2) gave us to eat (3)
môn (1) mi’xal (2) ha-lohûnana (3) he counted (1) how many (2) he had trapped (3) 100.8
a’nu (1) yok’tô (2) gwi’ (3) giniyagwa’nnna (4) he did not (1) know (2) where (3) she had been taken to (4) 13.12
gâ’hî (1) dûk’ (2) di-t’ûgûr (3) wa-k’dôdônna (4) they wore (3) the same (1) garments (2) with which they had been buried (4) 96.16
gi’ (1) na’nagatt’eda (2) na’nâ’k’ (3) do (future imperative) (3) what I (1) am doing (2)
i-k’we’e’xi (1) ulum (2) waît’anda (3) they awoke me (1) who (or while, when I) before (2) was sleeping (3) 74.5; 75.6

Purpose may be implied by the subordinate in:
p’im (1) gayawana (2) laga’k’i (3) he gave them (3) salmon (1) to eat (2) 30.11

The subordinate serves very frequently as a clause of indirect discourse after such verbs as know, see, discover. With a regular § 70
verb of saying, such as *na*(*)-*, it is nearly always necessary to report
the exact words of the speaker.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{al-xi'gi'n (1) xebejigi'k'wana}^z & \text{ (2) I saw him (1) hurt him (2)} \\
\text{yok'iya'n (1) p'îm (2) gaik'na}^z & \text{ (3) I know (1) that he has}
\text{ been eating (3) salmon (2) (literally, I-know-him salmon having-eaten)} \\
\text{al-xi'gi'n (1) t'omôxanbanda}^z & \text{ (2) he saw me (1) strike you (pl.) (2)} \\
\text{al-xi'gi'n (1) dal-yewe'idao}^z & \text{ (2) I saw him (1) run away (2)}
\end{align*}
\]

Not infrequently an adverb is to be considered the main predicate,
particularly when supported by the unanalyzable but probably
verbal form *wala'^s'inha*(*)*na*^z*), while the main verb follows as a subordi-
nate clause. Compare such English turns as *IT IS HERE THAT I SAW
HIM* instead of *HERE I SAW HIM*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ene}^z (1) & \text{ wala'^s'ini (2) ett'e'da}^z (3) \text{ I am (3) right (2) here (1)} \\
& \text{(literally, here it-is really [?] that-I-am)} \\
\text{eme}^z (1) & \text{ wala'^s'ini (2) eida}^z (3) \text{ you are (3) right (2) here (1)} \\
\text{mîl}^z (1) & \text{ wala'^s'ini (2) ñ-k!'umanana'nhik'nam (3) he had already}
\text{ fixed it for him (literally, already (1) it-was-really (2) that-}
\text{he-had-fixed-it-for-him (3))}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of subordinates depending on predicatively used adverbs
without *wala'^s'ini* are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a'nl}^z (1) & \text{ wanâ (2) eme}^z (3) nê'idâ (4) [it is] not (1) even (2) here
\text{ (3) that they did (4) (probably=even they did not get here)} \\
& 61.3 \\
\text{hoplê'ten (1) plâ'^s (2) hi's (3) loplot'a}^z (4) \text{ it used to snow long}
\text{a'l}^z (1) & \text{ he'î-lemê'k'inda}^z (2) \text{ [it is] right here (1) that I destroy}
\text{ them (2) 108.20}
\end{align*}
\]

An example of a subordinate depending on a demonstrative pro-
noun is:

\[
\text{î'daga (1) yapla (2) sas'init'a}^z (3) \text{ that man is standing (literally,}
\text{ [it is] that [1] man [2] that is standing [3])}
\]

The form *wala'^s'ino*^z* is in all probability a third personal aorist
transitive subordinate form in -*na*^z*), as is shown by its use as a sub-
stantive verb for the third person when following an adverb, appar-
ently to supply the lack of a third person in the regular substantive
verb *ei*-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eme}^z (1) & \text{ wala'^s'ino}^z (2) a'k'la (3) \text{ he (3) is right (2) here (1)} \\
& \text{(literally, something like: [it is] here that-it-really-is he)} \\
\text{ge (1) wala'^s'ino}^z (2) \text{ he is over there (literally, [it is] there [1]
\text{ that-he-really-is [2])}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 70
Most astonishing is the use of \textit{wala'i's-ina} as a modal prefix of a subordinate verb (of the movable class treated above, see § 34) to assert the truth of an action in the manner of our English \textit{did} in sentences like \textit{he did go}. Thus, from \textit{dak'-da-hâlsbi he answered you}, is formed the emphatic \textit{dak'-da-wala'i'sina'-hâlsbina} \textit{he did answer you}. The only analysis of this form that seems possible is to consider the verbal prefixes \textit{dak'-da-} as a predicative adverb upon which \textit{wala'i'sina} is syntactically dependent, the main verb \textit{-hâlsbina} itself depending as a subordinate clause on its modal prefix. The fact that \textit{dak'-da-} has as good as no concrete independent existence as adverb, but is idiomatically used with the verbal base \textit{hal}- to make up the idea of \textit{answer}, is really no reason for rejecting this analysis, strange as it may appear, for the mere grammatical form of a sentence need have no immediate connection with its logical dismemberment. The above form might be literally translated as (it is) \textit{above (dak'-)} with-his-mouth (\textit{da-}) that-it-really-is that-he-answered-you.

\textbf{§ 71. CONDITIONALS}

Conditionals differ from other subordinate forms in that they are derived, not from the full verb-form with its subject-affix, but, if intransitive, directly from the verb-stem; if transitive, from the verb-stem with incorporated pronominal object. In other words, the conditional suffix \textit{-k'i} (-\textit{gi}) is added to the same phonetic verbal units as appear in the inferential before the characteristic \textit{-k'}, and in the periphrastic future before the second element \textit{-gulugw}. The phonetic and to some extent psychologic similarity between the inferential (\textit{e.g., dûmxik' he evidently struck me}) and the conditional (\textit{e.g., dûmxigi' if he strikes, had struck me}) makes it not improbable that the latter is a derivative in \textit{-i} of the third personal subjective form in \textit{-k'} of the latter. The conditional, differing again from other subordinates in this respect, shows no variation for pronominal subjects, the first and second personal subjective forms being periphrastically expressed by the addition to the conditional of the third personal subjective of the appropriate forms of \textit{ei- be}. From verb-stem \textit{yana- go}, for example, are derived:

\begin{center}
\textbf{Singular:}
\begin{itemize}
  \item First person, \textit{yana'k'i eit e}
  \item Second person, \textit{yana'k'i eit e}
  \item Third person, \textit{yana'k'i e}
\end{itemize}
\end{center}
Plural:
  First person, yana'k'i ez e'bi'k
  Second person, yana'k'i ez eit'p
Impersonal: yanaya'k'i ez

The conditional is used not merely, as its name implies, to express the protasis of a condition, but as the general subordinate form of unrealized activity; as such it may often be translated as a temporal or relative clause, an introductory adverb or relative pronoun serving to give it the desired shade of meaning. Examples of its use other than as a conditional, in the strict sense of the word, are:

yok!oya'z'n (1) nek' (2) läxbigi ez (3) I know (1) who (2) will give you to eat (3)
dewe'nxa (1) al-xil'kin (2) giizi ne (3) yana'k'i ez (4) I shall see him (2) tomorrow (1), when (3) he goes (4)
al-xil'xink'i (1) giizi ne (2) yana'k'i ez eit'e ez (3) he will see me (1) when (2) I go (3)
gwen-t'gä'-bo'k'danda (1) ts'lo'ut'igizi ez (2) yä'za (3) he'ne (4) yä'za (5) xe'bqqua'n (6) just (3) ¹when they touch (2) the eastern extremity of the earth (1), just (5) then (4) I shall destroy them (6) 144.15

It has a comparative signification (as though) in:

pili' (1) de-gi'k'alxgi ez (2) na'z'igagi'ez (3) it was (3) as though fire (1) were glowing (2) 142.1

Conditional sentences are of two types:

(1) Simple, referring to action of which, though unfulfilled, there yet remains the possibility of fulfillment.

(2) Contrary to fact, the hypothetical activity being beyond the possibility of fulfillment.

Both types of condition require the conditional form in the protasis, but differ in the apodosis. The apodosis of a simple conditional sentence contains always a future form (or inferential, if the apodosis is negative), that of a contrary-to-fact condition, a potential. Examples of simple conditions are:

ga (1) na'z'ak'ez eit' (2) haxada'ez (3) if you do (2) that (1), you'll get burnt (3)
äk' (1) yana'k'i ez (2) gi'ez (3) hono'ez (4) yana't'e'ez (5) if he (1) goes (2), I (3) go (5) too (4)
wede (1) yana'k'i ez (2) gi'ez (3) hono'ez (4) wede (5) yana'k'aza ez (6) if he does not (1) go (2), I (3) won't (5) go (6) either (4)
gwalt' (1) mahai (2) wo'k'i ez (3) ga (4) na'z'gi'ek' (5) if a great (2) wind (1) arrives (3), say (5) that! (4) 196.19.

¹Just when = AS SOON AS.

§ 71
The apodosis of such conditions is sometimes introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *ga* that, which may be rendered in such cases by *then*, in that case:

\[ \text{aga (1) } x\bar{a}^\text{-sgo}^*\text{sgi}^* (2) ga (3) loho'\text{te}^* (4) \text{if this (1) string parts (2), in that case (3) I shall be dead (4) 59.10, (11)} \]

Of this type are also all general conditions referring to customary action that is to take place in time to come, such as are often introduced in English by words like *whenever, wherever, and so on.*

Examples of such general conditions are:

\[ \text{wilau (1) klemninyaak'ii}^* (2) wa-t'\text{ba}^\text{-g}^*\text{gandina}^* (3) \text{whenever people will make (2) arrows (1), they (arrows) will be backed (literally, tied) with it (3) (with sinew) 28.2} \]

\[ \text{wa}^*\text{gii}^* (1) d\text{a} (2) ba-i-ginak'wi^* (3) goyo' (4) he^*\text{ne} (5) d\text{oa}\text{-mana}^* (6) \text{whenever a shaman (4) goes out with (3) one whose body (1) is good (2), then (5) he shall be slain (6) 146.6} \]

\[ \text{goyo (1) gel-lohogwiaak'izi}^* (2) he^*\text{ne} (3) y\bar{a}^*\text{a}s-iz}^* (4) yap\text{la} (5) gama'xdi (6) pl\text{e}^*\text{t}^* (7) \text{whenever one takes vengeance for (2) a shaman (1), just (4) then (3) ordinary (6) people (5) will lie (7) (i.e., be slain) 146.8} \]

\[ \text{wede (1) hono}^* (2) nek' (3) al-xi^*k'wak' (4) yap\text{la} (5) loho'k'i^* (6) \text{no (1) one (3) will see him (4) again (2), when a person (5) dies (6) 98.10} \]

\[ \text{gana}^*\text{ne}^*x (1) yo^*t' (2) yap\text{la} (3) g\text{at}k'i^* (4) \text{thus (1) it shall be (2) as people (3) grow, multiply (4) 146.15} \]

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditions are:

\[ \text{al\text{di} (1) yuh'ya'k'i}^* \text{eit'ez}^* (2) mala'xbi^*n (3) \text{if I knew (2) all (1), I should tell it to you (3) 162.5} \]

\[ \text{nek' (1) yo'k'i}^* (2) \text{dak'ltmxyzwa}^* (3) \text{if it were (2) anyone else (1), it (tree) would have fallen on him (3) 108.11, 13} \]

\[ \text{vi'daga (1) ge (2) yuh'k'i}^* (3) \text{wede (4) d\text{o}^*\text{ma}^*n}^* (5) \text{if that one (1) had been (3) there (2), I should not (4) have killed him (5)} \]

\[ \text{gi^* (1) ge (2) yuh'k'i}^* \text{eit'ez}^* (3) \text{bo}^* (4) \text{yana}^* (5) \text{haga}^* (6) \text{if I (1) were (3) there (2), he would have gone (5) in that event (4)} \]

In the last example, *haga* is a demonstrative adverb serving to summarize the protasis, being about equivalent to our in that event, under those circumstances.

This word may be the adverbialed

---

1 General conditions, however, that apply to past time, or that have application without reference to time-limit, are constructed by the use of the subordinate for the protasis, and orist for the apodosis, both verbs being, if possible, frequentative or continuative in form: *x\text{li}^* (1) k\text{ew}^* e\text{awal}^* (2) he\text{ne} (3) yap\text{la} (4) al\text{-tag}^* (5) whenever the dog (1) barked (2), then (3) he found (5) a person (4).

2 = -g\text{ina}^*k'w + -x'\text{r}.

3 Causes the death of.

§ 71
form of the demonstrative pronoun $h\partial'ga$ that one; it is used also with persons other than the third:

\[ yana't'e^z haga' I should have gone in that event \]

§ 72. USES OF POTENTIAL AND INFERENTIAL

The potential and inferential modes differ from the aorist in the negative particle with which they may be combined. An indicative non-future statement, such as is expressed by the aorist, is negatived, without change of the verb-form, by means of the negative adverb $a'n\ddot{e}^z$:

\[ y\ddot{a}nt'e^z I went; a'n\ddot{e}^z y\ddot{a}nt'e^z I did not go \]

An imperative or future form, however, can not be directly negatived, but must be expressed by the potential and inferential respectively, the non-aoristic negative adverb wede being prefixed. Thus we have:

Negative future:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yana}'t'e & \text{ he will go} \quad \text{wede yana}'k' \text{ he will not go} \\
yanada'e & \text{ you will go} \quad \text{wede yana}'k'eit' \text{ you will not go} \\
yana't'e & \text{ I shall go} \quad \text{wede yana}'k'a^z \text{ I shall not go} \\
dömxbin & \text{ I shall kill you} \quad \text{wede dömxbiga}^z \text{ I shall not kill you (cf. 178.15)} \\
178.15 & \text{dö}'ma'nk' \text{ he will kill him} \quad \text{wede (1) ne'k' (2) yap'ta (3) gama'xdi (4) dö'mk' (5) no one (2) will slay (5) a person (3) who is no shaman (4) 146.16} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Negative imperative:

\[
\begin{align*}
yana' \text{ go! (sing.)} & \quad \text{wede yana}'t \text{ do not go!} \\
yana'np' \text{ go! (pl.)} & \quad \text{wede yana}'p' \text{ do not go! (156.9)} \\
dö'm \text{ kill him!} & \quad \text{wede dö}'ma't \text{ do not kill him!} \\
g a na'na' \text{ do that!} & \quad \text{wede ga na'na't \text{ do not do that!} }
\end{align*}
\]

The particle wede is used with the inferential and potential, not only to form the negative future and imperative, but in all cases in which these modes are negatived, e.g., wede dö'ma'n I SHOULDN'T HAVE KILLED HIM, I WOULDN'T KILL HIM. There is thus no morphologic distinction between a prohibitive DO NOT GO! and a second person subject negative apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition, YOU WOULDN'T HAVE GONE. It is probably not a mere accident that the negative particle wede is phonetically identical with the verb-stem wede-TAKE AWAY. This plausible etymology of wede suggests that the origin of
the negative future and imperative constructions lies in such peri-
phrastic sentences as:

Remove (all thought from your mind) that I (inferentially) go
(i. e., I shall not go)
Remove (all thought from your mind) that you might, would
 go (i. e., do not go!)

The inferential, as we have seen above (see § 59), is used primarily
to indicate that the action is not directly known through personal
experience. An excellent example of how such a shade of meaning
can be imparted even to a form of the first person singular was given
in § 70; s'☎✈-kal'we'ɛxi ulum waik'anda^ they woke me up while I
was sleeping! 74.5 In the myth from which this sentence is taken,
Coyote is represented as suffering death in the attempt to carry out
one of his foolish pranks. Ants, however, sting him back into life;
whereupon Coyote, instead of being duly grateful, angrily exclaims
as above, assuming, to save his self-esteem, that he has really only
been taking an intentional nap. The inferential form waik'anda^ is
used in preference to the matter-of-fact aorist wayant'e'da^ I
sleeping, because of the implied inference, I wasn't dead, after all,
else how could they wake me? I was really sleeping, must
have been sleeping. Closely akin to this primary use of the
inferential is its frequent use in rhetorical questions of anger, sur-
prise, wonder, and discovery of fact after ignorance of it for some
time. Examples from the myths, where the context gives them
the necessary psychological setting, are:

gene'di (1) gi' (2) waya'raqwa't (3) yu'k'a^ (4) how (1) should
I (2) be (4) daughter-in-lawed (3) (i. e., how do I come to have
any daughter-in-law?) 56.10 I didn't know that you, my son,
were married!

gi' (1) di' (2) ha'mit'ban (3) dö'umk'a^ (4) did I (1) kill (4) your
father (3) ? (2) 158.2

s'-gwi di' (1) le'mk'i'auk' (2) where (1) have they all gone (2),
any way? 90.25, 27 says Coyote, looking in vain for help
ō + (1) mi'i (2) di' (3) s'am gia'uk' (4) Oh! (1) has it gotten to
be summer (4) already (2)? (3) says Coyote, after a winter's
sleep in a tree-trunk 92.9

ga (1) di' (2) xep'k' (3) ga (4) di' (5) gű'xdel'k', (6) ga'k' (7)
so it is those (1) that did it (3) ? (2) those, (4) that ate (7)
my wife (6) ? (5) 142.18

1st-merely marks the Coyote (see footnote, § 2).
e'me (1) daba (2) di (3) ^et' a (4) yu'k (5) are (5) canoes (4) (to be found) only (2) here (1) ? (3) 114.7 (i.e., why do you bother me about ferrying you across, when there are plenty of canoes elsewhere?)
ga (1) di' (2) p!a"nt' (3) ga'k'a' (4) so that (1) was their livers (3) that I ate (4) ? (2) 120.14 says Grizzly Bear, who imagined she had eaten not her children's, but Black Bear's children's, livers, on discovering her mistake

A peculiar Takelma idiom is the interrogative use of gw!ne when, how long followed by wede and the inferential, to denote a series of repetitions or an unbroken continuity of action. Examples are:
gw!ne (1) di' (2) wede (3) wa'k' (4) he kept on sleeping (literally, when [1] did he not [3] sleep [4] ?[2]) 142.11; 152.24
gw!ne (1) di' (2) wede (3) dâk'am (4) he kept on being found, they always stumbled upon him again (literally, when [1] was he not [3] found [4] ?[2] ) 110.15

Similar psychologically is the non-negative future in:
ge'me'di (1) hono (2) al-â'si'nk' (3) they never found him again (lit., when [1] will they find him [3] again?[2]) 190.25

6. Nominal and Adjectival Derivatives (§§ 73–83)

§ 73. INTRODUCTORY

Although such derivatives from the verb-stem as infinitives and nouns of agency should logically be treated under the denoting rather than the predicative forms of speech, they are in Takelma, as in most other languages, so closely connected as regards morphology with the latter, that it is much more convenient to treat them immediately after the predicative verb-forms. The number of nominal and adjectival forms derived from the Takelma verb-stem is not very large, comprising infinitives or verbal nouns of action, active and passive participles, nouns of agency, and a few other forms whose function is somewhat less transparent. The use made of them, however, is rather considerable, and they not infrequently play an important part in the expression of subordinate verbal ideas.

§ 74. INFINITIVES

Infinitives, or, as they are perhaps better termed, verbal nouns, may be formed from all verbs by the addition of certain suffixes to the stem or stem + pronominal object, if the verb form is transitive.
Inasmuch as infinitives, being nothing but nouns in form, may take possessive affixes, forms may easily result that combine a transitive object and a possessive pronoun; e.g., dōmxbiyat'k' my (-t'k' scheme III § 92) KILLING YOU (-bi-), FOR ME TO KILL YOU (cf. yēxbiyaøydek' my BITING YOU 116.9; -x-dek' scheme II § 92). The classification of verbs into classes is reflected also in the infinitive forms, each of the three main classes being distinguished by a special infinitive suffix. The suffixes are:

Intransitive I -(a')x.
Intransitive II -k'wa (-gwa).
Transitive -ia (-ya).

The peculiar sub-classes that were grouped together as Class IV all form their infinitives in -k'wa (-gwa). Besides these three main suffixes, -(d)epx- (-apx-) with possessive suffixes is employed to form infinitives from reflexives in -gwi-, while active intransitives in -xa- form their infinitives by employing the bare stem-form with verbal derivative -xa. Infinitives in -xa'k'wa also occur. The infinitive often shows the stem in a purer form than the non-aorist finite forms; in particular the non-aoristic -p'- of Class II intransitive verbs regularly disappears before the -gwa of the infinitive.

Examples of infinitives are:

1. From Class I intransitives:

   wāṭẹx your sleeping  yana'x to go
   bạ̄-daẉ'x to fly up  hōidạ'x to dance
   hogwạ'x to run  lọ̣̄'x to play 31.7
   tịẹwạ'x to play shinny  na'nẹ'x doing 94.10; 72.4; 148.13
   nẹ'x saying 108.16; 184.10
   ginạ'x to go (176.8) (from simple base gin-; contrast third person future ging-a't')

   Stems ending in long diphthongs either take -x or -ax. Thus we have either ha-yẹẉ-x-dạ̄'da or ha-yẹ̣ẉ-a'x-dạ̄'da IN THEIR RETURNING 124.15.

2. From Class II intransitives:

   k'wạḷẹnx̣gwa to wake up (intransitive)  ṭgēlx̣gwa to run around, roll
   geiwạḷx̣gwa to eat  ba-i-di'ṇẹnx̣gwa to march
   lāk'wa to become  s'a's'ank'wa to stand
   p̣ḷałạ'k'wa to tell a myth  sana'k'wa to fight
3. From Class IV verbs:

- he'gwa'k'wa (= -he'g'k'gwag'k'wa) to work
  - al-we'k'al'k'wa to shine
- da-bo'k'ba'gwag'k'wa to bubble under water (observe verb-suffix -e of infinitive; but da-bok'oba'k'na'n I make bubbles)

4. From -xa- verbs:

- lâ'xwa' (=lûk!-xa') to trap
  - p'elxa to go to war (but also p'elxa'k'wa')

5. From reflexives:

- t'gwa'nt'gwidepxdagwa to tattoo himself
  - se'la'mt'gwidepdxek' to paint myself
- lû'xagwant'gwiapdxek' to trap for myself
  - han-se'gwa'nt'gwiapdxek' to paddle myself across

From non-reflexive verbs are derived:

- ga-iwiapdxek' my eating
  - wûxiapdxâ his coming to get me

6. From transitives:

- p!ala'xbiya to tell you a myth
  - i-gaxga'xgwia to scratch one's self

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\{i-k'wâ'o'k'iwia to wake him} & \quad \text{i-gil's-gis'-ia}^2 \text{ to tickle him} \\
\text{\{k'we'e'xiyia to wake me (164.20)} & \quad \text{wayanaqwia'} \text{ to run after him} \\
\text{dà^g-agania' to hear about it} & \quad \text{lö'gwia'} \text{ to play with it} \\
\text{wa^g-i-doxia to gather them} & \quad \text{dôm}k'wia^3 \text{ to kill him}
\end{align*}
\]

The syntactical usage of verbal nouns of action is illustrated in the following examples:

- hûlî'nk'wat'k' klemna'nk' he will make me tired (literally, my-tiredness he-will-make-it)
- t!omôxâ'da wiyina'n I help him kill (literally, his-killing [no object] I-aid-it)
- ho'gwa'x gel-gulugwa' in I like to run (lit., running I-like-it)(196.8)
  \[a'nì yok!ôt nezde'k' he does not know what I said (literally, not he-knows-it my-saying)\]
  \[xi-z'gùwia ga'äl in order to drink water (literally, water-drinking for)\]
  \[ba-i-k'liyi'k' al-xi'xibiya ga'äl he came to see you (literally, he-came seeing-you for)\]

1 Infinitives in -k'wa seem sometimes to be formed from other Class I intransitives, e.g., wi'sma'k'wa to move; haza'k'wa to burn (also haza'gwia).
2 Umlauted from gi's-gawia.
3 -k'wi- here represents objective -k'we- umlauted by infinitive ending -(y)a (see § 8). Similarly s'äm'tia to boil it 170.16 from t'aya.
The normal method of expressing purpose, as the last two examples show, is by the use of an infinitive followed by the general locative postposition ga'a'lt0, at. for. The infinitive, as its inclusion of the object shows, preserves its verbal character almost completely, and may itself govern another infinitive:

\[ k\text{emnia' al-we'k!alk\text{wa}a } \]

\[ \text{to make it shine (literally, to-make-it-its-shining)} \]

Not a few infinitives have become more or less specialized as regular nouns, though it is extremely doubtful if the transparently verbal origin of such nouns is ever lost sight of. Such nouns are:

\[ p\text{ala'k'wa } \]

\[ \text{myth 50.4; 172.17} \]

\[ ts'ip'na'x \]

\[ \text{speech, oration (cf: ts':li'p'nan I shall make a} \]

\[ \text{speech to them [146.11])} \]

\[ t'ge\text{nt'ga'mxzgwa } \]

\[ \text{darkness} \]

\[ gina'x \]

\[ \text{passage-way 176.9} \]

\[ ts'le'ma'x \]

\[ \text{noise (cf. dā-o-ts!em-xde'} \]

\[ \text{I hear a big noise 90.21)} \]

\[ ye'l'sgwix \]

\[ \text{(cf. ye'l'sgwade')} \]

\[ \text{I shall sweat [140.1]} \]

**PARTICIPLES (§§ 75–78)**

§ 75. General Remarks

Participles are either active or passive, and may be formed with considerable freedom from all verbs. They have not been found with incorporated pronominal objects, the active participles being more adjectival than verbal in character, while the passives naturally hardly allow of their incorporation. The passive participle is often provided with possessive affixes that correspond to the transitive subjects of the finite verb; the active participle, on the other hand, undergoes no modification for person, but, like any adjective, is brought in connection with a particular person by the forms of the copula ei- be.

§ 76. Active Participle in -t'

This participle is formed by simply appending a -t', one of the characteristic adjectival suffixes, to the verb-stem. Inferential and imperative -p' of Class II intransitives disappears before this element (e. g., se'nsant' whoping), but not the non-aoristic -p'-, which is characteristic (see § 42, 1) of some of the verbs of the same class; e. g., sana'p' fighting (from *sana'p't'). Participles in -t' never denote particular action, but regularly indicate that the action predi-

§ 75–76
cated of a person is one that in a way marks him off from others, and that may serve as a characteristic attribute. Not infrequently, therefore, a -t' participle has the value of a noun of agency; the fact, however, that it never appears with pronominal elements, but is always treated as an adjective, demonstrates its attributive, non-substantival character. It is possible to use it with a preceding nominal object, so that sentences may result that seem to predicate a single act definitely placed in time; yet an attributive shade of meaning always remains. For example, wihin dōmt' eit' e (literally, MY-MOTHER HAVING-KILLED I-AM) and wihin tomoma' e'n both mean I KILLED MY MOTHER, but with a difference. The latter sentence simply states the fact, the emphasis being on the act itself; the former sentence, on the other hand, centers in the description of the subject as a matricide, I AM ONE WHO HAS KILLED HIS MOTHER. The latter sentence might be a reply to a query like WHAT DID YOU DO? the former, to WHO ARE YOU?

Examples of -t' participles are:

\[
\begin{align*}
gwi-na't' & \text{ how constituted, of what kind? (gwi- [how, where]} \\
+ na't' & \text{[from na- do, act]) 14.4, 9, 10; 15.6} \\
gu-na't' & \text{of that kind, so in appearance 63.12; 192.7} \\
wunt' k'temè'n & \text{I make him old (cf. wununt' e I grow old)} \\
\begin{align*}
t'gà & \text{ haxa't' burnt field (not passive, but really = field that has at one time burned) 92.29} \\
hëlt' & \text{ eit' e I know how to sing (literally, singing I am)} \\
yapa' & \text{ lohōnt' eit' e I have killed (many) people (literally, people causing [or having caused]-to-die I am)} \\
lōho' & \text{ having died, dead 148.13} \\
hawax-xiwi't' & \text{ (it is) rotting} \\
xuda'mt' & \text{ eit' e I am whistler} \\
ni'xa yì'lt' & \text{ having copulated with his mother (insulting epithet applied to Coyote) 86.5, 6, 16}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of participles with lost -t' have been given above (see § 18).

§ 77. Passive Participle in -(a)k'w, -Ìk'w

Nominal participial forms in -k'w of passive signification can be freely formed from all transitive verb-stems, the stem invariably undergoing palatalization (see § 31). The suffix -k'w ordinarily requires a preceding connective -a- replaced, as usual, by an instrumental -i- in such passive participles as are derived from verb-forms themselves provided with -i-. Participles in -ak'w tend to be accented on the
syllable immediately preceding the suffix, in which case an inorganic
-\(k\) generally appears before the -\(a\); -\(hak\) is also regularly used with
preceding fortis (see § 19). It is not unlikely that the suffix is organ-
ically -\(hak\), the -\(ha\)-implying continuity (see § 43, 5). Instrumental
passives in -\(ik\), on the other hand, are generally accented, with raised
pitch, on the -\(i\)- of the suffix. For example, \(d\,\text{amhak}^w\) (ALWAYS)
killed or struck person, but \(wa-d\,\text{amhak}^w\) THING WITH WHICH ONE
killed (literally, KILLED-WITH thing). Inasmuch as -\(k\)-participles,
differing in this respect from active participles in -\(t\), are distinctly nomi-
nal in character, they may be provided with possessive suffixes; e. g.,
\(d\,\text{amhak}^w\)-\(dek\) MY STRUCK ONE. Forms thus arise which, like -\(t\)-part-
iciples supplemented by forms of ei- be, have independent predicative
force. What we have seen to apply to -\(t\)-participles, however, in
regard to particularity of action, applies with equal if not greater force
to predicatively used passives in -\(k\). While a sentence like \(i\,\text{daga}
\text{tomoma}^n\) (\(d\,\text{omk}^\prime\text{am}\)) THAT ONE WAS SLAIN, with finite passive,
implies the fulfillment of a single act, a sentence whose predicate is
supplied by a passive participle (like \(i\,\text{daga} \,\text{amhak}^w\) THAT ONE IS
[REGULARLY] SLAIN, STRUCK) necessarily refers to habitual or regularly
continued activity: \(i\,\text{daga} \,\text{amhak}^w\)-\(de\) ONE IS MY (REGU-
ARLY) STRUCK ONE thus approaches in signification the finite
frequentative \(i\,\text{daga} \,\text{tomoma}^n\) THAT ONE I (ALWAYS) STRIKE,
but differs radically in signification from both \(i\,\text{daga} \,\text{tomoma}^n\)
I KILLED THAT ONE and \(i\,\text{daga} \,\text{d} \,\text{omt}^e\) I AM ONE THAT HAS KILLED
THAT ONE.

Examples of -\(k\)-participles are:

\[
gwen-sq\,\text{t}^e\,\text{t}^e\,\text{d} \,\text{k}^w\ \text{(those) with their necks cut off (21.2, 4, 5)}
\]
\[
\text{xa-} \,sq\,\text{t}^e \,p\,sq\,\text{bik}^w\ \text{(bodies) cut in two 21.2; 22.3)}
\]
\[
\text{(m} \,\text{t}^e\) gela\,p\,\text{ak}^w\ \text{something which is (already) twisted}}
\]
\[
g\,\text{hak}^w\ \text{na}^x\,\text{ne}^e\ \text{x like something planted, sown}}
\]
\[
\text{wa-} \,\text{t}^e \,\text{d} \,\text{zik}^w \,\text{deck I have been gathering them (literally, my}}
\]
\[
\text{gathered ones) d} \,\text{alt} \,\text{wa-p} \,\text{t}^e \,\text{tik}^w\ \text{(manzanita) mixed with (sugar-pine nuts) 178.5}}
\]
\[
t \,\text{an t} \,\text{gw} \,\text{il gat} \,\text{d} \,\text{k}^w \,\text{d} \,\text{a}^a\ \text{gazelle has been burying (a} \,\text{d} \,\text{a} \,\text{n}}
\]
\[
\text{squirrel has been burying (y} \,\text{g} \,\text{u} \,\text{d} \,\text{a} \,\text{g} \,\text{a}) \text{hazel}}
\]
\[
\text{nuts (literally, squirrel hazel-nuts [are] his-buried-ones)}^2
\]
\[
\text{sek} \,\text{ak}^w \,\text{le}^e\) \text{I (always) shoot (s} \,\text{a} \,\text{g} \,\text{a}) \text{him (literally, my shot}}
\]
\[
\text{one) m} \,\text{i} \,\text{la} \,\text{shak}^w \,\text{d} \,\text{e}^e\ \text{I love her (literally, my loved one)}
\]

\footnote{1}{\textbf{Cf.} \text{ganda}^n \text{I TWIST IT; -} \text{a} \text{- above is inorganic, hence unpalatalized to -} \text{a}.}
\footnote{2}{\text{t} \,\text{gw} \,\text{il} \text{HAZEL-NUTS) is the grammatical subject; gat} \,\text{d} \,\text{k}^w \,\text{d} \,\text{a}^a\ \text{predicates the subject; t} \,\text{an \text{(SQUIRREL) is}}
\text{outside the main core of the sentence, being merely in opposition with the incorporated -} \text{d} \,\text{a} \,\text{a} \text{(his) of the}}
\text{nominal predicate.}}

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As the last example shows, the indirective -s- of verbs with indirect object is preserved in -hak'w participles (contrast mīlōt'-k' he loved her [inferential]).

Participles of instrumental signification in -t'ik'w are freely employed to make up instrumental nouns, such as names of implements. Examples are:

\[dōk'-sgū'\text{'u}t'ik'w\] log-cut-with (=saw)
\[se'la-se'la'mdik'w\] black paint (writing) - therewith - painted (written) (=pencil)
\[i-\text{smi'lsilik}'w\] (thing) swung (=swing)
\[dāk'w-wa-sgū'\text{'u}t'ik'w\] dress-therewith-cut (=scissors)
\[k'wāt-bā\text{-s}gēk'sgēlijk'w\] grass-up-pitched-with (=pitchfork)
\[yap'la-wa-dō\text{'u}mīt'ik'w\] people-therewith-killed, e. g., arrow, gun
dāzma'xau al'wa-xi't'ik'ik'w far therewith-seen, e. g., telescope
\[mūlmīlīk'w\] something to stir (mush) up with

It is interesting to note that forms in -k'w may be formed from the third person possessive of nouns, chiefly terms of relationship. These are shown by the palatalized form of the stem to be morphologically identical with passive participles in -k'w. Examples are:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Noun & Participle \\
\text{ts'lele'ī} his eye 86.7, 9 & ts'lele'ik'w eye-having 27.9 \\
\text{ni'xa} his mother 17.11; 126.7 & ni'xak'w he has a mother \\
\text{ma'x} his father 17.12; 126.6 & me'xak'w he has a father \\
\text{k'atīlā'p'i'k'ītī} his woman (178.8) & k'ētlē'p'i'k'ik'w he has a wife 142.6 \\
\text{tīti'lā'p'i'k'ītī} her husband 46.1 & tītīlē'p'i'k'ik'w she has a husband \\
\end{tabular}

Such forms in -k'w may well be compared to English adjectives of participial form in -ed; e. g., left-handed, four-cornered. They may be further adjectivalized by the addition of -at' (see below, § 108); e. g., me'xagwát' father-having.

§ 78. Passive Participles in -xap' (-sapon')

Less common than passive participles in -(a)k'w are certain forms in -xap' (-sapon'), which, like the former, show a palatalized form of the stem, and seem to be identical in function with them. Like -k'w- participles, again, they may be provided with possessive pronominal suffixes, though these belong to another scheme of endings:

\[gel-\text{gūla'k'ak}'w-de'k'\] my liked one, I like him (=gel-\text{gūla'xab-at'k'})
\[gel-\text{gūla'k'ak}'w-da\] they like him (=gel-\text{gūla'xap'})

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Forms in -xap' are in particular use as names of articles of clothing. Examples are:

gwen-wit'ixap' handkerchief, neckerchief 188.5 (cf. gwen-wit'ik'wan I shall wind it about my neck)
dak'-wit'ixap' something wound about one's head
xāo-le' esxap' (= -tl-xap') belt (cf. xāo-lā'at'lan I shall put it about my waist)
gwen-p'txap' pillow (cf. gwen-p'tik'wan I shall lie on pillow)
ha-lū'axap' shirt (cf. ha-lō'uk'wan I shall put on shirt)
ha-ya-u-t'ge'n'sap' (= -tsl-xap') vest (cf. ha-ya-u-t'ge'nts'lan I shall put it about my middle, ribs)
sge' esxap' man's hat

NOUNS OF AGENCY (§§ 79-82)

§ 79. Introductory

Four suffixes have been found that are employed to form nouns of agency from verb-stems, -s, -sāa, -sīi, and -xi. The first of these is more strictly verbal in character than the other three, being capable, unlike these, of incorporating the pronominal object. -sāa and -sīi, probably genetically related suffixes, are used apparently only with intransitive stems (including, however, such as are partly transitive in form, i.e., that belong to Class IV). -s and -xi are used with both transitive and intransitive stems.

§ 80. Nouns of Agency in -(a)'s

This suffix is used to form agentives with more freedom than the others seem to be. The ending -s is added directly to the verb-stem, with connective -a'- (instrumental -i-) if phonetically necessary. No examples have been found of agentives in -s from intransitives of Class II. Examples are (49.4; 60.10):

hoida'rs dancer  
he'la'rs singer  
p!āa'ga'rs bather  
yāo'da'rs swimmer  
tslo-wya't's fast runner  
et-sāa'qua't's canoe paddler

hāpxi-t'āa'go'rs child-crier (= cry-baby)  
xu'ma't's whistler  
k'aiwi't' wa-s-ī-dōxi's one who gathers everything  
xuma-klemen'as food-maker (= cook) 54.4  
dōmxbi's one who kills you  
malaximi's one who tells us

The last two examples show incorporated pronominal objects; the first personal plural object -am- is, as usual, followed by the connec-

§ 79-80
tive -i-. The strongly verbal coloring of the agentive in -s is perhaps best indicated by its employment as a final clause. Examples of this use are:

ba-\textit{i}-k'i\textit{yi}'k'de\textit{e} al-x\textit{i}'t\textit{bi}'s I came to see you (literally, as one-seeing-you)
me\textit{-gini}'k' al-x\textit{i}'t\textit{bi}'s he came to see me
hoid\textit{a}'s di me\textit{-gina}ga\textit{t'} did you come to dance? (i. e., as dancer)
\textit{a'}ni\textit{e} me\textit{-gini}'k'de\textit{e} l\textit{o}'us\textit{s} I did not come to play, as player 31.6 (cf. § 74 for another method of expressing this idea)

§ 81. Nouns of Agency in -Si\textit{i}, -Si\textit{a}

These, as already observed, are less distinctly verbal in force than the preceding. Some verbs have agentives in both -s and -S\textit{a}; e. g., he\textit{la}'s and h\textit{elsa}'a singer. Not infrequently there is a distinct feeling of disparagement in a -S\textit{a}-agentive as compared with one in -s; e. g., ho\textit{k}'S\textit{a} ONE WHO ALWAYS RUNS (BECAUSE OF FEAR). Both of these suffixes are added directly to the stem without connecting vowel. If stressed, they have the falling accent. -S\textit{a} is the regular agentive ending of Class II intransitives; -p\textit{-} is or is not retained before it under the same conditions as in the case of the participial -t (see § 76).

Further examples of agentives in -Si\textit{i} and -Si\textit{a} are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{a}-he\textit{e}q\textit{wa}k\textit{e}'s\textit{i} worker
  \item da-l\textit{os}i liar (but non-disparaging l\textit{o}'us\textit{s} player)
  \item \textit{al}-ti\textit{s}\textit{-i} (=\textit{al}-ti\textit{s}s\textit{-i} k\textit{em}\textit{e}'n I make him laugh (literally, laugher)
  \item al-t\textit{wa}'p\textit{t}wa'p\textit{si}'i blinker
  \item al-t\textit{wa}'p\textit{t}wa'p\textit{s}S\textit{a}
  \item z\textit{a}'w\textit{is}\textit{s} go-between (settler of feud) 178.11
  \item d\textit{a}'p\textit{li}'ya w\textit{s}\textit{a}'a one going, dancing by side of fire (= medicine-man)
  \item y\textit{ims}'\textit{a}'a (=y\textit{ims}'s\textit{a}'a) dreamer (= medicine-man)
  \item w\textit{a}'s\textit{a}'a big sleeper
  \item e\textit{s}\textit{a}'s\textit{a}'a big sneezer
  \item se\textit{n}s\textit{a}'a one knowing how to whoop
  \item s\textit{a}'p\textit{a}'s\textit{a}'a one knowing how to fight
  \item s\textit{a}'S\textit{s}'a one always standing
  \item s\textit{a}'t\textit{al}'s\textit{a}'a one always sitting
  \item n\textit{ot}s\textit{a}'a e\textit{bik}' we are neighbors (literally, neighboring-to-us being [stem yu]-we-are)
  \item t\textit{loba}g\textit{s}'\textit{a}'a (= -a'S\textit{a}-) e\textit{t}t' you are always lying like dead
\end{itemize}

A few nouns in -Si\textit{i}, in which an agentive meaning can not well be detected, nevertheless doubtless belong here: l\textit{o}'us\textit{s} plaything

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§ 83. Forms in -'ya

Two or three isolated verb-forms in -'ya\(^1\) have been found that appear to be of a passive participial character. There are not enough such forms available, however, to enable one to form an idea of their function. The few examples are:

\[ t'gā^a \quad haxani'ya \quad mā^i \quad al-tlaya'k' \]

(1) he discovered (2) burned-down (3) then (4) a field

\[ yap'u \quad do-i'mi'ya \quad 'al-tlaya'k' \]

(1) killed (2) people (3) he discovered (4) a burnt-down

Both of these forms in -'ya, it will be observed, are derived from transitive stems (haxani'ya from causative haxa-n- CAUSE TO BURN, BURN), and would seem to be best interpreted as attributive passives corresponding to the attributive actives in -t'. To these forms belongs probably also:

\[ dīi-he'l'iyā \quad wa-iwv'iyi \]

(1) girl (2) who sleeps on a raised board platform (1) (literally, perhaps, up-boarded girl [cf. he'la'm board])

II. The Noun (§§ 84-102)

§ 84. Introductory

Despite the double-faced character of some of the nominal derivatives of the verb-stem (e. g., the passive participles), there is formally in Takelma a sharp line of demarcation between denominating and predicative elements of speech. This is evidenced partly by the distinct sets of pronominal suffixes peculiar to noun and verb, partly by certain nominal elements appearing before the possessive affixes and serving, perhaps, to distinctly substantivize the stem. Only a

\[^1\text{Not to be confused with transitive infinitives in -ia'.}\]
small number of stems have been found that can, without the aid of nominal (or verbal) derivative elements, be used as both nouns and verbs. Such are:

Noun
se’l black paint, writing
he’l song 106.7; (164.16)
liw-ā’ a naga’īz he looked (per-
haps = his-look he-did) 55.6
dāk’w shirt 96.16
tlū’l gambling-sticks in grass-
game
xle’e p’ dough-like mass of
camass or fat
xān urine

Verb
se’l-a’md-a’e’ I paint it
hēl sing! (170.12)
liwila’u-t’e’ I looked (152.17)
( imperative liū 14.11; [60.2])
dī-dāk’w wear it! (55.9; 96.16)
tiū’ltlal-siniba’ let us gamble
at grass-game 31.9
ī-xlep’le’xlib-i’n I mash it into
dough (94.11)
xala’xam-t’e’ I urinate

A number of cases have been found of stem + suffix serving as noun and verb (e. g., wiū’la’i m MENSTRUAL “ROUND” DANCE 100.10, 16:
wiū’la’mt’e’ I SHALL HAVE FIRST COURSES 162.7, 8); but in these it is probable that the verb is a secondary derivative of the noun. Even in the first two examples given above, a difference in pitch-
accent serves to distinguish the noun from the verb-stem: hēl-gulu’k’w
HE WILL SING, but he’l gel-gulu’k’w HE LIKES, DESIRES, A SONG. The
use of a stem as both noun and verb in the same sentence may lead to such cognate accusative constructions as the English to live
A LIFE, DREAM A DREAM:

se’l-se’la’msi write to me!
dā’u gw’i dī-dā’u’gwa’nk’ she shall wear her skirt 55.9

If we analyze noun forms like tlībagwa’nt’k’ MY PANCREAS and
dā’nxde’k’ MY EAR, we find it necessary to consider five more or less
distinct elements that go to make up a noun with possessive suffix,
though all of these but the radical portion of the word may be absent.

First of all we have the stem (tlība-; dā-2-) which may or may
not be similar in form to a verbal base, and which occurs either as
an absolute noun unprovided with a pronominal suffix (body-part
nouns and terms of relationship, however, do not ordinarily appear in
their naked stem-form), or as an incorporated noun; e. g., tlība-wēsin
I AM PANCREAS-DEPRIVED, MY PANCREAS HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM ME.

Appended to the stem are the purely derivational or formative
elements of the noun. Takelma is characterized rather by a paucity
than an abundance of such elements, a very large proportion of its
nouns being primitive, i. e., non-derivative, in character. Of the

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two nouns that we have chosen as types da^nxDe'k' shows no formative element in the proper sense of the word, while the -gw- of tliaga'nt'k' is such an element (cf. from stem liu- look liu-gw-ax-de'k' my face).

More characteristic of the Takelma noun than derivational suffixes is a group of elements that are never found in the absolute form of the noun, but attach themselves to it on the addition of a pronominal suffix or local pre-positive. The -n- and -(a)n- of da^nxDe'k' and tliaga'nt'k', respectively, are elements of this kind (cf. ha-da-n-de in my ear; ha-tliaga'w-an-de in my pancreas), also the -a- of dana't'k' my rock (cf. ha-dan-a' in the rock [from da'n rock]), and the -u of ha-t'gau in the earth 33.7 (from t'gā earth). The function of these elements, if they have any and are not merely older formative suffixes that have become crystallized in definite forms of the noun, is not at all clear. They are certainly not mere connective elements serving as supports for the grammatical suffixes following, as in that event it would be difficult to understand their occurrence as absolute finals in nouns provided with pre-positives; nor can they be plausibly explained as old case-endings whose former existence as such was conditioned by the preceding pre-positive, but which now have entirely lost their original significance, for they are never dependent on the pre-positive itself, but vary solely with the noun-stem:

ha-dan-a' in the rock; dā^nxa-dan-a' beside the rock; dal-dan-a' among the rocks; dan-a'-t'k' my rock; dak'-dan-a-de over my rock (with constant -a- from da'n rock 16.12)
ha-gwā'^l-a'm in the road 62.6; dā^n-gwā'^l-a'm along the road; gwā'^l-a'm-t'k' my road (96.8); dak'-gwā'^l-am-de over my road (48.6, 8) (with constant -am- from gwā'n road 148.7)

For want of a better term to describe them, these apparently non-significant elements will be referred to as noun-characteristics. Not all nouns have such characteristics:

ha-gela'm in the river (from gela'm river 21.14) as opposed to xā^n-gulm-a'n among oaks (from gulw'm oak 22.10, 11)

Whether such nouns were always without them, or really preserve them, but in a phonetically amalgamated form, it is, of course, impossible to decide without other than internal evidence.

A fourth nominal element, the pre-pronominal -x-, is found in a large number of nouns, including such as possess also a characteristic

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(e. g., dāⁿ-n-x-de'k') and such as are not provided with that element (e. g., sal-x-de'k' my foot); a large number, on the other hand, both of those that have a characteristic (e. g., tlībagw-a'n-t'k') and of those that lack it (e. g., bēm-t'ā his stick) do without the -x-. A considerable number of nouns may either have it between the characteristic and the pronominal ending or append the personal endings directly to the characteristic, no difference in signification resulting. In such doublets, however, the pronominal suffixes belong to different schemes:

- bilg-an-x-de'k' and bilg-a'n-t'k' my breast
- seⁿs-i-x-da'ⁿ and seⁿs-i'-t' your hair
- wāⁿd-i'-x-da (92.24) and wāⁿd-i't’ his body 146.6

The characteristic -a- never tolerates a following -x-. Where doublets occur, these two elements seem to be mutually equivalent: ey-a’-t’k’ (112.6) and ei-x-de’k’ my canoe (from ei’ canoe 114.3). Such doublets, together with the fact that nothing ever intervenes between it and the personal suffix, make it possible that this -x- is a connective element somewhat similar in function to, and perhaps ultimately identical with, the connective -x- of transitive verbs. This, however, is confessedly mere speculation. What chiefly militates against its interpretation as a merely connective element is the fact of its occurrence as a word-final in phrases in which no possessive element is found:

- dagax wō’k’i’z head without
- ha-dāⁿ-n-x molhi’t’ in-ear red (i. e., red-eared) 14.4; 15.13

If the local phrase involves a personal pronominal element, the -x- disappears:

- dāⁿ-n-x-de’k’ my ear, but ha-da-n-de in my ear

This treatment marks it off sharply from the noun-characteristics.

Fifthly and lastly, in the integral structure of the noun, comes the possessive pronominal suffix (the first person singular of terms of relationship, however, is a prefixed wi-). The following tabulated summary shows the range of occurrence of the various elements of the noun:

1. **Stem.** Occurs as absolute noun (gwān), or incorporated in verb (dāⁿ-).

2. **Derivative element.** Occurs as ending of absolute form of noun whose stem appears only in incorporation: tlība’-k’w pancreas.
3. **Noun characteristic.** Occurs with all increments of absolute form of noun; i.e., with pronominal suffix (gwāgəl-a’m-t’k’), with pre-positive (ha-gwāgəl-a’m), and with pre-positive and pronominal element (ha-gwāgəl-am-dē).

4. **Pre-pronominal -x-.** Occurs with pronominal suffix (dāa-n-x-de’k’) and pre-positive (ha-dāa-n-x), but never with pre-positive and pronominal element.

5. **Pronominal suffix.** Occurs in two distinct forms: one for nouns without pre-positives (dāa-n-x-de’k’), and one for nouns accompanied by pre-positive (ha-da-n-dē).

A tabulated analysis of a few typical words follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Pre-pronominal</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ha-) waz.-1</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>k’w-</td>
<td>g-a’n</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>in the creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-wgă-a-</td>
<td>k’we-</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my anus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāa-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my medicine-spirit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo’k’d-</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my ear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’a’st-</td>
<td>bă’p’a-kt-</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>my neck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō-</td>
<td>s’p-</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>my woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sge’er-</td>
<td>zab-</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>my plaything</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li’u-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>a’r-</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>my hat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāa-</td>
<td>ha’m-</td>
<td>a’r-</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’-le’k’t-fig-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>on his back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ha-) yau-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my backbone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōm-</td>
<td>a’l-</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>my ribs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwēl-(zān.)</td>
<td>a’m-</td>
<td>t’k’</td>
<td>my testicles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ū-</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my urine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hat-) t-</td>
<td>ū-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>de’k’</td>
<td>my hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A point (.) shows the absolute form of the word.

### 1. Nominal Stems (§§ 85, 86)

#### § 85. GENERAL REMARKS

The stem is in a very large number of cases parallel in form to that of a verbal base (e.g., with da’n rock, s’ōm mountain, mēx crane, cf. ñan- hold, s’ōm- boil, hēm- wrestle). An extensive number of noun-stems, however, are apparently amplifications of a simpler monosyllabic base, and have all the outward appearance of an aorist stem in the verb. It becomes, then, not only possible, but fundamentally important, to classify noun-stems into types that seem, and ultimately doubtless are, entirely analogous in form to corresponding verbal types. The noun-stem wili- house, for example, can be conceived of as formed from a base wil- in the same manner
as the aorist naga- is formed from the verb-stem nāq-y- say to some one. Similarly, the noun yele'x burden-basket is phonetically related to a hypothetical base *yelx-, as is the aorist lem-e-k'!- to the non-aorist lem-k'!-.

A small number of nouns appear in two forms, one corresponding to the aorist stem, the other to the verb-stem of a verb: gul'm oak, but with characteristic -(a)n-: gulm-an- (the non-aorist gula'm with inorganic -a- also occurs). Similarly, yulu'm and yula'm eagle. In such variable nouns we have a complete morphologic analogy to Type 2 (or 3)) verbs like aorist xudum- whistle, verb-stem xut'm- (with inorganic -a-: xudam-). In both gul'm and xudum- the -m- is almost certainly a suffixed element. It must be carefully noted, however, that, while in the verb we very often have both the aorist stem and the base (as verb-stem) in actual existence, in the case of nouns we rarely can go beyond the stem as revealed in an absolute or incorporated form. It is true that sometimes a hypothetical noun-base phonetically coincides with a verbal base, but only in the minority of cases can the two be satisfactorily connected. Thus, yut!, abstracted from yūt!u'n duck, is very probably identical with the yut!- of aorist yutuyad- swallow greedily like hog or duck. On the other hand, little is gained by comparing the yul- of yulu'm eagle with the yul- of aorist yuluyal- rub; the pliy- of pliy'in deer and pliyax fawn with the aorist -pliyin-(k'wa-) lie on pillow (cf. gwenn-pliyap' pillow), unless the deer was so called, for reasons of name-taboo, because its skin was used for the making of pillows (or, more naturally, the reverse);1 the way- of waya' knife with way- sleep; or the noun-stem yaw- rib (occurring as ya-u- when incorporated) with the verb-stem yaw- (yiw-) talk. It is not justifiable to say that noun-stems of apparently non-primitive form are necessarily amplified from the bases that seem to lie back of them (e. g., wili- from wil-; yulu-m from yul-), but merely that there is a strong tendency in Takelma for the formation in the noun of certain typical sound-groups analogous to those found in the verb.

§ 86. TYPES OF STEM FORMATION

Though it is probably impossible to duplicate all the various types of aorist and verb stem found in the verb, most of those that are at all frequent occur also in the noun.

1Improbable, however, if aorist pleyen- lie and pliyin-k'wa- lie on pillow are radically connected (see § 31).
1. The most characteristic type of noun-stem in Takelma is the monosyllabic group of consonant (less frequently consonant-cluster) + vowel (or diphthong) + consonant (less frequently cluster). This type may be considered as corresponding to the normal monosyllabic verb-stem. Out of a very large number of such primitive, underived noun-stems are taken a selection of examples.

Occurring as naked stems only when incorporated:

- s'ìn- nose
- dā- ear
- gel- breast
- gwen- neck
- dag- head
- s'al- foot
- gwel- leg
- yaw- rib
- i- hand
- xā- back
dec- lips, mouth
- ha- woman's private parts

Occurring as absolute nouns:

- nōx rain 90.1
- p!t fire 62.10; 78.13
- bē sun 54.3; 122.15; 160.20
- bēm tree, stick 25.5; 48.7
- xi' water 15.1; 57.14
- t'gā land 49.12; 73.9
- t'gwa' thunder 55.8
- p'ā's snow 90.2, 3; 152.16
- p'ī'm salmon 17.12; 30.10
- lān salmon-net 31.2; 33.4
- māl salmon-spear shaft 28.7
- t'gwa'n slave 13.12
- gwān trail 148.7
- būs fly
- dēl yellow-jacket 73.7, 10
- mēx crane 13.1
- xe'm raven 162.8, 12
- s'em duck 55.2; 166.10
- sēl kingfisher
- mēl crow 144.9; 162.7
- yāk' wildcat 42.1; 46.9
- xa'mk' grizzly bear 106.14
- dīp' camass 108.18; 124.12
- k'wā camass 31.8
- hīx roasted camass 178.4
- ə'p' tobacco 194.1
- k'wāl pitch 88.13; 158.9
- yap' woman's basket-cap 178.3

§ 86
Occurring generally with possessive suffix:

- father: 17.12; 70.7; 158.3
- mother: 17.9; 76.10; 13; 172.17
- wife: 13.2; 45.3; 64.5; 142.12
- husband: 45.14; 126.14
- teats: 30.14 (found as absolute form 130.9)
- liver: 120.15 (found as absolute form 57.9, 13)

These lists might be very greatly increased if desired. It will be noticed that a considerable number of the nouns given are such as are generally apt to be derivative or non-primitive in morphology.

In regard to accent monosyllabic nouns naturally divide themselves into two classes:—those with rising or raised accent, embracing the great majority of examples, and those with falling accent. Of the latter type a certain number owe their accent to a glottal catch of the stem. Besides ga’l, already given above, may be cited:

- leggings
- sinew
- basket-plate
- tar-weed seeds

These offer no special difficulty. There is a fairly considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, however, in which the falling accent can not be so explained, but appears to be inherently characteristic of the nouns. Besides o’up, plâ’s, t’vis, and lâ’ap, may be mentioned:

- song 106.7
- black paint, writing
- xerophyllum tenax
- tears
- bush (sp.?) 25.12

For two of these nouns (he’l and se’l) the etymology is obvious. They are derived from the verb-stems he’l- SING and se’l-(and-) PAINT; it may well be that the falling accent here characterizes substantives of passive force (that which is sung, painted). Possibly lâ’ap and o’ap are to be similarly explained as meaning those that

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1 Most nouns of relationship show monosyllabic stems; none can be shown to be derivative in character.

§ 86
ARE CARRIED (BY BRANCHES) AND THAT WHICH IS DUG UP\textsuperscript{1} (cf. aorist stems $l\bar{o}^b$- CARRY and $\bar{\delta}^u^b$- DIG UP).

2. A very considerable number of noun-stems repeat the vowel of the base, corresponding to aorist stems of Type 2 verbs. Such are:

- **wi'li** house 13.1; 14.8; 192.6  
- **ts'\bar{t}'i'xi** dog  
- **moxo'** buzzard 105.23  
- **sqi'si** coyote 13.1; 70.1; 108.1  
- **sqwini'** raccoon  
- **k'\bar{a}'ma** spit for roasting 170.17  
- **yap'a'** person 14.12; 96.2; 128.2  
- **yana'** acorn 15.16; 16.9; 58.9

With probably derivative final consonant are:

- **lege'm-** kidney  
- **lap'i'm** frog 102.10; 196.3  
- **yulu'm** eagle 77.2; 122.15; 164.8  
- **gub'u'm** oak 22.10  
- **k'\bar{u}'lum** fish (sp.?)  
- **loxo'm** manzanita 126.17; 178.5

- **y\bar{u}l'u'n** white duck 55.5  
- **pl'i'yin** deer 17.1; 42.2; 54.2  
- **ga'k'lan** ladder 176.8

Here again it will be observed that the rising or raised accent is the normal one for the second syllable of the stem. But here also a well-defined, if less numerous, group of noun-stems is found in which the repeated long vowel bears a falling accent. Examples are:

- **t'\bar{g}wal'a** hooting owl 194.9  
- **h\bar{u}'s\bar{u}'a** chicken-hawk 142.6  
- **s'\bar{u}h\bar{u}'a** quail 70.2, 5; 71.4

Compare also **tl'on\bar{o}'u's** below (Type 3); **ts'\bar{t}'i'ik'!-** and **t'\bar{b}e'i'e's** (Type 3) owe their falling accent to the presence of a glottal catch.

Very remarkable is the stem formation of the noun **tl'\bar{u}\bar{x}u'i** DRIFTWOOD 75.5. It is evidently formed from the verb-stem $d\bar{o}^u^x$- (aorist stem $tl\bar{o}^xox$-) GATHER (WOOD) according to aorists of Type 7b, at the same time with vowel ablaut (cf. theoretic **tl\bar{x}u'x-i** HE GATHERS ME) and falling accent, perhaps to give passive signification (see § 86, 1); its etymologic meaning would then be THAT WHICH IS GATHERED. No other noun of similar stem formation has been found.

\textsuperscript{1}If this etymology of $\bar{\delta}^u^p$' is correct, Pit River $\bar{\delta}^p$ TOBACCO must be borrowed from Takelma.

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3. It is not strictly possible to separate noun-stems corresponding to aorists of verbal Type 2 from those that are to be compared with aorists of Type 3. The doubt that we found to exist in the verb as to the radical or suffixal character of certain consonants is present also in regard to the final consonant of many disyllabic nouns. The following nouns with repeated vowel show final consonants that are not thought to be elements of derivation. If this view is correct, they are to be compared with Type 3 aorist stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Aorist Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>libis</td>
<td>u'u'uk/- hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihwi'k'-w</td>
<td>deges/- sifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!lib'i:k/-</td>
<td>klab'a's porcupine-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'idib-i</td>
<td>t'gwaya'm lark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lep'es</td>
<td>hlülin ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'bele's</td>
<td>oho'p' black shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlewëx flea</td>
<td>mot!o'p' seed-beater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'elèk'-w</td>
<td>yuktum- salmon-tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ülu'k' cricket</td>
<td>dugu'm baby</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Analogous to aorist stems of Type 4 verbs (e.g., yewei-) are a few nouns with repeated vowel and following -i- to form a diphthong. Of such nouns have been found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Aorist Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts!elei- eye 27.8; 86.7; 92.20</td>
<td>da-k!olo'i-da-x- cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'wedei- name 100.21</td>
<td>maha'i (adjective) large 196.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k!elei- bark 54.6</td>
<td>(cf. plural mahmi 130.4 for base)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k!oloî storage basket 61.5; 138.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That the final -i- of these nouns is not an added characteristic, but an integral part of the noun-stem, is proven by the facts that no examples have been found of vowels followed by noun-characteristic -i- (ordinarily -n- or -m- is employed), and that ts!elei- has been found incorporated in that form.

5. A few nouns are found that show a repeated initial consonant; they may be compared to Type 10 aorist stems. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Aorist Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se'ns- hair 136.28 (cf. se'n- skin)</td>
<td>bo'p' alder (94.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu!- throat 25.2 (cf. aorist lomol choke)</td>
<td>ts!u'n'f's (ts'!unts'l-) deer-skin cap embroidered with woodpecker-scalps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Absolute form dega's 178.4; cf. yula'm 164.3 alongside of yula'm 77.8?
suñs thick, deep (of snow) 90.3  
bebe'-n rushes  
baq'-a'n arm 23.2, 4; (172.4)  
sens bug (sp.?)

Here may also be mentioned kla'makla'ɑ his tongs (also kla'ma).  

6. Reduplicated nouns are not frequent in Takelma, particularly when one considers the great importance of reduplication as a grammatical device in the verb. Examples corresponding in form to Type 12 aorists (i. e., with -a- [umlauted to -i-] in second member) are:

- t'gwi'nt'gwin-i- shoulder (also ts'il'k ts'il'i- backbone 112.4; 198.6)
- gelga'ɭ fabulous serpent (cf. aorist gelelegal-and- tie hair into top-knot 172.3)
- st'nsa'n decrepit old woman
yʊk'ya'k'w-a (place name)  
t'ga'il'gēl'-i- belly

Also wa-ii'ɭ GIRL 55.7; 96.23 doubtless belongs here; the -wii of the second syllable represents a theoretic -wi'y, umlauted from -wa'y, the falling accent being due to the inorganic character of the repeated a.

A very few nouns repeat only the first consonant and add a, leaving the final consonant unreduplicated. Such are:

- ba'k'ba'ɑ red-headed woodpecker (onomatopoeitic) 92.2, 6
- ha'q'ɑɑ (=-*hakl-haɑ) goose 102.10; 106.2, 5
- bōt'baɑ orphan 122.1, 5

A few nouns, chiefly names of animals, show complete duplication of the radical element without change of the stem-vowel to -a- in the second member. This type of reduplication is practically entirely absent in the verb. Examples are:

- ts'le'nts'ts'le' small bird (sp.?)  
- al-k!ok!o'k' (adj.) ugly-faced 60.5
- dalda'l dragon-fly 21.1; 28.6  
- bōp' p' screech-owl 194.1
- p'ab'ap' manzanita-flour  
- t'ga'nt'gan ilɨy (upper dialect)

Even all of these are not certain. Those with radical -a- might just as well have been classified with the preceding group (thus

1That -s- is felt to be equivalent to -ts- is shown by Bluejay’s song: ts'la'its'ts-ila quattea quattea 104.7.
2bel- is felt as the base of this word, cf. Swan’s song beleldɔ+ wa’inha 104.15, which shows reduplication of bel- like aorist belel- of bel-sing.

§ 86
dalda'ł may be very plausibly connected with aorist t'ala'tal- from t'ala'l-, non-aorist dāqdal from dāq- crack); while p'abā'ap' and bobo'p' may, though improbably, show Type 1 reduplication (p'ab-āq- like ptab-ab- chop). This latter type of reduplication seems, however, to be as good as absent in the noun (but cf. sqwogwo{k'w robin; mele'lx burnt-down field). The fullest type of reduplication, that found exemplified in the aorists of Type 13 verbs, has not been met with in a single noun.

2. Noun Derivation (§§ 87, 88)

§ 87. DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES

The number of derivative suffixes found in the noun, excluding those more or less freely employed to form nominal derivatives from the verb-stem, are remarkably few in number, and, for the most part, limited in their range of application. This paucity of live word-forming suffixes is, of course, due to a great extent, to the large number of nominal stems in the language. The necessity of using such suffixes is thus greatly reduced. The various derivational affixes found in the Takelma noun will be listed below with illustrative examples.

1. t'(a)-. This is the only derivational prefix, excluding of course such considerably individualized elements as the body-part prefixes of the verb, found in Takelma. It is employed to form the words for the female relationships corresponding to elder brother and younger brother.

wāxa his younger brother 54.1, 5 \text{ t'awwāxa his younger sister 55.2}
wi-ɔb̪i my elder brother 46.10 \text{ wi-ɔb̪i my elder sister (55.14)}

2. -lā'p'a(k!-). This suffix is found only in a number of nouns denoting ranks or conditions of persons; hence it is not improbable that it was originally a separate word meaning something like person, people. That it is itself a stem, not a mere suffix, is shown by its ability to undergo ablaut (for-łə'p'i- see § 77). -k!- is added to it in forms with possessive or plural affix. For example, from tliぃłā'p'a 178.7 male, husband are formed tliぃłā'p'iik!liikk' my husband (142.7) and tliぃłā'p'ak!lan husbands, men (130.1, 7). The fact that the stem preceding -lā'p'a appears also as a separate word or with other elements indicates that words containing -lā'p'a may be best considered as compounds.

§ 87
Examples are:

\[ tl'\ddot{v}l'\ddot{a}'p'a \text{ male, husband } 178.7 \text{ (cf. } tl'\ddot{v}' \text{ husband, male) } \]
\[ k'a^{\dddot{v}}l'\ddot{a}'p'a \text{ woman } 25.9, 12; 108.4, 5 \text{ (cf. } k'a^{\dddot{v}}s'o'k'da \text{ girl who has already had courses) } \]
\[ mologol'\ddot{a}'p'a \text{ old woman } 26.14, 16; 56.3 \text{ (cf. } mologo'l \text{ old woman } 168.12; 170.10) \]
\[ b'ot'b'\ddot{a}l'\ddot{a}'p'ak'ta\text{lan} \text{ orphans (cf. } b'ot'ba \text{ orphan and } b'ot'bi-d-i-t'k' \text{ my orphaned children) } \]
\[ lomt'\ddot{v}l'\ddot{a}'p'ak'ta\text{lan} \text{ old men } 128.11; 130.1 \text{ (cf. } lomt'\ddot{v}' \text{ old man } 24.11; 126.19) \]
\[ os'\ddot{a}l'\ddot{a}'p'a \text{ poor people } \]

3. \(-k'\). A number of place-names with suffixed \(-k'\) have been found:

\[ La'mhik' \text{ Klamath river} \]
\[ Shb'"nk' \text{ Applegate creek (cf. } sb'\text{in beaver) } \]
\[ Gwen-p'\ddot{u}'n\ddot{a}k' \text{ village name } 114.14 \text{ (cf. } p'\ddot{u}'\text{ rotten } 140.21) \]
\[ Ha-t'\ddot{\ddot{o}}nk' \text{ village name } \]
\[ Dak'-t'gami'k' \text{ village name (cf. } t'ga'\text{m elk) } \]
\[ Gel-y\ddot{a}lk' \text{ village name } 112.13; 114.8 \text{ (cf. } y\ddot{a}l \text{ pine) } \]
\[ Somolu'k' \text{ village name } \]
\[ Dal-dani'k' \text{ village name (cf. } da'\text{n rock) } \]

4. \(-a'^{\ddot{v}}(\ddot{u})\). Nouns denoting person coming from are formed by adding this suffix to the place-name, with loss of derivative \(-k'\). Examples are:

\[ Ha-gw\ddot{a}l'\ddot{a}la'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } Ha-gwal, \text{ Cow creek } \]
\[ Lamhi'\ddot{y}a'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from La'mhik', Klamath river } \]
\[ Shb'\text{in'a}^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } Shb'\text{in', Applegate creek } \]
\[ Dal-sal'sana'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from Dal-salsa'n, Illinois river } \]
\[ Di-t'\ddot{\ddot{o}}mi'yja'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } Di-t'\ddot{\ddot{o}}mi' \]
\[ Gwen-p'\ddot{u}'n\ddot{a}k' \text{ person from Gwen-p'\ddot{u}'n\ddot{a}k' } \]
\[ Dal-dani'ya'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from Dal-dani'k' } \]
\[ S'omolu'a'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } S'omolu'k' \text{ (see footnote) } \]
\[ Ha-t'i\ddot{\ddot{o}}'\ddot{u}n\ddot{a}'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } Ha-t'i\ddot{\ddot{o}}'\ddot{u}nk' \]
\[ La-t'g\ddot{a}wana'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } La-t'g\ddot{a}n\ddot{u}, \text{ uplands } 192.14 \]
\[ Dak'-t'gami'ya'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } Dak'-t'gami'k' \]
\[ Ha-t'i'la'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from } Ha-t'i' \]
\[ Gel-y\ddot{a}l'\ddot{a}la'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ person from Gel-y\ddot{a}lk' } \]
\[ Dak'-ts'\ddot{\ddot{a}}'\ddot{wana}'\ddot{v} \text{ person from } dak'-ts'\ddot{\ddot{a}}'\ddot{w}a'n, \text{ i. e., above the lakes (= Klamath Indian) } \]
\[ Dak'-ts'\ddot{\ddot{a}}'\ddot{mala}'\ddot{v} \]

---

1 The \(-u^\ddot{v}\) of this word is doubtless merely the pitch-accentual peak of the \(-k'\), the \(-u\) resonance of the liquid being due to the preceding \(-o\). The word is thus to be more correctly written as \(S'omol'k'\) (similarly, \(wulx\) \text{ ENEMY was often heard as } wulu'x), as implied by \(S'omolu'a'^{\ddot{v}} \text{ ONE FROM } S'omol'k'\). In that event \(s'omol\) is very probably a frequentative in \(v+l\) (see § 43, 6) from \(s'o'\text{m} \text{ MOUNTAIN}, \text{ and the place-name means very mountainous region.} \]

§ 87
Judging from the material at hand, it seems that \( -a^{n} \) is used only when the place-name ends in \( -m \), though the ease with which \( -a^{n} \) may be heard as \( -a^{z} \) (see first footnote § 60) detracts from the certainty of this generalization.

5. \( -gw- \). This element occurs as a suffix in a number of terms relating to parts of the body. Examples are:

- \( tliba'k'w \) pancreas 47.17; \( tlibagw-a'n-t'k' \) my pancreas (47.5, 6, 7, 13) (incorporated \( tliba' \) 46.1, 9)
- \( li'ugw-ax-dek' \) my face (cf. verb-stem \( liu- \) look)
- \( da'madagw-a'n-t'k' \) my shoulder
- \( da-uyā'k'w-dek' \) my medicine-spirit (incorporated \( da-uyā- \) 164.14)
- \( le'k'w-an-t'k' \) my rectum (cf. \( la^w \) excrement 122.2)
- \( ma'plagw-a't'k' \) my shoulder-blade

6. \( -(a)n- \) (or \( -m-, -l- \)). There are so many nouns which in their absolute form end in \( -(a)n \) or its phonetic derivatives \( -(a)m- \) and \( -(a)l- \) (see § 21) that there is absolutely no doubt of its suffixal character, despite the impossibility of ascribing to it any definite functional value and the small number of cases in which the stem occurs without it. The examples that most clearly indicate its non-radical character will be conveniently listed here:

- \( he'la'm \) board 176.5 (cf. \( dāi'-he'liya \) sleeping on board platform 13.2)
- \( ts'lela'm \) hail 152.12, 16 (cf. verb-stem \( ts'le'- \) rattle)
- \( pli'yin \) deer 13.10; 42.2 (cf. \( pli'yax \) fawn 13.11; 49.11)
- \( yi'win \) speech 126.10; 138.4 (cf. verb-stem \( yi'- \) talk)
- \( li'bin \) news 194.9 (? cf. verb-stem \( laba- \) carry)
- \( yatlu'n \) white duck 55.5 (cf. verb-stem \( yutl- \) eat greedily)
- \( do'lk'am-a- \) anus (also \( do'lk'-i- \) as myth form 106.4, 8)
- \( do'lk'im-i- \)
- \( do'lk'in-i- \) 106.6, 9
- \( zdān \) eel (cf. reduplicated \( hā-zdā'agwa^n \) I throw away something slippery, nastily wet [49.7])
- \( s'ugwa'n \) root basket 124.5 (cf. \( s'ugwidi \) it lies curled up like bundled roots or strings)
- \( dan ye'wald-in-i \) rocks returning-to-them, myth name of Otter 160.10, 13 (cf. verb-stem \( ye'w-ald- \) return to)

Other examples, etymologically untransparent, will be found listed in § 21. The difference between this derivational \( -n \) \( (-m) \) and \( -l \)
noun-characteristic -n- (-m) lies in the fact that the former is a necessary part of the absolute form of the word, while the latter appears only with grammatical increments. Thus the -am of he'la'm BOARD cannot be identified with the -am of ha-gwa'la'm IN THE ROAD, as gwa'la'm has no independent existence. The exact morphologic correspondent of gwa'la-am- is he'lam-a- (e. g., he'lam-a'-t'k' MY BOARD). A doubt as to the character of the -n- can be had only in words that never, or at least not normally, occur without possessive suffix:

le'ge-m-t'k' my kidneys
wō^n-p'w'n-t'k' my eyebrows

7. -a. There are a rather large number of dissyllabic nouns or noun-stems with final -a, in which this element is to outward appearance an integral part of the radical portion of the word. The number of instances in which it occurs, however, is considerable enough to lead one to suspect its derivational character, though it can be analyzed out in an even smaller number of cases than the suffix -n above discussed. The most convincing proof of the existence of a suffix -a is given by the word xu'ma FOOD, DRY FOOD, 54.4; 188.1, a derivative of the adjective xu'm DRY 168.15 (e. g., p'ım xu'm DRIED SALMON; cf. also xu'mi'k'de' I AM SATED [132.1]). Other possible examples of its occurrence are:

yola' fox (? cf. verb-stem yul- rub) 70.1, 4, 5; 78.2, 3, 9
mena' bear 72.3; 73.2, 3, 4, 5; 106.7, 10
pi'elda' slug 105.25
noxwa' small pestle
t'el'ma small pestle 62.1; 116.18, 19; 118.2
ma'xla dust 172.3; 184.5, 9
k'leda' grass for string (sp.?)
tlela' shinny-stick (? cf. verb-stem t!eu- play shinny)
tlela' louse (? cf. verb base t!el- lick) 116.3, 6, 7, 8, 11
tib'a- pancreas 46.1, 9; 49.7
ele- tongue (characteristic -a-?)
dola' old tree 24.1
yana' oak 22.11; 168.1, 2, 3, 6, 7 (cf. yangwa's oak sp.; with -gwas cf. perhaps al-gwa's-i- yellow)

It is of course possible that some of the dissyllabic nouns in -a listed above (§ 86, 2) as showing a repeated vowel (e. g., ya'p'a) really belong here.

1 These seem to be parallel to gwitli'n-t'k' MY WRIST, in which -n-, inasmuch as it acts as the equivalent of the characteristic -u- (cf. gwiti'zadek' MY WRIST with žadek' MY HAND), is itself best considered characteristic element.

§ 87
8. -s. This element is in all probability a derivational suffix in a fairly considerable number of words, as indicated particularly by the fact of its frequent occurrence after a consonant. Examples are:

-ple's mortar-stone fastened in ground (cf. verb-stem ple- lie) 74.13; 120.17
lā'ps blanket (cf. base lab- carry on shoulder) 98.14, 15, 19, 21
ple'ns squirrel
qūms (adj.) blind 26.14 (? cf. gomha'k'w rabbit)
bēls moccasin
kī'ul's worm (? cf. verb-stem gōvL- aorist kīolol- dig)
yōls steel-head salmon (? cf. yola fox)
bi'ls moss 43.16; 44.1; 47.15
bami's sky 79.7 (cf. verb-prefix bam- up)
bāls (adj.) long 14.5; 15.12, 15 (? cf. da-balni'-xa [adv.] long time)

Also some of the disyllabic nouns in -s with repeated vowel listed above (§86, 3) may belong to this set.

A few other stray elements of a derivational aspect have been found. Such are:

-ax in p'l'i'yax fawn 13.11; 16.8; 17.1, 2 (cf. pl'i'yin deer)
-zi in bomxi' otter 13.5; 17.13; 154.13; 156.14; ül'xi seed-pouch;
ha'p'xi' child 13.8, 13 (cf. hā'p'da his child 98.13 and hā'p- incorporated in hā'p'-k!emna's Children-maker 172.15)
plur. -x- in hāpxda his children 16.3; 118.1, 14
-x- varies with -s- in adjective hāpsdi small; hā'p'xi' hapsdi little children 30.12

A large number of disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns still remain that are not capable of being grouped under any of the preceding heads, and whose analysis is altogether obscure:

bāxdis wolf 13.1; 16.10; 17.10
-domxa'u Chinook salmon
yīk'a't red deer
yiba'xam small skunk
bīxa'l moon 196.1
klā'nak'l as basket cup (probably reduplicated and with derivative -s)

§88. COMPOUNDS

Of compounds in the narrower sense of the word there are very few in Takelma. Outside of personal words in -ld'p'a, which we have suspected of being such, there have been found:

lōmt'lt' old man 24.11, 12; 126.19 (cf. t'lt'-male)
k'a's'ot'k'da girl who has had courses (cf. k'a's'ld'p'a woman)

1 Cf. -zi above, §82.
Independent nouns may, however, be juxtaposed without change of form to make up a descriptive term, the qualifying noun preceding:

- `hapxi-ti-tiäa` child male-person (=boy) 14.1, 6; 17.3, 6; 156.10
- `hapxi-wa-ti-tiäa` child female-person (=girl) 29.7; 30.1; 71.3
- `hapxi-tiäa` child crier (=cry-baby)
- `da'n` rock old-woman 170.10, 15, 20; 172.1
- `dan hapxi-ti-tiäa` rock boy 17.8
- `dan wili-ti` his rock knife 142.20
- `gwa's` brush house (for summer use) 176.14
- `yäx wili` graveyard house 14.8, 9: 15.5, 6
- `wili he'la'm` house boards 176.5
- `xamxi' wa-wii'ti` grizzly-bear girl 124.10; 130.6, 7, 26
- `mena dapla'la-ut'an` bear youths 130.11
- `yapla goyo` Indian doctor 188.12

Examples of compounds in which the first element is modified by a numeral or adjective are:

- `wili ha'igo` `yapla` house nine people (=people of nine houses) 150.16
- `yapla 'alt'gu'i'ts' goyo` person white doctor (=white doctor) 188.11

A certain number of objects are described, not by a single word, but by a descriptive phrase consisting of a noun followed by an adjective, participle, or another noun provided with a third personal possessive suffix. In the latter case the suffix does not properly indicate a possessive relation, but generally a part of the whole or the fabric made of the material referred to by the first noun. Such are:

- `lasgu'm-iuxgwa't` snake handed (=lizard) 196.4
- `t'gwila ts'ti'k'la` hazel its-meat (=hazel-nut)
- `t'gwa he'la'ma` thunder its-board (=lumber) 55.8, 10
- `p'iyin sge'tze'a'da` deer its-cap-embroidered-with woodpecker-scalps
- `k'ai mologolai'p'axda` what its-woman (=what kind of woman?) 122.3
- `wili gwalai` houses many (=village)
- `ts'ti'xi maha'i` dog big (=horse)
- `p'im s'intxda` salmon its-nose (=swallow) (perhaps so called because the spring run of salmon is heralded by the coming of swallows)
- `mena' 'alt'guna'px` bear +? (=dormouse [?])
- `xi'lam sebe't` dead-people roasting (=bug [sp.?]) 98.13, 15
- `p'un-yilli` rotten copulating-with (=Oregon pheasant)

1 See Appendix B, note 2 of first text.
§ 89. 3. Noun-Characteristics and Pre-Pronominal -x-

As noun-characteristics are used four elements: -(a)n (including -am and -al), -a-, -i-, and -u-. Although each noun, in so far as it has any noun-characteristic, is found, as a rule, to use only one of these elements, no rule can be given as to which of them is to be appended to any given noun. Nouns in suffixed -(a)n, or -(a)m, for example, are found with characteristic -i- (būwbin-i- [from būw-ba’n arm]), -a- (he’lam-a- [from he’la’m board]), -(a)n (gulm-an- [from gula’m oak]), and without characteristic (bo’k’dan-x-dek' MY NECK [from bo’k’dan 15.12, 15]).

1. -(a)n. Examples of this characteristic element are:

   gwit!i-n- wrist (cf. variant gwit!i-u-)
   tlihagw-an- pancreas 45.15; 46.5 (absolute tliha’k’w 47.17)
   da’madagw-an- shoulder
   lek’w-an- rectum
   dāo-n-x- ear 14.4; 15.13 (incorporated dā-
   ts!āw-an- lake, deep water 59.16 (absolute ts!āā 162.9; 166.15)
   gulm-an- oak (absolute gula’m)
   bob-in- alder 94.17 (absolute bo’p’)

   Its phonetic reflexes -al and -am occur in:
   sō’m-al- mountain 124.2; 152.2 (absolute sō’m 43.6; 122.16)
   dōw-al- testicles 130.8 (absolute dōw-m 130.2)
   ts!āw-al- (in Dak’-ts!āwala’ in Klamath Indian, parallel to
   Dak’-ts!āwana’)
   gwāl-am- trail 48.6, 8; 96.8, 9 (absolute gwān 148.7)
   xāl-am- urine (absolute xān)

   -am- is also found, though without apparent phonetic reason, in xāa-
   ham- back (incorporated xā-
   -an- as their characteristic:
   wax-gan- creek (absolute wa’x)
   del-gan-(x-) anus 45.9; 72.10; 94.15
   bil-gan-(x-) breast
   gel-gan- breast (cf. variant gel-x-)

2. -a-. More frequently occurring than -(a)n- is -a-, examples of which are:

   dana- rock (absolute da’n 17.8; dal-am- as possible variant in
   place-name Di-dala’m over the rocks [?])
   ey-a- canoe 112.6; 114.5, 13; 156.2 (cf. variant ei-x-)
   t’gan-a- slave (absolute t’gang 13.12)
   he’lam-a- board 55.8, 10 (absolute he’la’m 176.5)
   yōk’w-a- bone 186.1; 196.17 (absolute yōk’w-x-)

1 This word happened to occur with following emphatic yā’a, so that it is probably umlauted from bob-an.-
3. -i- Examples of nouns with -i- as their characteristic are:

dũã-gw-i- shirt 13.4; 96.26; 192.4 (absolute dũã'i 96.16)
bũã-bin-i- arm 31.4; 172.4, 5, 6 (absolute bũãba'n 23.2, 4, 9)
t'gwì'rnt'gwin-i- shoulder
ts's'ugul-i- rope (cf. absolute ts's'ãk')
k'mb-b-i- hair, skin 24.8; 160.6
ũũk!-i- hair 27.1, 4; 126.11; 136.20; 158.1; 188.4, 5; 194.7.
k'la'ls!-i- sinew 28.1 (absolute k'al'bs 27.13)
bãqb-b-i- seeds (sp.?) 34.1; 79.9; 94.19 (absolute bãp')
k'lel-w-i- basket bucket 170.14, 16, 18, 19 (absolute k'lel 186.17)
mãl-l-i- spear-shaft 156.1 (absolute māl 28.7, 9, 10)
dũl-ì-l-i- spear-point (absolute dāl 28.8, 9; 156.19, 20)
lùl-ì-l-i- (x-) throat 25.2
mãl-ì-l-i- lungs
t'gilix-i- skull 174.3
t'galt'gil-i-(x-) belly
ts's'ek'ts's'ig-i-(x-) backbone 112.4
ham-i- father 158.3 (e. g., ham-i'-t' your father, but wi-ha'm my father 138.19)

A number of terms of relationship show an -i- not only in the second person singular and plural and first person plural but also, unlike ham-i- father, in the first person singular, while the third person in -xa(-a) and the vocative (nearly always in -ā) lack it. They are:

wi-k'abai my son (23.2, 3) : k'abai'-xa his son 138.16
wi's-obí my elder brother : o'p-xa his elder brother 48.3; 62.2
(46.10)
wi-t'obi my elder sister : t'o'p-xa his elder sister 55.14; 56.6
wi-k'al'si my maternal grandparent 14.2; (15.12)
wi-xdái my paternal uncle : xdái-xa his paternal uncle 16.1, 2; (154.18)
wi-hasi' my maternal uncle : ha's-a his maternal uncle
wi-t'adí' my paternal aunt 22.14
wi-xagaí my maternal aunt : xagaí'-xa his maternal aunt
wi-ts'adí my (woman's) brother's child 22.1; 23.8, 10; my (man's) sister's child 148.19; 150.4
Still other terms of relationship have an -i- in all forms but the vocative. It is probable, though not quite so certain for these nouns, that the -i- is not a part of the stem, but, as in the preceding group, an added characteristic element. Such nouns are:

- **Vocative**
  - **gamdi’-xa** his paternal grandparent (170.21; 188.13)
  - **siwi’-xa** her sister’s child; his brother’s child
  - **wak’di’-xa** his mother’s brother’s son 77.6; 88.14; (188.9)
  - **tomxi’-xa** his wife’s parent
  - **siwd** his brother’s child
  - **samxi’-xa** his relative by marriage after linking member has died

The -i- has been found in the vocative before the -ā (but only as a myth-form) in obiyā o ELDER BROTHER! 59.3; 62.4 (alongside of obā), so that it is probable that the vocative -ā is not a mere transformation of a characteristic vowel, but a distinct element that is normally directly appended to the stem. Other examples of myth vocatives in -ā appended to characteristic -i- are tslayā o NEPHEW! 23.1 (beside tsľā) and wē’k’dia’ o COUSIN! 88.14, 15 (beside wak’da). The stem ham- with its characteristic -i- is used as the vocative: hamā o FATHER! 70.5; 71.7; also o SON! Quite unexplained is the not otherwise occurring -i- in the vocative of mot’- son-in-law: mot’ia’ 166.6, 7. As already noted (see § 88, 2), nouns in -lā’p’a regularly take an -i- after the added -k!- of possessive forms: -lā’ p’ik!-i-.

4. -u-.

Only a few nouns have been found to contain this element as their characteristic. They are:

- **tu’-x-** hand 58.2; 86.13 (incorporated ī-)
- **gwitlī-ū-x** wrist 2 (cf. variant gwitlī-n-)
- **ha-ux-** woman’s private parts 108.4; 130.8 (incorporated ha-)
- **t’gā-u** earth, land 55.3, 4; 56.4 (absolute t’gā 73.9, 11, 13)
- **tłomxa’u** wife’s parent (cf. tlomxi’xa his wife’s parent 154.16; 164.19; see footnote, sub 3).

1 The first person singular shows -u as characteristic: wi-tłomxa’u.

2 It is highly probable that this word has been influenced in its form by tār-hand, which it resembles in meaning, if it is not indeed a compound of it.
The pre-pronominal element -x- is in some words appended directly to the stem or stem + derivational suffix; in others, to one of the noun-characteristics -(a)n, -i, and -u (never -a). A considerable number of words may or may not have the -x- after their characteristic; a few show variation between -a- and -x-; and but a very small number have -x- with or without preceding characteristic (e.g., gel-x-, gel-gan-, and gel-gan-x-breast). Examples of -x- without preceding characteristic are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dag-ax-} & \quad \text{head} 130.12; 13; 116.8; 188.4, 5 \text{ (incorporated dak'-)} \\
\text{sal-x-} & \quad \text{foot} 120.18 \text{ (incorporated sal-)} \\
\text{gwel-x-} & \quad \text{leg} 15.15; 86.18; 122.10; 160.17 \text{ (incorporated form gwel-)} \\
\text{de-x-} & \quad \text{lips (incorporated de-)} 186.18 \\
\text{gwen-ha-u-x-} & \quad \text{nape (incorporated gwen-ha-u-)} \\
\text{ei-x-} & \quad \text{canoe (absolute ei)} \\
\text{di-xmo-x-} & \quad \text{hips (incorporated di-xmo-)} \\
\text{liugw-ax-} & \quad \text{face} \\
\text{bok'dan-x-} & \quad \text{neck (absolute bo'k'dan)} \\
\text{hao-n-x-} & \quad \text{brothers 136.7}
\end{align*}
\]

Rather more common than nouns of this type seem to be examples of -x- with preceding characteristic, such as have been already given in treating of the noun-characteristics. A few body-part nouns in -x- seem to be formed from local third personal possessive forms (-da); e.g., di\textsuperscript{t}alda-x-dek' MY FOREHEAD from di\textsuperscript{t}ala \textit{da} at his forehead (but also di\textsuperscript{t}a\textsuperscript{l}t-l'k' with first personal singular possessive ending directly added to stem or incorporated form di\textsuperscript{t}a\textsuperscript{l}-); da-k\textsuperscript{t}olo'id-a-x-dek' MY CHEEK is evidently quite parallel in formation. Body-part nouns with pre-pronominal -x- end in this element when, as sometimes happens, they occur absolutely (neither incorporated nor provided with personal endings). Examples of such forms follow:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hau\textsuperscript{x} woman's private parts} 130.19 \\
\text{da'gax head} \\
\text{y\textsuperscript{u}'klax teeth} 57.4 \\
\text{dayawa'nt\textsuperscript{a}ix\textsuperscript{e}ix\textsuperscript{a}x other hand} 86.13 \\
\text{gwelx dayawa'nt\textsuperscript{a}ix\textsuperscript{e}ixi other leg} 86.18
\end{align*}
\]

1-x- contains inorganic -a-, and is not to be analyzed as characteristic -a- + -x- (parallel to -i + -x-). This is shown by forms in which -x- regularly disappears; e.g., dek'-\textit{de} over me (not *dag-a-de as parallel to \textit{si}-\textit{in}-i-\textit{de}).

\* Perhaps with pluralic -s- as in h\textsuperscript{a}ep-x- CHILDREN, p. 225.

§ 89
4. Possessive Suffixes (§§ 90-93)

§ 90. GENERAL REMARKS

The possessive suffixes appended to the noun embrace elements for the first and second persons singular and plural and for the third person; the form expressing the latter is capable of further amplification by the addition of an element indicating the identity of the possessor with the subject of the clause (corresponding to Latin suus as contrasted with eius). This element may be further extended to express plurality. Altogether four distinct though genetically related series of possessive pronominal affixes are found, of which three are used to express simple ownership of the noun modified; the fourth is used only with nouns preceded by pre-positives and with local adverbial stems. The former set includes a special scheme for most terms of relationship, and two other schemes for the great mass of nouns, that seem to be fundamentally identical and to have become differentiated for phonetic reasons. None of these four pronominal schemes is identical with either the objective or any of the subjective series found in the verb, though the pronominal forms used with pre-positives are very nearly coincident with the subjective forms found in the future of Class II intransitives:

ha-wilide in my house, like s'a's'ant'e I shall stand
ha-wili'da in his house, like s'a's'ant'â he will stand

The following table gives the four possessive schemes, together with the suffixes of Class II future intransitives, for comparison: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms of relationship</th>
<th>Scheme II</th>
<th>Scheme III</th>
<th>With pre-positives</th>
<th>Future intransitives II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>-dk'</td>
<td>-dk’</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-t'c'</td>
<td>-de</td>
<td>-te'</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-za, -a</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-t'</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-da'm</td>
<td>-da'm</td>
<td>-da'm</td>
<td>(p')igam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-t'ban</td>
<td>-t'ban</td>
<td>-t'ban</td>
<td>-t'ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular reflexive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-zagwa, -agwa</td>
<td>-zagwa</td>
<td>-zagwa</td>
<td>(dagwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural reflexive:</td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-zagwan, -agwan</td>
<td>-zagwan</td>
<td>(dagwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1A complete comparative table of all pronominal forms is given in Appendix A.
It will be observed that the main difference between the last two schemes lies in the first person plural; the first scheme is entirely peculiar in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural possessive suffix (-da’m) resembles the endings of the subjective future of the same person (-iga’m, -anaga’m) in the falling accent; evidently there is a primary element -a’m back of these various endings which has amalgamated with other suffixes. As seen from the table, reflexive suffixes exist only for the third person. The plural reflexive in -gwan has often reciprocal significance:

wu’lxdagwan their own enemies (=they are enemies)

The suffixes of the first and second person plural may also have reciprocal significance:

wułxda’m ec’bi’k: we are enemies (lit., our enemies we are) cf. 180.13

§ 91. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

ham- (ma-) FATHER, hin- (ni-) MOTHER, k’las- MATERNAL GRANDPARENT, and beyan- DAUGHTER may be taken as types of the nouns that form this group.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>wika’m</td>
<td>wii’n</td>
<td>wik’isi’</td>
<td>wibeya’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>ham’qt’</td>
<td>hi’nt’</td>
<td>k’as’t’i’</td>
<td>beya’nt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ma’xa</td>
<td>ni’xa</td>
<td>k’a’sa</td>
<td>beya’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>hamida’m</td>
<td>hinda’m</td>
<td>k’asida’m</td>
<td>beyanda’m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>ham’qt’ban</td>
<td>hi’nt’ban</td>
<td>k’as’t’i’ban</td>
<td>beya’nt’ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular reflexive:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ma’zagwa</td>
<td>ni’zagwa</td>
<td>k’a’zagwa</td>
<td>beya’nt’gwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural reflexive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ma’zagwan</td>
<td>ni’zagwan</td>
<td>k’a’zagwan</td>
<td>beya’nt’gwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>(hinda’l]</td>
<td>k’as’</td>
<td>[hinda’l]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first two of these are peculiar in that they each show a double stem; the first form (ham-, hin-) is used in the first and second persons, the second (ma-, ni-) in the third person. Despite the phonetically symmetrical proportion ham- : ma-=hin- : ni-, the two words are not quite parallel in form throughout, in that hin- does not show the characteristic -i- found in certain of the forms of ham-.

1 Out of thirty-two terms of relationship (tabulated with first person singular, third person, and vocative in American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 9, pp. 268, 269) that were obtained, twenty-eight belong here.

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Of the other words belonging to this group, only that for friend shows, or seems to show, a double stem: *wik!ūn* ya’m MY FRIEND and *k!ū’yan o FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 but *k!ūn* ya’pxa HIS FRIEND 190.2, 4 and *k!ū* yaba’t (with inorganic rather than characteristic a) YOUR FRIEND 198.2. Irregular is also *wi-k!ūn* xa’ MY SON’s WIFE’s PARENTS: *k!ūn* xa’m-xa HIS SON’s WIFE’s PARENTS 178.9, in which we have either to reckon with a double stem, or else to consider the -m- of the latter form a noun-characteristic. Other terms of relationship which, like hin-, append all the personal endings without at the same time employing a characteristic are:

\[wā₂-\] younger brother 42.1; 64.4 (also *t’awā₂-\] younger sister 58.1, 5; 188.10)

\[k!təb-\] husband’s parent

wayau- daughter-in-law ([ ?] formed according to verb-type 11 from way- sleep) 56.8, 9

s’iyāp’- woman’s sister’s husband or husband’s brother

hasd-₁ man’s sister’s husband or wife’s brother 152.22

\[k!ūya\{m\-\} friend 180.13; 196.19; 198.2

beyan- DAUGHTER 13.2; 70.1, 4; 118.1, 4 belongs, morphologically speaking, to the terms of relationship only because of its first personal singular form; all its other forms (the vocatives really belong to hin-) are built up according to Scheme III.

As far as known, only terms of relationship possess vocative forms, though their absence can not be positively asserted for other types of nouns. The great majority of these vocatives end in -a, which, as in *wā o YOUNGER BROTHER!* may be the lengthened form with rising accent of the final vowel of the stem, or, as in *k!asā o GRANDMOTHER!*

16.3, 5, 6; 17.2; 154.18 added to the stem, generally with loss of the characteristic -i-, wherever found. wayau- and s’iyāp’-, both of which lack a characteristic element, employ as vocative the stem with rising accent on the a- vowel: wayauə o DAUGHTER-IN-LAW! and s’iyāp’ o BROTHER-IN-LAW! (said by woman). This method of forming the vocative is in form practically equivalent to the addition of -ā. s’nā² MAMMA! and hōik!ā o WIFE! HUSBAND! are vocatives without corresponding noun-stems provided with pronominal suffixes. beyan-daughter and k’aba- son, on the other hand, have no vocative

---

1 *wīhā*’t! MY WIFE’s BROTHER is the only Takelma word known that terminates in -t!.

2 Inasmuch as there is hardly another occurrence of s’n- in Takelma, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to analyze *s’nā* into *s* (cf. second footnote, p. 8) +nā (vocative of ni- in nī’xa HIS MOTHER).
derived from the same stem, but employ the vocative form of mother and father respectively. Of other vocatives, k'ulu'yan 1 a friend! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 is the bare stem; hamt 70.5; 71.7, the stem with added characteristic -i-; hindē a mother! daughter! 56.7; 76.10, 13; 186.14 is quite peculiar in that it makes use of the first personal singular ending (-de) peculiar to nouns with possessive suffix and preceding pre-positive. Only two other instances of a nominal use of -de without pre-positive or local adverb have been found: mot‘e o son-in-law! (as vocative) 164.19; and k’wina’xdē o my folks, relations, which otherwise follows Scheme II (e.g., third person k’wina’xdlā).

The normal pronominal suffix of the third person is -xa; -a is found in only four cases, k’la’sa o his maternal grandparent, ha’sa o his maternal uncle, t’a’da o his paternal aunt, and ha’sda o his brother-in-law. The first two of these can be readily explained as assimilated from *k’la’sxa and *ha’sxa (see § 20, 3); *t’adxa and *hasdxa, however, should have become *t’a’sa and *ha’sa respectively. The analogy of the first two, which were felt to be equivalent to stem + -a, on the one side, and that of the related forms in -d- (e.g., t’adā and hasdā) on the other, made it possible for t’a’da and ha’sda to replace *t’a’sa and *ha’sa, the more so that a necessary distinction in form was thus preserved between ha’sa o his maternal uncle and ha’sda (instead of *ha’sa) o his brother-in-law.

The difference in signification between the third personal forms in -xa and -xagwa (similarly for the other pronominal schemes) will be readily understood from what has already been said, and need not be enlarged upon:

ma’xa wā-himi’t he spoke to his (some one else’s) father
ma’xagwa wā-himi’t he spoke to his own father

There is small doubt that this -gwa is identical with the indirect reflexive -gwa of transitive verbs with incorporated object. Forms in -gwan seem to refer to the plurality of either possessor or object possessed:

k’aba’xagwan their own son or his (her) own sons
exxadagwan their own canoe or his own canoes

The final -n of these forms is the indefinite plural -an discussed below (§ 99). Plural (?) -gwan is found also in verb forms (144.12; 150.24).

1k’ulu’yan- is perhaps derived, by derivational suffix -(a)m, from verb-stem kluŋ-yo go together with one.

§ 91
§ 92. SCHEMES II AND III

As examples may be taken dagax- head, which follows Scheme II, and willi- house, dana- rock, tlibagwan- liver, and xâ³ham- back, which follow Scheme III.

Singular:
1st person  da'gazdek' willi't'k' dana't'k' tlibagwa'nt'k' xâ³ha'mt'k'
2d person  da'gazde' willi't' dana't' dana't'o tlibagwa'nt' tlibagwa'n xâ³ha'mt'
3d person  da'gazda willi' dana' tlibagwa'n xâ³ha'm

Plural:
1st person  da'gazdam willda'am danada'am tlibagwa'ndam zâ³ha'mdam
2d person  daga'zdzaba'n willi't'ban dana't'ban tlibagwa'nt'ban zâ³ha'mt'ban

Singular reflexive:
3d person  daga'xzogwa willi'gw a dana't'gw a tlibagwa'nt'gw a zâ³ha'mt'gw a

Plural reflexive:
3d person  daga'xzogw a n willi'gw a n dana't'gw a n tlibagwa'nt'gw a n zâ³ha'mt'gw a n

A third person plural -dan also occurs, as in dûm'han: dan his slain ones or their slain one 180.2.

Scheme II is followed by the large class of nouns that have a pre-pronominal -x-, besides a considerable number of nouns that add the endings directly to the stem. Noun-characteristics may not take the endings of Scheme II unless followed by a -x- (thus -a'nt'k' and -anxde'k'; -a't'k' and -ixde'k'). Examples of Scheme II nouns without preceding -x- are:

a-is'de'Y my property (though -s- may be secondarily derived from -s-x- or -(x-) 23.2, 3; 154.18, 19, 20; 158.4
mo't'ek' my son-in-law (152.9) (incorporated mo't-)
se'it'ek' my writing, paint (absolute se'e'l)
he'el't'ek' my song (164.16; 182.6) (absolute he'e'l 106.7)
ts'!i'k'dek' my meat (44.3, 6; 170.6)
wila'ut'ek' my arrow (45.13; 154.18) (absolute wila'u 22.5; 28.1, 2; 77.5)

gal't'ek' my bow (154.19; 190.22) (absolute ga'l')
la'psdek' my blanket (absolute la'ps 98.14, 15, 19, 21)
ts'!i'xi-maha'it'ek' my horse (absolute ts'!i'xi-maha'i)

Scheme III is followed by all nouns that have a characteristic immediately preceding the personal suffix or, in nearly all cases, whose stem, or stem + derivative suffix, ends in -a- (e. g., tlela't'k' my shinny-stick [from tlela']), -i-, -ei- (e. g., ts'elel't'k' my eye [from ts'elei-]), -n (e. g., sen't'k' my skin), -m, or -l (e. g., di³a'lt'k' 1

1 In most, if not all, cases the -n, -m, or -l is a non-radical element. It is not quite clear in how far stems ending in these vowels and consonants follow Scheme II or Scheme III.

§ 92
my forehead [from di't-al-]). The third person is, at least superficially, without ending in all nouns of this group whose pre-proonomial form is not monosyllabic. The third personal form is characterized by a falling accent on the final syllable, -a- and -i- being lengthened to -a' and -i' respectively. Other forms are:

*ts-tele'i* his eye 27.8; 86.7, 9; (cf. 54.6)
*dōw-ma'l* his testicles 130.8; 136.5
*xā'la'm* his urine
*gwiti'n* his wrist

There is no doubt, however, that these forms without ending originally had a final *-t*, as indicated by the analogy of third personal forms in -da in Scheme II, and as proved by the preservation of the -i'- before the reflexive suffix -gwa and in monosyllabic forms:

*p!a'nt* his liver 120.2, 15
*nī'it* her teats 30.14; 32.7
*tli'it* her husband (17.13)
*sā'at* his discharge of wind 166.8

Though the conditions for the loss of a final *-t* are not fully understood, purely phonetic processes having been evidently largely intercrossed by analogic leveling, it is evident that the proportion *wil'it* his house: *nī'it* her teats = *s'as-ini* he stands: *wil* he travels about represents a by no means accidental phonetic and morphologic correspondence between noun and verb (Class II intransitives). The falling pitch is peculiar to the noun as contrasted with the verb-form (cf. *he'il* song, but *hēl* sing!). Monosyllabic stems of Scheme III seem to have a rising accent before -t'gwa as well as in the first person. Thus:

-lāt'gwa* his own excrement 77.1
-tli'gwa* her own husband (despite tli'it') 45.14; (59.16; 60.2);
128.22

Nouns with characteristic -i- prefer the parallel form in -i'-x-dagwa to that in -i'-t'gwa. Thus:

*būw-bini't'k' his own arm, rather than būw-bini't'gwa, despite būw-bini't'k' my arm

The limitation of each of the two schemes to certain definite phonetically determined groups of nouns (though some probably merely apparent contradictions, such as *ga'l-tek* my bow and *di't'al-t'k*

---

1 *-k' always requires preceding rising or raised accent. As *gal* bow seems to be inseparably connected with a falling accent (very likely because of the catch in its absolute form), it is, after all, probably a phonetic reason that causes it to follow Scheme II rather than III.
MY FOREHEAD, occur), together with the evident if not entirely symmetrical parallelism between the suffixes of both, make it practically certain that they are differentiated, owing to phonetic causes, from a single scheme. The -a- of -da (-dagwa) and -dabaⁿn (as contrasted with -t' and -t'ban) may be inorganic in origin, and intended to support phonetically difficult consonant combinations:

\[ g'axda \] his wife (from \( g'ux-t' \)) 13.2; 43.15; 49.6, like \( t-lasga' \) touch it (from stem \( lasg- \))

The -e-, however, of -dek' 32.6 and -de² 31.1; 59.3 can not be thus explained. It is not improbable that part of the endings of Scheme III are due to a loss of an originally present vowel, so that the primary scheme of pronominal suffixes may have been something like:

Singular: First person, -d-ek'; second person, -d-e²; third person, -t'.
Reflexive: Third person, -t'-gwa. Plural: First person, -d-a'm; second person, -t'-baⁿn.

It can hardly be entirely accidental that all the suffixes are characterized by a dental stop; perhaps an amalgamation has taken place between the original pronominal elements and an old, formerly significant nominal element -d-.

§ 93. POSSESSIVES WITH PRE-POSITIVES

As examples of possessive affixes attached to nouns with pre-positives and to local elements may be taken dak' - over, wa-¹ to, haw-an- under, and ha-₂iū- in hand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person . . .</td>
<td>dak’da over me</td>
<td>wada’ to me</td>
<td>hawand’e under me</td>
<td>hawand’e in my hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person . . .</td>
<td>dak’da’</td>
<td>wada’</td>
<td>hawand’e’</td>
<td>hawand’a’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person . . .</td>
<td>da’k'da’da</td>
<td>wad’a</td>
<td>hawa’nda</td>
<td>haw’ud’a</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person . . .</td>
<td>dak’da’m</td>
<td>wada’m</td>
<td>hawand’e’m</td>
<td>hawand’d’a’m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person . . .</td>
<td>da’k’da’ban</td>
<td>wad’a’ban</td>
<td>hawa’ni’ban</td>
<td>haw’ud’a’ban</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singular reflexive:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person . . .</td>
<td>da’k’dagwa</td>
<td>wa’t’gwa</td>
<td>hawa’ni’gwa</td>
<td>haw’ud’gwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural reflexive:</td>
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<tr>
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<td>wa’t’gwan</td>
<td>hawa’ni’gwan</td>
<td>haw’ud’gwan</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The apparently double ending -dā’da of the third person of dak’- is not entirely isolated (cf. ha-yet’swa’z-dā’da in their time of returning; he’z’-dā’da beyond him), but can not be explained. The use of

¹It is possible that this wa- is etymologically identical with the verbal prefix wa-TOGETHER. The forms of wa- given above are regularly used when reference is had to persons, the postposition ga’t’ being employed in connection with things: wa’da’da gini’k’ he went to him (56.11); 148.6; som ga’t’ gini’k’ he went to the mountain (43.6).
-dagwa and -daba^n on the one hand, and of -t'gwa and -t'ban on the other, is determined by the same phonetic conditions as differentiate Schemes II and III. A third personal plural in -t'an (apparently =-d- + -han) is also found: de't'an in front of them 190.13 (but de'da before him 59.14); xā-s'ogw'it'an between them (see below, p. 240); wā't'an to them 160.15. A form in -xa seems also to occur with third personal plural signification: wa'xa is. But de'da BEHIND HIM 59.14; xa'-s'ogw'Λ' an between them (see below, p. 28); wa'xa to them 160.15.

The number of local elements that directly take on possessive suffixes seems fairly considerable, and includes both such as are body-part and local prefixes in the verb (e.g., dak'-) and such as are used in the verb only as local prefixes (e.g., wa-, dal-); a few seem not to be found as verbal prefixes. Not all adverbially used verbal prefixes, however, can be inflected in the manner of dak'de and wadë (e.g., no *hadë can be formed from ha-). A number of body-part and local stems take on a noun-characteristic:

haw-an- under (from ha-u-)

xāa-ham-de about my waist (from xāa-)

The local elements that have been found capable of being followed by pronominal affixes are:

dak'de over me (56.9; 110.18); 186.4, 5

wadë to me (56.15; 60.1; 63.14; 88.13; 150.18; 194.1)

xāa-hamde about my waist

gwe'nda under it 190.17

gwe'nda (in Gwenda yu'sāa = being at its nape, i.e., east of it)

di'da close in back of him, at his anus 138.2

dindë behind me (?= verb-prefix di'- anus, behind + noun-characteristic -n-) (86.9; 138.3; 170.1)

hawandë under me (71.1, 5, 12)

geldë in front of me, for (in behalf of) me
dedë in front of me (59.14; 124.20)

hā'yadë around me

he'es'dāda beyond him 148.9

ha'nda across, through it

da'lt'gwa among themselves 98.2

gwen-ha-udë at my nape; gwen-ha't'gwa in back of his own neck 75.2

di-ha-udë after I went away, behind my back (132.10; 186.8; 192.4)

It is only the different schemes of personal endings that, at least in part, keep distinct the noun zōcham-back and the local element zōcham- on back, about waist: zōcham' his back, but zōcha'mda on his back, at his waist; zōcha'mdam our backs and on our backs.

§ 93
"dil'a'lda over his eyes, on his forehead (172.3)
no't's!adum neighboring us (= stem no'ts!- next door + noun-characteristic -a-) (98.13)

When used as local pre-positives with nouns, these local stems drop their characteristic affixes, and thus appear in the same form in which they are found in the verb (e. g., xä-gwelde between my legs), except that ha-u- under as pre-positive adds an -a-: hawa- (e. g., hawa-salde under my feet). The various pre-positives found prefixed to nouns with possessive suffixes are:

   ha- in
   hawa- under
dak'- over
dil'- above
dä'- alongside
al- to, at
de-, da- in front of
xä'- between, in middle of
gwen- at nape, east of
dil'- at rear end, west of
dal- away from
han- across (?)
gel- facing
gwel- under, down from

The noun itself, as has already been seen, appears with its characteristic. t'gä earth, however, perhaps for some unknown phonetic reason, does not retain its characteristic -u- before the possessive suffixes (ha-t'gä in the country 33.7, but ha-t'gäödë in my country 194.4) Examples of forms of the type ha'tüdë in my hand are:

   ha-dil't'gwua in back of him, in his anus (incorporated dil'-) 94.11
dä'-yawadë 1 aside from me (literally, alongside my ribs)
dak'-s'alde on top of my feet 198.6; (cf. 44.8)
hawa-lüwilidë under my throat
dak'-sinid'lda over his nose 144.11
al-guxwida'm wök' we have enough of it (literally, to-our-hearts it-has-arrived) 128.1
ha-wilidë in my house (64.2; 88.18; 120.14)
ha-yeswadë in my returning (= when I return) (124.15)
dil'-delga'nt'gwa behind himself, at his own anus (72.10)
al-wä'dil't'gwun at one another (literally, to each other's bodies; wä'd- body) (96.22; 146.2; 190.19)

1 Also dal-yawadë aside from me (with verb of throwing) (=literally, away from my ribs).

§ 93
ha-sa'lda (thinking) of her (literally, in her footsteps) 142.13
di^-dande over my ear
di^-ts'!eleide over my eyes
ha-de-đe in my mouth (170.2; 182.17)
gwen-bok'!andže at my nape
xā^a-s'inídže resting on my nose (like spectacles)
gwel-t'wâ^a!ide down from my body 198.4

Several such forms with apparently simple local signification contain after the pre-positive a noun stem not otherwise found:

xā^a-s'ogwida'm between us
ha^-winídże inside of me (73.1; 92.17)
di-bô^awide at my side
da^oldide close to me (124.9) (cf. adverb da^o'l near by 102.6)

Such a non-independent noun is probably also ha-u- in gwen-ha-u- and di-ha-u-, both of which were listed above as simple local elements.

Instances also occur, though far less frequently, of pre-positives with two nouns or noun and adjective; the first noun generally stands in a genitive relation to the second (cf., § 88, the order in juxtaposed nouns), while the second noun is followed by the third personal possessive -da. Such are:

zewen-!gâ^-bo'k'dan-da at nape of earth's neck (= east) 79.6; 102.4
di'-gâ^-yu'k!umâ^-da at rear of earth's tail (= west) 146.1; 198.9
ha'-gâ^-yawâ^-da in earth's rib (= north) (cf. 194.9)
dâ^-xi-ts'!ek'!ts'!igi'^-da alongside water's backbone (= not far from shore)
xâ^-xi-ts'!ek'!ts'!igi'^-da in middle of water's backbone (= equally distant from either shore) 112.4
Ha-yâ'al-bâ!'s-da in its long (i.e., tall) (bâls) pines (yâł) (= place-name) 114.9
Dî-p!ol-ts'!il-da over (di') its red (tstîl) bed (p!ol ditch) (= Jump-off Joe creek)
Al-dan-k!olo'i-da in its rock (da'n) basket (k!oloî) (= name of mountain)

Rather difficult of explanation is de-de-wîli'^-da DOOR, AT DOOR OF HOUSE 63.11; 77.15; 176.6, which is perhaps to be literally rendered IN FRONT OF (first de-) HOUSE (wîli') ITS (-da) MOUTH (second de-) (i.e., IN FRONT OF DOORWAY). The difficulty with this explanation is that it necessitates the interpretation of the second noun as a genitive in relation to the first.

1 Observe falling accent despite rising accent (bâls, k!oloî) of independent noun. -da with pre-positives, whether with intervening noun or noun and adjective, consistently demands a falling accent before it.

§ 93
5. Local Phrases (§§ 94–96)

§ 94. GENERAL REMARKS

Local phrases without possessive pronouns (i.e., of the type in the house, across the river) may be constructed in three ways.

A local element with third personal possessive suffix may be used to define the position, the noun itself appearing in its absolute form as an appositive of the incorporated pronominal suffix:

- da'n gwelda' rock under-it (i.e., under the rock)
- da'n handa through the rock
- dan hā'azaya'da around the rock
- dan da'oldida near the rock
- dan ge'lda in front of the rock
- dan dī'nda behind the rock

There is observable here, as also in the method nearly always employed to express the objective and genitive relations, the strong tendency characteristic of Takelma and other American languages to make the personal pronominal affixes serve a purely formal purpose as substitutes for syntactic and local cases.

The second and perhaps somewhat more common method used to build up a local phrase is to prefix to the noun a pre-positive, the noun itself appearing in the form it assumes before the addition of the normal pronominal suffixes (Schemes II and III). Thus some of the preceding local phrases might have been expressed as:

- gwel-dana' under the rock
- han-dana' through the rock
- hā'azya-dana' around the rock
- gel-dana' in front of the rock
- dī'-dana' behind the rock

These forms have at first blush the appearance of prepositions followed by a local case of the noun, but we have already seen this explanation to be inadmissible.

A third and very frequent form of local phrase is the absolute noun followed by a postposition. The chief difference between this and the preceding method is the very considerable amount of individual freedom that the postposition possesses as contrasted with the rigidly incorporated pre-positive. The majority of the postpositions consist of a pre-positive preceded by the general demonstrative ga- THAT. da'n gada'h OVER THE ROCK is thus really to be analyzed as ROCK THAT-OVER, an appositional type of local
phrase closely akin in spirit to that first mentioned: dan da'k'da'da rock over-it. dak'-dana', according to the second method, is also possible.

§ 95. PRE-POSITIVES

The pre-positives employed before nouns without possessive suffixes are identical with those already enumerated (§ 94) as occurring with nouns with possessives, except that hawa- under seems to be replaced by gwel-. It is doubtful also if he'e- beyond (also han-across?) can occur with nouns followed by possessive affixes. Examples of pre-positives in local phrases are:

han-gela'm across the river
han-waxga'n across the creek
han-p'iya' across the fire 168.19
ha'waxga'n in the creek
ha-xiya' in the water 58.6; 60.3; 61.11; 63.16
ha-bini' in the middle 176.15 (cf. de-bi'n first, last 150.15)
ha-p'ola' in the ditch
ha-gwa'ala'm in the road 62.6; 158.19
ha-s'uywa in the basket (cf. 124.18)
xa's'ō'ma'l halfway up the mountain
xa'-gulma'n among oaks
xa'xo (yā'a) (right) among firs (cf. 94.17)
gwel-xi'ya under water 156.19
gwel-t'gāū down to the ground 176.8
dā'-ts'ā'wa'n by the ocean 50.16
dā'-t'gāū alongside the field
 Gwen-t'gāū east of the field 55.4; 56.4
gwen-waxga'n east along the creek
Gwen-p'u'nk' place-name (=east of rotten [p'u'n]) 114.14
devilt in front of the house (=out of doors) 70.4
dak'-s'ō'ma'l on top of the mountain 188.15
dak'-vilt over the house 59.2; 140.5
dak'-p'iya' over the fire 24.6, 7
he'e-s'ō'ma'l beyond the mountain 124.2; 196.13
al-s'ō'ma'l at, to the mountain 136.22; 152.8; 192.5, 7, 8
hā'e-ya-p'iya' on both sides of the fire 176.12
hā'e-ya-s'ō'ma'l on both sides of the mountain 152.2
dī-t'gāū west of the field 55.3
dī-waxga'n some distance west along the creek
dī-s'ō'ma'l at foot ([?] = in rear) of the mountain
 Di'1-dala'm place-name (=over the rock[?])
Gel-yałk' place-name (= abreast of pines) 112.13

1 Perhaps really Di-v-dala'm west of the rock (?).
A few cases of compound pre-positives occur:

- **ha-gwel-p'iya**' under the ashes (literally, in-under-the-fire)  118.4
- **ha-gwel-xiya**' at bottom of the water  60.12, 14
- **ha-gwel-t'ge'emt'gam** down in dark places  196.7

An example of a pre-positive with a noun ending in pre-pronominal -x is afforded by **ha-dānx molhi't' in-ear red** 14.4; 15.13; 88.2 (alongside of dānxmolhi't' red-ear ed 15.12; 86.6). It is somewhat doubtful, because of a paucity of illustrative material, whether local phrases with final pre-pronominal -x can be freely used.

### § 96. POSTPOSITIONS

Not all pre-positives can be suffixed to the demonstrative ga- to form postpositions; e. g., no *gaha*, *gaha'n*, *gaywel* are found in Takelma. Very few other words (adverbs) are found in which what are normally pre-positives occupy the second place: me'at toward this direction 58.9; ye'k'dal in the brush 71.3. Instead of -ha in, -na'u is used, an element that seems restricted to the postposition gana'u in. The ga-postpositions that have been found are:

- **gada'k**' on 48.15; 49.1
- **gidi** (= ga-dī) on, over  49.12
- **gidi'e** (=ga-dī'e) in back
- **gana' in** 47.2; 61.13; 64.4; 110.9
- **gada'l among** 94.12
- **gada' to, for, at, from** 43.6; 44.4; 55.6; 58.11
- **gadāa by, along** 60.1
- **gaxāa between**
- **gede in front (?)** 28.8, 9

and possibly:

- **gasal in adverb gasa'lihi** quickly 28.10; 29.14; 160.1

Examples of their use are:

- *wili gada'k**' on top of the house 14.9; 15.5
- *da'n gada'k**' on the rock
- *t'gāa gidi** upon the land 49.12
- *piit' gada'l in between the fire 94.12
- *da'n gada'l among rocks
- *da'n gadā alongside the rocks (cf. 60.1)
- *wiiham-hoidigliwia gadāa gini't'k**' he went right by where there was round-dancing (literally, menstruation-dancing-with by he-went) 106.13
- *e gana'u in the canoe* 96.24; 112.3

§ 96
dola' gana'u in the old tree 24.1
wa-îwit't'a'ga'zal to the female 15.14
ga' ga'zal for that reason 50.2; 124.6; 146.20, 21; 188.6; 194.11
bînal wi'in-wî'gatal ya'te he goes every month (literally, month
different-every at he-goes)
da'n gaxâz between the rocks
dîâ gede' right at the falls 33.13
Yâk'ya'k'wa gede' right by Yâk'ya'k'wa 188.17

Postpositions may be freely used with nouns provided with a pos-
sessive suffix; e. g., ela't'k' gada'k' on MY TONGUE; wîlt'i gana'u in
his house, cf. 194.7. There is no ascertainable difference in significa-
tion between such phrases and the corresponding pre-positive forms,
dak'-eladê and ha-wîlt'îda. Sometimes a postposition takes in a
group of words, in which case it may be enclitically appended to the first:

kîyi'x gana'au ba-igina'xdâ smoke in its-going-out (=hole in
which smoke is to go out) 176.7

Although local phrases involving a postposition are always pro-
nounced as one phonetic unit, and the postpositions have become,
psychologically speaking, so obscured in etymology as to allow of
their being preceded by the demonstrative with which they are them-
selves compounded (cf. ga ga'zal above), they have enough individu-
ality to render them capable of being used-quasi-adverbially without
a preceding noun:

gada'k' s'wîlît'e I sat on him
gadâk' tsîa'k' ts'a'k'de I step on top of it (148.17)
gidiî gaxxna thereon eating (=table)
gidiî'-hi closer and closer (literally, right in back)
gadâa yeveya'k'w he got even with him (literally, alongside he-
returned-having-him) 17.5
mâl yaxa aba'i dal gede' salmon-spear-shaft only in-house, spear-
point thereby 28.7, 9
qîî gana'u I am inside
gâ'na'u naga'îse wîlt'k' he went through my house (literally, in
he-did my-house [for naga'îse see §69]) cf. 78.5

Other postpositions than those compounded with ga- are:

da'zol near (cf. da'zol- as pre-positive in da'zoldîdê near me):

wîlt'k' da'zol near my house
wa with (also as incorporated instrumental wa-, § 38) 25.5; 47.5

1 Yâk'ya'k'wa goda was said to be preferable, whence it seems possible that gade' is not really equivalent
to gi that + de- in front, but is palatalized as adverb (see below, § 104) from gadaa.
ha-binî' in the middle: wîlî ha-binî'î in the middle of the house; ha-be-binî’ noon (literally, in-sun [=day]-middle) 126.21; 186.8
-dî’s away: emê’t-dis away from here; dedewî’idî’s (? outside of) the door 176.6

It is peculiar that mountain-names generally have a prefix al- and a suffix -dis:

al-dawîya’ak’wa-dis (cf. dawîya’ak’w supernatural helper) 172.1
al-wila’mxa-dis
al-sawenfa-dis

That both al- and -dis are felt not to be integral parts of these mountain-names is shown by such forms as heez-wila’mxa BEYOND Alwila’mxadis 196.14 and al-dawîya’ak’w. In all probability they are to be explained as local phrases, AT, TO (al-) . . . DISTANT (-dis), descriptive of some natural peculiarity or resident supernatural being.

Differing apparently from other postpositions in that it requires the preceding noun to appear in its pre-pronominal form (i.e., with final -x if it is provided with it in Scheme II forms) is wa’k’î without, which would thus seem to occupy a position intermediate between the other postpositions and the pre-positives. Examples are:

ts’lelei wa’k’î without eyes 26.14; 27.6
dagax wa’k’î without head
yûk’alx wa’k’î without teeth 57.4
nixe wa’k’î motherless

As shown by the last example, terms of relationship whose third personal possessive suffix is -xa (-a) use the third personal form as the equivalent of the pre-pronominal form of other nouns (cf. also § 108, 6), a fact that casts a doubt on the strictly personal character of the -xa suffix. No third personal idea is possible, e.g., in maxa wa’k’î et’ê I AM FATHERLESS. wa’k’î is undoubtedly related to wa with; the -k’î may be identical with the conditional particle (see § 71).

On the border-line between loosely used preposition and independent adverb are nogwa’ BELOW, DOWN RIVER FROM (? =nû DOWN RIVER + demonstrative ga THAT) : nogwa will BELOW THE HOUSE 76.7; and hinwa’ ABOVE, UP RIVER FROM (cf. hina’u UP RIVER): hi’nwa will ABOVE THE HOUSE 77.1.

† Properly speaking, ha-binî' is a pre-positive phrase from noun-stem bin- (cf. de-bin FIRST, LAST, and [?] bilgan-2. BREAST? [= middle part of body-front)) with characteristic -i-. bec-bin- SUN’S MIDDLE is compounded like, e.g., t’bân-bok’dan- EARTH’S NECK above (§ 93).
6. Post-nominal Elements (§§ 97-102)

§ 97. GENERAL REMARKS

Under the head of post-nominal elements are included a small group of suffixes which, though altogether without the distinct individuality characteristic of local postpositions, are appended to the fully formed noun, pronoun, or adjective, in some cases also adverb, serving in one way or another to limit or extend the range of application of one of these denoting or qualifying terms. The line of demarcation between these post-nominal elements and the more freely movable modal particles discussed below (§ 114) is not very easy to draw; the most convenient criterion of classification is the inability of what we have termed POST-NOMINAL elements to attach themselves to verb-forms.

§ 98. EXCLUSIVE -t'a

The suffix -t'a is freely appended to nouns and adjectives, less frequently to pronouns, in order to specify which one out of a number is meant; the implication is always that the particular person, object, or quality mentioned is selected out of a number of alternative and mutually exclusive possibilities. When used with adjectives -t'a has sometimes the appearance of forming the comparative or superlative; e.g., aga (1) *los-õ'ut'a (2) this (1) is SMALLER (2), but such an interpretation hardly hits the truth of the matter. The sentence just quoted really signifies THIS IS SMALL (NOT LARGE LIKE THAT). As a matter of fact, -t'a is rather idiomatic in its use, and not susceptible of adequate translation into English, the closest rendering being generally a dwelling of the voice on the corresponding English word. The following examples illustrate its range of usage:

hapxitít't'a child male (not female) (i.e., boy) 14.1; 156.8
wa-iwit't'a ga't'al yewelit the-woman to he-turned (i.e., he now proceeded to look at the woman, after having examined her husband) 15.14
maha'it'a a'ni'gwi na'naga'it the-big (brother) not in-any-way he-did (i.e., the older brother did nothing at all, while his younger brother got into trouble) 23.6; (58.3)
aga wáwat'a xebe'ltn this his-younger-brother did-it (not he himself)
k'wált'a younger one 24.1; 58.6

§§ 97-98
ā'k'da dūt'ā giš-s'i' v'lts!ak'w et'e² he (āk') (is) handsome (dū) I-but ugly I-am ū's:i nāxdek' al-is'i'l't'ā give-me my-pipe red-one (implying others of different color) waga't'ā dī which one? aga t'os'ō't'a v'daga yaxa maha'it'a this (is) small, that but large (cf 128.7) v'daga s'ō'w' maha'it'a that-one (is) altogether-big (=that one is biggest)

It seems that, wherever possible, -t'ā keeps its t' intact. To prevent its becoming -da (as in ā'k'da above) an inorganic a seems to be added in:

k!ulsa't'ā soft 57.9 (cf. k!ul's worm; more probably directly from k!ulsa't' 130.22)

§ 99. PLURAL (-t'an, -han, -k'lan)

As a rule, it is not considered necessary in Takelma to specify the singularity or plurality of an object, the context generally serving to remove the resulting ambiguity. In this respect Takelma resembles many other American languages. The element -(a)n, however, is not infrequently employed to form a plural, but this plural is of rather indefinite application when the noun is supplied with a third personal possessive suffix (compare what was said above, § 91, in regard to -gwan). The fact that the plurality implied by the suffix may have reference to either the object possessed or to the possessor or to both (e. g., beya'nhan his daughters or their daughter, their daughters) makes it very probable that we are here dealing, not with the simple idea of plurality, but rather with that of reciprocity. It is probably not accidental that the plural -(a)n agrees phonetically with the reciprocal element -an- found in the verb. In no case is the plural suffix necessary in order to give a word its full syntactic form; it is always appended to the absolute noun or to the noun with its full complement of characteristic and pronominal affix.

The simple form -(a)n of the suffix appears only in the third personal reflexive possessive -gwa-n (see § 91) and, apparently, the third personal possessive -t'an of pre-positive local phrases (see p. 238). Many absolute nouns ending in a vowel, or in l, m, or n, also nouns with personal affixes (including pre-positives with possessive suffixes) other than that of the third person, take the form -han of the plural

§ 99
suffix; the -h- may be a phonetically conditioned rather than morphologically significant element. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sînsan decrepit old woman</td>
<td>sînsanhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'îxi dog</td>
<td>ts'îxi'han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'p'la person 176.1, 12</td>
<td>yap'a'han 32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et canoe 13.5; 112.3, 5</td>
<td>et'han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîk!âwya'm my friend</td>
<td>wîk!âw'yu'mhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîts'ai my nephew 22.1</td>
<td>wîts'ai'han 23.8, 10; 150.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô'it'bidî'k' my orphan child</td>
<td>bô't'bidî'k'han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nô'tsladê neighboring to me</td>
<td>nô'tsladê'han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hindê O mother! 186.14</td>
<td>hindê'han O mothers! 76.10, 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large number of chiefly personal words and all nouns provided with a possessive suffix of the third person take -t' an as the plural suffix; the -t'an of local adverbs or nouns with pre-positives has been explained as composed of the third personal suffix -t' and the pluralizing element -han: nô'ts!ât'an his neighbors. In some cases, as in wa-wît't'an girls 55.16; 106.17, -t'an may be explained as composed of the exclusive -t'a discussed above and the plural -n. The fact, however, that -t'an may itself be appended both to this exclusive -t'a and to the full third personal form of nouns not provided with a pre-positive makes it evident that the -t'a- of the plural suffix -t'an is an element distinct from either the exclusive -t'a or third personal -t'. -t'ât'a-n is perhaps etymologically as well as phonetically parallel to the unexplained -dâda of da'k'dâda over him (see §93). Examples of -t'an are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lomt!î't'i old man 112.3, 9; 114.10;</td>
<td>lomt!î't't'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo'gol old woman 168.11;</td>
<td>molo'gol't'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-wît't girl 124.5, 10</td>
<td>wa-wît't't'an 55.16; 60.2;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'î-hî just they (cf. 49.11; 138.11)</td>
<td>a'î't'an they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'îxi-maha'i horse</td>
<td>ts'îxi-maha'it'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lô'sî't'i his plaything 110.6, 11</td>
<td>lô'sî't't'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mô'û't'a'a his son-in-law</td>
<td>mô'û't'a'it'an their sister's husband¹ 150.22; 152.4, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!ela' louse (116.3, 6)</td>
<td>t!ela'at'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapxi-tî't't'a'a boy 14.6;</td>
<td>hapxi-tî't't'a'it'an 160.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156.8, 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dap'la'ut youth 132.13; 190.2</td>
<td>[dap'la'ut't'an 132.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bala'ut youth 132.13; 190.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bala'ut an</td>
<td>bala'ut'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wô'nâ'k'w old 57.1; 168.2</td>
<td>wô'nâ'k'w dan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ mot- seems to indicate not only the daughter’s husband, but also, in perhaps a looser sense, the relatives gained by marriage of the sister.

§ 99
The plural form -k!an is appended to nouns in -lā'p'a and to the third personal -xa(-a) of terms of relationship. As -k!-1 is appended to nouns in -lā'p'a also before the characteristic -i- followed by a possessive suffix, it is clear that -k!an is a compound suffix consisting of an unexplained -k!- and the plural element -(a)n. Examples of -k!an are:

\[
\begin{align*}
ti\vec{\imath}lā'p'ak!an & \text{ men } 128.11; 130.1, 7, 25; 132.17 \\
k'a\vec{\imath}lā'p'ak!an & \text{ women } 184.13 \\
mologolā'p'ak!an & \text{ old women } 57.14; 128.3, 10 \text{ (also mologol't'an) } \text{ o'pxak!an } \text{ her elder brothers } 124.16, 20; 134.8; 138.7 \\
k'aba'xak!an & \text{ his, their sons } 132.10; 156.14 \\
m'a'xak!an & \text{ their father } 130.19, 21; 132.12 \\
t'amāxxak!an & \text{ their younger sister } 148.5 \\
k'la'sak!an & \text{ their maternal grandmother } 154.13; 156.8, 15, 18, 21
\end{align*}
\]

§ 100. DUAL -dil

The suffix -dil(-d\vec{\imath}l) is appended to a noun or pronoun to indicate the duality of its occurrence, or to restrict its naturally indefinite or plural application to two. It is not a true dual in the ordinary sense of the word, but indicates rather that the person or object indicated by the noun to which it is suffixed is accompanied by another person or object of the same kind, or by a person or object mentioned before or after; in the latter case it is equivalent to and connecting two denoting terms. Examples illustrating its use are:

\[
\begin{align*}
gō\vec{\imath}m&dil & \text{ we two (restricted from } gō\vec{\imath}m \text{ we) } \\
gadił & gō\vec{\imath}m \text{ shēmzxinigam } \text{ we two, that one and I, will wrestle (literally, that-one-and-another [namely, I] we we-shall-wrestle) } 30.5 \\
sqį'sidil & \text{ two coyotes (literally, coyote-and-another [coyote]) } \\
wāxadił & \text{ two brothers (lit., [he] and his younger brother) } 26.12 \\
sqisi & nį/xadił \text{ Coyote and his mother } 54.2
\end{align*}
\]

The element -dil doubtless occurs as an adjective stem meaning ALL, EVERY, in aldil ALL 134.4 (often heard also as aldī 47.9; 110.16; 188.1); hadedil't'a EVERYWHERE 43.6; 92.29; and hat'gō\vec{\imath}dil't'a IN EVERY LAND 122.20.

§ 101. -wi\^{e} every

This element is freely appended to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, but has no independent existence of its own. Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
bε\vec{\imath}wi\^{e} & \text{ every day (literally, every sun) } 42.1; 158.17 \\
xwi\^{e}nwi\^{e} & \text{ every night (xwi\^{e}n, xwi\^{e}ne' night, at night) }
\end{align*}
\]

1 It was found extremely difficult, despite repeated trials, for some reason or other, to decide as to whether -k!- or -\vec{\imath}- was pronounced. -k!- and -k!an may thus be really -gi- and -\vec{\imath}n.

§§ 100-101
bixal wi\textsuperscript{2}w\textsuperscript{1}inwi\textsuperscript{2}hë-i-wili\textsuperscript{2}wë month comes after month (literally, moon different-each out-goes)
gwel-\textsuperscript{2}w\textsuperscript{1}k\textsuperscript{1}wi\textsuperscript{1} every morning (gwel-\textsuperscript{2}w\textsuperscript{1}k\textsuperscript{1}wi\textsuperscript{1} morning 44.1)
da-hö\textsuperscript{1}xawi\textsuperscript{1} every evening
ha-be\textsuperscript{1}w\textsuperscript{1}niw\textsuperscript{1} every noon
k\textsuperscript{1}aiwi\textsuperscript{1} everything, something (k\textsuperscript{1}a-, k\textsuperscript{1}a- what, thing) 180.5, 6
ada\textsuperscript{2} t\textsuperscript{2}wi\textsuperscript{1} everywhere, to each 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

As illustrated by k\textsuperscript{1}aiwi\textsuperscript{1}, the primary meaning of -\textsuperscript{2}wi\textsuperscript{1} is not so much EVERY as that it refers the preceding noun or adverb to a series. It thus conveys the idea of some in:

dal\textsuperscript{2}wi\textsuperscript{1} sometimes, in regard to some 57.12
xä\textsuperscript{1}new\textsuperscript{1} sometimes 132.25

With pronouns it means too, as well as others:

gi\textsuperscript{1}wi\textsuperscript{1} I too
mä\textsuperscript{2}w\textsuperscript{1}i\textsuperscript{1} you too 58.5

Like -\textsuperscript{2}dil, -\textsuperscript{2}wi\textsuperscript{1} may be explained as a stereotyped adjectival stem that has developed into a quasi-formal element. This seems to be indicated by the derivative wi\textsuperscript{1}n every, different 49.1; 160.20; 188.12.

§ 102. DEICTIC -\textsuperscript{2}a\textsuperscript{1}

It is quite likely that the deictic -\textsuperscript{2}a\textsuperscript{1} is etymologically identical with the demonstrative stem a- this, though no other case has been found in which this stem follows the main noun or other word it qualifies. It differs from the exclusive -t\textsuperscript{2}a in being less distinctly a part of the whole word and in having a considerably stronger contrastive force. Unlike -t\textsuperscript{2}a, it may be suffixed to adverbs as well as to words of a more strictly denominative character. Examples of its occurrence are extremely numerous, but only a very few of these need be given to illustrate its deictic character:

ma\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1} you ([I am ---] but you ---) 26.3; 56.5; (cf. 49.8, 13)
maha\textsuperscript{1}i\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1} big indeed
gat\textsuperscript{2}a\textsuperscript{1} ge wili\textsuperscript{1} that one's house is there (literally, that-one there his-house [that house yonder belongs to that fellow Coyote, not to Panther, whom we are seeking]) 55.4; cf. 196.19
bö\textsuperscript{2}e\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1} but nowadays (so it was in former days, but now things have changed) 50.1; 194.5
gë\textsuperscript{1}hë gi\textsuperscript{1}t\textsuperscript{2}a\textsuperscript{1} yok!oya\textsuperscript{1} there that-far I-for-my-part know-it (others may know more) 49.13; 154.7
p\textsuperscript{1}i\textsuperscript{1}më\textsuperscript{2}a\textsuperscript{1} gaya\textsuperscript{1} he ate salmon (nothing else.

§ 102
III. The Pronoun (§§ 103–105)

§ 103. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns of Takelma, differing in this respect from what is found to be true of most American languages, show not the slightest etymological relationship to any of the various pronominal series found incorporated in noun and verb, except in so far as the second person plural is formed from the second person singular by the addition of the element -p' that we have found to be characteristic of every second person plural in the language. The forms, which may be used both as subjects and objects, are as follows:

Singular: First person, gī 56.10; 122.8; second person, ma' (mā') 26.7; 98.8; third person, āk' 27.5; 156.12. Plural: First person, gō'm 30.5; 150.16; second person, māp'; third person āi 49.11; xilamana' 27.10; 56.1

Of the two third personal plural pronouns, āi is found most frequently used with post-positive elements; e. g., āyā'a just they (= āi yā'a') 160.6; āt'ya' they (= āi-t'ya') 49.11. When unaccompanied by one of these, it is generally pluralized: ā'i'ī'an (see § 99). The second, xilamana', despite its four syllables, has not in the slightest yielded to analysis. It seems to be but little used in normal speech or narrative.

All the pronouns may be emphasized by the addition of -wi' (see §101), the deictic -'a' (see §102), or the post-positive particles yā'a and enclitic -hī and -s'ī (see § 114, 1, 2, 4):

* mayā'a just you 196.2
* ma'hi you yourself
* āihi' they themselves 104.13 (cf. 152.20)
* gī's'ī' I in my turn 47.14; 188.8; (cf. 61.9)

A series of pronouns denoting the isolation of the person is formed by the addition of -da'x or -da'xi (= -da'x + -hī) to the forms given above:

* gī'da'xi(i) only I
* mā'qda'xi(i) you alone
* āk'da'xi(i) all by himself 61.7; 90.1; 142.20; 144.6
* gō'mda'xi(i) we alone
* māp'da'x(i) you people alone
* āida'x(i) they alone 138.11

§ 103
The third personal pronouns are not infrequently used with preceding demonstratives:

hā'ga (or ṭ厂区) ȧk'ida'x that one by himself (ȧk' used here apparently as a peg for the suffixed element -da'x by one's self) hā'á'ī't'an and ȧda'á'ī't'an those people hā'- and ȧda-, it should be noted, are demonstrative stems that occur only when compounded with other elements.

The independent possessive pronouns (it is) mine, thine, his, ours, yours, are expressed by the possessive forms of the substantive stem ais'- having, belonging, property: a-is'đe'k' it is mine 23.2; 154.18, 19, 20; a-is'đe'z yours; a'-is'da his 23.2, 3; (156.7) and so on. These forms, though strictly nominal in morphology, have really no greater concreteness of force than the English translations mine, thine, and so on.

§ 104. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

Four demonstrative stems, used both attributively and substantively, are found: a-, ga, ȧda-, and hāaz-. Of these only ga that occurs commonly as an independent word; the rest, as the first elements of composite forms. The demonstratives as actually found are:

Indefinite. ga that 60.5; 61.2; 110.4; 194.4, 5
Near first. a'ga this 44.9; 186.4; ȧl this here 110.2; 188.20
Near second. ṭ厂区 that 116.22; ȧlal that there 55.16
Near third. hā'az'ga that yonder 186.5; hā'li that over there

a- has been found also as correlative to ga- with the forms of na(g)-
do, say:

ana^ne'x like this 176.13 (ga-na^ne'x that way, thus 114.17; 122.20)
ana^na'ťit' it will be as it is now cf. 152.8 (ga-na^na'ťit' it will be that way)

perhaps also in:

ada'ńi'vi everywhere (= ada'ń this way, hither[see § 112,1] + -vi'e every) 30.12; 74.2; 120.13
ȧda- (independently 46.5; 47.5; 192.6) seems to be itself a compound element, its first syllable being perhaps identifiable with ṭ- hand. ȧda'ńi't'an and hāaz'ńi't'an, referred to above, are in effect the substantive plurals of ṭ厂区 and hāaz'ga. hāaz- as demonstrative pronoun is doubtless identical with the local hāaz- YONDER, BEYOND, found as a prefix in the verb.

§ 104
By far the most commonly used of the demonstratives is that of indefinite reference, *ga*. It is used as an anaphoric pronoun to refer to both things and persons of either number, also to summarize a preceding phrase or statement. Not infrequently the translation *that or those* is too definite; a word of weaker force, like *it*, better serves the purpose. The association of *t’daga* and hā’*a*ga with special positions corresponding to the second and third persons respectively does not seem to be at all strong, and it is perhaps more accurate to render them as *that right around there* and *that yonder*. Differing fundamentally in this respect from adjectives, demonstrative pronouns regularly precede the noun or other substantive element they modify:

*a’ga sqi’si* this coyote 108.1
*t’daga yapla’* that person
*ga  ε*aldil all that, all of those 47.12

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a noun that is part of a local phrase:

*t’daga he*ē*’s  ē*ma’l* beyond that mountain 122.22; 124.1

Corresponding to the four demonstrative pronoun-stems are four demonstrative adverb-stems, derived from the former by a change of the vowel –*a*– to –*e*–: *e–, ge, īde–*, and *he*ē*–*. Just as *ga* that was found to be the only demonstrative freely used as an independent pronoun, so *ge there*, alone of the four adverbial stems, occurs outside of compounds. *e–, īde–*, and *he*ē*–*, however, are never compounded with *ge*, as are *a–, īda–*, and hā’*a*– with its pronominal correspondent *ga*; a fifth adverbial stem of demonstrative force, *me*ē* (hither as verbal prefix), takes its place. The actual demonstrative adverbs thus are:

Indefinite. *ge there* 64.6; 77.9; 194.11
Near first. *emē*ē* hither here* 112.12, 13; 194.4; *me*ē*– lither*
Near second. *t’demē*ē* right around there* 46.15
Near third. *he*ē*’emē*ē* yonder* 31.13

Of these, *me*ē*, the correlative of *he*ē*–*, can be used independently when followed by the local –*al* : *me*ē*’al on this side, hitherwards* 58.9; 160.4. *he*ē*– away*, besides frequently occurring as a verbal prefix, is found as a component of various adverbs:

*he*ē*dada’ē*, *he*ē*da’ē* over there, away from here, off 46.8; 194.10
*he*ē*’ne*ē* then, at that time 120.2; 146.6; 162.3
*he*ē*’da’l*’ on that side, toward yonder § 104
me- can be used also with the adverb ge of indefinite reference preceding; the compound, followed by di, is employed in an interrogative sense: *gema'zdi* where? when? 56.10; 100.16; 190.25. The idea of direction in the demonstrative adverbs seems less strong than that of position: *he' e*me*baxa'zm* he comes from over there, as well as *he' e*me*gin'i'k'he* goes over there. *me* - and *he* -(hāaz), however, often necessarily convey the notions of toward and away from the speaker: *me* -yewe'iz hā'az-yewe'iz he came and went back and forth.

Demonstrative adverbs may take the restrictive suffix -da'x or -daba'x (cf. -da'x with personal pronouns, §103):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{eme}^{}da'x & \quad 114.4, 5 \\
\text{eme}^{}daba'x & \quad 114.14
\end{align*}\]

here alone

§ 105. Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

As independent words, the interrogative and indefinite stems occur with adverbs or adverbial particles, being found in their bare form only when incorporated. The same stems are used for both interrogative and indefinite purposes, a distinction being made between persons and things:

nek' who? some one 86.2, 23; 108.11

k'ai what? something 86.5; 122.3; 128.8

As independent adverb also perhaps:

k'ai ti'uməxi perhaps he'll strike me 23.3

As interrogatives, these stems are always followed by the interrogative enclitic particle di, k'ai always appearing as k'a- when di immediately follows:

ne'k'-di who? 46.15; 86.4; 142.9

k'a' -di what? 47.9; 60.11; 86.8

k'a'i... di occurs with post-positive ga'al:

k'a'i ga'al di' what for? why? 71.15; 86.14; 98.8

As indefinites, they are often followed by the composite particle -si'wa'k'di:

nek'-si'wa'k'di I don't know who, somebody 22.8

k'ai-si'wa'k'di I don't know what, something 96.10

As negative indefinites, nek' and k'ai are preceded by the negative adverb a'ni' or wede, according to the tense-mode of the verb (see §72):

§ 105
With the post-nominal -\(w^i\) EVERY, \(k'\ai\) forms \(k'\ai\:\(w^i\) EVERYTHING, SOMETHING. No such form as \(^*\:\(n\)ek'\(w^i\), however, occurs, its place being taken by \(\text{aldil}, \text{aldt}\) ALL, EVERYBODY. In general, it may be said that \(k'\ai\) has more of an independent substantival character than \(\text{nek}'\); it corresponds to the English \textit{thing} in its more indefinite sense, e. g., \(k'\ai\) \(\text{gwala}\) MANY THINGS, EVERYTHING 96.15; 102.11; 108.8

The adverbial correspondent of \(k'\ai\) is \(\text{gwi}\) \textit{how}, WHERE? 46.2; 78.5. In itself \(\text{gwi}\) is quite indefinite in signification and is as such often used with the forms of \(\text{na}(g)-\text{do, act}\) 47.11; 55.7:

\(\text{gwi'di nagat'}\) how are you doing? (e. g., where are you going?) 86.17; (138.25)

As interrogative, it is followed by \(\text{di}\):

\(\text{gwi'di how}, \text{where}\?\) 44.5; 70.6; 73.9; 190.10

as indefinite, by -\(s^i\:\text{wa'}\:k'\:di\) (cf. 190.4):

\(\text{gwis'}\:\text{wa'}\:k'\:di\) in some way, somewhere 54.7; 96.8; 120.21 (also \(\text{gwi'hap'}\) somewhere)

as negative indefinite, it is preceded by \(a'\text{n\(i\)}\) or \(\text{we'de}\):

\(a'\text{n\(i\)}\:\text{gwi}\) in no way, nowhere 23.6; 62.11; 192.14

\(\text{we'de gwi na't}\) do not go anywhere!

As indefinite relative is used \(\text{gwi'ha}\) WHERESOEVER 140.9, 13, 15, 19.

IV. The Adjective (\(\S\S\) 106–109)

\(\S\) 106. General Remarks

Adjectives can not in Takelma without further ado be classed as nouns or verbs, as they have certain characteristics that mark them off more or less clearly from both; such are their distinctly adjectival suffixes and their peculiar method of forming the plural. In some respects they closely approach the verb, as in the fact that they are frequently preceded by body-part prefixes, also in the amplification of the stem in the plural in ways analogous to what we have found in the verb. They differ, however, from verbal forms in that they can not be predicatively used (except that the simple form of the adjective may be predicatively understood for an implied third person), nor provided with the pronominal suffixes peculiar to the verb;
a first or second personal relation is brought about by the use of appropriate forms of the copula ei-be. They agree with the noun and pronoun in being frequently followed by the distinctly denominative exclusive suffix -t'a (see § 98) and in the fact that, when forming part of a descriptive noun, they may take the personal endings peculiar to the noun:

\[ ts'liix-i-maha'it'ek' \] dog-big-my (= my horse)

As adjectives pure and simple, however, they are never found with the possessive suffixes peculiar to the noun; e.g., no such form as *maha'it'ek' alone ever occurs. It thus appears that the adjective occupies a position midway between the noun and the verb, yet with characteristics peculiar to itself. The most marked syntactic feature of the adjective is that, unlike a qualifying noun, it always follows the modified noun, even when incorporated with it (see § 93). Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wa-iwii'it' dEng girl pretty } & \text{55.7; 124.5} \\
\text{yapla daldii' person wild } & \text{22.14} \\
\text{sgii'si da-sga'xit' Coyote sharp-snouted } & \text{86.3, 20; 88.1, 11} \\
\text{p'im xu'm yele'x debii'z salmon dry burden-basket full ( = burden-basket full of dry salmon) } & \text{75.10}
\end{align*}
\]

Rarely does it happen that the adjective precedes, in which case it is to be predicatively understood:

\[
\text{gwa'la yapla' many (were) the people } \text{180.16 (but ya'pla gwala' people many 194.10)}
\]

Even when predicatively used, however, the adjective regularly follows the noun it qualifies. Other denominating words or phrases than adjectives are now and then used to predicate a statement or command:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yuklalax (1) wa'k'it' (2), ga (3) ga'al (4) deligia'l'it'i (5) gwâ's (6) [as they were] without (2) teeth (1), for (4) that (3) [reason] they brought them as food (5) intestines (6) } & \text{130.22} \\
\text{masi't' (1) al-nâ'na'z' (2) naga-ida't' (3) [do] you in your turn (1) [dive], since you said (3) "I can get close to him" (2) } & \text{61.9}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 107. Adjectival Prefixes

Probably all the body-part prefixes and also a number of the purely local elements are found as prefixes in the adjective. The material at hand is not large enough to enable one to follow out the prefixes of the adjective as satisfactorily as those of the verb; but § 107
there is no reason to believe that there is any tangible difference of usage between the two sets. Examples of prefixes in the adjective are:

1. **dak'-**
   - dak'-*maha'i* big on top
   - dak'-*du'il's* big-headed

2. **dāv'-**
   - dāa*-molhi't* red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 96.13
   - dāa*-ho'k'wal* with holes in ear 166.13, 19
   - dāa*-maha'i* big-cheeked

3. **s'in'-**
   - s'in-*ho'k'wal* with holes in nose 166.13, 18
   - s'in-*hü's'gal* big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6
   - s'in-*p'i'il's* flat-nosed

4. **de'-**
   - de-*tül'u*, de-*tül'u*u* sharp-pointed 74.13; 126.18
   - de-*tül'u*ap' dull
   - de-*wini't* proceeding, reaching to 50.4

5. **da'-**
   - da-*sqa'xi(t')* long-mouthed 15.13; 86.3; 88.1, 11
   - da-*squil'i* short 33.17
   - da-*ho'k'wal* holed 176.7
   - da-*maha'i* big-holed 92.4
   - da-*tlos-o'u* small-holed

6. **gwen'-**
   - gwen-*xdi'il's* slim-necked
   - gwen-*l'ge'rn* black-necked 196.6

7. **i'-**
   - i-*tül'p'al* sharp-clawed 14.4; 15.13; 86.3
   - i-*ge'wa'z* crooked-handed
   - i-*ok!o'k'* ugly-handed

8. **xā'-**
   - xāa*-maha'i* big-waisted, wide
   - xāa*-xdi'il's* slim-waisted, notched 71.15; 75.6

9. **di'-**
   - di-*k!elix* conceited

10. **āv'-**
    - āv*-maha'i* big below, big behind

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    § 107
di\'s-\textipa{la}ls lean in rump

11. \textit{gwel-}.

\textit{ha-gwel-bila}’\textit{m} empty underneath, like table (cf. \textit{ha-bila}’\textit{m} empty)

\textit{gwel-ho’k’wal} holed underneath 43, 9.

12. \textit{ha-}.

\textit{ha-bila}’\textit{m} empty (literally, having nothing inside, cf. \textit{bila}’\textit{m} having nothing 43.6, 8, 14)

13. \textit{sal-}.

\textit{sal-tla’i} narrow

\textit{sal-ts’una’px} straight

14. \textit{al-} (Referring to colors and appearances)

\textit{al-t’ge’m} black 13.3; 162.4

\textit{al-ts’i’l} red

\textit{al-t’gu’\textipa{ts’s}} white 55.2; 188.11

\textit{al-sgenhi’t} black 92.19

\textit{al-gwa’si} yellow

\textit{al-t’gis’\textipa{mt’}} green (participle of \textit{t’gis’\textipa{nt’}m} it gets green)

\textit{al-k’\textipa{niy’}x-nat’} blue (literally, smoke-doing or being)

\textit{al-k’loko’k’} ugly-faced 47.2; 60.5

\textit{al-t’es’i’t’} little-eyed 94.3; (94.6, 14)

\textit{al-t’geya’px} round

\textit{al-t’mi\textipa{la’px}} smooth

15. \textit{han-}.

\textit{han-hogwa’l} with hole running through 56.9, 10

A few cases have been found of adjectives with preceding nouns in such form as they assume with pre-positive and possessive suffix:

\textit{da’k’\textipa{lo}\textipa{i-ts’i’l}} red-cheeked

\textit{gwit’\textipa{u-tla’i}} slim-wristed

An example of an adjective preceded by two body-part prefixes has already been given (\textit{ha-gwel-bila}’\textit{m}). Here both prefixes are coordinate in function (cf. \textit{ha-gwel-pliya’}, § 95). In:

\textit{x\textipa{a}-sal-gwa’si} between-claws-yellow (myth name of Sparrow-Hawk) 166.2

definitions of the two body-part prefixes are equivalent to an incorporated local phrase (cf. § 35, 4)

§ 108. Adjectival Derivative Suffixes

A considerable number of adjectives are primitive in form, i.e., not capable of being derived from simpler nominal or verbal stems. Such are:

§ 108
ho's'au getting older  
maha'i big 23.1; 74.15; 146.3  
bus' wiped out, destroyed, used up 42.2; 140.19  
da' good, beautiful 55.7; 58.7; 124.4; 146.6  
i'o hot 57.15; 186.25  
p'u'n rotten 140.21  
yo't'i alive ([? ] yo't' being + enclitic -hi) (128.16)

and many others. A very large number, however, are provided with 
derivative suffixes, some of which are characteristic of adjectives per se,1 while others serve to convert nouns and pre-positive phrases 
into adjectives. Some adjectival stems seem capable of being used 
either with or without a suffix (cf. da-sga'xi and de-ts'i'ugü't' above, 
§ 107):

maha'i and maha'it' big  
al-gwa'si and al-gwa'sit' yellow

1. -(i)t'. Probably the most characteristic of all adjectival suffixes 
is -(i)t', all -t' participles (see § 76) properly belonging here. 
Non-participial examples are:

al-gwa'sit' yellow  
al-sgenhi't' black 92.19  
al-ts'e'si't' little-eyed 94.3  
(?i) ha'nt' half ([?] cf. han- through) 146.22; 154.9; 192.7  
i'o't'i one-horned 46.7; 47.7; 49.3.  
dä'a-molhi't' red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 88.2; 96.13  
de-ts'i'ugü't' sharp-pointed 126.18  
k'u'sa't' soft (food) (cf. k'u's worm) 130.22  
p'ala'k'wa-goyo'o't' ett'e I am story-doctor (cf. goyo' shaman)

2. -al. Examples of adjectives with this suffix are:

i-ts'To'p'al sharp-clawed 14.4; 86.3 (cf. de-ts'i'ugü't' sharp-pointed;  
for -p'-: -q- cf. § 42, 1, 6)

t'i't'al thin  
(?) déhal five ([?] = being in front ?) 150.19, 20; 182.21  
s'in-ho'k'wal with holes in nose 166.13, 18; (56.9; 166.19; 176.7)  
s'in-hü'i's'gal big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6  
hi'p'al flat

{mi't'xal how much, how many (used interrogatively and relatively)  
100.8; 182.13  
mica'ha numerous, in great numbers 92.28; 94.1

1 A few adjectives in -am (= -an) are distinctly nominal in appearance; bila'm HAVING NOTHING; zila'm SICK (but also as noun, DEAD PERSON, GHOST). It hardly seems possible to separate these from nouns like 
hecl'a'm BOARD; ts'tel'a'm HAIL.

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3. -di. A few adjectives have been found with this suffixed element:

hapsdi’ little 192.6; hā’p’di 24.12; 60.15; 61.5 (cf. hā’pxi’ child 128.16)

yap!a daldi’ wild man (cf. dal- in the brush) 22.14

gama’zdi raw 94.3, 6; 144.5; 182.4

gweldi’ finished (cf. gwel- leg) 34.1; 79.8; 94.18

4. -ts!- (-s). In a small number of adjectives this element is doubtless to be considered a suffix:

v’lts!ak’w bad, ugly 182.1; 186.22; 198.4 (cf. pl. ̣il’a’lsak’w)

s’in-p’i’l’s flat-nosed

xā-xdi’ll’s slim-waisted 71.15; 75.6 (cf. inferential passive xā-ixdi’lxalk’am they have been notched in several places)

A few adjectives in -s, evidently morphologically connected with the scattering nouns in -s, also occur:

qūms blind 26.14

bāls long 14.5; 33.16; 158.1

s’uñs’ thick 90.3

5. -(a)x. This suffix disappears in the plural (see below, § 109), so that no room is left for doubt as to its non-radical character. Whether it is to be identified with the non-agentive -x of the verb is somewhat uncertain, but that such is the case is by no means improbable; in some cases, indeed, the adjective in -x is connected with a verb in -x. The -a’px of some of the examples is without doubt composed of the petrified -b- found in a number of verbs (see § 42, 1) and the adjectival (or non-agentive) -x.

al-t’geya’px round (cf. al-t’geye’px it rolls)

sal-t’s’luna’px straight

da-ts!’āmx sick 90.12, 13, 21; 92.5; 150.16

al-t’mila’px smooth

da-p’o’a’x crooked (cf. p’owo’x it bends)

i-ge’wa’x crooked-handed

More transparently derivational in character than any of those listed above are the following adjectival suffixes:

6. -gwat’ HAVING. Adjectival forms in -gwat’ are derived partly by the addition of the adjectival suffix -(a)t’ to third personal reflexive possessive forms in -t’gwa (-xagwa), or to palatalized passive participle forms in -k’w, themselves derived from nouns (see § 77), partly by the addition of -gwat’ to nouns in § 108
their pre-pronominal form (-x). The fact that these various -gwa't forms, despite their at least apparent diversity of origin, clearly form a unit as regards signification, suggests an ultimate identity of the noun reflexive -gwa (and therefore verbal indirect reflexive -gwa-) with the passive participial -k'w. The -gwa- of forms in -x-gwat' is not quite clear, but is perhaps to be identified with the comitative -gwa- of the verb. An adjective like yâk'k'lal-x-gwat' teeth-having presents a parallelism to a verbal participle like dak'-lim-x-gwat' with (tree) falling over one (from aorist dak'-lim'm-x-gwa-de I am with it falling over me, see § 46) that is suggestive of morphologic identity. Examples of -gwa't adjectives are:

waya'uxagwat' having daughter-in-law 56.10 (cf. waya'uxagwa her own daughter-in-law)
t'gwana't'gwsit' slave-having (cf. t'gwana't'gwa his own slave)
Da-t'dn-eld'H'gwat'^ Squirrel-Tongued (literally, in-mouth squirrel his-tongue having [name of Coyote's daughter]) 70.6; 72.4; 75.11
ni'xagwa,V mother-having (cf. ni'xaV'm mothered)
me'xagwat' father-having (cf. me'xak'w fathered)
k'eist'le'p'igigwat' wife-having (cf. k'eist'le'pi'igik'w wived 142.6)
g"uxgwa't' wife-having 128.4 (cf. g"ux-x-de'k' my wife 142.9)
dagaxgwa't' head-having (cf. da'g-ax-de'k' my head 90.13)
ts'u'lxgwa't' having Indian money (cf. ts'u'lx Indian money 14.13)

A form with -gwa' and the copula ei- (for persons other than the third) takes the place in Takelma of the verb have:

ts'u'lxgwa't' eit'e^ I have money (literally money-having or moneyed I-am

ts'u'lx-gwa't he has money

Aside from the fact that it has greater individuality as a distinct phonetic unit, the post-positive wa'k'te is without is the morphologic correlative of -gwa' having:
da'gaxgwa't' eit' head without you-are
da'gax-gwa't' eit' head-having you-are

Similarly:

nixa wa'k'te eit'e^ mother without I-am
ni'xagwat' eit'e^ mother-having I-am

1 The fact that this form has a body-part prefix (da- mouth) seems to imply its verbal (participial) character. -T'gwat in it, and forms like it, may have to be analyzed, not as -gwa' his owns + t', but rather as -t' his + gwa-having + t'. In other words, from a noun-phrase t'an el'x (older el'x't) SQUIRREL HIS TONGUE may be theoretically formed a comitative intransitive with prefix: *da'-t'an-eld't'gwa'de I am having SQUIRREL'S TONGUE IN MY MOUTH, of which the text-form is the participle. This explanation has the advantage over the one given above of putting forms in -T'gwa' and -gwa' on one line; cf. also 73.15.
7. "imik!i. A few adjectives have been found ending in this suffix formed from temporal adverbs:

- hop!ε̂nimik!i (men) of long ago 168.1 (hop!ε̂n long ago 58.4, 7, 11)
- bōuε̂nimik!i (people) of nowadays (bōu now 188.8; 194.5)

8. -(i)h!i. This suffix, evidently closely related to the preceding one, forms adjectives (with the signification of belonging to, always being) from local phrases. Examples are:

- ha-will!ik!i belonging to good folks, not "common" (from ha-will in the house)
- xāo-bēnik!iε̂ being between sticks
- ha-bami'sik!iε̂ dwelling in air
- xāo-da'nīnik!iε̂ belonging between rocks (e.g., crawfish)
- dak'-pī'yak!iε̂ staying always over the fire
- ha-pī'yak!iε̂ belonging to fire

9. -xi. A few adjectival forms in -xi, formed from local phrases, seem to have a force entirely coincident with adjectives in -(i)k!i:

- ha-pī'yaxiε̂ belonging to fire
- ha-xī'ya'xiε̂ mink (literally, always staying in the water [from ha-xīya' in the water 33.4])

10. -xi'. This suffix seems to be used interchangeably with -(i)k!i and -xi. Examples are:

- ha-bami'sa'xiε̂ belonging to the air, sky
- xāo-da'nīxiε̂ belonging between rocks
- ha-will'xiε̂ belonging to the house
- ha-xī'ya'xiε̂ belonging to the water
- ha-pīyxia'xiε̂ belonging to fire

The following forms in -xi', not derived from local phrases, doubtless belong with these:

- ge-xiε̂ belonging there 160.24
- goyoxiε̂ belonging to shamans (used to mean: capable of wishing ill, supernaturally doing harm, to shamans) 170.11

§ 109. Plural Formations

A few adjectives form their plural or frequentative by reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de-bū'ge full</td>
<td>de-būgeba'x (dissimilated from -būgeba'x) 122.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ulits!ak'xw bad</td>
<td>'ulits!ak'xw (dissimilated from 'ulits!alts!-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maha'x large 23.1; 74.15</td>
<td>maha'x 32.15; 49.10; 130.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 109
Of these, the first two are clearly verbal in type. The probably non-agentive -x of de-bü'ba'x (also singular de-bü'azx from *de-bü'ak!-x [cf. de-bü'ak!in I SHALL FILL IT]) and the apparently passive participial -ak'w of 'ūlts'ak'w strongly suggest that the first two of these adjectives are really adjectivally specialized verb-forms. mahmi is altogether irregular in type of reduplication. t!os'ō Little 56.15; 74.16 forms its plural by the repetition of the second consonant after the repeated vowel of the singular: dak!oloi-t!os'ū's'gwat' he has small cheeks. In regard to t'ūt' 170.18, the plural of t'ā hot 57.15, it is not certain whether the -t' is the repeated initial consonant, or the -t' characteristic of other adjective plurals.

Most adjectives form their plural by repeating after the medial consonant the vowel of the stem, where possible, and adding to the amplified stem the element -it' (probably from -hit', as shown by its treatment with preceding fortis), or, after vowels, -t'it'; a final non-radical -(a)x disappears in the plural. ho's'au getting bigger (with inorganic -a-) forms its plural by the repetition of the stem-vowel alone, hos'ō 156.11; 158.11; similar is du'tū 58.10 which seems to be the plural of du pretty 58.8. yo't'i ([?] yo't'-hi) alive forms the plural yo't'i'hi ([?] yo't'-hi) 128.16. Examples of the peculiarly adjectival plural in -(t')it' are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-t'geyap'x round</td>
<td>al-t'geyec'p'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-t'mila'p'x smooth</td>
<td>al-t'mili'p'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal-ts't'una'p'x straight</td>
<td>sal-ts't'unup'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal-t'!a'i narrow</td>
<td>sal-t'!yat'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-p'o'a'x crooked (= -ak!-x)</td>
<td>gwit'-p'oo'k'it' crooked Armed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ge'wa'x crooked-handed (= -ak!-x; cf. aorist gewe-k!aw- carry [salmon] bow-fashion)</td>
<td>i-ge'we'k'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-ts!ūgūt't' sharp-pointed 126.18</td>
<td>de-ts!ūgūhit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-t'ūlū'z'p' dull</td>
<td>de-t'ūlū'z'p'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-ts!i'l red</td>
<td>da'k!oloi-ts'īlīt'it' he has red cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-t'gu'iz's white 55.2; 188.11</td>
<td>da'k!oloi-t'guys'it' he has white cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-t'ge'm black 13.3; 162.4</td>
<td>da'k!oloi-t'ge'met'it' he has black cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāls long 14.5; 15.12, 15</td>
<td>s'intxāt'an bār'la'sit' their noses are long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 109
That these plurals are really frequentative or distributive in force is illustrated by such forms as da'kioloi-ts'i'il'iti' red-cheeked, which has reference not necessarily to a plurality of persons affected, but to the frequency of occurrence of the quality predicated, i.e., to the redness of both cheeks.

V. Numerals (§§ 110, 111)

§ 110. Cardinals

Cardinals

1. ml't'sga' 13.2; 192.8; ml't's
2. [gā'z'm 22.7; 110.11]
3. x'i'bini' 150.8
4. gamga'm 148.5; 184.17
5. dēhal 150.19, 20; 182.21
6. ha'im'i's 150.12
7. ha'gā'z'm
8. ha'zi'n
9. ha'go' 150.14
10. i'xdil 13.1; 150.5; 182.22
11. i'xdil ml't'sga' gada'k

Adverbs

1. ml't'sx'da'n once 182.20; 188.13
2. gā't'mûn twice
3. x'i'nt'
4. gamga'man
dēhalan
5. ha'im'i's!ada'n
6. ha'gā'z'mada'n
7. ha'zi'nda'n
8. ha'go'gada'n
9. i'xdïlda'n

§ 110

1. Often heard as gā'p'ini' 55.2, 5.
t\textit{leimi}^\textit{\i}s one hundred (probably = one male [\textit{t\textit{ii}l}\textit{\i}])
\textit{me}t\textit{l} t\textit{g\textit{\i}\textit{\i}-mi}^\textit{\i}s crows earth-one (=land packed full of crows)
144.9, 11, 12, 13
\textit{de\textit{mi}^\textit{\i}s} in-front-one (=marching in single file)
\textit{al}mi^\textit{\i}s all together 92.23, 24; 190.17

Of the two forms for two, \textit{g\textit{\i}p\textit{\i}ni} seems to be the more frequently used, though no difference of signification or usage can be traced. \textit{g\textit{\i}p\textit{\i}ni} two and \textit{x\textit{i}ni} three are evident compounds of the simpler \textit{g\textit{\i}m} and \textit{x\textit{i}n} (seen in \textit{ha\textit{\i}x\textit{i}n} eight) and an element \textit{-\textit{b\textit{\i}}ni} that is perhaps identical with \textit{-\textit{b\textit{\i}}ni} of \textit{ha\textit{\i}x\textit{\i}ni} in the middle. \textit{gamga\textit{m} four} is evidently reduplicated from \textit{g\textit{\i}m} two, the falling accent of the second syllable being probably due to the former presence of the catch of the simplex. An attempt has been made^1 to explain \textit{de\textit{\i}hal} five as an adjectival form in \textit{-\textit{al}} derived from \textit{de\textit{m}} in front. The numerals six, seven, eight, and nine are best considered as morphologically verbs provided with the compound prefix \textit{ha\textit{i}n} in the hand (see § 35, 4), and thus strictly signifying one (finger) is in the hand; two, three, four (fingers) are in the hand. No explanation can be given of \textit{-\textit{go}} in \textit{ha\textit{\i}x\textit{\i}go} nine, except that it may be an older stem for four, later replaced, for one reason or another, by the composite \textit{gamga\textit{m} two+two}. \textit{i\textit{x\textit{\i}d\textit{\i}l} ten is best explained as compounded of \textit{i\textit{x\textit{\i}\textit{\i}hand} (but why not \textit{i\textit{x\textit{\i}x\textit{\i}de\textit{\i}k\textit{\i} my hand}) and the dual \textit{-\textit{di}l}, and as being thus equivalent to two hands.

It thus seems probable that there are only three simple numeral stems in Takelma, \textit{mi}^\textit{\i}s one, \textit{g\textit{\i}m} two, and \textit{x\textit{i}n} three. All the rest are either evident derivations from these, or else (\textit{de\textit{\i}hal} probably and \textit{i\textit{x\textit{\i}d\textit{\i}l} certainly) descriptive of certain finger-positions. While the origin of the Takelma system may be tertiary or quinary (if \textit{-\textit{go}} is the original stem for four and \textit{de\textit{\i}hal} is a primary element), the decimal feeling that runs through it is evidenced both by the break at ten and by the arrangement of the numerals beyond ten.

The teens are expressed by \textbf{ten one above} (i. e., ten over one), \textbf{ten two above}; and so on. \textit{ga\textit{\i}a\textit{\i}l} thereto may be used instead of \textit{gada\textit{\i}k\textit{\i} over}. Twenty is \textbf{one man}, i. e., both hands and feet. One hundred can be plausibly explained as equivalent to \textbf{one male person}.^2 The other tens, i. e., thirty to ninety inclusive, are expressed by

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^1 American Anthropologist, loc. cit., where five is explained as being in front, on the basis of the method of fingering used by the Takelma in counting.

^2 Loc. cit.
multiplication, the appropriate numeral adverb preceding the word for ten. \( x'i'n \text{ xidil thirty}, \) however, uses the original cardinal \( xin, \) instead of the numeral adverb \( xint'. \) The hundreds (including two hundred and one thousand) are similarly expressed as multiplications of one hundred (\( tleimi'^{s} \)), the numeral adverbs \( (xin \text{ instead of } xi'nt' \text{ in three hundred}) \) preceding \( tleimi'^{s} \). Numerals above one thousand \( (=10 \times 100) \) can hardly have been in much use among the Takelma, but can be expressed, if desired, by prefixing the numeral adverbs derived from the tens to \( tleimi'^{s}; \) e. g., \( dëhaldan \text{ ixidil} tleimi'^{s} \) \( 5 \times 10 \times 100 = 5,000. \)

As far as the syntactic treatment of cardinal numerals is concerned, it should be noted that the plural of the noun modified is never employed with any of them:

- \( wā-iwī'{t' \text{ gāp'lni girl two (i. e., two girls) } 55.2, 5, 7, 12 (wā-iwī'{t' \text{ t'an girls } 56.11) \)}
- \( mologolā'{p'a gā'plnī old-woman two } 26.14 (mologolā'{p'ak!an old women } 138.10) \)}
- \( hā'p'da gā'plnī his child two } 154.17 (hā'pxda his children) \)

Like adjectives, attributive numerals regularly follow the noun.

§ 111. Numeral Adverbs

The numeral adverbs denoting \( so \) and \( so \text{ many times} \) are derived from the corresponding cardinals by suffixing \(-an \) (often weakened to \(-ān \)) to \( gā'^{s}m \text{ two} \) and its derivative \( gamgā'm \text{ four}; -t', \text{ to } xin \text{ three}; -da'n, \text{ to other numerals } (-ada'n, \text{ to those ending in } -^{s}m \text{ and } -ts!' - = -^{s}). \) \( ha'^{i}gā'^{s}m \text{ seven} \) and \( ha'^{i}xi'n \text{ eight}, \) it will be observed, do not follow \( gā'^{s}m \text{ and } xin \) in the formation of their numeral adverbs, but add \(-{a})dā'n. \)

It is not impossible that \( mū'^{s}x- \) in \( mū'^{s}x'da'n \text{ once} \) is genetically related and perhaps dialectically equivalent to \( mi'^{s}s-, \) but no known grammatical or phonetic process of Takelma enables one to connect them. \( ha'^{i}gō'gada'n \text{ nine times} \) seems to insert a \(-{a}) \text{ between the cardinal and the adverbial suffix } -dan. \) The most plausible explanation of the form is its interpretation as \text{ nine (ha'^{i}go') that (ga) number-of-times (-da'n), the demonstrative serving as a peg to hang the suffix on. \)

From the numeral adverbs are derived, by prefixing \( ha- \text{ in}, \) a further series with the signification of \text{ in so and so many places}:

- \( ha-gā'^{s}mā'n \text{ in two places} \)
- \( ha-gamgama'n \text{ 176.2, 3 in four places} \)
- \( ha-ha'^{i}gō'gada'n \text{ in nine places} \)

§ 111
Cardinals with prefixed ha- are also found, apparently with an approximative force, e.g., ha-dehal about five 194.2.

No series of ordinal numerals could be obtained, and the probability is strong that such a series does not exist. debi’n occurs as first (e.g., wili debi’n-hi first house), but may also mean last 49.2; 150.15, a contradiction that, in view of the probable etymology of the word, is only apparent. debi’n is evidently related to ha-bini’ in the middle, and therefore signifies something like in front of the middle; i.e., at either end of a series, a meaning that comport very well with the renderings of both first and last. It is thus evident that no true ordinal exists for even the first numeral.

VI. Adverbs and Particles (§§ 112–114)

A very large number of adverbs and particles (some of them simple stems, others transparent derivatives, while a great many others still are quite impervious to analysis) are found in Takelma, and, particularly the particles, seem to be of considerable importance in an idiomatically constructed sentence. A few specifically adverbial suffixes are discernible, but a large number of unanalyzable though clearly non-primitive adverbs remain; it is probable that many of these are crystallized noun or verb forms now used in a specialized adverbial sense.

§ 112. Adverbial Suffixes

Perhaps the most transparent of all is:

1. -da’t. This element is freely added to personal and demonstrative pronouns, adverbs or verbal prefixes, and local phrases, to impart the idea of direction from or to, more frequently the former. Examples of its occurrence are:

- gi’da’t’ in my direction (gi’ I)
- wade’dat’ from my side (wadê to me)
- ada’t’ on, to this side 112.17; 144.2
- ū’dada’t’ in that direction, from that side (ūda- that)
- hā’tasda’t’ from yonder (hāsə- that yonder)
- gwi’dat’ in which direction? 190.18 (gwi how? where?)
- gedat’ from there 144.8
- eme’zdat’ from here
- me’zda’t’ hitherwards 32.10, 11; 55.3 (me’- hither)
- he’zdat’ thitherwards (he’- away)
- nōwda’t’ from down river 23.9 (nōu down river)
handa't' (going) across (han- across) 30.4; 31.16
hāanda't' from across (the river) (ha'nda across it) 112.17; 114.17
habamada't' from above (ha- in + bam- up)
haxiyad'at' from water on to land (ha-xiya' in the water)
dak'-wili'dat' from on top of the house (dak'-wilt over the house) 27.5; 62.5
gwen-t'gā'-bo'k'dandada't' from the east (gwen-t'gā'-bo'k'danda east) 144.23; (cf. 146.1)

More special in use of -dåt' are:
honoxdat' last year (honox some time ago)
dewe'nxada't' day after to-morrow (dewe'nx to-morrow)
deya'dat' first, before others 110.5

2. -xu. A fairly considerable number of adverbs, chiefly temporal in signification, are found to end in this element. Such are:
hō'xa' yesterday 76.9; 98.21
da-hō'xa' this evening 13.3; 16.15; 63.8; 78.4
dabalmi'xa for a long time (cf. bāl-s long and lep'ni'xa in winter) 54.4; 108.16
ya'xa continually, only, indeed (cf. post-positive yā' just) 54.5; 63.8; 78.10
dewe'nx to-morrow 77.14; 112.15; 130.17; 194.1
dap'la'xa toward daylight, dawn 45.4
de'xa henceforth (cf. de- in front of) 196.5
sama'xa in summer (cf. sa'mo summer 188.13; verb-stem sam-g-
be summer 92.9) 162.16; 176.13, 15
lep'ni'xa in winter 162.20; 176.15
dē-bixi'msa ([-t-xa]) in spring ([? ] cf. bi'xal moon)
da-yō'ga'mxa in autumn 186.3
ts'i's'a ([?])=-t-xa) at night 182.20
xami'xa by the ocean (cf. xam- into water) 21.1; 55.1
(? bō'nēxa-da' soon, immediately (cf. bō now and ne' well! or
na' do) 90.10; 108.2
(? da'xma'xau far away (for da'- cf. da'-o' near) 14.3; 188.21; 190.6

In lep'ni'xa 90.6, a doublet of lep'ni'xa, -xa appears shortened to -x; this -x may be found also in honox some time ago (cf. hono'z again). Here perhaps belongs also da-yawa'nt.'i-xi (adjectival?) in half, on one side (of two) 94.3.

It will be noticed that a number of these adverbs are provided with the prefix da- (de- before palatal vowels, cf. § 36, 2), the application of which, however, in their case, can not be explained.

3. -ne'. A number of adverbs, chiefly those of demonstrative signification, assume a temporal meaning on the addition of -ne', a

§ 112

1 See Appendix A, p. 290.
catch intervening between the suffix and the stem. Etymologically -ne may be identical with the hortatory particle ne well, let (us) —.—

**Adverb**

- he*ne* then, at that time 45.6; 49.14
- ge*ne* so long 92.10; 198.9
- me*ne* at this time 24.14 (cf. also ma*nai around this time 178.4)
- eme*ne* (yā'-hi) (right) here (?) now 190.23
- gwi*ne* some time (elapsed), how long? 44.2; 48.9; 148.7

To this set probably belong also:

- xūn, xu*ne* at night, night 45.3; 46.12; 48.10; 160.22
- bēn by day 166.2 (cf. bē sun, day)
- hople*ne* long ago 58.4; 86.7, 9; 192.15; 194.4
- xūnewi* sometimes 132.25
- bōnē now, yet 130.23 (cf. bō now)
- td*ne*, which the parallelism of the other forms in -ne with de, monstrative stems leads one to expect, does not happen to occur—but probably exists. Curiously enough, he*ne not infrequently may be translated as like, particularly with preceding k'ai (§ 105):

  - k'ai he*ne bēn something like wood 186.11
  - k'ai gwa l he*ne like various things 196.3

A number of other adverbial suffixes probably occur, but the examples are not numerous enough for their certain determination. Among them is -ada:

- nōgwada' some distance down river 54.2 (cf. nō down river and nōgwāa' down river from 75.14)
- hinwada' some distance up river 56.4; 100.18; 102.4 (cf. hina'u up river and hinwāa' up river from 77.1)
- ha'nt ada across the river 98.5; 192.3; (cf. ha'nt across, in half)

Several adverbs are found to end in -(da)da, perhaps to be identified with the -da of subordinate verb-forms:

- bōnēzada' immediately '90.10, 12; 108.2
- he'(da)da away from here 92.5; 172.5; 194.10; 196.11
- gwel-*waḵwi* early in the morning 44.1; 63.9; 77.14; 190.1 seems to be a specialized verb-form in -k'i if, whenever. It is possible that there is an adverbial -t suffix:

  - gwe'nt' in back, behind 94.15
  - ha'nt across, in half 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

§ 112
It may be that this -t' has regularly dropped off when final in polysyllables:

\[ da^{a}ol \text{ near } 100.15; \text{ but } da^{a}ol't'i (=da^{a}ol[t']+hi) 136.7 \]

§ 113. Simple Adverbs

The simple adverbs that are closely associated with demonstrative stems have been already discussed (§ 104). A number of others, partly simple stems and partly unanalyzable derivatives, are listed here, such as have been already listed under adverbial suffixes not being repeated.

1. Local adverbs:

- \( n\D\) down river 17.9; 63.1; 124.15
- \( n\D'\) next door ([?] related to \( n\D\)) 17.4; 188.2
- \( hina\U\) up river ([?] compounded with \( n\D\)) 22.7; 23.1; 61.13;
  192.14
- \( da^{z}-o'l \) near (cf. -t', § 112, and see § 93) 100.15; 102.6; 126.2
- \( dihau(y\A') \) last of all (see § 93) 120.18
- \( gi'^{iz}wa \) far off 48.8; 192.1
- \( ba'a' \) in the house (cf. § 37, 14) 28.8; 43.13; 140.5
- \( h\A'as'ya' \) on both sides, mutually (cf. § 37, 5) 172.10; 176.6

2. Temporal adverbs:

- \( b\D' \) now, to-day 49.13; 50.1; 56.11; 61.11
- \( ha'w\) still, yet (cf. § 37, 9) 78.1; 126.21; 192.8; 198.11
- \( b\D'ne hawi \) soon 128.18
- \( ha'wi b\D'ne' \) 43.11; 63.1; 71.15; 166.2
- \( mehdi' \) when? 132.24; \( a'n'\) hem never
- \( mi' \) now, already (often proclitic to following word) 22.4; 63.1; 190.9

\( gan\) then, and then (often used merely to introduce new statement) 47.14; 63.1, 2, 16

A noteworthy idiomatic construction of adverbs or phrases of temporal signification is their use as quasi-substantives with forms of \( l\A'hi' \)- BECOME. Compare such English substantivized temporal phrases as \textit{afternoon}. Examples are:

- \( sama'xa l\A'p'k' \) in-summer it-has-become 92.11
- \( haye\A'xd\A'da l\A'al\) in-their-returning it-became (=it became time for them to return) 124.15
- \( hab\) bini diha'-'uda l\A'lit\A' noon after-it when-it-became (=when it was afternoon) 186.8
Negative and affirmative adverbs:

hat' no 134.19, 21
ha'-u yes 24.13; 64.1; 170.12
a'ní't not (with aorist) 23.3, 6; 64.3; 78.1
a'ndí not? 56.10; 90.26 (e.g., a'ndí k'ai are there not any?) 56.8
ní't not? (with following subordinate): s'-ní't naga'sbinda' didn't
I tell you? 136.10
naga-di' do (you) not? 116.12
wede not (with inferential and potential) 25.13; 122.22, 23

Modal adverbs:

hono'z (rarely heard as hono'z n 74.8; this is very likely its original form, cf. -n for -ne, § 112, 3) again, too, also 22.4; 58.5; 134.1

gan'ga only 54.4; 94.5; gan'ga'-hi anyhow 94.8; 142.13; gan'ga-s'i'z
just so, for fun
wana' even 47.10; 61.3; 71.8; 76.4; 186.2
yazá'wa however (cf. yazá, § 114, 9; for -wa cf. git'íwa, § 113, 1)
72.11; 74.15

ha'ga explanatory particle used with inferential 25.10; 45.11 (e.g., ga haga wa'la' yu'k' so that one was really he 170.8)
nak'la' in every way, of all sorts (e.g., ka'di' nak'la 'a'ní' ígi'nan
what kind was not taken?, i.e., every kind was taken 60.11)
ye've perhaps 136.23; 180.8; 196.18
s'o', s'o'z perfectly, well 136.20; 166.1 (e.g., s'o'z de'gwa'lt'gwí'p'
take good care of yourself! 128.24)
amadi'(s'i') would that! 142.10 (e.g., amadi's'i' t'lomoma'z'n I
wish I could kill him; amadi loho'z would that he died! 196.2)
wi'sa'm (cf. wis, § 114, 8) I wonder if 150.2, 3 (e.g., mít wi'sa'm
ya'z I wonder if he went already)

It is a characteristic trait of Takelma, as of many other American languages, that such purely modal ideas as the optative (would that!) and dubitative (i wonder if) are expressed by independent adverbs without modification of the indicative verb-form (cf. further wi'obila'n ye'wa'z't' wi'sa'm MY-ELDER-BROTHERS THEY-WILL-RETURN I-WONDER-IF 150.2, 3).

Several of the adverbs listed above can be used relatively with subordinates, in which use they may be looked upon as conjunctive adverbs:

bó'w-gwan' 1 (1) yá'nia'uda' (2) bai-yeweya'k'w (3) as soon as (1) they went (2), she took him out again (3) 128.20
yewé (1) xebe'yagwanaga'm (2) yewé (3) wá'ada (4) hiwili'úc (5) perhaps (1) that we destroy him (2), perhaps (3) he runs (5)

1 Probably compounded of bó'w now and gan(i) now, then, and then.
to her (4) (= should we destroy him, perhaps he would run to her)

\[ \text{waya'} (1) \text{he'sne'} (2) \text{de-k'iwi'k'auk'wanma'} (3) \text{ga} (4) \text{na'snāk'ik'} (5) \]

just as (2) a knife (1) is brandished (3), that (4) he did with it (5) 172.12 (cf. \text{he'sne'} in its meaning of like, §112, 3)

§ 114. Particles

By particles are here meant certain uninflected elements that have little or no meaning of their own, but that serve either to connect clauses or to color by some modal modification the word to which they are attached. They are never met with at the beginning of a clause or sentence, but occur only postpositively, generally as enclitics. Some of the elements listed above as modal adverbs (§ 113, 4) might also be considered as syntactic particles (e.g., \text{wana}, \text{ha'ga}, \text{nak'a}', which never stand at the beginning of a clause); these, however, show no tendency to be drawn into the verb-complex. Whenever particles qualify the clause as a whole, rather than any particular word in the clause, they tend to occupy the second place in the sentence, a tendency that, as we have seen (p. 65), causes them often to be inserted, but not organically incorporated, into the verb-complex. The most frequently occurring particles are those listed below:

1. \text{ỹā'}a just. This element is not dissimilar in meaning to the post-nominal emphasizing \text{-تا} (§ 102), but differs from it in that it may be embedded in the verb-form:

\[ \text{i-ỹā'-sge't'sga't'} \] he just twisted it to one side 31.5

It only rarely follows a verb-form, however, showing a strong tendency to attach itself to denominating terms. Though serving generally to emphasize the preceding word, it does not seem to involve, like \text{-تا}, the idea of a contrast:

\[ \text{xā'-xo ỹā'}a right among firs (cf. 94.17) \text{he'sne ỹā'}a just then, then indeed 63.13; 128.22; 188.1, 18 \text{dō'mxbin ỹā'}a I shall just kill you 178.15 \]

It has at times a comparative force:

\[ \text{gī}^i \text{ỹā'}a \text{na'snada'ẽ you will be, act, just like me (cf. 196.2)} \]

2. \text{hi}. This constantly occurring enclitic is somewhat difficult to define. With personal pronouns it is used as an emphatic particle:

\[ \text{ma' hi you yourself (cf. 104.13; 152.20)} \]

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Similarly with demonstratives:

\[ ga' \, hi \] just that, the same 64.6; 96.16; 144.3; 190.21

In such cases it is rather difficult to draw the line between it and \[ yä' \] to which it may be appended:

\[ ga \, yä' \, hi \, gwelda' \] just under that 190.17

\[ han-yä' \, hi \, bā-\, t'e'xe \] just across the river she emerged 58.3

As emphasizing particle it may even be appended to subordinate verb forms and to local phrases:

\[ yānt \, e'do' \, hi \] just as I went (cf. 138.23; 152.5, 7)

\[ diha-udē \, hi \] right behind me, as soon as I had gone

It may be enclitically attached to other particles, \[ yä' \, hi \] 192.1 being a particularly frequent combination:

\[ gi \, yaxa' \, hi \] I, however, indeed 71.8

Its signification is not always, however, so specific nor its force so strong. All that can be said of it in many cases is that it mildly calls attention to the preceding word without, however, specially emphasizing it; often its force is practically nil. This lack of definite signification is well illustrated in the following lullaby, in the second line of which it serves merely to preserve the rhythm ' - :

\[ mo'xo \, wa'inhā \] buzzard, put him to sleep!

\[ s'ämhi \, wa'inhā (?) \] put him to sleep!

\[ p'e'lda \, wa'inhā \] slug, put him to sleep!

The most important syntactic function of \[ hi \] is to make a verbal prefix an independent word, and thus take it out of its proper place in the verb:

\[ de'-hi \] ahead (from \[ de- \] in front) 33.15; 64.3; 196.1; 198.12

\[ ha'n-hi \, ei-sāk'w \] across he-canoe-paddled

but:

\[ ei-han-sāk'w \] he-canoe-across-paddled 112.9, 18; 114.11

where \[ han- \], as an incorporated local prefix, takes its place after the object \( et \). A number of adverbs always appear with suffixed \[ hi \]; e. g., \[ gasa'\, hi \] quickly 16.10. Like \[ -a' \], from which it differs, however, in its far greater mobility, \[ hi \] is never found appended to non-subordinate predicative forms. With \[ hi \] must not be confused:

\[ The various shades of emphasis contributed by \, \, yä' \, hi, and \, \, respectively, are well illustrated in \, \, you, but you (as contrasted with others); ma \, \, just you, you indeed (simple emphasis without necessary contrast); ma\, hi you yourself; mas' \, and you, you in your turn (108.18) \]

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3. *-hi*'. This particle is found appended most frequently to introductory words in the sentence, such as ni, ganē, and other adverbs, and to verb-forms:

\[ mī-hi'\ t'aga'i' \] then he returned 62.2; (cf. 188.15)
\[ ganē-hi' aba-i-gin'i'k' \] and then he went into the house 55.16
\[ naga'-i-hi' = naga' \] he said + -hi' (see § 22) 22.6; 57.1; 128.15; 192.9

As no definite meaning can be assigned to it, and as it is found only in myth narration, it is highly probable that it is to be interpreted as a quotative:

\[ ga naga'sa^n-hi' \] that they said to each other, it is said 27.1, 3; 31.9

-\( hi' \) is also found attached to a verbal prefix (22.1; 140.8, 22, 23).

4. *-si'* AND, BUT. This is one of the most frequently occurring particles in Takelma narration, its main function being to bind together two clauses or sentences, particularly when a contrast is involved. It is found appended to nouns or pronouns as deictic or connective suffix:

\[ āks'i' \] he in his turn 61.11; (cf. 47.14; 104.8, 13)
\[ hulk: sgi'sid'îl mēxs'i' \] Panther and Coyote, also Crane

An example of its use as sentence connector is:

\[ ga naganhan ha'-t gā^n-dē hople'\ eme' a'nī' ga naga'n that used-to-be-said in-my-country long-ago, now-but here not that is-said 194.4; (cf. 60.9; 118.3; 122.17) \]

-\( si' \) is particularly frequently suffixed to the demonstratives *ga* THAT and *aga* THIS, *gas'i* and *agas'i* serving to connect two sentences, the second of which is the temporal or logical resultant or antithesis of the second. Both of the connected or contrasted sentences may be introduced by *gas'i*, *agas'i*, or by a word with enclitically attached -\( si' \). In an antithesis *agas'i* seems to introduce the nearer, while *gas'i* is used to refer to the remoter act. Examples showing the usage of *gas'i* and *agas'i* are:

\[ gas'i' de'l ha-de-dił'a di-būmā'k' \] (I smoked them out), and then (or so-that) yellow-jackets everywhere swarmed 73.10
\[ k'awī'n t'omoma'nda gas'i' gayawa't'p' \] something I-having-killed-it, thereupon you-ate-it 90.8
\[ gas'i' gāxda hūli'n wa-īwî' t'omci'xas'i' aba'i on-one-hand his-wife (was a) sea woman, her-mother-in-law-but (lived) in-the-house 154.15 \]

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agas'iz yū'αk'wa'k' yā'α xu'ma-s'iz a'ni'i de'si'ugu's'i now my-bones just (I was) (i.e., I was reduced to a skeleton), food-and not she-gave-me-to-eat 186.1
agas'iz a'ni'iz mi'iwawa al-t'eye'xi naga'iz yulum'a' aqa's'iz xamk' wa-iwi'i mi' al-tlay'k'wa on-one-hand "Not probably she-has-discovered-me," he-said Eagle-for-his-part, but Grizzly-Bear girl now she-had-discovered him 124.9
agas'iz and agas'iz as syntactic elements are not to be confused with the demonstratives ga and aqa to which a connective -s'iiz happens to be attached. This is shown by:
ga-s'iz ga'al that-so for (= so for that reason)

where ga'al is a postposition to ga. There is nothing to prevent post-nominal -s'iiz from appearing in the same clause:
aga's'iiz mëls'iiz but Crow-in-her-turn 162.14

When suffixed to the otherwise non-occurring demonstrative -iz (perhaps contained in ida- that) it has a concessive force, despite, although, even if 60.1:
"iz's'iizhi s'om ga'al ha-de-dilt'a wit' a'ni'iz al-tlay'k' pliy'ni although-indeed mountain to everywhere he-went, not he-found deer 43.6
i's'iz tslaya'k' a'ni'iz t!omöm guxda'gwa although he-shot-at-her, not he-killed-her his-own-wife 140.17

-hiz (see no. 3) or connective -s'iz may be added to "iz's'iz, the resulting forms, with catch dissimilation (see § 22), being "iz's'ihiz and "iz's'is'iiz 47.11; 148.12. When combined with the idea of unfulfilled action, the concessive "iz's'iz is supplemented by the conditional form in -kiiz of the verb:
"iz's'iz k'a'zi gu'ala naxbiya'uk'iz, wede ge'li'wa'zi even-though things many they-should-say-to-you (i.e., even though they call you names), not there look! 60.3

Compounded with -s'iz is the indefinite particle:
5. -s'izwa'k'di 64.5. When appended to interrogatives, this particle brings about the corresponding indefinite meaning (see § 105), but it has also a more general syntactic usage, in which capacity it may be translated as perchance, it seems, probably:
ma's'i-wak'di henena'gwa'zi perhaps (or probably) you ate it all up 26.17

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The uncompounded wak'di also occurs:

\[\text{ulu}'m\ wó'k'di\ k'ai\ nák'am\ \text{formerly I-guess something it-was said to him 166.1}
\]
\[\text{ga\ wa'k'di\ hogwa'zdā}\ \text{that-one, it-seems, (was) their-runner 49.3}
\]

Similar in signification is:

6. mā'va probably, perhaps 45.8; 63.15. This enclitic has a considerable tendency to apparently be incorporated in the verb:

\[\text{i-mā'va-tāatliwin\ maybe he was caught (i-tāatliwin he was caught)}
\]
\[\text{xa'ī-mā'va-sgā'hi'n\ mūl'da'n\ hi\ I'll-probably-cut-him-in-two once just 31.13}
\]

7. his, hī's nearly, almost, trying 44.7; 56.14. This element implies that the action which was done or attempted failed of success:

\[\text{mī hono t'omōk'wa-his mūl then also he-killed-him nearly spear-shaft (personified), i.e., spear-shaft almost managed to kill him, as he had killed others 28.11; (cf. 188.20)}
\]

A frequent Takelma idiom is the use of hī's with a form of the verb of saying na(g)- to imply a thought or intention on the part of the subject of the na(g)- form that fails to be realized:

\[\text{"ha-xiya' mā'va sgā'\text{(t)}āap'de"\ naga'hi's \text{"in-the-water probably I-shall-jump,\" he thought (but he really fell among alder-bushes and was killed) 94.17}}
\]

Sometimes his seems to have a usitative signification; probably the main point implied is that an act once habitual has ceased to be so:

\[\text{dak-his-t'ek!e'xade\ I used to smoke (but no longer do)}
\]

8. wis, wī's it seems, doubtless. This particle is used to indicate a likely inference. Examples are:

\[\text{mī-wis\ dapā'la-u\ moyugwana'n\ now-it-seems youth he's-to-be-spoiled (seeing that he's to wrestle with a hitherto invincible one) 31.12}
\]
\[\text{mō wī's āk!a\ t'lomoma'n\ now apparently he-for-his-part he-has-been-killed (seeing that he does not return) 88.9,(6)}
\]

9. yaxa continually, only. The translation given for yaxa is really somewhat too strong and definite, its force being often so weak as hardly to allow of an adequate rendering into English. It

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often does not seem to imply more than simple existence or action unaccompanied and undisturbed. It is found often with the scarcely translatable adverb *ganga* only, in which case the idea of unvaried continuance comes out rather strongly, e. g.:

\[ ga'hi yaza\] *ganga* *naga\textsuperscript{\textprime\textprime} e\] that-indeed continually only he-said (i. e., he always kept saying that) 24.15

From *ganga* it differs in the fact that it is often attracted into the verb-complex:

\[ ganga ge'\textquoteright yaza-hewe'hau\] only he-is-continually-thinking (i. e., he is always thinking) (cf. 128.18; 146.15)

10. *wala\textsuperscript{\textprime} e*(*sina\textsuperscript{\textprime} e*) REALLY, COME TO FIND OUT 45.11; 170.8. As indicated in the translation, *wala*\textsuperscript{\textprime} e indicates the more or less unexpected resolution of a doubt or state of ignorance:

\[ ga\] *haga* *wala*\textsuperscript{\textprime} e wili *wa\textsuperscript{\textprime} t\textbar t\textbar a\textsuperscript{\textprime} nik* that-one so really house he-kept-it (i. e., it was Spear-shaft himself who kept house, no one else) 28.10

Certain usages of *wala*\textsuperscript{\textprime} e*si*(*na*\textsuperscript{\textprime} e*), evidently an amplification of *wala*\textsuperscript{\textprime} e, have been already discussed (§ 70).

11. \textit{di} INTERROGATIVE. The interrogative enclitic is consistently used in all cases where an interrogative shade of meaning is present, whether as applying to a particular word, such as an interrogative pronoun or adverb, or to the whole sentence. Its use in indirect questions is frequent:

\[ m\textbar n\] *t\textbar t\textbar s mixal di* tiomomana\textsuperscript{\textprime} e he-counted gophers how-many had-been-killed

The use of the interrogative is often merely rhetorical, implying an emphatic negative:

\[ k\textbar a\textbar di* ma\] *wili wa*\textsuperscript{\textprime} t\textbar t\textbar a\textsuperscript{\textprime} nida* literally, what you house you-will-keep? (=you shall not keep house) 27.16; (cf. 33.1; 47.9)

Ordinarily \textit{di} occupies the second place in the sentence, less frequently the third:

\[ yu\textquotesingle k\textbar alxde\textsuperscript{\textprime} e m\textbar t^t \textbar di* a\textbar nvi* k\textbar a\textbar i* your-teeth now (inter.) not any (i. e., have you no teeth?) 128.23

Besides these syntactically and modally important enclitic particles, there are a few proclitics of lesser significance. Among these are to be included *m\textbar t* NOW and *gan\textbar e* THEN, AND THEN, which, though they have been included among the temporal adverbs and may

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indeed, at times, convey a definite temporal idea, are generally weak unaccented introducers of a clause, and have little determinable force:

\[ \text{ganē ya}'z \text{ then he went } 92.26; 118.19; 152.7 \]
\[ \text{mī' loho}'z \text{ then he died } 71.13; 98.19; 122.13 \]

The proclitic \( \text{ne}^z \) \( \text{well!} \) is used chiefly as introductory to a hortatory statement:

\[ \text{ne}^z \text{ gōm-s-i}'z \text{ da' srinī}'da \text{ nabāa'ha'n let us-in-our-turn over-his-nose let-us-do (i. e., let us pass over him!)} \ 144.11 \]
\[ \text{ne}^z \text{ t'omoma}'n \text{ let me kill him. (cf. 96.4)} \]

§ 115. VII. Interjections

Of interjections and other words of an emotional character there are quite a number in Takelma. Some of them, while in no sense of definite grammatical form, are based on noun or verb stems. Not a few involve sounds otherwise foreign to the language (e. g., nasalized vowels [expressed by \( \tilde{a} \)], \( \tilde{a} \) as in English \( \text{bat}, \tilde{a} \) as in saw, \( dj \) as in judge, voiceless palatal \( l \) [written \( l \)], final fortis consonant); prolongation of vowels and consonants (expressed by +) and repetition of elements are frequently used.

The material obtained may be classified as follows:

1. **Particles of Address:**
   - \( \text{ama}' \) \( \text{come on!} \ 96.24 \)
   - \( \text{hene}' \) \( \text{away from here! get away!} \ 148.8, 10, 11, 13, 14 \)
   - \( \text{dit'gwalam} \) \( \text{O yes! (with idea of pity)} \ 29.13; \)
   - \( \text{dit'gwāa'lam} \) \( \text{w}^z\text{wā my poor younger brother!} \ 64.4 \)
   - \( \text{ha-i} \) \( \text{used by men in talking to each other} \)
   - \( \text{ha'ik!ā} \) \( \text{used by women in talking to each other (cf. ha-ik!ā wife! husband!)} \)

2. **Simple Interjections** (expressing fundamental emotions):
   - \( \tilde{a}^z \) \( \text{surprise, generally joyful; weeping} \ 28.5; 58.2; 150.2 \)
   - \( \tilde{a}^z; \text{a'}; \text{a'} \) \( \text{sudden surprise at new turn; sudden resolve} \ 28.6; 29.7; 55.7; 78.9 \)
   - \( \text{a}'z \) \( \text{sudden halt at perceiving something not noticed before} \ 26.12 \)
   - \( o' \) \( \text{doubt, caution} \ 136.23 \)
   - \( \tilde{a}^z \) \( \text{sudden recollection; admiration, wonderment; call} \ 92.9; 138.19; 188.17, 19 \)
   - \( \tilde{a}^z \) \( \text{fear, wonder} \ 17.3 \)
   - \( \tilde{e}^z; \text{e}^z \) \( \text{displeasure} \ 27.16; 32.9; 33.6; 122.12 \)
   - \( \text{e}; \text{hē}^z \) \( \text{(both hoarsely whispered) used by mythological characters (crane, snake) on being roused to attention} \ 122.10; 148.17, 18 \)

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$hē$; $ē$ call 59.2; 73.7; 75.10; 76.8
$sēn$; $ēsēn$ disapproval, "what's up?", sarcasm 28.11; 32.10
$ēE$ $ēE'$ protest 112.6, 11; 114.3, 6, 13; $ēE'$, $ēE'$ decided displeasure 198.2

$hē$ scorn, threat 140.9; 152.14
$ēn$ sniffing suspiciously 160.20
$ēnēnēn'$ $ēn'$ smilling suspiciously 124.23
$du'$ disapproval, warning 156.18
$m+$ gentle warning, pity 29.8; 31.11, 14
$hm+$ $hm+$ reviving hope (?) 32.3
$wā+$ $wā+$ (loudly whispered) cry for help 29.12
$ha$-i alas! 62.4, 7
$L+$ $groan$ 182.11
$ho'$ (hoarsely whispered) on being wounded 190.24
$hā$ $hā$ $hā$ groans on being wounded 192.10
$he$ $he$ $he$ $he$ laughter 118.22; 120.6

Those that follow have a prefixed $s$- frequently used by Coyote.

They are probably characteristic of this character (see also 71.14; 90.12).

$sēhe$ $he$ $he$ $he$ $he$ derisive laughter 71.7; 72.11; 73.15; 74.15
$sbe'$ $p'$ sharp anger 86.6, 22, 24
$sbē'$ $u$ call for some one to come 92.1
$ea'i$ say there, you! 92.18, 21
$s'gā'$ $sorrow$ 100.3

3. Set Calls (including cries in formulas and myths):

$p'$ $ā'$ (loudly whispered) war-whoop 190.15
$bā+$ $bā+$ (loudly whispered and held out long) war-whoop 136.26 $bā$ $wā$ $āu$ $wā$ $āu$ $...$ (loudly whispered) war-whoop 110.19 $gwi'$ $lā$ $lā$ $lā$ $lā$ (loudly whispered) war-whoop on slaying one of enemy

$wā$ $wā$ $wā$ cry to urge on deer to corral
$bō+$ yelling at appearance of new moon 196.5
$hā+$; $bā+$ (both loudly whispered) urging on to run 46.5, 7; 47.6; 48.1, 3, 9; 49.3
$hē+$ blowing before exercising supernatural power 96.19, 20, 22; 198.7

$p'$ blowing in exercising supernatural power 77.9
$p'$ blowing water on person to resuscitate him 170.3
$hē$ blowing preparatory to medicine-formula addressed to wind 198.4

do' do do do do do cry (of ghosts) on catching fire 98.4 (cf. $Yana$ $du'$ $du$ $du$ $du'$ $du$ $du$)
$ximi'$ $ximi'$ cry of rolling skull 174.5, 6

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o' + da da da da da cry of people running away from rolling skull 174.9, 10
d'o'lihi dolhi' taunt (of Pitch to Coyote) 86.2, 8, 10, 17, 21, 23; 88. 1, 2
da'ldalwaya da ldalwaya da'ldalwaya formula for catching craw-fish (explained in myth as derived from dalda'l dragon-fly) 29.14, 16
wi'lik'isi' "cut off!" (cf. wi'li'i his stone knife 142.21) Chicken-Hawk's cry for revenge 144.1
sgilibi'i + 'iz "come warm yourself!" 25.7 (cf. sgili'pa'de' I warm myself 25.8)
gewe'k!ewec (cf. geve'k!iwi'n I hold [salmon] bow-fashion) said by Pitch when Coyote is stuck to him 88.5, 9, 11, 12
p'idi-t-p'â't'p'idi't'k' "O my liver!" (cf. p'â't'p'idi'-salmon liver) cry of Grizzly Bear on finding she has eaten her children's livers 120.19, 20

The last three show very irregular types of reduplication, not otherwise found.

4. **ANIMAL CRIES AND IMITATIVE SOUNDS:**

\[\text{wa'yanâ cry of Jack-Rabbit 108.9, 14, 17} \]
\[\text{(s')ha'u, ha' u cry of Grizzly Bear 106.12, 19; 140.12} \]
\[\text{wâ' + a (hoarse) death-cry of Grizzly Bear woman 142.3} \]
\[\text{hâ'u Bear's cry 72.15} \]
\[\text{p'âk' p'âk' "bathe! bathe!" supposed cry of crow} \]
\[\text{bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' sound made by Woodpecker 90.11; 92.2} \]
\[\text{(cf. ba'k'ba' red-headed woodpecker 92.2)} \]
\[\text{plau plau plau plau plau plau sound made by Yellowhammer 90.19} \]
\[\text{bu'm + bu'm + noise made by rolling skull 174.4} \]
\[\text{tc'e'lelele (whispered) sound of rattling dentalia 156.24 (cf. aorist stem tc'ele'-rattle)} \]
\[\text{t'ul t'ul t'ul noise made by Rock Boy in walking over graveyard house 14.8} \]
\[\text{de'm + de'm + de'm + noise of men fighting 24.1} \]
\[\text{xa'-u (whispered) noise of crackling hair as it burns 24.8} \]
\[\text{t'gî't' imitating sound of something breaking 24.4 (cf. xa-dâ'n-t'gî-} \]
\[\text{t'ga'lhi he broke it in two with rock 24.4)} \]
\[\text{t'ut' t'ut' t'ut' noise of pounding acorns 26.12} \]
\[\text{bak! "pop!" stick stuck into eye 27.8} \]
\[\text{hu' + confused noise of people talking far off 190.7} \]
\[\text{k'î'didididî sound of men wrestling 32.14} \]

5. **SONG BURDENS:**

\[\text{wa'yarwene lô'nwana medicine-man's dance 46.14} \]
\[\text{waインハ round dance; lullaby (cf. waインハ put him to sleep!)} \]
\[\text{104.15; 106.4, 8; 105 note} \]
k'ili'xindi round dance (said by Frog) 102.18
\*'o'cu \*'o'cu round dance (said by Frog) 102.23
\*gwa'tea \*gwa'tea round dance (said by Bluejay) 104.7
\*te'la'it/a round dance (play on \*te'la'it/e bluejay) 104.7
be'bebinibi'a round dance (said by Mouse; play on \*bebe'n rushes) 104.10
beleda round dance (play on belp' swan) 104.15
bi'gi bi'gi bi'gi Skunk's medicine-man's dance ([?] play on \*bk'w skunk) 164.18, 22; 166.5
\*ha'gwati \*ha'gwati said by s'omloho'lxa's in doctoring

§ 116. CONCLUSION

The salient morphologic characteristics of Takelma may be summed up in the words INFLECTIVE and INCORPORATING, the chief stress being laid on either epithet according as one attaches greater importance to the general method employed in the formation of words and forms and their resulting inner coherence and unity, or to the particular grammatical treatment of a special, though for many American languages important, syntactic relation, the object. Outside of most prefixed elements and a small number of the post-nominal suffixes, neither of which enter organically into the inner structure of the word-form, the Takelma word is a firmly knit morphologic unit built up of a radical base or stem and one or more affixed (generally suffixed) elements of almost entirely formal, not material, significance.

It would be interesting to compare the structure of Takelma with that of the neighboring languages; but a lack, at the time of writing, of published material on the Kalapuya, Coos, Shasta, Achomawi, and Karok makes it necessary to dispense with such comparison. With the Athapascan dialects of southwest Oregon, the speakers of which were in close cultural contact with the Takelmas, practically no agreements of detail are traceable. Both Takelma and Athapascan make a very extended idiomatic use of a rather large number of verbal prefixes, but the resemblance is probably not a far-reaching one. While the Athapascan prefixes are etymologically distinct from the main body of lexical material and have reference chiefly to position and modes of motion, a very considerable number of the Takelma prefixes are intimately associated, etymologically and functionally, with parts of the body. In the verb the two languages agree in the incorporation of the pronominal subject and
object, but here again the resemblance is only superficial. In Athapascan the pronominal elements are phonetically closely combined with the verbal prefixes and stand apart from the following verb-stem, which never, or very rarely, loses its monosyllabic individuality. In Takelma the pronominal elements, together with the derivative affixes, enter into very close combination with the preceding verb-stem, but stand severely aloof from the verbal prefixes. The radical phonetic changes which the verb-stem undergoes for tense in both languages is perhaps the most striking resemblance between the two; but even in this regard they differ widely as to the methods employed. Neither the very extended use of reduplication in Takelma, nor the frequent use in Athapascan of distinct verb-stems for the singular and plural, is shared by the other. Add to this the fact that the phonetic systems of Athapascan and Takelma are more greatly divergent than would naturally be expected of neighboring languages, and it becomes clear that the opinion that has generally been held, though based on practically no evidence, in regard to the entirely distinct characteristics of the two linguistic stocks, is thoroughly justified.

The entire lack of nominal cases in Takelma and the lack of pronominal incorporation in Klamath indicate at the outset the fundamental morphologic difference between these stocks. In so far as nominal cases and lack of pronominal incorporation are made the chief morphologic criteria of the central Californian group of linguistic families, as represented, say, by Maidu and Yokuts, absolutely no resemblance is discernible between those languages and Takelma. As far, then, as available linguistic material gives opportunity for judgment, Takelma stands entirely isolated among its neighbors.

In some respects Takelma is typically American, in so far as it is possible at all to speak of typical American linguistic characteristics. Some of the more important of these typical or at any rate widespread American traits, that are found in Takelma, are: the incorporation of the pronominal (and nominal) object in the verb; the incorporation of the possessive pronouns in the noun; the closer association with the verb-form of the object than the subject; the inclusion of a considerable number of instrumental and local modifications in the verb-complex; the weak development of differences of tense in the verb and of number in the verb and noun; and the impossibility of drawing a sharp line between mode and tense.

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Of the more special grammatical characteristics, some of which are nearly unparalleled in those languages of North America that have been adequately studied, are: a system of pitch-accent of fairly considerable, though probably etymologically secondary, formal significance; a strong tendency in the verb, noun, adjective, and adverb toward the formation of disyllabic stems with repeated vowel (e.g., aorist stem *yowo-* BE; verb-stem *lho-* DIE; noun *moxo* BUZZARD; adjective *hos-o* [plural] GETTING BIG; adverb *olo*m FORMERLY); a very considerable use of end reduplication, initial reduplication being entirely absent; the employment of consonant and vowel changes as a grammatical process; the use in verbs, nouns, and adjectives of prefixed elements, identical with body-part noun stems, that have reference now to parts of the body, now to purely local relations; the complicated and often irregular modifications of a verbal base for the formation of the most generalized tense, the aorist; the great differentiation of pronominal schemes according to syntactic relation, class of verb or noun, and tense-mode, despite the comparatively small number of persons (only five—two singular, two plural, and one indifferent); the entire lack in the noun and pronoun of cases (the subjective and objective are made unnecessary by the pronominal and nominal incorporation characteristic of the verb; the possessive, by the formal use of possessive pronoun affixes; and the local cases, by the extended use of pre-positives and postpositions); the existence in the noun of characteristic suffixes that appear only with pre-positives and possessive affixes; the fair amount of distinctness that the adjective possesses as contrasted with both verb and noun; the use of a decimal system of numeration, tertiary or quinary in origin; and a rather efficient though simple syntactic apparatus of subordinating elements and well-modulated enclitic particles. Altogether Takelma has a great deal that is distinct and apparently even isolated about it. Though typical in its most fundamental features, it may, when more is known of American languages as a whole, have to be considered a very specialized type.
# APPENDIX A

## 1. Comparative Table of Pronominal Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aor. subj. intr. I</td>
<td>-ç'et</td>
<td>-(a')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aor. subj. intr. II</td>
<td>-ç'et</td>
<td>cz'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. subj. intr. I</td>
<td>-ç'et</td>
<td>-(a')ç'ç'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. subj. intr. II</td>
<td>-ç'et</td>
<td>-(a')ç'ç'ti'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr. imper.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(a')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. imper. intr. I and trans.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. imper. intr. II</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aor. subj. trans.</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. subj. trans.</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infer. subj.</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj. trans.</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss. with pre-positives</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss. relationship</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss. II</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss. III</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
<td>-(ã')ç't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent pronouns</td>
<td>gã&lt;sup&gt;i&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Scheme of 7 Voices in 6 Tense-Modes (2d per. sing. of *dink!- spread)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trans. (2d per. subj.)</th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
<th>Future imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*d'nik'la'c'</td>
<td>*dink'la'da'c'</td>
<td>*d'nik' *cet'</td>
<td>*d'in'ka'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'ka'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'ka'c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act. intr.</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
<td>*d'in'zira'c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>*d'in'k'widam</td>
<td>*d'in'k'widam</td>
<td>*d'in'k'widam</td>
<td>*d'in'k'widam</td>
<td>*d'in'k'widam</td>
<td>*d'in'k'widam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipr. (pl.)</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'p'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'p'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'p'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'p'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'p'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agentive</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'</td>
<td>*d'in'zara'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positional</td>
<td>*dink'la'c'</td>
<td>*dink'la'c'</td>
<td>*dink'la'c'</td>
<td>*dink'la'c'</td>
<td>*dink'la'c'</td>
<td>*dink'la'c'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table provides a comparison of different tenses and voices in the Takelma language, focusing on the 2d person singular form of the verb "spread" (*dink!-). The table includes forms for various grammatical categories such as transitive, passive, active, reflexive, reciprocal, non-agentive, and positional, with specific entries for each category under each tense-mode.
### 3. Forms of $na(g)$ - Say, Do

#### A. Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
<th>Future imperative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>$nagā'itē$</td>
<td>$na'itē$</td>
<td>$na'k'atē$</td>
<td>$na'$</td>
<td>$na'k'$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>$nagā'it$</td>
<td>$nada'it$</td>
<td>$na'k'it$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>$nagā'it$</td>
<td>$na'it$</td>
<td>$na'k$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>$nagayiti'kē$</td>
<td>$nagā'm$</td>
<td>$na'k'ana'kē$</td>
<td>$nā'k'ōs$</td>
<td>$nā'k'ō$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>$nagā'itp$</td>
<td>$nā't'ōs$</td>
<td>$na'k'ō$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imper.</td>
<td>$nye'it$ (subordinate)</td>
<td>$nē'ita$ (conditional)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FREQUENTATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
<th>Present imperative</th>
<th>Future imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>$nagā-na'k'ētē$</td>
<td>$nā'itē$</td>
<td>$nā'k'atē$</td>
<td>$nā'ha$</td>
<td>$nā'ha$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>$nagā-na'k'it$</td>
<td>$nāna'tē$</td>
<td>$nā'k'it$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>$nagā-na'k'et$</td>
<td>$nāna'tē$</td>
<td>$nā'k'et$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>$nagā-na'k'et$</td>
<td>$nagā'm$</td>
<td>$nā'k'ana'k'$</td>
<td>$nā'na'k'$</td>
<td>$nā'na'k'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>$nagā-na'k'etp$</td>
<td>$nāna't'at$</td>
<td>$nā'k'ō$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imper.</td>
<td>$nē'ant$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 These forms are to be carefully distinguished from $nā-nada'tē$, $nā-na'atē$, and so forth (see §60). It is of course possible to have also $nā-na'itē$, $nā-na'na'atē$, and so forth.

2 Also $nā'k'ā$ is found, so that it is probable that doublets exist for other non-aorist forms, e.g., $nā'k'ōs$, $nā'k'ō$.

#### B. Transitive

**Aorist**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>First person plural</th>
<th>Second person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>$nega'udam$</td>
<td>$naga'ubēn$</td>
<td>$naga'ubēn$</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>$nege'ud$</td>
<td>$naga'ub$</td>
<td>$naga'ub$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>$nege'ud$</td>
<td>$naga'ub$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>$nega'udap$</td>
<td>$naga'ubina'kē$</td>
<td>$naga'ubina'kē$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Forms of \( na(g) \)- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

**Future**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>First person plural</th>
<th>Second person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nēzdo̱</td>
<td>nāzbin</td>
<td>nāgi'(n)</td>
<td>nāzanban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>nēzik'</td>
<td>nāzbiuk'</td>
<td>nāk'ida'</td>
<td>nāzanbank'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>nēzik'</td>
<td>nāzbiuk'</td>
<td>nāk'ina'</td>
<td>nāzamank'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nēzdaba'</td>
<td>nāzbinaga'm</td>
<td>nāngi'(a)(n)</td>
<td>nāranbanagam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>nēzik'(i)'</td>
<td>nāzbiuk'(i)'</td>
<td>nāginya(x)'</td>
<td>nāranbanagam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inferential**

| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | nēzik'\(e\)' | nāzbi\(a\)' | nāk'iga' | nāzanp'\(o\)\(s\)' | |
| 2d per. | nēzik' | nāzbi' | nāk'ik'\(a\)' | nāzanp'k' | |
| 3d per. | nēzik' | nāzbi' | nāk'ik' | nāzanp'k' | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | nēzik'\(e\)'\(p\)' | nāzbi\(a\)'\(p\)' | nāk'iga'\(p\)' | nāzanp'\(o\)\(a\)'\(a\)' | |
| 2d per. | nēzik'\(e\)'\(p\)' | nāzbi\(a\)'\(p\)' | nāk'iga'\(p\)' | nāzanp'\(o\)\(a\)'\(a\)' | |

**Potential**

| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | nēzdan | nāzbin | nāgi'\(i\)' | nāzanban | |
| 2d per. | nēzi | nāzi | nāk'ı' | nāzam | |
| 3d per. | nēzda' | nāzi | nāk'ı' | nāzanp | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | nēzdinaek' | nāk'inak' | nāk'ı'\(p\)' | nāzanbanek' | |
| 2d per. | nēzdinaek' | nāk'inak' | nāk'ı'\(p\)' | nāzanbanek' | |

**Present Imperative**

| Singular: | | | | | |
| 2d per. | nēzi | nāk'ı | nāzam | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | nēzip' | nāk'iba' | nāzam | |
| 2d per. | nēzip' | nāk'iba' | nāzam | |

**Future Imperative**

| Singular: | | | | | |
| 2d per. | nēzgα\(o\)\(m\) | nāgi'\(e\)' | | | |
3. Forms of *na(g)-* SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

### Passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><em>nega's'in</em></td>
<td><em>něxina't</em></td>
<td><em>nězin</em></td>
<td><em>nězigam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td><em>naga'sbin</em></td>
<td><em>nāzhina't</em></td>
<td><em>nāzin</em></td>
<td><em>nāzbigam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td><em>naga'n</em></td>
<td><em>nāogina't</em></td>
<td><em>nā'kin</em></td>
<td><em>nā'k'am</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><em>naga'simin</em></td>
<td><em>nāxivina't</em></td>
<td><em>nāzimin</em></td>
<td><em>nāzamk'am</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td><em>naga'sanban</em></td>
<td><em>nāxivana't</em></td>
<td><em>nāzanban</em></td>
<td><em>nāzanp'gam</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FREQUENTATIVE

#### Aorist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Third person</th>
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<th>Second person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nagaš'bin</em></td>
<td>*nagaš'hun'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*nagaš'ban'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*nagaš'bat'</td>
<td></td>
<td>*nagaš'imit'</td>
<td>*nagaš'sanp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nagaš'i</em></td>
<td><em>nagašha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*nagaš'ibivak'</td>
<td></td>
<td>*nagaš'hanak'</td>
<td>*nagaš'imit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*nagaš'ibivak'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Future

| Singular: |        | *nānsbin* | *nānhan* | *nānsimida'c* | *nānsanban* |
| 1st per. |        |           |           |              |             |
| 2d per. |        |           |           |              |             |
| 3d per. |        |           |           |              |             |
| Plural:  |        | *nānsibiko* | *nānhan' | *nānsamako' | *nānsanban* |
| 1st per. |        |           |           |              |             |
| 2d per. |        |           |           |              |             |

#### Passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><em>negaš'in</em></td>
<td><em>něšina't</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td><em>nagaš'bin</em></td>
<td><em>něšibina't</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td><em>nagaš'bin</em></td>
<td>*něšin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td><em>nagaš'imin</em></td>
<td><em>něšimina't</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>*nagaš'ban'</td>
<td>*něšiban'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Note: The table represents the conjugation of the Verbs in Chilcotin for the forms of *na(g)-*, SAY, DO. Dual prefixes have been omitted for clarity.*
3. Forms of *na(g)-* say, do

**C. Causative in -n**

**Aorist**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>First person plural</th>
<th>Second person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nagänzbin</em></td>
<td><em>nagänana'én</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>negëndam</em></td>
<td><em>nagòna'í</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>negënzimi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>negënzi</em></td>
<td><em>nagänbi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nagänzam</em></td>
<td><em>nagänzarp</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nagänzbinok</em></td>
<td><em>nagònanana'ok</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nagänzaban'ok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>negëndap'</em></td>
<td><em>nagòna't'p</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>negënzimit'p</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>First person plural</th>
<th>Second person plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nënzbin</em></td>
<td><em>nëson'a</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nënxda'c</em></td>
<td><em>nësonada'c</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nënzimida'c</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>*nënzink'</td>
<td>*nësona'nik'</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nënzaman'k</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nënbina'gum</em></td>
<td><em>nësonanaga'm</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nënzabanagum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nënxdbac</em></td>
<td><em>nësona't'bac</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>nënzimibac</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Passive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>negënzin</em></td>
<td><em>nënzina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nagänzbin</em></td>
<td><em>nënzbin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nagòna'í (nagòni'n)</em></td>
<td><em>nësona'í (nësonina'í)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nagänzimin</em></td>
<td><em>nënzimina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><em>nagänzanban</em></td>
<td><em>nënzaban</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Though these forms are simply derivatives of intransitive aorist *naga(-)*, verb-stem *na-*, they have been listed here because of their great similarity to transitive frequentatives, with which they might be easily confused. In the aorist, the two sets of forms differ in the length of the second (repeated) vowel, in the connecting consonant, and to some extent in the place of the accent, though this is probably a minor consideration. In the future, they differ in the connecting consonant and partly again in the place of the accent.

2 Forms in parentheses are instrumental.

3 Imperative (sing. subj. and third person object): *nëna.*

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—19
3. Forms of na(g)- say, do

D. Reciprocal Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>naga'cinik'</td>
<td>naxinipam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>naga'sant'p'</td>
<td>naxant'bas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>naga'sa^n</td>
<td>naxanit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(frequentative nagaš̂a^n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Nominal Derivatives

**INFINITIVES**

Intransitive: ne'r

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>First person plural</th>
<th>Second person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive...</td>
<td>nēdziya</td>
<td>nāzbiya</td>
<td>nāngiu</td>
<td>nāzimia</td>
<td>nāzamia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PARTICIPLE**

Active: na'r

Other forms derived from verb-stem na(g)- than those given above are of course found, but are easily formed on evident analogies. Observe, however, intransitive aorist stem nagai- in transitive derivatives nagaš̂k'wa he said to him (personal) and nagaš̂k'wi't he said to himself. Comitatives in -(a)gw- are not listed because their formation offers no difficulty; e. g., second person singular present imperative nāk'w do so and so having it! It is possible that bōu-nēxadae immediately is nothing but adverb bōu now + subordinating form *nēxadae of -xa- derivative from nāqg- with regular palatal ablaut (see §31,5); literally it would then mean something like when it is becoming (doing) now.
APPENDIX B

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

xil'am 1 sebe't 2 háp'da 3 loho'k' 4 sgi'sidl' 5 nō'tslat'gwan 6
Roasting-Dead-People
his child
it died.
He and Coyote
neighboring each other.
yük' 7 ga-s'i 8 nāk'ik' 9 "laps 10 yimi'xi 11 háp'dek 12 loho'ida 13
they were. And that he said to
him:
"Blanket lend it to me
my child
since it died,
laps 10 yimi'xi, 7 11 naga'-ih 1 14 xilam 1 sebe't 2 "ant 15 laps 10
blanket
he said, it is said. Roasting-Dead-People.

1 xil'am. Used indifferently for sick, dead (as noun), and ghost. -am (= -an) is probably noun-forming suffix with inorganic -a (cf. ban-sůmil) abode of ghosts, literally, across-river are ghosts as verb with positional -4). As base is left zil- or zin- (-n- of radicals syllable dissipilates to -l- before nasal suffix): zil'am from *zin-an or *zil-an. This zin- is perhaps etymologically identical with sin mucus (verb-base zin-sníff).
3 sebe'. Participle in -t' of verb seba'n Type 5 I roast it; aorist stem sebe-, verb-stem sebe-. Roasting-Dead-People is Takelma name for species of black long-legged bug. He is supposed to be so called because responsible for death, as told in this myth.
4 háp'da. Base háp-p'-small, child (cf. háp-si'di) small. This is one of those comparatively few nouns that add possessive personal suffixes of Scheme II directly to stem. With suffixed (?I) pre-pronominal -1 it becomes plural in signification: háp'da his children. This sort of plural formation stands, as far as known, entirely isolated in Takelma. In its absolute form háp-p' takes on derivative suffix -si, háp-p' child.
5 loho'k'. Third personal infential of verb lohot'ê Type 4b I die; aorist stem lohot-, verb-stem loho-, -k' infential element. Infential mode used because statement is here not made on personal authority, but only as tradition or hearsay. According to this, all myth narrative should employ infential forms instead of aorist. This myth employs partly infeientials and partly aorists; but in most other myths aorists are regularly employed, probably because they are more familiar forms, and perhaps, also, because myths may be looked upon as well-authenticated fact.
6 sgi'sidr. sgi'si COYOTE, formed by repetition of base-vowel according to Type 2. -di is dual suffix sgi'sidr'si itself might mean two coyotes, but -di is never properly dual in signification, meaning rather he (indicated by preceding -oun and some one else (indicated by context).
7 nātsi'wa. From local adverbial stem nōt'-next door, neighboring; it is formed by addition of characteristic -a and third personal plural reflexive personal suffix -t'gwan (= -t'[third person] + gwa-reflexive) + -a (plural). First person singular nōt'salad'; second person singular nōt'salad'c.
8 yu'. Third personal infential of verb yowot'tê Type 2 I am; aorist stem yow-, verb-stem yow-(yow-). -u' infential element as in loho'. Corresponding aorist, yow'tê.
9 ga-r'. As general demonstrative that, here serving to anticipate quotation: "laps (2) . . . yimi'zi-(3)". -r'i as general connective indicates sequence of nāk'k' upon loho'k' (1).
10 nāk'k'. Third personal infential of verb naga'ên Type 2 I say to him; aorist stem naga-, verb-stem nāng-. Corresponding aorist, naga'. Non-aoristic forms of this transitive verb show instrumental -i (see §64).
11 laps. Noun of uncertain etymology, perhaps from base lab- carry on one's back. -a nominal derivative suffix of no known definite signification.
12 yimi'zi. Present imperative second person singular subject, first person singular object (-i) of verb yii'miya'n Type 1 I lend it to him; aorist stem yimii't-, verb-stem yimii-. Non-aoristic forms show instrumental -i as in nāk'k'; o. g., yimii'hin I shall lend it to him.
13 háp'dek'. See háp'ca (1). -de'k first person singular possessive personal suffix according to Scheme II.
14 loho'ida'. Subordinate form, with causal signification, of loho'k' he died. Aorist stem loho' = verb-stem loho- + intransitive element -i characteristic of aorist of Type 4; -3, third personal aorist subject intransitive Class I, dissimilated because of catch in subordinating suffix -da'. Syntactically loho'ida is subordinated to yimi'zi.
15 naga'-ihê = naga'-it' he said; 4 quantitative enclitic -it'. Naga'ê third person aorist of irregular verb nagaîê Type 4a I say; aorist stem naga-, verb-stem na-. Both transitive and intransitive forms of na-(p)-say incorporate object of thing said; go in gas'k' (2) is incorporated as direct object in nāk'k' (it would be theoretically more correct to write go [-s]-nāk'k'); while quotation "laps . . . yimi'zi" is syntactically direct object of naga'-ihê which, as such, it precedes. ga-nāk'k' anticipates "laps . . . yimi'zi" naga'-ihê. Observe use of aorist instead of infential from naga'-ihê on.
15 a'nâ. Negative particle with following aorist. True negative future would be wode yimi'xihibog'.
I lend it to you for where they will be dead people if they return? he said, it is said.

sgi’si. nő’si.²⁰ ye’we’li²¹ xilam¹ sebet’² k’odo’t²² hāp’dagwa²³ Coyote. And next door he returned Roasting-Dead-People. He buried it his own child.

loho’ida’.²⁴ ganēhi²⁵ dabal’ina²⁶ la’le’.²⁷ who had died. And then, it long time it became. Now, it is Coyote his child.

yil’misbi’ni¹⁶ gwidi’-s’¹⁷ yo’ê’t¹⁸ xilam¹ yēn’k’²⁹ naga’-ih’³⁰ Coyote. “What it you inas-long Roasting-Dead-People it Now” for—so thus—gineki’.³¹ ma’hi³² sgi’si³³ hāp’da³⁴ who said.

xi’lam la’le’.²⁷ mi³² loho’i³² no’u’si³² gini’k’³⁰ xilam¹ sebet’² sick it became. Now it died. Now next door he went Roasting-Dead-People.

5 wa’a’dä.²¹ “I laps ¹⁰ yimi’xi¹¹ hi’ap’dē k’¹² loho’ida’.²¹ 2³ k’ad³² to him. “Blanket lend it to me my child since it died.” —What

nagai’,³³ xilam¹ sebe’t² ga⁵ naga’¹⁴ 4²³ hō’uxa’³⁴ ma’a³⁵ you said?” Roasting-Dead-People that he said. “Last time you

First person singular subject (-m) second personal singular object (-bi) of verb yismi’xen (see yimi’xi above). “-s’ indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere -e; e.g., future yimi’xen shall lend it to you. Aorist is used because idea of futurity is here immediate; i.e., time of action is not put definitely forward.

17 gwidi’-s’. gui general interrogative and indefinite verbal where somewhere. Di interrogative enclitic serving to give gui distinct interrogative signification. -s’ has here slight causal tinge: for where would they all be, if they returned?

18 yo’ê’t¹. Third personal future of verb yowot’e¹ i am (see yo’k’ above). -t’ third personal subject future intransitive Class 1.

19 yil’misbi’n. First person singular subject (-m) personal singular object (-bi) of verb yismi’xen (see yimi’xi above). “-s’ indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere -e; e.g., future yimi’xen shall lend it to you. Aorist is used because idea of futurity is here immediate; i.e., time of action is not put definitely forward.

20 gwidi’-s’. gui general interrogative and indefinite verbal where somewhere. Di interrogative enclitic serving to give gui distinct interrogative signification. -s’ has here slight causal tinge: for where would they all be, if they returned?

21 yil’misbi’n. First person singular subject (-m) personal singular object (-bi) of verb yismi’xen (see yimi’xi above). “-s’ indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere -e; e.g., future yimi’xen shall lend it to you. Aorist is used because idea of futurity is here immediate; i.e., time of action is not put definitely forward.
The child of Roasting-dead-people died. He and Coyote were neighbors to each other. Thereupon he said to me, "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died. Lend me a blanket," said Roasting-dead-people. "I'll not lend you a blanket, for where are they going to be, if dead people come back?" said Coyote. And next door returned Roasting-dead-people, and buried his child that had died.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Now Coyote's child became sick and died. Now next door he went to Roasting-dead-people. "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died."—"What did you say?" Roasting-dead-people said that. "Yesterday indeed when I did say to you, 'Lend me a blanket,' you, for your part, did say that to me, 'Where will the people be, if they return?' Now my child is rotting," said Roasting-dead-people. So next door Coyote returned. "Sgā+!" he cried. For that reason people do not nowadays return when they die.
HOW A TAKELMA HOUSE WAS BUILT

People house they make it. Post they set it down, and here again they set it down, yonder again they set it down; in four places they set them down.

Then also they place (beams) on top thereof in four places, and on top thereof across.

A house its wall they make it;

just once they place (beam) across.

then and on top thereof

they put them house boards.

klemēi. And then from on top they finish it, on both sides they finish it. And then

dedewill'ladadi's 25 klemēi dak'dat's'iez 26 daho'k'wal 27 klemēi kliyix 28 door they make it, and from on top they finish it, and smoke.

then and on top thereof

mats'aka'k' 17 wil' he'la'm, 19 t'ga 19 ga 20 he'la'm

klemēi. And then from on top they finish it.

gana'u 29 ba-i-gina'xdā 30 ganēs'i'iz 31 ga'klan 32 klemēi, xā'isgipli' therein its going out. And then ladder they make it, they notch it in several

1 See note 39 of first text; § 86, 2. yapla is to be understood as subject of all following finite verb forms.

2 § 86, 2; quantity of final vowel varies between -i and -I. Directly precedes verb as object.

3 Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb klemēn Type 3 I make it; §§ 63; 65.

4 § 86, 1; object of following verb.

5 pie-i-down § 37, 13; di- § 36, 10. I's'ia' third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb l'p'γ'sura'n Type 6 I set it; §§ 63; 49, 6.

6 emt here § 104; -i'f enclitic particle § 114, 4.

7 Modal adverb § 113, 4.

8 § 104.

9 Numerical adverb from gamga'm four § 111.

10 Temporal adverb § 113, 3.

11 han-across § 37, 1. -gil'p third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb -giliba'en Type 3; §§ 63; 40, 3.

12 Postposition with force of independent local adverb § 96.

13 See note 12; -i'f § 114, 4.

14 mi'wac'da'n numeral adverb once § 111; -hi enclitic particle § 111, 2.

15 y'd'a post-positive particle just § 114, 1; -i'f § 114, 4.

16 s'idi (house) wall § 86, 3; -i'f third personal possessive form of noun-characteristic -i § 88, 3.

92 III. House its-wall is regular periphrasis for house's wall.

17 Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb mats'aga'n Type 3 I put it; §§ 63; 40, 3.

18 Noun stem he'l- with nominal suffix -am dis以後m from -an §§ 57, 6; 21. wil'il he'la'm is compound noun § 88.

19 § 86, 1. Predicate appositive to he'la'm: they make those boards out of sugar-pine.

20 Demonstrative pronoun of indifferent number modifying he'la'm § 104.

21 Temporal or connective adverb compounded of demonstrative ga and element -mi (?=never) of unknown meaning §§ 113, 2; 114 end.

22 Adverb in -da' from local element dak'- above § 112, 1.

23 da- § 36, 2 end; -labak' third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb -labaga'n Type 3 finish it; §§ 63; 40, 3.

24 Local adverb § 113, 1.

25 dedewill'ldada door, local phrase with pre-positive da in front of and third personal possessive suffix -da § 93 end. -dv's postposition § 96 of unclear meaning here.

26 See note 22; -i'f § 114, 4.

27 da- § 107, 5; -ho'k'wal adjective with suffix -al § 108, 2.

28 § 86, 3.

29 Postposition with kliyi'z' ba-i-gina'xdā § 96.

30 Third personal possessive form in -da of infinitive ba-i-gina'z. ba-i-out § 37, 12; gin- verb stem Type 2 or 11 go to § 40, 2, 11; -az infinitive suffix of intransitive verbs of class I § 74, 1.

31 See note 21; -i'f § 114, 4.

32 § 86, 2; suffix -n, §§ 21; 87, 6.
The people are making a house. A post they set in the ground, and here again they set one in the ground, yonder again they set one in the ground, in four places they set them in the ground. Then also they place beams across on top in four places, and above (these) they put one across just once. And just then they make the house wall; and then on top they place the house boards, those they make out of sugar-pine lumber. Then they finish it on top, on either side they finish it. Then they make the door, and on top they make a hole for the going out of the smoke. And then they make a ladder, they notch out (a pole), for going down to the floor they make it; and the house wall they make.

Then they finish it, all cleaned inside. Now rush mats they spread out inside, on such the people sit. The fireplace is in the center, so that they are seated on either side of the fire. In that way, indeed, was the house of the people long ago; in winter their house was such. But in summer they were sitting like now,¹ not in the house. Just a brush shelter they placed around, so that the fireplace they made in the middle. Thus they dwelt in summer, not as in winter in a house.

¹ We were sitting out in the open when this text was dictated.
COOS

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG
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INTRODUCTION

The material on which this account of the Coos language is based was collected at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the summer of 1909. I obtained nineteen complete myths and other texts with inter-linear translations, and linguistic material consisting chiefly of forms, phrases, and sentences. I have also had at my disposal a number of texts and grammatical notes collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, during the summer of 1903, which were of great assistance on many points.

This material was obtained chiefly from James Buchanan and Frank Drew, both of whom proved to be intelligent and reliable informants. To the former especially I am indebted for the complete and rich collection of myths and texts, while the latter was my chief source of information on points of grammar and lexicography. Frank Drew's untiring efforts and almost perfect command of English made him a very valuable interpreter, in spite of the fact that this advantage was offset in a great many cases by his knowledge of the Hanis and Miluk dialects of the Coos, and by his inability to draw a dividing-line between the two dialects. Hence his information was very often contradictory, and showed many discrepancies; but, on the whole, he was found trustworthy and reliable.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher, Professor Franz Boas, for the many valuable suggestions made in connection with this work, and for the keen and unceasing interest which he has taken in me during the many years of our acquaintance. It was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken; and its completion is due mainly to the efforts and encouragement received from him. He it was who first imbued me with an enthusiasm for the primitive languages of the North American continent, and the debt which I owe him in this and in a great many other respects will be of everlasting duration.

Columbia University,
April, 1910.
§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Kusan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects that were spoken by the people inhabiting (until 1857) Coos bay and the region along the Coos river. Their neighbors were Siuslauan, Kalapuyan, and Athapascan tribes. On the north they came in contact with the Umpqua Indians, on the east they bordered on the Kalapuya, while on the south they were contiguous to the Rogue river tribes, especially the Coquelle. In 1857, when the Rogue river war broke out, the United States Government, acting in self-defence, removed the Coos Indians to Port Umpqua. Four years later they were again transferred to the Yahatc reservation, where they remained until 1876. On the 26th day of April, 1876, Yahatc was thrown open to white settlers, and the Indians of that reservation were asked to move to Siletz; but the Coos Indians, tired of the tutelage of the United States Indian agents, refused to conform with the order, and emigrated in a body to the mouth of the Siuslaw river, where the majority of them are still living.

Of the two principal dialects, Hanis and Miluk, the latter is now practically extinct; while the former is still spoken by about thirty individuals, whose number is steadily decreasing. As far as can be judged from the scanty notes on Miluk collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903, this dialect exhibits only in a most general way the characteristic traits of the Kusan stock. Otherwise it is vastly different from Hanis in etymological and even lexicographical respects.

The name "Coos" is of native origin. It is derived from the reduplicated stem ku'kwts south, which appears very often in phrases like akukwo't'sume from where south is, kusumel'tcito southwards, etc.

1 Erroneously classified by Powell as part of the Yakonan family. My recent investigations show Siuslaw to form an independent linguistic group consisting of two distinct dialects—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw. A grammatical sketch of the former dialect will be found in this volume.
2 An Athapascan tribe living on the upper course of the Coquelle river.
3 Spoken on the lower part of the Coquelle river, and commonly called Lower Coquelle.
The Coos call their own language *hā'nîs l'e'yîs* the Hanis tongue. The present work deals with this dialect only, as sufficient material could not be obtained for the purpose of writing a grammar of the Miluk dialect.

Texts of myths and tales were collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, and by the author of the present sketch, and were published by Columbia University.\(^1\) All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

**PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-14)**

### § 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Coos is rich and fully developed. Clusters of consonants occur very frequently, but are void of difficult complications. The vowels show a high degree of variability, and occur in short and long quantities. The obscure vowel *e* is very frequent, and seems to be related to short *e* and *a*. Resonance vowels occur very often, and are indicated in this work by superior vowels. The diphthongs are quite variable. Long *ē* is not a pure vowel, but glides from *ē* to *ī*; it can hardly be distinguished from long *ī*, to which it seems to be closely related. In the same manner long *ō* glides from *ō* to *ū*, and was heard often as a long *ū*-vowel.

The following may be said to be the Coos system of vowels and diphthongs:

<table>
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<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semi-vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a e i i o u ā</td>
<td>w, y</td>
<td>ai, ă, ĕ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Short *e* is pronounced like *e* in the English word *helmet*, while the umlauted *ā* corresponds to the open *e*-vowel in German *wählen*. It very often occurs as the umlauted form of long *ā*. *i* represents the short *y*-vowel so commonly found in the Slavic languages; while *ū* indicates exceedingly short, almost obscure *u*. *ō* can not occur after the palatal surd *k* and fortis *k*.

### § 3. Consonants

The consonantic system of Coos is characterized by the prevalence of the sounds of the *k* and *l* series, by the frequent occurrence of

---

\(^1\) Coos Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 1.

§§ 2–3
aspiration, by the abundance of long (double) consonants \( l, m, n, \) and \( y \), and by the semi-vocalic treatment of the nasals \( m, n \), and of the lateral sounds (indicated in this sketch by a circle under the consonant). Surds and sonants were not always pronounced distinctly, especially in the alveolar series. No aspirated consonants were found besides the aspirated \( t' \) and \( k' \). The fortis is pronounced with moderate air-pressure and glottal and nasal closure.

The system of consonants may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>( q ) ( g ) ( k ) ( l )</td>
<td>( q' ) ( k' ) ( l' )</td>
<td>( w ) ( y )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>( g, g(w) ) ( k, k(w) ) ( l, l(w) )</td>
<td>( g' ) ( k' ) ( l' )</td>
<td>( w )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>( g' ) ( k' ) ( l' )</td>
<td>( w )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>( d ) ( t ) ( t' )</td>
<td>( s ) ( c ) ( n ) ( \bar{n} )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricative</td>
<td>( dz, dz(w) ) ( dj, dj(w) ) ( ts, ts(w) )</td>
<td>( ts ) ( ts' )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>( b ) ( p )</td>
<td>( p' )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>( y ) ( l ) ( l' )</td>
<td>( l ) ( l ) ( l )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td>( z ) ( s ) ( s' )</td>
<td>( z ) ( s ) ( s' )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>( q, \bar{q} ) ( k, \bar{k} ) ( l, \bar{l} ) ( m, \bar{m} )</td>
<td>( u ) ( y )</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The glottal stop, when not inherent in the stem, may occur independently only before \( l, m, n, \) and \( w \). It always disappears before velar and palatal sounds. The aspiration is always accompanied by a stricture corresponding to the quality of the vowel preceding it. After \( a, o, \) and \( u \) (and \( u \) diphthongs) it is of a guttural character; while when following \( e, \bar{e} \)-vowels, or the \( i \)-diphthongs, it becomes palatal. It disappears before a following \( w \) or \( y \).

\( \text{p}ha^wzts \) I make it 10.4  \( \text{p}ha^wz\text{o}^wz\text{vat} \) I have it 18.4  
\( \text{i}s \text{s}o^wz\text{t}i\text{t}i\text{d}i\text{ni} \) we two trade mutually 15.6  
\( \text{n}lo^wz\text{t}a\text{ya} \) I am watching it \( \text{l}o\text{w}i\text{t}i\text{z}\text{ye}^q\text{em} \) he took care 66.3  
26.11  
\( \text{p}i\text{z}^wz\text{p}i \) he went home 28.2  \( \text{w}pi\text{ye}^e\text{t}c \) backwards, homewards 42.7  
\( \text{qai}^wz\text{qa}^wz\text{y}o\text{n}d\text{ya} \) he became afraid of it 42.3

§ 4. Sound Groupings

As has been stated before, clusters of consonants are extensive, but present few complications. Whenever difficulties arise in pronouncing them, there is a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to
simplify them. Thus, combinations of more than two consonants are rare, except in cases where one of the component elements (frequently the middle consonant) is \( m \), \( n \), or one of the lateral series. Such combinations are made possible through the semi-vocalic character of these consonants. I have also found \( xpq, \) \( wuc \).

- helq- to arrive
- halqtsowat she would bring it to him 72.8
- \( d' \)lqas fear 66.4
- agalqtsowat he scared him 92.20
- \( ds' \)molt prairie 22.12
- demsiteto through a prairie 22.11

In the same manner initial clusters, of which \( m \), \( n \), or \( l \) is the first element, are syllabified by vocalization of the first consonant either initially or terminally. A similar process takes place in clusters consisting of two consonants that belong to the same group.

The only consonantic combinations that are inadmissible are those of \( a \), \( ts \) or \( s+m \) or \( n \).

Terminal clusters of three consonants are admissible only in cases where one of the component elements is a consonant easily subject to vocalization (a lateral, \( m \) or \( n \)).

- \( v' \)ng 7.5
- ga'mit 102.16
- yixd'ntoc'ys 60.3
tqo'nity 28.1

Terminal clusters of two consonants are confined to the combinations of \( m+t \), \( m+s \), \( m+x \); \( n+ \) alveolar or affricative, \( n+k \), \( n+l \); \( l+ \) alveolar or affricative (excepting \( l+n \)), \( l+m \); \( l+t \) and \( l+tc \). All other combinations are inadmissible (see §11).

The following examples of terminal sound groupings may be given:

- \( L'e'^z'sim't \) 74.19
- \( vil't \) 7.8
- \( hat' \)y'ims 20.14
- \( motl' \) 76.12
- \( y'xum'x \) 122.22
- tc'ls
- \( k'^{\prime} \)int 5.2
- be'u'dj
- \( xw' \)nd' \)j 6.8
- ke'wil'ts 140.14
- \( k' \)mn'nts 96.11
tc'lit'c 26.26
- \( t\)ow'e'ntc 6.1
tk'elm 136.7 (St. Clair)
- \( den'k' \) 82.9
- watt 10.9
- \( han' \) 7.1
- ge'ttc 6.4
- An exceptional instance of a usually inadmissible sound grouping was found in \( xy'v'helq \) 20.21.

§ 4
All inadmissible terminal clusters are avoided through the insertion of a (weak) vowel between the two final consonants.

\[
\begin{align*}
demst- & \quad de'mst\text{it} \text{ prairie 22.12} \\
helq- & \quad he'laq \text{ he arrived 20.18} \\
lhínp- & \quad lhí'náp \text{ he went through 22.11} \\
mílx- & \quad mì'läx \text{ lunch 28.15} \\
\text{alq}+\text{-}\text{s (§ 25)} & \quad a'lqas \text{ fear 66.4} \\
\text{winq}+\text{-}\text{s (§ 25)} & \quad wo'niqas \text{ mat, spider 58.5}
\end{align*}
\]

Inadmissible medial clusters are avoided through the insertion of a weak vowel or vowels:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{winq}+\text{-}\text{xem} & \quad \text{wind ga'xem it is spread out 32.14} \\
\text{helq}+\text{-}\text{xem} & \quad \text{he'ləqaxem it is the end 44.14} \\
\text{lnq}+\text{-}\text{a} & \quad \text{ux lna'qa they two went down 8.4}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 5. Accent

With the exception of the monosyllabic particles, that are either enclitic or proclitic, each word in Coos has its stress accent, designated by the acute mark ('). The former accent is not inseparably associated with any particular syllable of a word. It may, especially in cases of polysyllabic stems, be shifted freely from one syllable to another, although it is very possible that this apparent shifting of accent may be largely due to the rapidity with which the words in question were pronounced by the natives. The circumflex accent appears mostly on the last syllable, and may best be compared with the intonation given to the word so in the English interrogative sentence Is that so?

The accent very often modifies the syllable on which it falls by lending a specific coloring to the vowel, or by making it appear with a long quantity. This is especially the case in syllables with the obscure vowel, which, under the influence of accent, may be changed to an a or an e.

A very peculiar use of the accent is found in connection with the verbal stem helq. This stem expresses two different ideas, that are distinguished by means of the two kinds of accent. When occurring with the stress accent ('), helq denotes to get, to arrive; while helq with the rising tone of ð expresses the idea to climb up.
Phonetic Laws (§§ 6–14)

§ 6. Introductory

The phonetic laws are quite complex, and in a number of instances show such appalling irregularities that they defy all attempts at systematization. This is especially true of the contraction of two or more vowels into one, and of the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, the phonetic processes may be said to be due to contact phenomena and, in rare instances, to the effects of accent.

Vocalic Processes (§§ 7–11)

The processes treated in this division may be classified as follows:

(1) Vocalic Harmony.
(2) Consonantization of i- and u- diphthongs.
(3) Contraction.
(4) Hiatus.
(5) Processes due to change from terminal to medial position.

§ 7. VOCALIC HARMONY

The most important phonetic law in the Coos language is the law of vocalic harmony. This tendency towards euphony is so strongly developed in the language, that it may safely be said to be one of its chief characteristics. Its purpose is to bridge over as much as possible the difficulties that would arise in trying to pronounce in quick succession syllables with vowels of widely different qualities. The process may be of a retrogressive or progressive character; that is to say, the suffix may change the quality of the stem-vowel, or vice versa. Only the vowels of the a- and e-series are affected by this phenomenon, which is not always purely phonetic.

The following suffixes cause a change from a to ā, a process called the ā-umlaut:

-ī neutral § 31   -īl pronominal § 46   -īye transitional § 35

\( \text{phā'}wits \) I make it grow \( \text{hā'}wī \) he grew up 64.24
\( \text{ntsxe'w'at} \) I kill him 26.22 \( \text{ntsxe'w'ēl} \) she kills me 24.14
\( \text{phā'k'wits} \) I draw it up \( \text{ēl hā'k'wī'ye} \) they were drawn up 30.1

§§ 6–7
A change of a-vowels into e-vowels due to other causes is effected by the pronominal suffixes -ā (§ 46), -ēm (§ 30), and by the imperative -ē (§ 43).

The following suffixes change the e-vowels of the stem into a-vowels:

-āni, -āis pronominal § 46
-āyam distributive § 37
-anāya § 50

tōne henē he is thinking 24.13, ētōnahanā'mi I am thinking of you 14
he'wes a lie ē'hawasanā'is you are lying to me
x'ne'et it is on top 10.1 yx'naatā'ya I am riding (a horse)
k'le'es black k'lād'yam blackish (black here and there)
xā'nīs sick 42.18 xā'nanā'ya he made him feel sorry 42.18
plpū'wis hat 136.14 ptapā'visanāya he made a hat out of it

[Note.—The suffix -anāya is composed of -enē + -āya. The long ā of -āya affects the e of -enē, and the compound suffix changes the quality of the stem-vowel.]

Here may also belong the qualitative change of yiixē' one and yiixwā two into yiixahī'na one each and yiixwahī'na two each (see p. 374), and changes like—

is we'ldni hanē we two fight will 116.11 (wil- to fight)
qamelēnē'we he commenced to swim around (mil- to swim)

[Compare also the change of the possessive pronoun lā, liye, into la, liya, when preceding stems with a-vowels (see § 98).]

Progressive assimilation occurs very frequently, and affects almost all suffixes that have e-vowels. The following suffixes change their e-vowels under the influence of an a-vowel of the stem:

-e auxiliary § 44
-ēnē verbal § 45
-īye transitional § 35
-etc adverbial § 68
-īyawa nominal § 62

§ 7
The same progressive assimilation may have taken place in the change of the transitive suffix -e^wat into -o^wat (see p. 337) whenever suffixed to stems ending in u-diphthongs.

Another assimilatory process of this type is the change of the particle əl into el (hel) after a preceding n or l (see p. 388).

In spite of this great tendency towards euphony, numerous instances will be found showing an absolute lack of vocalic harmony. Whether these cases are the result of imperfect perception, due to the rapid flow of speech or to other causes, cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

§ 8. CONSONANTIZATION OF I- AND U- DIPHTHONGS

The i and u of diphthongs are always changed into the semi-vocalic consonants y and w when they are followed by another vowel.
The only exception to this rule occurs in cases where the diphthong is contracted with the following vowel (see § 9).

\[\text{penlō' wai} \text{ whale 30.10} \quad \text{penlō'wayete} \text{ a whale with 88.30}\]
\[\text{āx tila'qai they two are living} \quad \text{hēlaq le mā tila'qayeto} \text{ he came to the people (who) lived (there) 36.12, 13}\]
\[\text{t!Eci'ta} \text{ flint point} \quad \text{nt!Eci'ta'we le mēlaq flint points have the arrows 62.27}\]
\[\text{Lōu- to eat} \quad \text{lōwil'as food 22.14}\]
\[\text{xiwil'āw head 30.14} \quad \text{xtLts xw'huxwote she hit him over the head 66.5, 6}\]
\[\text{kwe perhaps + ts we two} \quad \text{kwīls let us two 26.15}\]

§ 9. CONTRACTION

In Coos the contraction of two vowels immediately following each other is so uncertain that it is difficult to formulate any rule that would cover all irregularities. The main difficulty lies in the fact that contraction of vowels, and hiatus, seem constantly to interfere with each other. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

1. Two vowels belonging to the u-series are contracted into a long u.
   \[\text{xtci'tcu + āu} \quad \text{xtci'tcuL how would (it be) 5.2}\]
   \[\text{yiku + āu} \quad \text{yī'kūl perhaps it would (be) 17.7}\]

2. Two long ī-vowels are contracted into a long ī.
   \[\text{hā'k!ūtī + -īye} \quad \text{ūl hā'k!ūtī'ye they were drawn up 30.1}\]
   \[\text{henī + -īye} \quad \text{he'nīye a while 42.17 (he'nīhen many times 88.1)}\]

3. Long ē or ī are contracted with a following ā into long ā or ē.
   \[\text{-enī + -āya} \quad \text{-anāya (see § 50)}\]
   \[\text{plpāwisenī he is making a plpāwisa'nāya he is making a hat out of it}\]
   \[\text{-nēa + -āwas} \quad \text{-nē'was (see § 59)}\]

4. Vowels of very short quantities are usually contracted with the following vowels of longer quantities, regardless of quality. The quality of the longer vowel predominates in such amalgamations. In the process of contraction, an h preceding the second vowel disappears.
   \[\text{cē + hanL} \quad \text{canL a particle denoting certain expectation (see § 90)}\]
   \[\text{tsē + hanL} \quad \text{tsanL only then shall ... 78.15}\]
An exception to this rule is found in the case of the u-vowels, which change a following h into a w.

\[ yu + he \]
\[ ts\text{ } \text{then} \]

yuve whenever 16.6

An interesting case of contraction is presented by the amalgamation of the personal pronouns and the negative particle in.

\[ y I + \text{in NOT is contracted into } ni. \]
\[ \text{THOU} + \text{in NOT is contracted into }\text{vin}. \]
\[ \text{WE TWO} + \text{in NOT is contracted into }\text{vin}. \]
\[ \text{YOU} + \text{in NOT is contracted into }\text{vin}. \]

ni te'ite la'tswa'n'wat not I how that one (to) kill it 62.21
\[ \text{I came to know (it)} \]
\[ \text{WE TWO} \text{canL xte'ite sqats we (can) not seize her } 56.18. \]
\[ \text{YOU} \text{canL xte'ite'wat you not forget it } 40.18. \]

Following are examples of uncontracted negative forms:

\[ ax \text{in kwa}'n'ya they two (did) not know it } 22.9, 10 \]
\[ ul \text{in } k'\text{o'to}'vit they (did) not see it } 32.3 \]

§ 10. HIATUS

The same uncertainty that exists in the case of contraction of vowels is found in the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the coming-together of two vowels of like quantities and qualities is avoided by means of infixing a weak h between them. Two vowels of dissimilar quantities and qualities are kept apart by means of the accent.

Examples of insertion of h:

\[ \text{kwa}'n'ya + -aya \]
\[ yane + -iye \]
\[ sii'n'ete + -iye \]
\[ ts'a'wa+a \]
\[ hii'ma'k'e+e \]
\[ helmi + -is \]

kwa}'niyah'sya (they) came to know it 102.29
\[ yneh'iye I came to be (the one) \]
\[ sii'n'eh'iye joined together it became 13.4 \]
\[ nts'xa'ha le kwawal (covered) with skin is the bow } 62.27, 28 \]
\[ ax nhii'ma'k'ehe they two with wives are } 42.15 \]
\[ helmi'his next day } 6.7 \]
Examples of division by means of accent:

\[le + -ite\]
\[l'ite + -ite\]

§ 11. PROCESSES DUE TO CHANGE FROM TERMINAL TO MEDIAL POSITION

Terminal consonantic clusters are avoided by inserting a weak vowel between two consonants standing in final position (see § 4). But as soon as a suffix is added to a stem thus expanded, changing the cluster from a terminal to medial position, the inserted vowel is dropped, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

\[m'il'ax\] lunch 28.15
\[d'e'msikit\] prairie 22.12
\[lhi'nap\] he went through 22.11
\[a'lyas\] fear 66.4
\[hü'tcit\] story 20.2
\[töllats\] he was astonished 22.28
\[kwówal\] bow 60.14
\[m'ilat\] he swam 30.7

On the whole, Coos shows a marked tendency toward clustering of consonants in medial position. Thus, when a suffix beginning with a long vowel is added to a stem that has already been amplified by means of a suffix whose initial vowel is weak, the vowel of the first suffix is dropped, and its consonants are combined with the final consonants of the stem into a cluster.

\[hü'tåte\] elder brother 72.27
\[e'k'wålåte\] father 20.25
\[la'zæts\] mud 52.10
\[ðhü'wétså\] I marry her

\[hü'te'zså\] elder brothers
\[e'k'wålåte\] fathers
\[wålså'ctö\] with mud 52.13
\[hü'wétså'wåt\] he married 26.14

This change from a terminal to a medial position effects sometimes the dropping of a whole syllable.

\[målkwó'wåte\] younger brother 72.1
\[il målkwó'wåtå\] they are younger brothers (mutually) 84.20

§ 11
Another effect due to this law is the weakening of the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. This change takes place regularly when two or more suffixes have been added to one and the same stem.

\[\text{lhínptsō'wat he takes him through}\]
\[\text{hů'místsō'wat he is marrying through}\]
\[\text{I marry thee will 184.6}\]

Consonantic Processes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. TYPES OF CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

Consonantic changes are few in number, and due to contact phenomena. The following are the processes affecting consonants:

(1) Consonantic euphony.
(2) Simplification of doubled consonants.

§ 13. CONSONANTIC EUPHONY

This law affects the palatal sounds only, and results from a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to assimilate, whenever possible, the consonants of the \(k\)-series to the character of the preceding or following vowels. As a consequence of this tendency, \(i\)-vowels are invariably followed or preceded by the anterior palatals, while \(u\)-vowels change a following palatal into a \(k\)-sound with a \(u\)-tinge (a labialized \(k\)).

\[\text{\textit{tā'nik} river 14.6}\]
\[\text{\textit{wix'lis} food 14.7}\]
\[\text{\textit{tahā'lik} quiver 66.26}\]
\[\text{\textit{w'nek} hair 50.3}\]
\[\text{\textit{g'mg'ümís} rain}\]
\[\text{\textit{tsō'yux} small 20.5}\]
\[\text{\textit{mā'luk} paint 10.2}\]
\[\text{\textit{wol'us} head 30.14}\]
\[\text{\textit{mēl'd'kuk} salmon heart 34.25}\]
\[\text{\textit{gō'ye} all 9.3}\]

Instances are not lacking where actual palatalization has taken place, or where an anterior \(k\) has been changed into a palatal \(k\) so as to conform to the character of the vowel following it.

\[\text{\textit{k'â'd'lat he shouted 36.7}}\]
\[\text{\textit{gak'eleni'we ù mën} they began to shout 24.22}\]
\[\text{\textit{k'â'd'wat he pecks at it 20.9}}\]
\[\text{\textit{k'â'wîtêm some one is pecking}}\]

§§ 12-13
The only cases of consonantic assimilation that occur in Coos are the changes of sonants into surds, under the influence of a following surd.

\[\text{ya'bas maggots 40.12} \quad \text{xya'bas yap'titsa lâ} \ldots \text{maggots ate up his} \ldots \text{(literally, maggots ate up his} \ldots \text{)} 40.6\]

\[\text{bisk'eto y'xuxmx he had it (the} \quad \text{pE'si'k'âtsem a cup give me} 68.17\]

\[\text{water) in a cup 128.25}\]

§ 14. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLED CONSONANTS

Doubled consonants are simplified in consequence of the tendency to avoid the clustering of too many consonants. The process consists in the simplification of a long (doubled) consonant, when followed by another consonant. Owing to the fact that only l, m, n, and y appear in doubled (long) quantities, they are the only consonants that are affected by this law.

\[\text{mîlat he swam 30.7} \quad \text{mîl'tE'qem he swam (out) 100.16}\]

\[\text{tc'tlats he was astonished 22.28} \quad \text{tc'tlltsE'xem he was astonished 128.15}\]

\[\text{hî'nap he went through 22.11} \quad \text{hînptso'wat he took him through}\]

\[\text{nmâ'henet it is (crowded) with} \quad \text{xmâ'hentîtc like a person 30.22, 23}\]

people 20.1

§ 15. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations in Coos are expressed by means of one of the five following processes:

(1) Prefixation.
(2) Suffixation.
(3) Reduplication.
(4) Syntactic particles.
(5) Phonetic changes.
The number of prefixes is very small, and by far the majority of grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes and syntactic particles. Reduplication, although frequently resorted to, is used to express only a limited number of categories; while the phonetic changes are very rare, and exhibit a decidedly petrified character.

§ 16. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All stems seem to be neutral, and their nominal or verbal character depends chiefly upon the suffixes with which they are used. Consequently two different suffixes—one of a verbal and the other of a nominal character—may be added to the same stem, nominalizing or verbalizing it, according to the requirements of the occasion. In the following pages a distinction is made between verbal and nominal stems, which is based solely upon the sense in which the stem is used.

All prefixes express ideas of an adverbial character.

By far the majority of verbal suffixes indicate ideas of action and such concepts as involve a change of the subject or object of the verb. Hence ideas indicating causation, reciprocity, reflexive action, the passive voice, the imperative, etc., are expressed by means of suffixes. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes. Only semi-temporal ideas, such as the inchoative, frequentative, and transitional stages, are expressed by means of suffixes; while the true temporal concepts are indicated by syntactic particles. Instrumentality and agency are also indicated by suffixes.

All local relations are expressed by nominal suffixes. Abstract concepts are formed by means of suffixes.

Ideas of plurality are very little developed, and, with the exception of a few suffixes, are expressed by different verbal and nominal stems. Distributive plurality occurs very often, especially in the verb, and is indicated by suffixes or by reduplication. Reduplication expresses, furthermore, continuation, duration, and repetition of action.

A great variety of concepts are expressed by syntactic particles, especially ideas relating to emotional states and to degrees of certainty.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,—one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU) and the other the exclusive (I AND HE).
The demonstrative pronoun shows a variety of forms, but does not distinguish sharply between nearness or remoteness in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is very well developed, exhibiting special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and the distributive, which are indicated by means of suffixes.

The syntactic structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, and is characterized by the facility with which the different parts of speech may shift their position without changing in the least the meaning of the sentence. Incorporation and compound words are entirely absent, and the various parts of speech are easily recognizable through their suffixes.

**MORPHOLOGY (§§ 17-95)**

Prefixes (§§ 17-24)

The number of prefixes is small. Three of the six prefixes found in this language — namely, the local, discriminative, and modal — must have originally expressed one general idea incorporating these three concepts, because the phonetic resemblance between these suffixes is too perfect to be a mere coincidence. In addition to these prefixes, the article and the personal pronouns may be treated in this chapter, as they are loosely prefixed to the nominal (or verbal) stems, and in a great many cases form a phonetic unit with the words that follow them.

§ 17. The Articles le and he

The article le, or he, is used in the singular and plural alike, and may denote a definite or indefinite object. The definite article indicates an object that actually exists or that is intimately known to the speaker. No fixed rules can be given for the occurrence of the two different forms le and he, but the following general principle may be said to hold good: he tends to occur at the beginning of a sentence and after words ending in vowels, dentals, and sibilants; while le occurs in all other cases.

he hatâ' yims (1) mîw'sô' wê' (2) kô' d'wat (3) he to' qmas (4) the woodpecker (4) is pecking at (3) the lucky (2) money (1) 20.15
hî'nî stô' q le di'lôl there stood the young man 22.27
wûndj to's îhêni he di'lôl thus was thinking the young man 24.13, 14
s'ënkê le lëtâ sticking out was the earth 6.7 § 17
The article very often performs the function of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, and in such cases is to be rendered by he, she, or it.

he'it le he'laq le wi'ngas u temi'snätc (in order) to gamble he arrived, the spider's grandson 66.20, 21
he tsu'tsu he was killed 96.14

The article has a general nominalizing function, and when prefixed to adverbs, adjectives, etc., gives them the force of nouns.

he gös dil k'ya'ai's tsxawi'yat everything separately he put down 48.18, 19
gös dil lai'z'tset hax kwä'na'tc (of) everything was started the appearance (i. e., everything began to have its present appearance) 12.7
he qa'ites the length
mä 'il le eh'ente mä yä'lanä surely, (whatever) the far-off people were talking 66.13
la" he'äl kwä'lel le e'k'i'lolo ts that (was) their sweat-house, which you found 62.25
qi'ne ûle le e'Òowä'yextä'ís qa"wa I am the one whom you wanted last night 50.25, 26

In some instances the article is prefixed to the personal pronoun of the third person singular for the sake of emphasis.

ta le'xä lau qats ënìex and he, he was just alone 68.2
la le ëlvä lau pento'wai ûl lõwë'wat and they, they whale are eating 130.13

It is also prefixed for the same purpose to the demonstrative pronoun la".

lela" qal'axey'vre these began to flop around 17.6
qante lela" laa'yam wherever these went 22.17, 18

In certain local phrases the article prefixed to the whole and followed by the local term very often expresses local relation.

he de'msit ntcenë'nîs ha" til'qtsu at the edge (of) the prairie they sat down 22.15
he tskwa'z'lis nhal! stö'waq at the lower part (of) the fir-tree he stood up 26.17

(For the article as a possessive prefix, see § 98.)

§ 17
§ 18. **The Personal Pronouns**

The following are the personal pronouns in Coos:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Exclusive</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person</th>
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<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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There is no special form for the third person singular, which is expressed by the mere stem or by the article.

- **he'nis di²l ɣk'ilo'wit** big something I saw 62.21
- **tsi'qalqal** merely you are sleeping 68.19
- **a'yu to'hits** indeed! he hit it 13.3
- **is all'i cani hanl** we (two) will play 38.11
- **mə xwin wutxal' yat** a man we (two) brought home 128.8
- **tsō iic le'γi** now you two (are) well 120.20
- **a'yu úx xé'í** surely they two went down into the water 54.16
- **hin pi'í pí hanl** we will go home 120.21
- **cin sqats hanl te te'wádl** you will seize that fire 40.18, 19
- **asō toic il wu'tve** again here they returned 30.5

The second persons dual and plural for the imperative form of intransitive verbs are `ice$` and `cin$` respectively, instead of `ic` and `cin`.

- **ice$ stōnq** you two stand up! 120.15
- **tsi'xîi icex dji** here you two come! 82.13
- **cin$ lōnq** you get up! 30.19

But compare—

- **ic hemá'yè** you two lay him bare! 24.10
- **tći ic q!mi'tse** this you two eat! 120.16
- **tći cin liel'yè teq k'èla** there you put this my hand! 80.19

The pronoun of the third person plural (`il`) very often precedes the article or the possessive pronoun of the third person singular in order to emphasize the idea of plurality.

- **göₕs di²l la² te!le'wat, ɪl le melú'kukw, ɪl le ptsá, ɪl le mil'w'was** everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails 34.25, 26

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——21

§ 18
The numerical particle **'k'** both very often precedes the dual pronouns in order to emphasize the idea of duality.

*tsō 'k' qaadx'nto úx x'ntset* now both (of them) got on top

In the same way the particle *gōw* all is placed before the plural forms in order to bring out the idea of plurality.

*la' gōw wāndj úl lā'xem* these all that way are talking

As has been remarked before, the pronouns are loosely prefixed enclitics. They form no integral part of the word, although with a few exceptions they precede immediately the noun or verb to which they belong. They are always placed before the prefixes enumerated in §§19–24.

*'k' úx nkwa'xla* both of these have bows (literally, both they two [are] with bows)

*tsō qa'lovi'we* now I commence to eat

*ic xyaanto'wis* you two from what place (are)?

*úl k'!āxāa*p they have no water (literally, they [are] without water)

The personal pronouns are contracted with the negative particle *in* into *ni NOT, en THOU NOT*, etc. (see §9). The prefixed personal pronouns are also used in the formation of transitive subject and object pronouns (see §46).

**§ 19. Inchoative qa-**

This prefix denotes the commencement of an action. The verb to which it is prefixed takes, with a few exceptions, the suffixes *-we* or *-ye* (see §§32, 35).

*d'yu qa'lovi'we* indeed (she) commenced to eat

*gate'neheni'we* (he) began to think

*úx gavelāni'we* they two commenced to fight

*tsō úx ga'ywati'ye* now they two commenced to travel

*gamiti'ye* (he) commenced to swim

When prefixed to an impersonal verb or to a noun with a verbal force, the suffix is omitted.

*lā' l'ahā'was la'u ga'xto'w* her garments (these) commenced to get stiff

*ga'ywumata'ris* (he) commenced to travel around (literally, [he] commenced the traveling)

§ 19
§ 20. Privative k'lä-

It has the same function as the English suffix -LESS. With the possessive pronoun, it expresses absence (p. 399).

'il k'lä'te!wü'l they (have) no fire 38.1
k'lä'te!wü'lat (she) swam around naked (lit., without clothes) 86.1
k'lähu'was mits'ült'ye suddenly she became pregnant (literally, without delay she became pregnant) 10.7

§ 21. Adverbial n-

This prefix may be rendered by IN, AT, TO, ON, WITH. When preceded by the article or those pronouns that end in a vowel, it is suffixed to them, and the unit thus obtained is loosely prefixed to the noun. The same rule applies to the discriminative and modal x-.

al'wüt le mà nl!lä'yas he killed (all) the people in the village 112.9, 10
å'yu yu'twe län yixü'wex surely he came ashore at his house (and not là nyüü'wex) 36.6
love'tat he di'łöl läl nmöl'k'e ran the young man to that basket 28.27
nxala'wis la" he'laq with heat she arrived 24.9

n- in the sense of WITH very often exercises the function of our auxiliary verb to HAVE, TO BE. In such cases the noun to which it is prefixed takes the verbal suffix -e or -a (see § 44).

mvültine là k'ha'yeg his excrements are bloody (literally, with blood [are] his excrements) 20.6, 7
is nhümöl'k'ëhe we two have wives (literally, we two with wives are) 10.9
näwnt mà la" tc!pä'ya" nk!â'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, many people those braided with ropes are) 46.8, 9
ntc!a'ha dö! animals (lit., with "walkers" something [that is]) 46.1

§ 22. Locative x-

The prefix x- signifies FROM.

aqante la" sün x!t'ëtsa from where that one scented it 22.24
xqal tqanıts from below he strikes it 28.1

When prefixed to nouns, the nouns usually take the adverbial suffix -e!tc IN (see § 67).

xkval!lo!tc yadj! I came from the sweat-house (literally, from in the sweat-house I came)
In some cases the nouns take, instead of the suffix -eHc, the adver- bial prefix n- (see § 21).

ha'lkwit he k‘ā hāx nk'wo'nts he took the rope off his neck 98.23 (literally, he took off the rope his from on neck)

§ 23. Discriminative x-

The prefix x- occurs very often with the subject of transitive verbs, and denotes the performer of the action. (For x- preceded by the article or pronoun, see § 21.)

kās tō'hits hew dēlōl almost hit it the young man 20.20, 21
kwo'lau hou'its lex mīto' tānāte ice made the father-in-law 26.27, 28
xy'l'cē dā'mīl lo' ha'ltquit one man to him came 15.5
in kwad'niya lex wū'ngas hōmīk: not knew it the Spider-Old- Woman 58.9, 10

x- is always prefixed to the subject of the sentence when the sentence contains both subject and object, or when the person spoken to may be in doubt as to which noun is the subject of the sentence.

hōw'mīstswō'wat lex dēlōl le yū'xwō hōmīk'e married the young man the two women 26.14
k‘īō'wit he wīw‘lis lex hōw'mīs saw the food the woman 64.16, 17
k‘īō'vit lex dēmīl le xā'nis saw the husband the sick (man) 128.11, 12
sqa'ts hūl hōw'mīk: lex swat seized that old woman grizzly bear 102.21, 22

x- is never omitted as a prefix when the subject of the sentence is an animal, an inanimate object, or any part of speech other than a noun.

xx’iml yk‘īlō’witū the bear saw me (but xx’iml yk‘īlō’wit I saw the bear)
xya’bas yapt’tsa là p‘lik’is maggots ate up his anus 40.6, 7
ak‘d nak: he’dito lex wōdā’yas sticking out is (the) tongue the snake 42.1, 2
xgaine’es kās tswā’wat cold (weather) nearly killed him 32.7
swit nīō’hītsū some one hit me
nī kwad’niya xwīt I don’t know who (it is)
ex’niax x‘λ’ōwit lōp’itetc alone (they) got into (the) basket 34.19, 20
xla’a vōxta’ya that is the one (who) watched it 94.6

§ 23
In E'yI xktm'naHc it does not look good (literally, not good [the manner of] looking 34.18

30.4, 5

xdo'nt la+w Lō+wLō+w wax many (persons) her were clubbing 80.4, 5

x- is always prefixed to the vocative cases of nouns when they are used with the possessive pronouns. This is due to the desire on the part of the speaker to avoid ambiguity or obscurity of meaning.

tā'i nes ho+w'miś halloo, my wife! 54.2

ēdji nes dā'mił you come, my husband! 70.16

ēdo+wHyo+xtal'is hawu nes o'vi!ā you shall take care of me, oh, my pet! 86.20.21

ēdji nes temā'miś you come, my grandsons 82.12, 13

ēLō+w nes k't'la sit down, my father

While the vocative cases (especially for nouns expressing terms of relationship) have special forms, the omission of the discriminative prefix could nevertheless obscure the meaning of the sentence, as the possessive pronoun coincides with the form for the personal pronoun.

Thus, if in the sentence ēLō+w nes k't'la, the nes k't'la were deprived of its discriminative prefix, it might mean YOU sit down. I (AM THE) FATHER. Since, however, the action is to be performed by the person addressed (in this particular instance, “the father”), it is discriminated by the prefix x-. Such an ambiguity can not occur in sentences where the vocative is used without the possessive pronoun, where the prefix is consequently omitted.

ēLō+w phā'k: you sit down, grandfather! 108.14

milx'I'em l w'mā make me (necessarily) lunch, grandmother! 114.5

§ 24. Modal and Instrumental x-

This prefix may be best translated by IN THE MANNER OF. Its function is the same as that of our English suffix -ly. There is an etymological relation between this suffix and the discriminative and locative x-, although I was unable to ascertain its exact nature. The suffix -tc is frequently added to stems preceded by the modal prefix x- (see § 36).

xLō'wentc k'wo'nts entirely Lō'wentc loWit tat all (seals) ran

he swallowed her 102.23 (into the water) 56.9, 10

xtc'toi ḣwā'la how are you? txc'toi ye īluw'toi what do you

(literally, in what way you think? (literally, what your do?) 36.13

heart?) 6.9; 7.1

wa'lyeq'to il kwimā'è'wat as salmon they look upon it (literally, in the manner of salmon they see it [wa'lyeq salmon]) 130.14

§ 24
xpiye etc qatnuwani'we backwards she commenced to pull them (literally, in the manner of going home [p'ewpi he goes home]) 80.8, 9

in wā'yuwitc ə'tsa a small amount she gave her (literally, not in the manner of enough [ə'yu sure enough]) 64.21

qā'wits hew t.'e'c'tc I finished shoving (literally, I finished in the manner of . . .)

This prefix is used frequently to express the idea of instrumentality. The noun is then usually followed by the adverbial suffix -etc (see § 70). The idea of instrumentality is here so closely interwoven with that of modality, that the instrumental use of a modal prefix is very natural.

k'iwint wnik'laqetc he shot at him with an arrow (literally, he shot at him in the manner of an arrow) 22.16

pa'd hit he lo'phi xwi'dyegeetc full (was) the basket with salmon 36.1

lex tsyna'heetc l'ā'ts with the thunder language he spoke 18.9

xmi'k'e'etc tōwi'tini'ye by means of a basket he was dropped down 28.9, 10

Suffixes (§§ 25-80)

§ 25. General Remarks

The number of suffixes in Coos is quite small when contrasted with the numerous suffixes found in some of the neighboring languages. This number appears even smaller when we take into consideration the compound suffixes that consist of two, and in some cases of three, independent suffixes. A still more sweeping reduction may be obtained through an etymological comparison between the different suffixes. There can be little doubt that if the language, in its present status, would lend itself to an etymological analysis, many suffixes, apparently different in character and even in form, could be shown to be derived from one common base. Thus it is safe to say that the suffix -t primarily had a general verbal character, and that all the other suffixes ending in -t are derived from this original form. This assertion is substantiated by the fact that the present transitive suffix -ts is added to a number of stems that have already been verbalized by the general verbal -t suffix, and that the causative passive suffix -et is always preceded by the transitive -t or -ts (see § 26).

In the same manner it may be said that -s was the general suffix indicating nouns, and that all nominal suffixes ending in -s eventually go back to this nominal suffix.

§ 25
This theory of a close etymological connection between the different suffixes is practically proven by a comparison of the various adverbial suffixes ending in -tc. Such a comparison will show that all these suffixes must have been derived from one universal form, which may be reconstructed as *tc. Furthermore, all the suffixes expressing distribution have the element n- in common, which consequently may be regarded as the original suffix conveying the idea of distributive plurality; the more so, as in the following instances n- actually denotes distribution.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k'e'la} & \text{ hand 48.17} & \text{k'e'lnato} & \text{ltō"w'x'its he rubbed her in his hands (literally, with each}} \\
\text{d'y} & \text{ it came 52.8} & \text{le d'yí'ńit} & \text{they came (singly) 52.17} \\
\text{k'tsas} & \text{ ashes} & \text{k'itsis'ñetc} & \text{tēp'ńit tet with ashes he marked himself [all over]} \\
\text{cine ti'k'e} & \text{ you stand! 122.10} & \text{tsel'nē ñāx tēkine} & \text{side by side they two were standing 62.22}
\end{align*}
\]

There also seems to be an etymological connection between the suffix denoting neutral verbs and the suffixes expressing the passive voice, although in this case the relation is not as transparent as in the instances mentioned above; and there may have also existed an original relation between the verbal suffixes that end in -u.

The following list will serve to illustrate better the theory set forth in the preceding pages. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the reconstructed original suffixes, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear to-day.

**VERBAL SUFFIXES**

*-t general verbal
*-t transitive
-ts transitive
-eet causative passive
-et causative passive
-i neutral
-āyu, -ē'yu, -ēyu passive
-āya* passive participle
-īyavca (?) agency
*-n general distributive

\[
\begin{align*}
-nē', -nā & \text{distributive} \\
-ānē & \text{distributive} \\
-īnē & \text{distributive} \\
-kiña & \text{distributive} \\
*-u & \text{modal (?)} \\
-u & \text{transitional} \\
-ū & \text{present passive} \\
-ū & \text{transitive subject and object pronoun} \\
-ū & \text{reflexive plural}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 25
**Nominal Suffixes**

- *s general nominal
- *-ts nominal
- *-es, *-tes abstract
- *-enís abstract
- *-aówas abstract
- *-nóówas abstract
- *-ómnís verbal noun
- *-sí verbal noun
- *-ís local
- *-ís ordinal

* *-tc general adverbial
- *-tc modal verbal
- *-âtc (?) suffix of relationship
- *-etc local
- *-étc, *-ëtc local and modal nominal
- *-ëvötc local
- *-ëtc instrumental

All suffixes may be classified into two large groups as verbal and nominal suffixes; that is to say, as suffixes that either verbalize or nominalize a given neutral stem. I have included adverbial suffixes in the latter group, on account of the intimate relation between nominal and adverbial forms.

**Verbal Suffixes (§§ 26-55)**

**Transitive Suffixes (§§ 26-27)**

§ 26. Transitive -t, -ts

- *-t. This suffix may have been originally the verbal suffix par excellence. It points out not only the active, transitive idea, but also presence of the object of a transitive action. It has frequently a causative meaning. It transforms impersonal or passive verbs into transitives, and verbalizes any other part of speech. It is usually suffixed to the bare verbal stems whenever these end in a vowel, nasal (m, n), or lateral; in all other cases it is preceded by a or ï, making the suffix *-at or -it. No phonetic rule has been discovered that will show when *-at or -it ought to be used. It may, however, be suggested that *-at denotes transitive actions not yet completed, while -it designates a finished, transitive action. These connectives disappear when other suffixes are added to the transitive -t.

\[\eta p^{\text{ï}}\text{'t}\] I blow it away
\[p^{\text{ï}}\text{Î} \text{he} \text{dî'lôb}\] blew away the young man 26.21
\[\eta k^{\text{ï}}\text{'wít}\] I lose it
\[k^{\text{ï}}\text{wít} \text{le'ax dà'mîl}\] got lost their (dual) husband 22.9
\[\nu^{\text{ï}}\text{'pit}\] I burned it
\[x^{\text{ï}}\text{'pî}\] it burned down 58.12
\[\nu^{\text{ï}}\text{'lîtoít}\] I slacken it
\[x^{\text{ï}}\text{ëltîc}\] slowly 17.7
\[t^{\text{î}}\text{likwít lâl hâwôôô'k'ca there covered (them) that old wo-
man (with blankets)}\] 82.14

§ 26
There are a few stems denoting intransitive ideas that occur with this suffix.

\[ p'nat \ le \ we' \ hel \] shaking was the stomach 58.24

\[ kw'ii\text{l}t \] (the bow) was bent 64.3

-\( \text{ts} \). This suffix has the same function as the previously discussed -\( \text{t} \). Not the slightest difference could be detected in the use of these two phonetically different suffixes.

-\( \text{ts} \) is either suffixed directly to stems ending in a vowel, nasal (\( m, n \)), or a lateral, or it is connected with the stem by means of \( a \) or \( \dot{a} \). The only phonetic law that I was able to observe in reference to the two connecting vowels, is that \( \dot{a} \) can never serve as a connective between the suffix -\( \text{ts} \) and a verbal stem ending in the velar surd \( q \).

\[ q\text{tsaw}l\text{ts} \ I \ greased \text{it} \]
\[ q\text{gai}l\text{n}t \ I \ cool \text{it} \]
\[ q\text{xaw}l\text{ts} \ I \ made \text{him warm} \]
\[ \text{h}\text{w}y\text{a}l\text{wits} \ le \ \text{to}ci\text{l}m\text{til} \ I \ grew \]
\[ \text{h}\text{u}w\text{its} \ le \ \text{to}ci\text{l}m\text{til} \] (it) grew up, the
\[ \text{t}r\text{its} \] spruce-tree
\[ \text{sh}\text{wits} \ le \ \text{to}ci\text{l}m\text{til} \] (it) grew up, the
\[ \text{spruce-tree} \]
\[ l\text{k}\text{ris} \] she poured it 102.12
\[ \text{p}\text{w}k\text{w}its \ I \ made \text{him a slave} \]

\[ \text{slave} \]
yu'w'misits I marry (her)  
ha'w'mis woman 70.3

tauw'uletc tsix'its in the fire  
tsix' here 106.8

he held him down 106.5

in t'luxats not he looked at it  
tso e'ilx now you look 17.3

40.17

ux la'ats le ha'w'mak'e they  
la he went (intransitive) 22.18

two went over (the water)  
the women 128.4

qp'luxats I scatter it  
gow's qalto la' p'ylew everywhere

it is scattered 46.16

pokwilnë t'ILAqats opposite  
ilt'ila'qai they were living (literally, sitting) 84.20

down 112.12

qilta'ts I am painting it  
qilt'its I painted it

There are a few stems that, in spite of this transitive suffix, are sometimes translated as intransitive verbs.

in lowa'kats she was not home (literally, not she was sitting)  
(lowa'kats to sit [down]) 58.7

datu'es mis qa'lyeq la'ats lan to'pît five salmon got into his basket

34.23 (but k!á han n k'wint'nl yla'ats a rope I'll put around

thy neck 94.12)

palts ts q'tmand'tis full (is) that fish-basket 36.7 (but pa'ts le ywad'wex

lax te!lul'yaqa'qa'lyeqetc he filled the house with dried salmon

36.3, 4)

gow's mîl'âtc he qa'ya'nts he always becomes afraid (of it) 126.1

That the transitive -t was originally a general verbal suffix, may best be demonstrated by the circumstance that in a number of instances neutral stems are verbalized by means of the suffix -ts, after they had previously been changed into verbs by means of the -t suffix. This double verbalization may be explained as due to the fact that the verbal function of the -t suffix was so conventionalized that it had become entirely forgotten.

mu'xwit she felt for it 80.21  
eswuxitits'mi han I want to feel of

you 108.18

ly'ulwit I rub it  
ii yu'w'fits he'illet they rub themselves 52.13

ux in nî'x'witem those two no

one touched 122.25

nî'x'wits he touched him 106.20

nu'cat he l'ltâ shaking is the

earth 16.2

§ 26
§ 27. Causative -iyat

This suffix is always added to the bare stem of intransitive or neutral verbs. Stems ending in the palatal surd k or palatal spirant x palatalize these final consonants (see § 13).

\[\text{a'yu p\textsuperscript{3}y\textsuperscript{2}yat h\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{3}t\textsuperscript{2}m\textsuperscript{2}z} \quad \text{indeed, \, p\textsuperscript{3}x\textsuperscript{3}p\textsuperscript{3}} \quad \text{he went home} \]
\[56.11 \quad \text{he took home that old man} \]
\[30.13 \quad \text{l\textsuperscript{1}t\textsuperscript{\textit{\text{a}}}t\textsuperscript{3}e ts\textsuperscript{3}xaw\textsuperscript{3}yat \text{ on the}} \quad \text{ts\textsuperscript{3}wi} \quad \text{he lies} \]
\[20.12 \quad \text{ground he laid (them) down} \]
\[36.20, 21 \quad \text{y\textsuperscript{3}kw\textsuperscript{3}li\textsuperscript{3}yat \text{ to k\textsuperscript{3}w\textsuperscript{3}w\textsuperscript{3}} \quad \text{I roll} \quad \text{k\textsuperscript{3}w\textsuperscript{3}li\textsuperscript{3}n\textsuperscript{3}m} \quad \text{be balt\textsuperscript{3}m\textsuperscript{2}s} \quad \text{continually} \quad \text{that ball} \quad \text{rolling is the ocean} \]
\[6.2 \quad \text{d\textsuperscript{3}d\textsuperscript{3}l\textsuperscript{3}y\textsuperscript{3}l\textsuperscript{3}yat \quad \text{something I start} \quad \text{l\textsuperscript{3}a} \quad \text{he went} \]
\[22.18 \quad \text{in hel\textsuperscript{3}aq\textsuperscript{2}yat \text{ we took him up} \quad \text{hel\textsuperscript{3}aq} \quad \text{he climbed up} \]

There is practically no difference between this causative suffix and the transitive -ts, except for the fact that -ts seems to be regularly suffixed to stems ending in velar or palatal consonants. There is only one verbal stem ending in a velar surd (g) that takes the causative suffix -iyat; namely, the stem helaq- TO CLIMB. This stem infixes an a between its final consonant and the causative suffix, as shown by the last example above.

The reason why the causative -iyat is suffixed to this stem, and not the transitive -ts, may lie in the fact that there are two stems helaq-differentiated by accent only (see § 5); namely, helaq TO ARRIVE, and helaq TO CLIMB UP.

Since the transitive -ts has been suffixed to helaq TO ARRIVE (compare hat\textsuperscript{3}y\textsuperscript{3}ms halq\textsuperscript{3}ts\textsuperscript{3}w\textsuperscript{3}yat SHE BROUGHT THE MONEY 78.13, 14), the causative -iyat may have been suffixed to helaq TO CLIMB because confusion is thus avoided.

When followed by the pronominal suffixes, -iyat is contracted with them into -it\textsuperscript{3}m\textsuperscript{3}i, -it\textsuperscript{3}t\textsuperscript{3}s, -it\textsuperscript{3}tu, and it\textsuperscript{3}ta (see §§ 9, 11).

\[\text{x\textsuperscript{3}woin s\textsuperscript{3}p\textsuperscript{3}i\textsuperscript{3}t\textsuperscript{3}d\textsuperscript{3}m\textsuperscript{3}i} \quad \text{we two will take you home} \]
\[126.19, 20 \quad \text{e ts\textsuperscript{3}xaw\textsuperscript{3}w\textsuperscript{3}t\textsuperscript{3}a} \quad \text{is you laid down} \]
\[\text{y helaq\textsuperscript{2}t\textsuperscript{3}u} \quad \text{he took me up} \]
INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 28-31)

§ 28. Intransitive -aai

This suffix signifies that a verb usually transitive is without an object. It is consequently employed in the formation of intransitive verbs. With the exception of one or two sporadic instances, it is always suffixed to the reduplicated form of the verbal stem, thus denoting a repetitive action.

Iqa'ai lāl tō'mīl he believes that, old man 28.16
I'nta dīl he'wwi'me'te yōyō'waai bad something with us is stopping 24.3
yuu'e yī'nat hāh gōws mō'lātc lōkulu'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), there always is lightning 16.6, 7 (lō'waku' lightning)
gōws mō'lātc tseśla'qoaai le'ūl slaq'd'ewat she bathed him 60.6
kwēnēl always bathing was their sister 84.21, 22
ak'la'laai le' hūw'mīs shouting is the woman 56.5
sōtsa'd'ataai he lāl hūw'mīl'k'ca s'à'at murder-dance
she was usually dancing the murder-dance, that old woman 116.26, 27
inēl'naai (it is) nothing 122.27 īn not 10.8
kwēkwa'd'ataai he was dreaming - kwōdīts dream 98.7
ing 98.6

§ 29. Reciprocal meen

-meen is usually preceded by the transitive suffix -t or -ts. Owing to the fact that the consonantic combination of t or ts + m is not permissible, this suffix appears as -emī (see § 4).

I sqd'tsemēen they seize one another
Iš'yu ax hālt'ítemeeen surely they two gambled together 38.23
I tsi'xtsemen le nōw' sk'ālī hata'yīms they divided among themselves the Giant-Woman's money 80.29; 82.1
I i'niye kwēen'i'xemēen they no longer know one another 46.9
ax wil'lemeen they two fight (together) 48.16

§ 30. Suffixes Defining the Subject: qem, -xem; ū; -ēm

-qem (-xem). This suffix serves a double purpose. The stem to which this suffix is added must have a singular subject. There is another suffix, -ū, which expresses the same idea for plural subjects. This suffix will be treated in § 52 (p. 357).

§§ 28-30
(1) When preceded by the transitive suffix -t or -ts, it assumes a reflexive character, indicating that the subject of the action is at the same time its object.

*hän k'e'la la'atsxem le x'ōwā'yas into her hand came the snake (literally, put herself in) 86.4

Compare mūk'e'le etc yla'ats le x'ōwā'yas into the basket I put the snake

ywce hū'ine alican'wag la'u tēi he ē't'k't'xem whenever children played, she there would go among them (literally, put herself among them) 70.19, 20

tqā'lilet etc pand'qtsxem in the sun he is warming himself 32.8
tswā'yat lō'w'qtsxem in the morning he got up (literally, got himself up) 34.22

*ytc.īō'tsxem hanl I will go to bed (literally, I lay myself down will)

Compare tēi ūl te!ū there they went to bed 50.12
di'loqtsxem hāt tō'mīl is making himself young that old man 22.7

 yüqantce' wıtc toci'tsxem back she drew (herself) 64.29, 30

tso l'hā'tsxem le hū'w'mīs then dressed (herself) the woman 86.6

Compare ylha'ts le yla' I dress the child

hī'nī tē'k'e'le'mītsxem there it let itself down 90.6

(2) When suffixed to the bare verbal stem, especially to intransitive stems or to stems expressing motion, it conveys the idea to be in a position, to be in a condition, to be in the act of. For this last-named purpose the suffix -xesem is mostly used.

wā'nđıy llā'xesem that way he ā'yu lūt̨̄s indeed he spoke 16.2

is talking 15.8, 9

ač'wac in kwîl'xesem still not kwîlt he bends it 62.29

bent (it is) 62.29
tsemīl'xesem klimnts le klā' hat the neck is fastened with a rope (literally, fastened condition, neck, with a rope)

92.4

hī'nī k'w ē't'k'xesem there he may be among them 94.28

hats kwa ā'yu la'u wīnā'qxesem just like a rainbow (it is) spread 14.6

out 32.14

tso bēlš'xesem now he is warming his back 32.18

In tc'lle'xesem te lā'nīk' not in a dry condition is that river 14.6 (tc'llis dry 166.2)
tsō lē'twā' hel'kwexem now from there she came out 108.28 (hd'l-kwṉ̃] she took it out 60.1)
hats hel'nîhen ti'wixem t̕ la̕ t̕ s̕ x̕ ū just many times it coiled up as it lay 88.1

In some instances the suffix -xem is used to express the place of a certain action. This use of the suffix is in perfect accordance with its general function of indicating the condition, or position of an occurrence.

gante lē t̕ ol'wē'xem where the ̕ u t̕ ol'ō̕ u they went to bed 50.12
bed was (literally, sleeping-place or place of lying down) 86.7
hō'nī t̕ f̕ k'l'mixem there was ̕ in f̕ k'l'elm it did not sink 136.7
a deep place (literally, the place of sinking something into the water) 84.24
č̕ y't̕ w̕ em a circle (literally, y̕ ŋ̕ y̕ t̕ t̕ ò̕ u̕ wat I surround it it is clear around [it])
(See also § 40.)

-čm. This suffix indicates that an indefinite person, unknown to the speaker, is the subject of an action. It is always added to stems expressing transitive ideas, or to stems that have already been verbalized by means of the transitive suffixes -t or -ts (see § 26). The pronominal objects of actions performed by an indefinite subject are expressed by prefixing the personal pronouns (see § 18) to the verb.

kwač̕ nîya he knows it 26.19 ̕ ač̕ kweč̕ nîy̕ e̕ m those two somebody knows 19.10
nîxt- touch ̕ ač̕ ̕ ñ̕ t̕ w̕ e̕ t̕ e̕ m those two not somebody touched 122.25
latsā'ya he goes after it 94.7 latsōt̕ e̕ m somebody went after it 92.13
hā'k'!̕ u̕ t̕ - to draw up hō̕ k'!̕ w̕ e̕ t̕ e̕ m somebody draws him up 92.9

§ 31. Neutral -i, -eʃ

-ʃ (-eʃ) is employed in the formation of neutral verbs. It changes the a-vowels of the stem to e (see § 7).

yō'q̕ e̕ le hā'w̕ īl it split, the basket 8.1
kā'q̕ s k̕ w̕ a̕ t̕ c̕ !̕ h̕ e̕ i almost as if it t̕ c̕ !̕ h̕ a̕ s̕ he put it out 128.26
went out (the light) 128.19
lō̕ w̕ e̕ n̕ e̕ n̕ e̕ t̕ ̕ w̕ t̕ the whole thing ̕ w̕ t̕ I slide it down
(wholly) slid down 26.19

§ 31
kwa kow'nis pEçُ le di'lol like ṣpEç'til I blow it away
(a) feather blew away the
young man 26.21
gõüs di'il hā'witi everything yhā'wits I grow it
grew up 9.3, 4
w'pî le yā'vex it burned w'pî'tsi débris 58.19
down, the house 58.12, 13
wōtcōhe*teć la ā'la it took wōh*tcas sickness
sick, his child 42.17
č*pl*ctcît hant you will get pl*ctcît tet he warmed himself 32.8
warm 100.27

In a few instances verbs having this suffix were rendered by the
passive voice, which may have been due to the fact that my informant
could not express in English the intransitive neutral idea implied in
the suffix.

ā'yu hā'k'wítì xgavex indeed, yhā'k'wîts I draw it up
he was drawn up from
above 98.2
maw'xax'āl ă xw'luwx was man'xat he chewed him up 68.10
chewed up his head 124.3
k'l'wó'wô le hāw'mìs was lost k'l'wó'wit he lost it
the woman 54.19

**SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 32-35)**

§ 32. Inchoative -lwē

-lwē indicates the commencement of an action, and is suffixed to
verbal stems expressing active or transitive ideas. If the stem to
which it is to be suffixed does not express such an idea, it is preceded
by the verbal -enî (§ 45), but never by -t or -ts. It may also be pre-
ceded by the distributive -ānî (see § 37). The verbal stem must always
be preceded by the prefix qa (see § 19).

ā'yu qaʃōnîlwē indeed (she) begins to eat 24.11
tsō hant qaF allocate lwē now (he) will begin to work 26.18
qaʃîlwē (he) commenced to hunt 106.16
ṭl qaskwèyānîlwē they begin to talk (among themselves) 66.21
 qaʃînîheńlwē (he) began to think 20.7
qaʃiurentînwē (he) began to jump about 102.15
qak'erînwē ū mën began to shout at each other, the people
(literally, mutually) 24.22
qaʃîlênîlwē (he) began to swim around 176.16
§ 33. Frequentatives -e'wa(t), -o'wa(t)

-e'wa(t) indicates repetition, frequency or duration of action. The verbal stem to which it is suffixed is very often reduplicated, thus bringing out more clearly the frequentative idea. It is added to stems regardless of whether they express real transitive actions or not.

tkwilë'wat te to'qmas he is following that woodpecker 22.2
asö' ëlnë'wat again he is setting the basket 34.23
xqa'was la'w kwina'ë'wat from above these are looking at it 6.4
këns ëi'ñ ai'ë'wat everything he is killing 68.23
a'yu xwändj hoxkwë'wat surely that way he has been doing it 92.8
töi ël k'ow'lowë'wat be hë'me there they are putting in the children 52.9
lehe'wë'la'w hithhë'ë'wat side by side she put them down 60.4
k'.l'ink'ë'ë'wat he pälë'ye he was trying the weight 78.18

This suffix appears sometimes as -ë'wat. For an explanation of this seeming irregularity, see § 2.

Aw kwiskwi'wat they two are yskwi'wat hanl I will inform him 20.25
xl'et'wat I am hitting him xl'ets he hit her with a club with a club 64.28

Instead of an initial reduplication, the verbal stem very often appears with a reduplication of the final consonant, denoting continuity and distribution of action (see § 83).

yt'ë'cõ'cõ'wat I am shoving it të'ëts he shoved it 32.24
(back and forth)
ǐl'pőcoatcõ'wat they are warming pl'ë'tëts tet he warmed himself (themselves singly) 32.8

§ 33
-ōvwat(t) exercises the same function as -ēvwat. The only difference between the two suffixes is, that -ōvwat is added to the verbs already amplified by the transitive suffixes -t or -ts, while -ēvwat can be suffixed only to the stem.

\[\text{tsō ax tkwīt}sōvwat\] now they two \[\text{tkwīlēvwat}\] he follows him 22.2

\[\text{tc! etc hīl!} \text{Etsovwat he pen-} \text{hī'yet! he came ashore 32.5} \text{Lō'wat ashore it brought a whale 88.22, 23} \]

\[\text{tō halqtsōvwat there she is bring-} \text{he'luq he arrived 22.22} \text{ing it to him 72.8} \]

\[\text{aqalqstśōvwat he is frightening a'lgas fear 66.4} \text{him frequently 100.24} \]

In a few cases -ōvwat is suffixed to the verbal stem.

\[\text{itiśōvwat le tē' lātā he recognizes this (here) land 30.28} \]

\[\text{k'enē'ya' ńwīlōvwat food I am looking for 54.4} \]

\[\text{ytsxaū'wat hant'I will kill him 26.22} \]

The suffixation of -ōvwat instead of -ēvwat in these instances may have been caused by the law of euphony, as these stems end in a u-diphthong. Thus, the stem of \text{tsxaū'wat} is \text{tsxaū'-}, as shown by the form \text{tsxawī'yat (36.21) he laid him down}, consisting of the stem \text{tsxawū'-} and the causative suffix -yāt.

Whenever the pronouns expressing both subject and object are suffixed to verbs ending in -ōvwat, this suffix changes to -ōwūt (see § 11).

\[\text{ē'hwūmitsōwītō'mi hanl I will marry you 184.6} \]
\[\text{qhalqstśōwītū he brought me frequently} \]

§ 34. Frequentative Causative -aēvwat

There can be little doubt that the -ēvwat in -aēvwat is identical with the frequentative suffix -ēvwat, discussed on p. 336. Owing to the fact that a number of verbal stems ending in a take the suffix -ēvwat, there is a good deal of confusion between these two suffixes.

\[\text{wăp la' ladēvwat water carried them away 46.16, 17} \]
\[\text{3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12——22} \]

§ 34
\( \text{ic} \text{slni'vat you two are hiding him 24.11} \)
\( \text{ux} \text{slni'yat they two hide him} \quad 24.9 \)
\( \text{la} \text{ to'i'mil'at he (on) that} \quad \text{to'i'mil mat 7.3} \)
\( \text{(they) are sitting usually (literally, they caused it to} \quad \text{be a mat} 38.3 \)

Compare, on the other hand,
\( \text{wqa'wax} \text{ux kwina'at from kwina- to look} \)
\( \text{above they two are looking} \quad \text{at it 6.9} \)

§ 35. Transitionals -\text{aye}, -\text{nts}, -\text{u}

-\text{aye} indicates a transitional stage,—a change from one state into another, that has already taken place. It is suffixed mostly to nouns and particles, although frequently it is found added to verbs. It may best be rendered by IT BECAME, IT GOT, IT TURNED OUT TO BE, or by the passive voice. Stems ending in a vowel other than \( i \) insert an \( h \) between the final vowel and the suffix (see § 10), while stems ending in -\( i \) contract this vowel with the following -\( i \) of the suffix into a long \( i \) (see § 9). When suffixed to a stem that has an \( a \)-vowel, it changes into -\text{aya} (see § 7).

\( \text{demste'te} \text{ux lhinp'iye they two came through a prairie (literally, through a prairie they two went through, it got) 112.1} \quad \text{(thil'nap he went through 22.11)} \)
\( \text{kwina'at'at'iye he began to look at him} \quad \text{lin kwina'we:i'ye we became poor 28.21} \)
\( \text{telimi'y\text{e c}^5 \text{it got summer, indeed (telim summer 162.20) 30.20} \quad \text{a'yu} \text{t'w\text{e}ye surely it was a canoe (\text{tx: canoe 44.20) 126.10} \quad \text{yixe'n galimi'y\text{e} one morning (literally, once morning it got) 20.4} \quad \text{\textit{il he'liye they became rich 84.17}} \quad \text{\textit{qh\text{a}'nah\text{a}ya I became active (\text{qha'na I am active)} \quad \text{qa'wah\text{a}ya in the evening (literally, whenever evening it got) \text{(qa'wa evening 50.26) 82.7}} \quad \text{\textit{siln\text{e}h'iye le'ux m\text{ia}laq joined le'ux m\text{ia}laq s\text{ir}'n\text{e} their (dual) together became their two arrows joined together are rows 13.4 \text{13.7}} \quad \text{\textit{il h\text{a}'k\text{a}l\text{u}ti'ye they were drawn \textit{il h\text{a}'k\text{a}l\text{u}t\text{a} they are (being) drawn up 30.1 \text{up 30.1}} \quad \text{ts\text{o} ol xw\text{a}ndji'ye now surely it was that way (literally, that way it turned out to be) 8.2} \quad \text{\textit{qe\text{h}i'ye la\text{u} to I became the owner of that thing (literally, me it became [to whom] that belongs)} \quad \text{\textit{§ 35}} \quad \text{\textit{}} \)
When suffixed to the negative particle in, or to the contracted forms of in + the personal pronouns (see § 9), it forms new particles, ’ét’nye, n’ye, èn’ye, etc., which were always rendered by no longer, thou no longer, etc.

It appears as a suffix to the stem hé’ni-, forming a compound hé’niye a while, long time.

-he’nihen tô’wik瘾 many times it coiled 88.1 (-en multiplicative suffix [see § 75]).

he’niye āx we’länü a long time they two fought (together) 132.8

in he’niye xil’nis la ā’la not very long sick (was) his child 42.17, 18

It takes the place of the inchoative suffix -iwe (see § 32) in verbs not expressing a transitive, active idea, or not transitivized by the transitive suffix -enì. (See also § 19.)

qamili’ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3

āx qayuwati’ye they two commenced to travel 12.6

-ŋts conveys an active transitional idea. The difference between this suffix and -iye lies in the fact that the change indicated by the latter came about without any apparent active cause; while -ŋts expresses a change from one state into another, that presupposes a subject of the action. It is hence best rendered by to change one into.

ŋtö’míntøŋs Øt’ët I into an old man change myself
dil’ölintqm lāl tô’mìl he is making himself young that old man 22.7

de hé’me è la’makh tō la’ yix’-nctqts (of) the children the bones only she gathered up (literally, she changed into one) 60.3

§ 35
-u indicates a change from one state into another, that has not yet been completed. It is often preceded by the transitive -t.

- 14.5
- 44.18
- 14.7
- 128.29

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 36-43)

§ 36. Modal -tc

This suffix appears in four different forms, as -ite, -ute, -te, and -eetc.¹

-ite is added to verbal stems ending in a consonant, except m, n, and any of the laterals; -ute is suffixed to stems ending in vowels; -te is suffixed to stems ending in laterals; and -eetc, to stems ending in m or n. This suffix is always added to the bare stem. There can be little doubt that this suffix is identical with the adverbial suffix -tc (see § 25); the more so, as it implies, to a great extent, an adverbially modal idea. The Coos expresses by its means our participial ideas. The verb taking this suffix is usually preceded by the discriminative and modal prefix -x- (see §§ 23, 24).

qawîla'we xha'k'ite (he) commences to look around crawling (literally, in the manner of crawling; hak- to crawl) 32.10
qal'ya't hew n'iv'te I commenced to touch it (literally, I commenced in the manner of touching)
tzw'x'tc ñl dôwâ'ya to kill they want him 66.22
in le'vâ xxovi'na'te it does not look good (literally, not good as to the manner of looking) 34.18
qâ'wits hew tol'ite I finished splitting (qtciclc'wet I am splitting it)
qâ'wits hew heme'etc I stopped bringing it out (qhaml'yat I brought it out)
qal'nis vnene'etc l^ân into the water wading out she goes (literally, she goes down into the water in the manner of wading; yvi'nat I am wading out) 58.2

§ 36

¹ [This is obviously the adverbial -tc, and might have been discussed with §§ 67-70.—Ed.]
This suffix is often used in certain phrases to express abstract ideas. Thus, for instance, the Coos will express our sentence *I am getting hungry* by *I am going into hunger.* (See § 118.)


§ 37. Distributives -nē’, -mī; -ūnī; -āyah; -waq

-nē’, -mī, indicate distribution of an intransitive action. They are suffixed to intransitive verbs. Related to this suffix is the distributive -ūnī (§ 72).

-kat’emis tkwil’nē’ le djinit
five (winds) following each other (they) keep on coming (singly) 52.17

tsel’nē’ úx b’k’ine side by side
they two were standing 62. 22

le’ úx m’laq sīl’nē’ their (dual)
their arrows are joined together (literally, one after the other) 13.7

k’ā’yenī he’ úx wov’ lux’ úx
k’āy- (?)

L/e’x’ simt against each other
with their two heads resting
they two go to bed 72.14

pōkw’l’nē’ lōwaka’e’wat opposite one another (they)
were sitting 120.4, 5

hīto’nīhī’ye ā mēn were assembled people, came together people 46.1

-ūnī is suffixed to stems expressing transitive ideas. It is often accompanied by duplication of the final stem-consonant (see § 83).

-il tsak’i’nū’ nī they help one another (mutually)
-il l’w’i’nā’ nī they examine one another
-il tsak’ku’kwā’ nī they continually spear one another
-il tqa’nū’ nī they mutually strike one another

-tqa’nlts he struck it 28.1

§ 37
they mutually cut one another's hair

This suffix often changes the quality of the vowel of the stem to which it is suffixed (see § 7).

they began to gamble 66.25
they kill one another
they two fight 66.15

When suffixed to intransitive verbs or to verbs expressing motion, it denotes an idea that may best be rendered by back and forth, to and fro, up and down, etc. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the close relationship that exists between the idea of mutuality and the idea expressed by these phrases.

both ways is rolling the ocean 6.2
from the shore they run continually 36.18, 19
there is going back and forth (through his fingers) the little girl 108.21
I keep on going out and coming in I keep on rising and sitting down continually looking for some supply was the Spider-Old-Woman 60.12

-ā'yam is suffixed to intransitive verbs and to adjectives only. Its exact function is obscure. With verbs, it invariably denotes an action performed by more than one subject; while when suffixed to adjectives, it seems to convey the idea of the English suffix -ish. Most likely it has a distributive character, which the informant, not well versed in the English language, could not bring out.

two women coming (towards him) he saw 126.13, 14
surely now they were walking (singly) 32.7

§ 37
tsō'it x'îmā'gam xā'petc he washed it with luke-warm water 120.9, 10
xqā'gam whitish, gray (literally, white here and there; xqā's white)

-waq. I am not quite sure whether this suffix really expresses distribution. All attempts to explain it have proved unsuccessful. It is suffixed to verbal stems, and may be preceded by the suffix -enā (see § 45). The best explanation that may be offered is that it implies a continual action performed by more than one subject, although instances have been found where the action was performed by a single subject.

tso h'xa7n xaf'pEtc he washed it with luke-warm water

120.9, 10

a?^^'^am whitish, gray (literally, white here and there; xqa'shito)

Waq, 1 am not quite sure whether this suffix really expresses distribution. All attempts to explain it have proved unsuccessful. It is suffixed to verbal stems, and may be preceded by the suffix -enl (see § 45). The best explanation that may be offered is that it implies a continual action performed by more than one subject, although instances have been found where the action was performed by a single subject.

50.12

Compare also the nouns

sîtsā'waq a whale (?) 28.7
qalētā'waq ferry-men 140.15

The Passive Voice (§§ 38-42)

§ 38. Present Passive -ū

This suffix expresses the present tense of the passive voice. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem with initial reduplication (see § 82).

asō' tci tci'k!ū le tcI'le again tī'k!wīts he shut (the door) 74.6

there is shut the door 74.27

gō's qante la'qeqal'cū lā wI'-tīn in all directions that is being clubbed his blood 10.5, 6

x'w'intū le tcI'wāl is being x'intī'yat he runs with it 42.5
taken away quickly the fire 42.5

ceqū'lu le'ū yāw'wev fire is cūl- to burn being set to their house 58.11, 12

By adding to this suffix the transitional -īye (see § 35), the past passive is obtained. The initial ĭ of -īye is contracted with the -ū into a long ū (see § 9).

qeqaicū'ye là ilunce'tcīs it was beaten to pieces, her heart 76.8
mā pepīlsā'ye the person was torn to pieces 48.16 (pīls- to crush)
§ 39. Past Passive -āyu, -ēyu, -iyu

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem, which is invariably reduplicated. Stems ending in w, l, m, and n, immediately preceding these suffixes, appear with a glottal stop, no matter whether the stop is inherent in the stem or not (see §§ 81–82).

mā qesqā'yu the person was sqā'ts he seized it 68.8
    seized 10.4
ūl ai'aiw,wāyu they were killed aiwīt he killed them all 68.11
    58.8
qaxL'il'yu he was struck xl'its he hit her 64.29
    96.14
tsōk'ix'ti'yulemiwšō'we'al'ec
    now was slid down the lucky
    stake 94.3
kwīl'cēv'lēyu le hatā'jīms
    a'lec was rolled down the
    money stake 92.11
ā'yu kwīlkwō'yu surely it was yllkwō'at I roll it down
    cut off 76.15
yexyīwento'ne'yu it was gath-
    yīxā'ntct'ls she gathered up 60.3
    ered up 84.16
hemhe'snē'yu it was brought heml'yat she took it out 62.23
    out

§ 40. Passive -īyeqem

This suffix is composed of the transitional -iye (see § 35) and the generic -qem (see § 30). It serves a triple purpose, according to the manner in which it is suffixed to the verbal stem.

(1) When suffixed to the bare stem, it expresses a verbal conception of a continued character, which may best be rendered by the passive voice. This rendering is due largely to the fact that the -iye-element of the suffix predominates in these cases.

lōwīt- to watch lōwīl'yeqem he is watched 40.26
    he is watched 30.23, 24
kwōna- to see lin kwōnā'yeqem hani we shall be
    seen 30.23, 24
wil- to look for gōv's ganto wil'yeqem everywhere
    she is looked for 56.1, 2
    t'qanlī'yeqem xuwal'walyetc she is
    continually struck with a knife
    80.5

§§ 39–40
The verbal stem is often reduplicated in order to bring out more clearly the passive idea and the idea of continuation (see § 82).

\[ \text{Lō}{ }^u- \text{ to buy} \]
\[ \text{Lō}{ }^u{ }^u- \text{ to club} \]

(2) When preceded by the transitive suffix -t (see § 26), it denotes an intransitive action, of which the person spoken of is the object. Hence it was sometimes rendered by the reflexive.

\[ \text{Lō}{ }^u \text{ to buy} \]
\[ \text{Lō}{ }^u{ }^u \text{ to club} \]

(3) When preceded by the verbal suffix -enē (see § 45), it denotes a continued action, the subject of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

\[ \text{hā}{ }^t\text{cīt! story 20.1} \]

§ 41. Causative Passive -eet, -et; -iyēm

-east expresses the passive voice of causative concepts. It is suffixed to the verbal stem. The object that is caused to perform the action is always in the singular. The suffix -iyēm is used for plural objects (see § 53). This suffix may best be rendered by TO BE CAUSED TO.

When suffixed to stems with a-vowels, it changes to -aat (see § 7).

\[ \text{qō'wax } \text{L'alē e'et le ćō e'kēlēt! high up was their (dual) father (literally, was caused to be high up; L'ā- to be in an upright position) 22.1} \]
\[ \text{k'ēlēl īsitē slēne'et he dīlōl in a corner hidden was the young man (literally, was caused to be hidden; slēn- to hide) 24.12} \]
\[ \text{qā'lyisētc tsēnē'et le ēkō to the sky was stretched out the rope (tsen- to stretch) 28.20} \]
xaya'nī la k·i'ūwít tand'at old dog-salmon only he saw washed ashore (penlō'wai ta'ntan whale came ashore) 130.3
ā'yu tc!le'et te bo'wāít surely it was burning, that fire (literally, was caused to burn; qtc!il'k'yet I kindle the fire) 38.8
l!nōwadt'at qk·i'łōw'et le tc!ile' open I found the door (literally, caused to be open I found the door; l!nōw- to open)
w'nec'et he is on top (qk·i'nl'k'yet I put it on top) 10.1
yləd'at I was carried away (literally, caused to go; yla I go)

In certain instances this passive causative idea is not so apparent, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the verbal stem can not be analyzed.

ā'yu l!le'et surely he kept his eyes shut 17.3
wändj lōuel'et telinnet'etc that way it is eaten among us 130.11
ʔinxex huelve'et lōu'd'kats alone it was supposed she lived 60.10,11

-et. This suffix is always preceded by the transitive -t or -ts. Under the influence of the a-vowels of the stem, it changes to -at (see § 7).

gō's di'il lai'z·tset everything was started (literally, caused to go [start]; yla I go) 12.7
wāap he'mtset water was laid bare 42.8
yuwe' qEłōw'iset he'la'kwe'to whenever it got caught on a limb (literally, was caused to hang on a limb) 46.24
tsā'yuwanītc pʰl'stat to pieces (the tree) was smashed (literally, was caused to smash to pieces) 124.14
he'hats l!nōw'tat le tc!'ile suddenly came open a door (literally, was caused to open [itself]) 62.5
tc!etc stō'q'tset hāl tō'm'il ashore was put that old man (literally, caused to stand [up] on the shore) 32.4, 5

In certain cases the passive idea is hardly recognizable.

gʰ'mtset it commenced to rain 42.9
cʰ'ha'k'wat you were left 62.20
qa'lyeq ha'ltset salmon came into the river 34.13
laye'ltat he became hungry 32.9

Lōu'd'k'at she ran (literally, was caused to run [?]) 56.9
la'n' hanl uxe E'a'le'tet these two shall work 68.26
Lōw'd'hai le di'ilōl was running the young man 78.27
xwändj E'a'le'tet lex ʔlooxqai'n that way doctors him the medicine-man (literally, works on him) 128.16, 17
§ 42. The Past Participle -āyānu

The past participle is formed by means of the suffix -āyānu added directly to the transitive or intransitive stems.

\[ tc!pā'yānu k'iā \] braided ropes
\[ 44.22 \]
\[ lā'yānu ā \] a painted face
\[ 10.3 \]
\[ q!člo tcōlo'yānu k'i-hišt (with) \] split pitch-wood
\[ 84.1 \]
\[ wālo'pete lē'ān leto'la'yānu \] into the water
\[ 166.2 \]
\[ hēnisā'yānu \] enlarged
\[ 50.17 \]

§ 43. The Imperative

The imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by means of suffixes added directly to the verbal stem, or, more frequently, following the transitive suffixes. Intransitive verbs, with the exception of a few stems indicating motion or ideas like to hear, to listen, have no special suffixes. The imperative of such verbs is brought out by the (prefixed) pronouns of the second persons singular, dual or plural.

\[ xle'itc e'E!ūts \] with it speak!
\[ 16.5 \]
\[ e'tEqa \] wake up!
\[ 68.18 \]
\[ cine' lōq \] you (pl.) get up!
\[ 30.19 \]
\[ e'albcani \] you play!
\[ 60.21 \]

The following are the imperative suffixes in Coos:

-ě. It follows the transitive suffixes -t, -ts, and expresses, beside the imperative idea, the presence of the object of the verb. The causative verbs in -iyat, and frequentatives in -e'wat and -ōwat, lose their final (transitive) -t when followed by the imperative suffix. It very often changes the broad a-vowels of the stem into e-vowels (see § 7).

\[ k'iwi'nte \] shoot it
\[ 13.3 \]
\[ cin sitō'nte le wōngas hūwāhik' \] you go and see the Old-Spider-Woman!
\[ 64.12, 13 \]
\[ te'i to q!mōtse this you two eat! \]
\[ 120.16 \]
\[ ic hēnē'yē you two bring him out! (literally, cause him to come out!) \]
\[ 24.10 \]
-en expresses, besides the imperative, the absence of the object of the action.

tôhîtsên you must hit!

lôwên eat! 28.26

g'êk'wa qai'nas ìc t'âlîtsân a little closer to the fire you two dance! 82.19

-Ex, -Eq, suffixed to a few stems, expressing motion, or ideas like to hear, to close one's eyes, etc.

êk!â'ye rex temî'sî listen, O grandson! 114.7

tsâw'ë te!ôw'we Rex here you must lie down! 126.20, 21

lîlê'ë x shut your eyes! 16.9

cîn la'ëx you (pl.) go! 30.23

hamîl le'eq (you) may take a rest!

-it suffixed to verbs that are transitivized by means of the transitive suffix -âya (see § 47).

lâ'tsît êphâk: go and get your grandfather! 28.19

âx tâtsâ'ya they two went to get him 20.14, 15

lôw'zitît yêtet watch yourself! 74.3

lôw'zâ'ya he watches it 92.3

in dôwâ'it don't desire it!

dôwâ'ya he wants it 92.12

-Em expresses, besides the direct object, the indirect object of the first person. It is hence suffixed to verbal stems expressing ideas like to give, to make. It is highly probable that this suffix may be an abbreviated form of the pronominal -âmî (see § 46).

§ 43
This suffix expresses a command involving the second person as the actor, and the first person as the object of the action.

From a purely morphological standpoint, it is a modified form of the pronominal suffix -āis (see § 46).

Compare ets ak’intā’ís hanz you shall help me 80.16

In addition to these suffixes, the Coos language very often emphasizes the imperative idea by means of the particle L (see § 92).

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 44-45)

§ 44. Auxiliary -e (-a)

This suffix exercises the function of our auxiliary verb to be. The noun to which it is suffixed invariably takes the adverbial prefix n- with (see § 21). The phrase thus obtained expresses the idea to have. This suffix is always changed to -a whenever added to a stem having an a-vowel (see § 7).

nt! ‘c’l’ta’wue le mī’laq flint points have the arrows (literally, with flint points [are] the arrows; t! ‘c’l’ta’u flint point) 62.27

no’l’tine lā k’w’hā’yeg bloody are his excrements (w’l’tin blood) 20.6, 7

nkw’mā’wa le c’l’tā horns had the pet (literally, with horns was the pet; k’w’mā’w’ horn) 88.7, 8

nā’nt mā telpā’ya’u nk’lā’ha many people have braided ropes (literally, braided with ropes [are]; k’lā rope) 46.8, 9

It very often transforms nouns into intransitive verbs without the aid of the prefix n-. In such cases the -a form of this suffix is mostly used.

Xba’ltijdj la’k!wis’i’sa from the west it blew (k!wā’si’is wind) 52.4. 5

Rkuwâtis’i’sa I dream (kwā’tis a dream)

Xd’ p’c’ti’ti la’x’l’sa clear around him (he put) slime (x’l’is slime) 128.18

§ 45. Verbal -enī

This suffix expresses the idea to do, to make something. It is usually suffixed to nouns and to verbal stems that do not imply an
active, transitive action. This suffix is changed to -an̂i whenever added to stems having an a-vowel (see § 7).

\[\text{350} \quad \text{PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 46-50)}\]

The Coos pronouns expressing both subject and object of a transitive verb are, morphologically speaking, suffixes added to verbal stems, or to stems that have been verbalized by means of some transitive suffix. The transitive suffixes may, however, be omitted, as the mere addition of these pronominal suffixes is sufficient to transform an intransitive stem into a transitive verb. These suffixes occur in four different forms, expressing the first, second, and third person as subject, and the first and second persons as object, of the action, regardless of number.

First person subject—second person object (sing., dual, plural) -a'mi
Second person subject—first person object (sing., dual, plural) -a'si
Third person subject -a, -il

Third person object—first, second, third person subject, no suffix.

Since these suffixes are frequently preceded by the emphatic or abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns (see §§ 18, 96), the phonetic unit expressing the combined pronouns may be said to consist of the following elements:

1. Personal pronoun for the subject.
2. Personal pronoun for the object.
(3) Verbal stem.
(4) Suffixed form of the combined pronoun.

The following peculiarities in the manner of expressing the transitive subject and object pronouns are noteworthy:

(1) The forms having the third persons as object indicate the subject by the pronouns ƞ for the first persons, ơ for the second (see § 18), regardless of number.

(2) The form expressing the second singular subject and the first singular object uses for its pronominal prefix the second singular ơ.

(3) All other forms indicate the object by prefixing the personal pronouns according to number.

(4) The pronominal prefixes expressing the subject occur in singular form regardless of the actual number that is to be indicated (see § 96).

The following is a complete table showing the formation of the combined pronouns for the different persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I, We Two, We</th>
<th>Thou, Ye Two, Ye</th>
<th>He, They Two, They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td></td>
<td>ơ-ăs</td>
<td>ƞ-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thee</td>
<td>ơ-ămi</td>
<td>ơ-ă</td>
<td>ơ-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him</td>
<td>ƞ-</td>
<td>ơ-</td>
<td>ơ-ų</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I, We Two, We</th>
<th>Thou, Ye Two, Ye</th>
<th>He, They Two, They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us (Incl) (Dual)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ơs-ų</td>
<td>ơs-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us (Excl) (Dual)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ơs-ų</td>
<td>ơs-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (Dual)</td>
<td>ơ-ămů</td>
<td>ơ-ă</td>
<td>ơ-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Them (Dual)</td>
<td>ơ-ąų</td>
<td>ơ-ą</td>
<td>ơ-ų</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I, We Two, We</th>
<th>Thou, Ye Two, Ye</th>
<th>He, They Two, They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>ơn-ăs</td>
<td>ơn-ų</td>
<td>ơn-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>ơn-ămů</td>
<td>ơn-ą</td>
<td>ơn-ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Them</td>
<td>ơn-ąų</td>
<td>ơn-ą</td>
<td>ơn-ų</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The personal pronouns are usually omitted for singular subjects. They always occur, however, when the subject is dual or plural.

ne'xkan wândj ơs'-iltă'mı́ I that way told you 17.2
ơs'nuxštisă'mı́ I (want to) feel of you 72.10
ĕlaă'mı́ I take you along
ųtō'Hits I hit it 64.5
ştō'Hits you hit it 20.19
tō'Hits he hit him (or it) 20.19
ųtō'Hitsu me he hit
ştō'Hitsu thee he hit
cin kowna'ul you he sees
xwin ơs'-pîtă'mı́ hänı́ we two thee will take home 126.19, 20
cin ơs'-itsı'-ntă'mı́ we thee (came to) see 130.19, 20

§ 46
The personal pronouns for the objective third persons dual and plural always precede the subjective pronouns.

\[ \text{ux } \eta \text{to'} \text{hits them two I hit} \quad \text{il } \eta \text{to'} \text{hits them you hit} \]

The suffixes for the combined pronouns are added either directly to the bare verbal stem or to the verb amplified by the transitive -t and -ts. This double system of adding the suffixes for the combined pronouns to the verb serves as a means of differentiating the duration of the action indicated by the verb. The bare verbal stem amplified by the pronominal suffixes denotes an action that has been performed more than once, or that has not yet been completed; while the verbs to which the pronominal suffixes are added after the transitive suffixes indicate actions that have been performed only once, or that are completed. The same purpose is served by the double forms of the combined pronoun having the third person as its subject. The suffix -il is always added to the verbal stem; while -û is suffixed to the stem, in addition to the transitive suffixes. It must be understood, however, that this interpretation of the double system of adding the combined pronominal suffixes does not apply to each individual case. Verbs with the pronominal suffixes added to the bare stem are frequently employed to denote past, completed actions, and vice versa.

\[ \text{ne'xkan } \varepsilon \text{wilâ' } \text{mî I am looking for you} \quad \varepsilon \text{wiluvîntâ' } \text{mî I have looked for you} \\
\varepsilon \text{wîvîntâ' } \text{mî I am cheating you} \quad \varepsilon \text{wîntsâ' } \text{mî I have cheated you} \\
\varepsilon \text{k'wîvîntâ' } \text{is you were shooting at me} \quad \varepsilon \text{k'wîntsâ' } \text{is you took a shot at me} \\
\varepsilon \text{sqîvîntâ' } \text{is you were seizing me} \quad \varepsilon \text{sqatsâ' } \text{is you seized me} \\
\varepsilon \text{k'wîvîntâ' } \text{is he was shooting at me} \quad \varepsilon \text{k'wîntsâ' } \text{is he shot at me} \]

The imperative transitive pronouns have been described in § 43. They are -em to me, -e's me.

§ 47. Transitive Verbs in -āya

Language in general has a number of verbal ideas, which, strictly speaking, do not imply any actions on the part of the subject; or denote actions, that, while intransitive, may be performed for the benefit of or in connection with a certain given object. Verbs like to know, to understand, to desire, to believe, to watch, to be afraid, etc.,
express ideas that are not real actions, but which may be used as such in connection with some object. Thus, I may know him, understand them, desire it, believe her, watch myself, etc. On the other hand, verbs like to go, to run away, etc., express intransitive actions that may be performed in connection with a given object. Thus it is possible to go to him, to run away from me, etc.

Coos treats the stems expressing such ideas as intransitive verbs, which do not take any of the transitive suffixes; but since these intransitive verbs may, without the aid of any additional grammatical device, become transitive, and imply the existence of an object (which is usually that of the third person), there is a special suffix -äya which indicates the (mental) process described above. This suffix, always added to the bare verbal stem, denotes an intransitive action that has become transitive by being used in connection with the third person object. It may therefore be called the “pronominal suffix,” expressing, besides the subject, the third person object of an intransitive verb.

\[áwalsá'ya\] they two are afraid of it 7.5  
\[álqas\] fear 66.4

\[ydówá'ya\] I want her 70.6  
\[tsixtí' dó'wa\] here wants to come back thy uncle 122.15

\[nejá'ya\] he ran away from it 42.4  
\[nej\] he ran away 100.16

\[x'naöstá'ya\] I am riding (a horse)  
\[x'net\] he is on top 10.1

\[Lqá'ya lex swá'l\] believed it the grizzly bear 94.25  
\[Ly\] - to believe

\[mitísí'ya\] she knows it 60.1  
\[mítísí\] wise 132.6

\[ín kwaá'níya\] (they) did not know it 86.12  
\[kwaán\] - to know

\[latsí'ya\] he went after it 94.7  
\[la\] he went 22.18

\[looxstá'ya\] he watched it 94.6  
\[looxst\] - to watch

\[il Lóoukwá'ya he Lístá they occupy the country 44.21  
\[Lóouk\] you sit down! 38.22

The plurality of the object is expressed by the affixed numerical particle héma all (§ 109), or by the separate suffix -itex (§ 54).

\[qílooxstá'ya hé'ma\] I watch them all

The imperative of this form has the suffix -it (see § 43).
§ 48. Subject and Object Pronouns of Verbs in -āya

The corresponding suffixes for the above discussed verbs, expressing, besides the object, also the subject of the first, second, or third person, are etymologically related to the suffixes treated on p. 351. They appear, however, in such changed form, that they require separate discussion. These forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I, We Two, We</th>
<th>Thou, Ye Two, Ye</th>
<th>He, They Two, They</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ē-yexṭāis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thee</td>
<td>ē'-yexṭāmi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ṇ-yexṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ē'-yexṭā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are suffixed directly to the verbal stem.

ēdōcā'yexṭā.mi thee I want
ēlūrīthexṭā.mi of thee I take care
ēlūrīthexṭā.is you take care of me 86.20
ykwec niyexṭu me he knows
ēdōcā'yexṭu thee he wants

The etymology of the first element in these suffixes (-yex-) is quite obscure. It may be suggested that -yex- is the adjectival suffix (see § 66), and -t the transitive (see § 26), although we are no longer able to understand the psychological principles underlying this peculiar formation.

§ 49. Transitive Verbs in -a

This suffix is preceded by the transitive suffixes. Its function is varied. It may have expressed originally the indirect object; but verbal ideas requiring both a direct and an indirect object are very few in number in the Coos language, and the functional scope of this suffix is much wider now, permitting its use for other purposes. Thus it is very frequently suffixed to transitive verbs where the object of the action is actually expressed, and not merely understood; and it is often, but not as a rule, used as a suffix denoting plurality of the object. The most plausible suggestion that can be offered in explanation of this suffix is that it may denote an action performed upon an object that possesses another object. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the predominating function of this suffix is that of a special characterization of the pronominal object.

§§ 48–49
§ 50. Verbs in -an̄ya with Direct and Indirect Object Pronoun

This suffix is composed of two suffixes, -en̄ (see § 45) and -āya (see § 47). The broad a-vowel of the second suffix effects the regressive assimilation of the -en̄ into -an̄, and the final vowel of -en̄ coalesces with the initial of -āya into a long ā (see § 7). It may best be rendered by TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF SOMETHING.

ỹkwa'_xalan̄ya I am making a bow out of it (kwa'_xal bow)  
ỹkwa'_xexan̄ya I build houses out of it (ỹxex house)  
law k′wen̄iyacan̄ya le qa'_lyeq he is making a supply out of the salmon (k′wen̄niya supply) 34.24
The a-vowels of this suffix very often change the e-vowels of the
stem to which they are suffixed into an a (see § 7).

*lā'nanā'ya* he made him feel sorry for it (*ā'nis* sick) 42.18

*nāpā'wisānā'ya* I made a hat out of it (*pā'wis* hat)

Whenever suffixed to reduplicated stems, this suffix is changed to

*ānā'ya*.

*aqā'lqsōnā'ya* la *ā'la* he became afraid of his child (*ā'qas* fear) 28.24, 25

*mētsma'tsōnā'ya* lex *šlō* he became acquainted with him, the
young man (*mē'tsis* wise) 116.1

*qā'jā'yōnā'ya* he became afraid of it (*qā'jā'ats* I am frightened
[I fear]) 42.3

**PLURAL FORMATIONS** (§§ 51-54)

§ 51. General Remarks

The question of plurality, as exhibited in the verbs, is, compara-
tively speaking, a complicated matter. The chief difficulty arises
from the fact that Coos accords a different treatment to transitive and
intransitive verbs, and that the phenomena connected with plural
formation are by no means of a uniform character. As in most other
American languages, the Coos intransitive verbs express plurality
of subject, while stems expressing transitive concepts distinguish
between actions relating to a singular object and those relating to
plural objects.

As a rule, plurality of the subject of verbal ideas is not indicated.
One and the same stem is used in the singular and plural alike. There
are, however, a few verbal concepts that express such a plurality
by means of different stems. While this question ought to be more
properly treated under the heading “Vocabulary,” it may neverthe-
less be found useful to give here a few examples of such different
stems.

§ 51
On the other hand, there are a few stems that seem to express singularity or plurality of subject by means of a grammatical process the history of which is not clear. This process may be said to consist in the change of the vowel connecting the suffix with the stem.

This process is the more puzzling, as it also seems to be used for the purpose of distinguishing between duration of action (see § 52). It is quite conceivable that there may be an etymological relation between these two phenomena, and that the phonetic similarity exhibited by them is more than accidental.

§ 52. Reflexive Plural -uí

In a number of cases intransitive verbs indicate plurality of subject by means of a suffix which is phonetically different from the suffix expressing the corresponding singular idea. This is especially true in the case of the suffix -qem, -xem (see § 30). This suffix is applied to singular subjects only, while the same idea for plural subjects is expressed by means of the suffix -uí, which is always preceded by the transitive -t or -ts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itsım 26.20</td>
<td>ne'tsi 74.1</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuwulme 10.3</td>
<td>yuwi'tit, yuwat- 12.6</td>
<td>to travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsvu 28.12</td>
<td>ha'yat 58.19, 20</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'qal 40.2</td>
<td>ts'il'misit 74.1</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xne''t- 74.30</td>
<td>xwailt- 22.17</td>
<td>to fly, to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leqa'w'we 42.18</td>
<td>e'qe 84.14</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t.º, 14.6</td>
<td>yà'la- 50.3</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóva'kats, 38.10</td>
<td>tîlu'qái 36.11, kwee'ti 50.7</td>
<td>to sit, to live</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etc!d'at you walk 120.18</td>
<td>il to!d'it they walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yax'yat I am whittling</td>
<td>il wa'yit they are whittling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi'd'als I dance</td>
<td>il e'e' t'a'lit you two dance 82.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoi'nat I wade out</td>
<td>il wi'nît they wade out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thë'them it is resting 88.16</td>
<td>il thë'tû they are resting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quwel'extexem I went to bed</td>
<td>ice' wël'extû you two go to bed 82.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ylôw'kâtxexem I sat down</td>
<td>il'êqisû (they) sat down 22.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ykwe'ilêtxexem I settled down</td>
<td>il kwe'ilêtxû they settled down 48.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysl'n'texem I hide myself</td>
<td>il sun'tû they hide themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 52
§ 53. Causative Passive Plural -\textit{iyEm}

The same principle is applied to intransitive verbs expressing passive causative ideas. Singular subjects are expressed by means of the suffix -\textit{et} (see p. 345), while plurality of the subject is indicated by the suffix -\textit{iyem}. The most perplexing problem connected with this suffix is the fact that its initial \textit{i} disappears before \textit{u}-diphthongs without changing the \textit{u} of the diphthong into a consonant \textit{w} (see § 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{slne'et} 24.12</td>
<td>\textit{slnv'ym}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{x'ne'et} 10.1</td>
<td>\textit{x'nilyem}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{lem'et} 90.18</td>
<td>\textit{lemlyem}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{q'etwe'et} 46.27</td>
<td>\textit{q'etw'yem} 84.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{n'we'et} 44.9</td>
<td>\textit{n'we'yem} 44.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{l'le'et} 22.1</td>
<td>\textit{l'le'yem} 144.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 54. Direct Plural Object -\textit{itex}

The idea of plurality of objects in transitive verbs is not clearly developed. The treatment accorded to the different stems is so irregular that no definite rules can be formulated. The majority of stems make no distinction between singular and plural objects, and occur in one form only. Other stems have different forms for the singular and plural; e. g., \textit{tsxa'-} to kill one, \textit{aiw-} to kill many, \textit{la-} to put in one, \textit{x'lu'lo'-} to put in many, etc.; while a number of stems seem to express plurality of object by means of the affixed numeral particle \textit{he}ma (see § 109), or by means of the suffix -\textit{itex}.

This suffix expresses the plural third person object, and may be added directly to the verbal stem, or after the transitive suffixes -\textit{t}, -\textit{ts}.

\textit{wol'tswit} \textit{a'ma'itex} (many) deer he pulled 88.12
\textit{a'yu'il} \textit{alam'itex} surely they headed them off 56.16
\textit{hats} \textit{l'we'ente} \textit{la'a} \textit{lal'itex} just all (wholly) she dragged them 80.9

§§ 53-54
§ 55. MISCELLANEOUS SUFFIXES

While the functions of the verbal suffixes discussed in the preceding pages are clear, and could be described fairly accurately, there are a few others that appear only now and then, and express ideas of a varying character. It is possible that these suffixes may represent the petrified remnants of grammatical formations that have become obliterated in the course of time. The following is a list of these suffixes:

-a. This suffix seems to express in a number of instances our infinitive idea.

\[\text{lnē'wat xwi'txwāt he is habitually hunting deer}\]
\[\text{ln'ta ē he le dā'nil hunting (had) gone the man 108.9}\]
\[\text{helmi'lis asō'la ln'ta next day again he went hunting 110.10}\]
\[\text{sla'qa'ēwat she is bathing ywe'n sla'qa la once bathing she went (literally, to bathe) 84.24}\]

In a few cases it has been found suffixed to neutral stems, and seems to denote impersonal actions.

\[\text{loq'- to boil}\]
\[\text{loqu'qua le s'as! was boiling the pitch 102.11}\]
\[\text{kwi'nā'was smoke 22.23 in kwi'nā not it smokes 110.14}\]

It is possible that this suffix may have the identical function with the -a (or -e) suffixed to the modal adverbs (see § 106), and it may consequently be related to the auxiliary -e (see § 44).

-e. I am at a loss to detect the exact nature of this suffix and its etymological connection with any of the other suffixes. In the few instances in which it occurs, it was rendered by the passive, or else as an abstract verbal noun.

\[\text{k'ūdō'wit she saw him 54.2}\]
\[\text{ā'yu k'ūdō'we i la' dijī surely it was seen as it was coming 52.7, 8}\]
\[\text{k'vōvits he found it 32.10}\]
\[\text{la i' x' k'v's her canoe was found 54.19}\]
\[\text{hā'wī he grew up 64.12}\]
\[\text{la ā ha'wīce it grew up (literally, goes its growth) 20.16}\]
\[\text{k'ā'lāt he shouted (at it) 36.7}\]
\[\text{ā'wī yk'e'le I quit shouting (literally, the shouts)}\]
\[\text{mi'lat he swam 30.7}\]
\[\text{ā'wī e'mi'le stop swimming (literally, finish your swimming)}\]

§ 55
-anu. This suffix occurs in two instances only, and expresses in both of them the infinitive. It seems to be related to the verbal suffix -enü (see § 45).

\[ yu'wel \] a pack 70.22  
\[ län\] he (went out in order) to pack (enü > anu [see § 7]) 162.25

\[ a'lec toy \] 92.10  
\[ mäh helag toü ali'canu \] people came there (in order) to play 90.26

-am occurs very rarely, and seems to denote the absence of the object of an action.

\[ qamits \] he eats it 32.9  
\[ hats hanlí e'q'amitsam \] just will you eat 42.23, 24

\[ län- \] to eat 17.2  
\[ län taw' he länwiyam \] she usually here eats 24.4, 5

**Nominal Suffixes (§§ 56-80)**

**GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 56-65)**

§ 56. Nominal -is

This suffix may be said to have a general nominalizing function. It is found suffixed to a great number of stems, and expresses general nominal ideas, including many of our adjectival terms. For a discussion of its etymological nature, see General Remarks, § 25.

\[ hän'wi \] he grew up 64.12  
\[ häv'is \] ready 5.4

\[ stöq' \] he stood 20.4  
\[ stöv'a'quis \] wall 90.18.

\[ L'iäts \] he spoke 16.2  
\[ Lë'yis \] language 16.1

\[ üuved'tois \] heart 5.3  
\[ k'elé'lis \] corner 58.13

\[ wix'ilis \] food 14.7  
\[ kvi'na'wis \] laziness 34.17

\[ helé'ysis \] salmon-roe 34.27  
\[ kvayel'his \] ridge, mountain 22.13

\[ hän'wis \] woman 24.6  
\[ kvâ'his \] ball 38.19

\[ balt'i'mis \] ocean 6.2  
\[ kvâ'nis \] feather 26.21

\[ pielik'is \] anus 40.7  
\[ k'wâ'wis \] wins 22.11

\[ pöw'kuis \] slave  
\[ ka'wis \] mouth of river 58.1

\[ plpa'wis \] hat 136.14  
\[ qa'vis \] day, sky, world 6.1

\[ tuma'lis \] custom, fashion 19.8  
\[ qva'mo'nis \] fish-basket 36.7

\[ tqä'lis \] sun 24.2  
\[ qa'motis \] mouth of river 58.1

\[ sik'elk'is \] shield 28.7  
\[ xala'wis \] heat 24.9

\[ tskvad'lis \] fir-tree 9.2  
\[ la'zilis \] mud 52.10

\[ toen'nis \] edge 22.15  
\[ lice'lis \] ocean beach 7.11

\[ gilom'nis \] breakers 8.1  
\[ lva'lis \] sand beach 58.1

§ 56
§ 57. Nouns of Quality in -Es, -Tes; -Enis

-ES, -TES. This suffix changes adjectives (or adverbs) into abstract nouns. No explanation can be given for the phonetic difference between the two suffixes.

he'mis big 14.5
k't'nis lazy
hū'wis poor 42.5
kat'e'mis five 5.4
pl'is heavy
wē'wis deep
mī'tēs wise 132.6
xā'wis hot 24.6
tē'ga'lis solid 7.6
wā'nis sick 42.18
tē'ollis sweet 32.27
le'mis raw 32.23
tē'ollis dry 166.2

-Es, -Tes.

he'i/iis big 14.5
hats kwa x'neik: hēmī'tes he xōwā'yas the snake was just as big as a hair (literally, just like a hair [is] the size [of] the snake) 86.2
nā'nt much, many 50.13
in kwoē nīyēm ītes'ēs he'īl nā'ntēs no one knew how many they were (literally, not knew they how [was] their quantity) 78.2
yqai'na I am cold
xqai'ēs kā's isvaw'wat cold nearly killed him 32.7
he'nīye a while 38.15
taw hemi'ees yxwaw'me (for) such length of time I travel 26.9
he'tēte rich 26.2
hethē'tes wealth
paa- to fill 15.7
la ā pāw'wes ke xā'p the water reached its full mark (literally, goes its fullness [of] the water) 44.19

-d'ento far 26.23
ehē'ntēs distance 52.16
qal long
qal'tēs length
kē'le'ēs black 162.13
kē'le'estēs black color
qat below 36.11
qat'ēs, the lower part, half 16.10

-Enis transforms adjectives expressing sensations and emotions into abstract nouns.

cinlqa you are hungry 70.12
īl wūn ā'yā lagē'nīs these we two died from hunger (literally, these we two [are] hunger-dead) 36.13, 14
qau'nēt he got angry 32.25
qau'wē'nīs anger, wrath 16.4
§ 58. Nouns of Location in -Em

This suffix expresses the abstract conception of a local idea. It is suffixed to adverbs only, and is (with one exception) preceded by the adverbial suffix -tc. It may best be rendered by the part of, the side of.

\[\text{lexa’tem hau’tqa’qal in the inside (part of my eye)}\]
\[\text{of the house the inside (part)}\]
\[\text{yiga’ntc Em a whale behind it was coming}\]
\[\text{they saw it in front coming}\]
\[\text{he liked his mother best (literally, it is [as] his first[-ness] he likes his mother)}\]
\[\text{the people (who on the) lower part (of the river) live}\]

§ 59. Verbal Abstract -awas, -nēwas

-āwas changes the verb into a noun. It expresses the abstract concept of a verbal idea. If the verb expresses an active, transitive idea, it is suffixed to the bare stem, while in intransitive verbs it is preceded by the intransitive suffix -enē (see p. 349). In such cases the final vowel of the transitive suffix disappears, and the a-vowel of -āwas effects the retrogressive assimilation of the stem-vowels and suffix-vowels (see § 7).

\[\text{c’alctet he is working}\]
\[\text{lo’vai c’alctē’was when he quit}\]
\[\text{Lōwe’wat she is eating}\]
\[\text{lo’vai Lōwe’was she finished (her) food}\]
\[\text{qul’hats I put it on}\]
\[\text{is all’canē we two play}\]
\[\text{al’canē’was bin ha’wets a game we (should) arrange}\]
\[\text{e’ge dead}\]
\[\text{ha’yat he gambled}\]

§§ 58–59
In one instance this suffix has been changed to -áwał.

gá’yaⁿts he is scared 126.1 in yū δīl gáyawáⁿwal hardly anything can scare him (literally, not very something scaring [to him] 40.24; gáyawáⁿwal a thing that scares)

-né⁵was. Composed of the distributive -né⁵ (see § 37) and the nominal -áwas. Hence it expresses an abstract concept that has a distributive character.

háqtsá’nlaxané⁵was láwá’kats she was sitting between his teeth (literally, his teeth in the [mutual] between[-ness]) 102.18 sówd’l laxané⁵was between the fingers 108.21 sqálné⁵was the space between the fingers, a crack (sqá’lExm it was sticking in a crack 62.8)

§ 60. Verbal Nouns in -ónís, -sí

-ónís. This suffix indicates that something has become the object of a certain action. It may best be rendered by what became the object of. Either it is suffixed to the verbal stem directly, or it is preceded by the transitive suffixes -t, -ts (see § 26).

íl yálaní they are talking 90.16 laⁿ íl yañtáoñís they begin to talk about it (literally, this they [have as their] object of speech) 76.22

qá’ítís I cut it k’ítísátónís lá kala she commenced to cut her foot (literally, object of cutting her foot [became] 80.21)

Loⁿ- to eat 17.2 laⁿ ló’nís i hák’íte laⁿ yínw’me this became his food while he walked crawling (literally, that object of eating [it became] while crawling that one traveled) 32.11

á’tsa he gave it to him 34.10 atsóñís gift 188.26

-sí is used in the formation of nouns from verbal stems. The best rendering that can be given for this suffix is the ruins, the remnants of.
ai'wit he killed them 68.11
w'pi' it burned down 58.12

It is very likely that the following example may belong here:

k'itsim'is, k'itsim'aisi half he k'itsim'isai'wit half of them 32.11

§ 61. Nouns of Quantity in -in

This suffix occurs in a few instances only. It is added to stems expressing adjectival ideas, and may be translated by piece, portion.

tca'yux small 42.6
qaic small 128.29
e'li' far 26.23

§ 62. Nouns of Agency in -ayawa, -eyiwe, -iyawa

These suffixes indicate the performer of an action. The -eyiwe form is added to stems with e-vowels (see § 7). Since the informant was frequently at a loss how to express in English the idea conveyed by this suffix, he invariably translated it by to go and (perform the action in question).

t'dalats he dances
L'w'enti he examined it 32.23
n'kk'in wood 102.2
mi'laq arrow 12.10
Löw to eat 17.2

§§ 61-62
§ 63. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place, -is

It is never suffixed to verbal stems.

\[\text{qa'ntcu where? 94.25} \quad \text{le'lsx medicine} \]

\[\text{tsd'yux small 20.5} \quad \text{qaic small 128.29}\]

It signifies \textit{where the . . . is}. It is added to nominal (or adverbial) stems only.

\[\text{kū's south} \quad \text{tsel'tix over here} \quad \text{xwiluxu' head 30.14}\]

\[\text{xkukwi'sume hī'yet! he came ashore} \quad \text{tseh'x'ume lō hew heu haw'we here on this side make a knot!} \quad \text{xwiluxu'me where the head is}\]

\[\text{ic xqantcu'wis from where are you two? (literally, your two selves' whence place) 126.14} \quad \text{wōn tē'éxeyāwe'wis we two have been after medicine (literally, our two selves' medicine-makers place) 126.15}\]

\[\text{tsā'yuxwō'nis ēnīk'exem le lītā on a small place is sticking out the land 44.26}\]

\[\text{qaič'nis wē yūl'wiyū on (some) small place they two are stopping 6.3}\]

§ 64. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Locality, -ume

It signifies \textit{where the . . . is}. It is added to nominal (or adverbial) stems only.

\[\text{kū's south} \quad \text{tsel'tix over here} \quad \text{xwiluxu' head 30.14}\]

\[\text{xkukwi'sume hī'yet! he came ashore on the south side (literally, from where south is, he came ashore)} \quad \text{tseh'x'ume lō hew heu haw'we here on this side make a knot! (literally, where this is, on it, a knot make) 92.7, 8}\]

\[\text{qaič'nis wē yūl'wiyū on (some) small place they two are stopping 6.3}\]

§ 65. Terms of Relationship in -ātc (-ate)

Terms of relationship appear with the suffix -ātc or -ate (see § 7), except in the vocative case, where the stem alone is used. A few nouns exhibit in the vocative case an entirely different stem, while others occur in the vocative form only.

The phenomenon so characteristic of many American and other languages, whereby the different sexes use separate terms for the purpose of denoting corresponding degrees of relationship, is not found in Coos. This may in part be due to the fact that the language does not differentiate in any respect whatsoever between the two sexes, and that grammatical gender is a concept entirely unknown to the Coos mind. On the other hand, Coos has one trait in common
with some of the languages of the neighboring tribes, namely, in so far as two different stems are used to denote the same degree of relationship by marriage. One is employed as long as the intermediary person is living, while the second is used after the death of that person.

The following table shows the nouns expressing the different degrees of relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Coos</th>
<th>Vocative case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>e'kwilte</td>
<td>k'ol'da!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>e'nado</td>
<td>n'i'k'ala!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>lo'ol!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>kwac'mi'c'te</td>
<td>kwac'ya!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older brother</td>
<td>ha'la!</td>
<td>ha'la!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger brother</td>
<td>mii'kwu'ya'te</td>
<td>mii'kwu'ka!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older sister</td>
<td>hen'i'k'wad'a</td>
<td>he'n'i'k'wad'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger sister</td>
<td>kwac'a'zt'e</td>
<td>kwac'a'zt'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>pk'a'kt'a!</td>
<td>pk'a'kt'a!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>a'ma'd'e'te, a'ma'd'a</td>
<td>a'ma'd'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson</td>
<td>tem'i'snde, tem'i'sin</td>
<td>tem'i'si! (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granddaughter</td>
<td>tek'itn'mad'e</td>
<td>tek'itn'mad'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal uncle</td>
<td>pol'ya'te, pol'ya'te</td>
<td>pol'ya'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal uncle</td>
<td>a'z'i'za'te</td>
<td>a'z'i'za'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal aunt</td>
<td>da'la!</td>
<td>da'la!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal aunt</td>
<td>zik'la'nad'e</td>
<td>zik'la'nad'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law</td>
<td>mii'la'ke'te</td>
<td>mii'la'ke'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-in-law</td>
<td>gall'ka'te</td>
<td>gall'ka'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son-in-law</td>
<td>mii'nka'te</td>
<td>mii'nka'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter-in-law</td>
<td>mii't'la'nad'e</td>
<td>mii't'la'nad'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother-in-law</td>
<td>hat'ik'!</td>
<td>hat'ik'!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister-in-law</td>
<td>kwo'ka'te</td>
<td>kwo'ka'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative, by marriage, after death of person whose marriage established the relationship.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew (son of sister)</td>
<td>lew'i'la!</td>
<td>lew'i'la!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephew (son of brother)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niece (daughter of sister)</td>
<td>up'xa'nt'a'te</td>
<td>pekwi'ni!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niece (daughter of brother)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Alsea nati'xm.

Besides the above-enumerated terms of kinship, there are two stems that are used as such, although they do not, strictly speaking, denote any degree of relationship. One of these is the term sla'd'ato (vocative sla), employed by the Coos in addressing a male member of the tribe, and even a stranger; and the other is awi', used in the same way in addressing females.

§ 65
In one instance the term kwe'neL is employed to denote sister, without mentioning the rank of her birth. All attempts to obtain the corresponding term for brother have proved unsuccessful.

§ 66. SUFFIXES -ex, -iyEx, -iyetEx

These three suffixes, occurring in a few instances only, seem to express the idea PERTAINING TO. They are suffixed to nominal and to adverbial stems.

böl'dj north

le lá'mak' lala'v te bildji'yex the bones those (are) the Umpqua Indians (literally, the Northern Indians) 30.5, 6

y'i'qantc behind

yíqa'ntcimëx mà the last generation 9.6

L'an-

l'la'nëx qa'd'yeq new salmon 36.25

qa'd'lu winter (?) 162.20

qa'd'xan- up 14.1

qa'yis sky 6.1

qá'yis the sky-people

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 67-70)

§ 67. Local and Modal -étc, -ítc

This suffix indicates rest, and was rendered by in, at, on, under. It is added to nouns and (very rarely) to verbs. For the parallel occurrence of -étc and -ítc, see § 2. (See note to § 36.)

yixá'wex house 22.25

yixá'wexétc lówa'kats in the house he is sitting

L'lá country 30.28

yíá' lítá'ítc yítsèts in another country I stay 26.8, 9

hë'vilts road 138.17

hevi'litsítc stö'q on the road he stood 36.16

q'wai's board 52.14

í ló' quwa'ítc toíc'cile'et while she under the board was 58.25

wá'p water 6.9

wá'pítc dji á m'ílo in the water it was swimming 88.21

ix' canoe 44.20

as'l' b'xítc úx te'lów'l'yat in the middle (of the) canoe they two laid him down 126.23

kwi'llel sweat-house 62.25

kwi'llítc tsxú lál tómíl in the sweat-house lay that old man 28.11, 12

§§ 66-67
qā'yās sky 6.1
Lltō country 30.28
pgai' back 82.13

When preceded by the discriminative x- (see § 23), this suffix assumes a modal significance, exercising the same function as the English adverbial suffix -LY or the word LIKE.

qantc where 8.8
qaic small 128.29
tsül'yuxu small 20.5

§ 67
Owing to its modal significance, this suffix expresses the idea of our collective numerals in twos, in threes, when added to the cardinal numerals.

\[ gō₃s qa'nte'tc xyúwó'ḥé'tc il la \] everywhere in pairs they went 48.8
\[ xy̓pse'nte'tc \] in threes (\(y̓pse\) three)

§ 68. Local Suffix, Indicating Motion, -etc

The suffix -etc indicates motion, action, and may be rendered by AT, IN, THROUGH, ON, INTO.

\[ tc̓i̓l'nil spruce-tree 20.5 \] LC̓i̓'yat Le tsǐ'yux tc̓i̓l'niletc he put it on the small spruce-tree 20.8
\[ de'm̑it prairie 22.12 \] Le̓y̓i demstetc L̓hi'nap a good prairie through he goes 22.11
\[ yix̓i'wex house 22.25 \] Yix̓i'wexetc la into the house he went 28.10, 11
\[ tc̓w̓il fire 33.8 \] Tc̓w̓il etc tc̓w̓ils into the fire he shoved it 32.24
\[ ã face 10.3 \] Kw̓inu'ewat â'hetc he is looking at (his) face

When suffixed to a stem with an a-vowel, the suffix is changed to -ate (see § 7).

\[ x̓a̓p water 6.9 \] Te̓k̓wil x̓a̓pate into the water he dove 26.27
\[ l̓lt̓a' ground 6.7 \] L̓lt̓a'ate lemm̓yat on the ground he put it 64.1

In some cases it may be suffixed to verbs.

\[ ti̓la'qai (many) live 36.11 \] To̓ hi'laq le mà ti̓la'qayetc there he arrived, where the people were living 36.12, 13
\[ st̓o̓q he stands 20.4 \] Ts̓o̓ le mà qal st̓o̓qetc hi'laq now to the person (that) below stood he came 92, 4, 5
\[ a̓l̓i'cani (they) play 94.8 \] He'laq le mà aliceranį'wagetc he came to the people (that) were playing 98, 14, 15
§ 69. Local -ewite

The local suffix -ewite is rendered by towards.

bëlëj north  
*bëlëje'wite qa'citt to the north he scattered 48.24

ē'qate side 26.20  
*ē'qate'wite kw'ilkwe'le'yu to one side he was rolled 94.19,20

yi'gantic behind  
*yi'gantce'wite ilx backwards he looked 32.13

qaitce inside 140.24  
*qaitson'wite ilt te'cits (inside) they entered 22.29

yîxâ'wex house 22.25  
*yîxâ'wexe'wite yla towards the house I am going

§ 70. Instrumental -Etc

It expresses our ideas with, against. When suffixed to a stem with an a-vowel, it is pronounced more like -atc; while, if suffixed to a stem with an e-vowel, it invariably sounded like -etc. When the instrumental idea with is to be expressed, the stem to which this suffix is added is very often preceded by the prefix x- (see § 24).

mâl'uku paint  
mâl'ukwe'te ltâ'qa' u là à red paint with was painted his face 10.2, 3

ix' canoe 44.20  
mâ xix'etc yixu'me people in canoes travel (literally, with canoes) 90.3

tc'ilte! hammer 26.26  
tqanits tc'il'te'te!etc le kw'ilwa' he struck with a hammer the ice 28.1,2

mix'so'weti lucky 20.14  
hatâ'yims mix'so'wete ah'canâ a mên lucky money with they are playing 94.27

qî'elë pitch 82.23  
qî'el'ye'te la'wî pāqis with pitch it was full 74.25

mîl'k'e basket 28.27  
wmîl'k'e'te tōwî'tiniye in a basket he was dropped down (literally, with a basket) 28.9,10

qā'yis sky 6.1  
qā'yisetco tskwî against the sky it struck 22.4

tqâ'lis sun 24.2  
tqâ'lisetc panâ'qtsxem in the sun he is warming himself 32.8

tc'ilte door 62.5  
wne'cits tc'il'cetco she jumped against the door 76.2
In the following instance the suffix is changed, without any apparent cause, to -yetc.

\[\text{wa'lwal} \] knife 78.11 \text{\textit{tEgani\textquotesingle yeqem}} \text{\textit{wa'lvalyetc}} \text{they hit her with a knife} 80.5

In another instance it occurs as -a\textit{tc}.

\[\text{g\textit{\textsc{o}}} \text{\textit{ts\textit{\textsc{y}}} neha\textit{tc} n\textit{\textsc{l}} pe\textit{ne}} \text{\textit{dib}} \text{with all kinds of small birds} 46.2

When suffixed to the article or to the personal pronouns, this suffix is changed to -itc.

\[\text{le it} \] 5.1 \text{\textit{xe\textit{itc \textit{ux}}} \text{\textit{k\textit{\textsc{\textprime}int}}} \text{with it they two try it} 7.4

\[\text{y\textit{ne I}} \] 50.25 \text{\textit{y\textit{ne\textit{itc \textit{hel\textit{\textprime}aq}}} with (or to) me he came}

\[\text{\textit{\textprime}ne thou} \] 15.7 \text{\textit{\textprime\textit{ne\textit{itc}}} \text{\textit{with, to thee}} 18.11

\[\text{\textit{x\textit{a}}} \text{\textit{he}} \] 15.10 \text{\textit{hex\textit{\textprime\textit{itc}}} \text{\textit{with, to her}} 86.3

\[\text{\textit{\textprime\textit{win we two}}} \] \text{\textit{hex\textprime\textit{\textit{winnne\textprime\textit{itc}}} \text{\textit{with, to us two}}} 24.3

§ 71. SUPERLATIVE -eyim

This suffix indicates great quantity or quality. It corresponds to our superlative.

\[\text{ts\textquoteleft\textquoteleft yux} \] small 20.5 \text{\textit{he ts\textquoteleft\textquoteleft yuxwle'ym}} \text{\textit{a\textprime\textprime la}} \text{the smallest child}

\[\text{he\textit{\textprime\textprime mis}} \] big 14.5 \text{\textit{he hemis\textprime\textprime\textprime yin}} \text{\textit{ya\textprime\textprime\textprime wex}} \text{the biggest house}

It is added mostly to terms of relationship that denote either a younger or an elder member of the family. In such cases it implies that the member spoken of is the younger (or elder) in a family consisting of more than two members of the same degree of kinship.

\[\text{hen\textprime\textprime k\textprime\textprime n\textprime\textprime tc} \] elder sister \text{\textit{w\textprime\textprime\textprime ndj}} \text{\textit{l\textprime\textprime\textprime ats he hen\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime kunto\textprime\textprime\textprime yin}} \text{(out of two)} 50.8 \text{that way spoke the eldest sister 126.16}

§ 72. DISTRIBUTIVE -\textit{\textsc{\textprime\textprime ni}}

-\textit{\textsc{\textprime\textprime ni}} is suffixed to nouns of relationship only, and expresses a degree of mutual kinship. It is etymologically related to the verbal distributives -\textit{\textsc{\textprime\textprime ni}}, -\textit{\textsc{\textprime ni}} (see §§ 25, 37).

\[\text{sla\textprime\textprime tc} \] cousin 42.21 \text{\textit{\textit{\textprime\textprime tc\textprime\textprime in}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textprime\textprime tc\textprime\textprime in}}} \text{they two were mutual cousins} 42.15

\[\text{h\textprime\textprime l\textprime\textprime atc} \] elder brother 72.27 \text{\textit{\textit{\textprime\textprime lc\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprime\textprimer}
§ 73. INTERROGATIVE -ʔ

It is added only to the particles tcítc, gantc, mlátc, dílc, wít, itc, to the adverb nílcítc, and to the stem ítsétś (see pp. 406, 407, 408, 411).

tcítcú ax’al ú mén what are they doing? 92.18
tcítcú tey xá’nís how is it that I am sick?
la” qa’ntcú la that one where did he go? 94.25
mlátcú hazi euvítxe when will you return? 28.3,4
dílcú te ye ewo”wat what usually are you looking for? 54.3
díluctcú hani teis k’int with what shall we two try it? 7.1, 2
(díluctcú-haní-teis k’int (see §§ 108, 25, 70, 11)
xwí’tu tsí’x’tyát who did it?
v’tcú e’dowá’ya s’xkan which one do you want? 50.17
í ní’ctcú how many are they? (literally, [are] they a few?)
ítsétś su hemíl’mes t’ye yáwá’we’x how big is your house? (literally, how [the] largeness [size] of your house?)

NUMERAL SUFFIXES (§§ 74-77)

§ 74. Ordinal -ís

The ordinal numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals (see § 101) the suffix -ís. The first two numerals are irregular, especially the ordinal for ONE. The adverbial stem ília ahead, the temporal adverb yuwiin before, or the same adverb with the adjectival ending -iyex, are used in lieu of the missing regular ordinal numeral for one. The ordinal for two is formed by adding the suffix -ís to the adverb asó again.

ília, yuwiin, yuwiiníyex first
asó’wis second
yípes’nis third
heci”lis fourth
kit’e’wisís fifth

hö’ xá ilia losítat she first ran (literally, ahead) 56.9
ley yuwiin húw’mís my first wife (literally, my wife [whom I had] before)
ley asó’wis húw’mís my second wife
Compare also helmi’his next day (helmi to-morrow 162.9) 6.7

Of an obscure composition is the indefinite ordinal tsí’wis the last. Its first component can not be explained, while the ending is plainly the ordinal suffix -ís.

tsí cku tsí’wis now (this) must (have been) the last one 120.1

§§ 73-74
§ 75. Multiplicative -en

The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix -en TIMES.

1. ytxe'n
2. tsōxe'n
3. yipse'n'en
4. hect'len
5. kat'e'misen
6. yixē'vieqen
7. yuxwāl'vieqen
8. yixē'ahālen
9. yuxwāl'ahālen
10. Lep'qa'nien

The numeral for twice is irregular. It seems to be composed of the conjunction tsō now, of the inclusive personal pronoun ux, and of the multiplicative suffix -en.

ytxe'n sla'qa la once bathing she went 84.24
tsōxe'n haiiL i^iou'txe in two days will I return (literally, twice) 28.4
kat'e'misen qa'xante x'nef'tits five times upwards (they) jumped 76.4
tsō kwa nictocën qaliml'ye then, perhaps, in a few days ... (literally, now, perhaps, it seems, a few times, morning it got) 56.21

To this group belongs also the indefinite westē'n SO MANY TIMES, formed from the stem wes SO MANY.

his westē'n tsix' ta his westē'n yeao' l!tā'tc yitse'ts I stay here just as long as in the other country (literally, also so many times here, and also so many times in another country, I stay) 26.8, 9

§ 76. Ordinal-Multiplicative -entcis

The ordinal-multiplicative numerals, expressed in English by AT THE FIRST TIME, AT THE SECOND TIME, are formed by means of the compound suffix -entcis. This suffix consists of the multiplicative -en (see above), of the modal -tc (see § 36), and of the ordinal suffix -is (see § 74).

xyixē'vieqentcis L!tā'tc lā iluwot'icis at the sixth time went out her heart 76.6, 7
xkat'e'misen'icotis at the fifth time

The ordinal suffix -is may be omitted, as shown in the following example:

hect'len qaliml'ye lau' laata'ya lā sla'ato on the fourth day he went to his cousin (literally, four times [at] morning it got ... ) 42.20, 21

§§ 75-76
§ 77. Distributive -hiña

Distributive numerals in the sense of one each, one apiece, are formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix -hiña (see General Remarks, pp. 326, 327). The first two numerals, yixẽi and yuxwẽi, change their final vowels into a before adding the suffix. This change may be due to purely phonetic causes (see § 7). The numeral for three, yip'sen, drops its final n before taking the suffix.

yixahii'na one each
yuxwahii'na two each
yipsehi'na three each
heci'lihi'na four each
kat'emishi'na five each
gõ's yixahil'na ti nhũmãk'e le wĩ'ngas a hi'me all of the Spider's children have wives each (literally, all, one apiece, they with wives [are], the Spider's children) 58.9
yixahil'na he'is mĩ'laq we two have one arrow apiece

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-79)

§ 78. Irregular Plurals

The majority of nominal stems have the same forms in singular and plural. There are, however, a number of nouns and adjectives that show in the plural a formation which is distinct from the singular form. This formation is based upon two grammatical processes, suffixation and phonetic change, and may be said to be of a petrified character. It is impossible to describe, or even suggest, the processes that may have taken place in this formation; hence no attempt will be made to discuss them in detail.

The following is a list of nominal stems that occur in two distinct forms, — one for the singular, and the other for the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'la 10.8</td>
<td>hi'me 20.3</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hũw'nis 24.6</td>
<td>hũw'mãk'e 20.3</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tũ'mil 20.2</td>
<td>tẽ'ẽle 24.1</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dũ'mil 14.7</td>
<td>ti'mil 56.18</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mũ 10.1</td>
<td>mẽn 24.22</td>
<td>human being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'nes</td>
<td>k'ene'yese 30.16</td>
<td>hunchback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsũ'yewu 20.5</td>
<td>tsũ'yewu 48.7</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tce'ivet</td>
<td>tce'ivet 46.19</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qat</td>
<td>kal'e'mka 134.25</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arũ'maq 112.27</td>
<td>arũ'maq 44.20</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tẽtẽ 10.9</td>
<td>tẽtẽ'ne 46.3</td>
<td>kind, manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 77-78
This distinction is not consistently carried out. Cases where the singular form is applied to denote plural concepts are quite numerous. This phenomenon is very natural, since in place of the idea of plurality we find rather the idea of distribution developed in Coos.

§ 79. Plural of Terms of Relationship, -iyas

The only substantives that form a plural by means of a specific plural suffix are the terms of relationship. The suffix employed for this purpose (-iyas) may be added directly to the stem, or may be preceded by the suffix of relationship, -atc (-atc) (see pp. 365, 366).

-kyaLtc younger sister 50.14  
-ñiLtc older brother 72.27  
'k'Ltc father 20.13  
'iuLtc mother 68.16  

This suffix may be present in the stem l!tä'yas village, derived from l!tä earth, ground, country. The initial i of the suffix would amalgamate with the final a of the stem into ā (see § 9), and the noun would express a collective plural.

§ 80. MINOR SUFFIXES

Besides the suffixes discussed in the preceding pages, Coos has a few suffixes of obscure function, that occur sporadically only, and that are confined to certain given stems. These suffixes are as follows:

-i occurs in one or two instances, and is rendered by and all.

-m'lag arrow 12.10; nmit'lag with arrow he is 20.18  
-hem'yat le mà à kwä'xi. nmit'lagai she took out a person's bow and arrow and all 62.23  
-lä'mak' bones 40.12  
nte't ta nlä'mak'i with flesh and bones and all

-ca is suffixed to the noun hûw'mäk' old woman. It was explained to me as having an endearing character, but instances are not lacking where the suffix is used in a derogatory sense.

vändj l!d'xem le hûw'mäk'ca thus talking is the (dear) old woman 82.19, 20  
luant tc'hûle'tc le hûw'mäk'ca (she) threw it into the fire, the (bad) old woman (the Giant-Woman)

§§ 79–80
-āyīms occurs in three instances, and seems to have a nominalizing character.

te! hats he put it out (the light) k'!āte!hā'āyīms lōw tecīle'et it (the fire) is burning continually (literally, without [being] put out it is caused to burn) 40.25, 26

ice' tīte' you two come in! tītā'āyīms yōdowā'ya to come in I (should) like

hethe'te rich 26.2 hatā'āyīms money 20.15

-īyāL, -āyāL, are suffixed to a few verbal stems, and seem to denote the performer of an action.

ln- to hunt 24.26 ln'īyāL mā a hunter
ali'canī he plays ali'canī'īyāL a player
Lō'- to eat lōwī'īyāL a person that eats

-īye, -āye. This suffix is added to a number of stems expressing adjectival ideas. It is idiomatically employed in the formation of comparison (see p. 417), and in some instances it is used to indicate plurality of adjectival concepts. When used for the purpose of expressing comparison, it seems to have a nominalizing function.

pl.'is heavy yū hōw pār.ī'ye xkwō'na[to they (pl.) look very heavy (literally, much as if weight [according to] appearance) 64.8
wi'ltwīs deep ast'i la ā xwi'ltwī[ye lex ya'bas the maggots go halfway deep (literally, middle, goes its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12
wi'us light his xī ta he'īwc xwi'lwīye le eñe they two are as light as you (literally, also he and their two light weight [as] yours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.'is</td>
<td>pār.ī'ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mō'tsīs</td>
<td>mūtsā'ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'us</td>
<td>xwi'lwī'ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-īya is suffixed in one or two instances to local adverbs, giving them an adjectival coloring, as it were.

§ 80
**Reduplication (§§ 81-83)**

§ 81. Introductory

Reduplication as a means of forming grammatical processes is resorted to frequently in Coos. The reduplication may be either initial or final. Initial reduplication affects the consonant, vowel, or whole syllable. It consists in the repetition of the weakened vowel or consonant of the stem, or in the duplication of the first stem-syllable. The connecting vowel between two reduplicated consonants is the obscure e-vowel; but, owing to the great tendency of Coos towards euphony, this obscure vowel is frequently affected by the stem-vowel (see § 7). Final duplication is always consonantic, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant by means of a connecting obscure vowel, which very often changes its quality in accordance with the stem-vowel preceding it, or with the vowel of the suffix that follows it (see § 7).

The grammatical use of reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb.

§ 82. Initial Reduplication

Initial reduplication expresses, in connection with the proper verbal suffixes, intensity of action, repetition, duration, and customary action. It is employed, furthermore, in the formation of the passive

§§ 81–82
voice. Syllabic reduplication is used very often in addition to a phonetic device (see § 84) for the purpose of forming a number of verbs expressing transitive ideas of continuous duration. These verbs do not then require any of the transitive suffixes. This latter application may be of a later, secondary origin.

Examples of reduplication of initial sound, or of initial consonant and following vowel:

- **wín-** to cheat
- **qaiç** small 128.29
- **a'wit** (he) killed them 124.4
- **pils-** to tear up
- **tô-** to coil
- **Lô-** to buy

Examples of syllabic duplication:

- **tcïnd'hënî** he is thinking 24.13
- **cîm-** to attract
- **ütislô'w'at** he recognized it 30.28
- **âx hîl'tôsts** they two put it 7.4
- **lô'p-** to paint
- **Lô'x-** to hit
- **pôw'kwîs** slave
- **wîl-** to twist
- **sî'w'îts** he shook it off 42.3

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Owing to the fact that reduplication and duplication are based upon the principle of consonant or stem weakening, the repeated element occurs very often in a changed form. The following rules have been observed in this respect:

(1) The semi-vocalic y reduplicates into a long i.

- **yîxwîntce** together 64.8
- **yatô'w'at** he is coaxing him 98.4, 5

§ 82
(2) The spirant \( x' \) in consonantic combinations, when reduplicated, becomes \( k' \). In the same manner alveolar \( s \) becomes the affricative \( ts \).

\[
\text{is } x'L/\tilde{g}u i \text{ we two put it in } 26.25 \\
\text{xt}t\text{' } \text{it slid down } 26.19 \\
yixe'n \text{ sl}a'q a \text{ la once to bathe } 84.24 \\
\text{st}\tilde{q} \text{ he stood } 20.4
\]

\( \tilde{u}l \text{ k}i'\text{i}w'L/\tilde{\omega}e\text{'} \text{ wat they are putting them in frequently } 52.9 \\
k'i'\text{w}t\tilde{v}y u \text{ it was slid down } 94.5 \\
tsi\text{sl}a'\text{gaa} i \text{ she was bathing } 84.21 \\
tse\text{s}t\tilde{g}e\text{''}y u \text{ he was made to stand on his feet}
\]

(3) The reduplication of the fortis palatal \( k! \) consists in the mere amplification of the consonant by means of a prefixed \( a\)-vowel.

\( k!d'\text{lat } \text{ he shouted } 36.7 \) \( ak!d'\text{laai } \text{le } h\tilde{w}'m\text{is shouting is the woman } 56.5 \)

(4) Combinations of two or more consonants, of which a velar, a palatal, a nasal \( (m, n) \), an \( h \) or \( l \), form the second element, reduplicate the second consonant. The lateral \( (l) \) is in such cases preceded by a vowel, since initial combinations of \( l + \) velar are impossible.

\( \text{skw}i'\text{wat } \text{he informed him } 164.22 \) \( \text{w}\text{\u0157ndj k}i'\text{wiskw}i'\text{wat that way he is informing her } 60.19 \)

\( \text{tsxaw}v\text{\'yat he put it down } 36.21 \) \( \text{wtsxaw}n\text{\'w} \text{\'at he is putting it down } 76.14 \)

\( \text{lkwa'at he cut it off } 36.20 \) \( \text{k}i'\text{wiskw}u \text{\'at it was cut off } 61.4 \)

\( \text{sqats he seized it } 36.20 \) \( \text{m}\text{\u0157 } \text{gesq}a'\text{\'uyu the person was seized } 10.4 \)

\( \text{l.lwant he threw it } 42.10 \) \( \text{w}a'l\text{\'i}x\text{\'an}w\text{\'at he is throwing it frequently } 56.5 \)

\( \text{\text{"a}lqas fear } 66.4 \) \( \text{aga'l}p\text{s}o\text{\'n}a'\text{\'ya he became afraid of him } 28.24, 25 \)

\( \text{lhu'tsa he put on } 28.23 \) \( \text{ha'x}l\text{\'u} \text{\'y u it was put on } 25 \)

\( \text{xmeni'yat he tipped it over } 46.26 \) \( \text{m}e\text{\'xmeni}n\text{\'w} \text{at he is tipping it over } 142.6 \)

\( \text{q'\text{\u0157m}is she ate it } 24.16 \) \( \text{m}e\text{\'g}\text{\'m}l'\text{\'y u it is eaten } 64 \)

\( \text{\text{"a}xal'i'yat he hugged him } 116.4 \) \( \text{e\text{\u0157}k}e\text{\'le}\text{\'y u he was hugged } 116.4 \)

Compare also—

\( \text{la'txort she jabbed him } 112.17 \) \( \text{\text{"i}l}x\text{\'u} \text{\'y e he was jabbed } 114.6 \)

\( \text{lhn\text{\u0157}t he opens (the door) } \) \( \text{no}l\text{\n\text{\u0157\'n}ow\text{\'e}\text{\'w} \text{at he is constantly opening (the door) } 114.6 \)

(5) Syllables ending in an \( m, n, l + \) consonant omit the \( m, n, \) and \( l \) in the repeated syllable.

\( \text{kw}l\text{\'i}l- \text{to roar } \) \( \text{kw}l\text{\'i}k\text{\'w}l\text{\'taai it is roaring } 114.6 \)

\( \text{q}l\text{\'i}l- \text{to cut } \) \( \text{q}l\text{\'a}l\text{\'s}aai \text{he is cutting } 114.6 \)

\( \S 82 \)
A number of stems occur in parallel forms showing both consonantic reduplication and syllabic duplication.

\[ yixel'ntce \] together 64.8
\[ x'ne'et \] he is on top 10.1
\[ minco- \] to ask
\[ culits \] he set afire

§ 83. Final Reduplication

Final reduplication is used for the purpose of expressing distribution, mutuality, and, in intransitive verbs, an action that is performed now and then (see § 87). It is also employed as a means of forming neutral verbs that indicate actions of long incessant duration.

\[ ye'l \] he went away
\[ sai'sis la'\] yaq\[\text{Eqq} i'n'\] from the shore they are running away (one after the other, singly) 36.18, 19
\[ so^xxt- \] to trade
\[ is so^xxtitul'ni hanL \] we two will trade (mutually) 16.7, 8
\[ huu'mis \] woman 26.7
\[ iniea'n\] la'\] huu'mis\text{is}\text{is}i'n'\] themselves they marry 12.5
\[ sto\text{w}^\text{iaq} \] he stood 20.7
\[ sto\text{w}^\text{iaq} \] he is continually standing up and sitting down
\[ kwil'\text{yat} \] he rolls it
\[ kwil'\text{yat} \] he is constantly rolling is (literally, now and then) 72.1
\[ kwil'\text{yat} \] he stands 98.7
\[ la'\] kwil'\text{is}\text{is}\text{is}i'n'\] the ocean 6.2
lk\'wî te x\'ap runs down the water 16.9
x\'pa\'p le y\'ix\'am wax it burned down, the house 58.12, 13
wu\'tze he came back 28.9

\( k'w\)wî le h\'uw\'mis the woman was lost 54.19
\( n\)eq he ran away 100.16

There are a number of stems expressing verbal, nominal, and adjectival ideas, that appear invariably in reduplicated or doubled form. Some of these expressions are onomatopoetic in character; others may have been borrowed from the neighboring languages; while still others may be new formations, necessitated by the introduction of new ideas and concepts through the contact of the Coos with the white people. (See also §116.)

The following is a partial list of such stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'qeq killing spot 80.14</td>
<td>li'pîp white man's paint (compare le'p to paint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(compare e'q- to die)</td>
<td>ty'myim eyelash (compare yim- to twinkle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'x'hax wagon (compare ha'x- to drag)</td>
<td>k'v'nk'în stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hethete rich 26.2</td>
<td>k'ish'a'x'îl fish-hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'x'ha'x' knot 92.8</td>
<td>ku'kum raven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pû'spûs1 cat</td>
<td>qatqai'z belt 28.7 (compare tqa'î to put a belt on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pû'x'apux a spout 30.25</td>
<td>qa'lqal digging-stick 26.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mû's'mûs1 cow</td>
<td>wî'nax'în saddle (compare w'n'et it is on top)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuw'tuw basket 112.4</td>
<td>xa'xwat ax (compare xwat- to chop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsetse'kwîn cane 28.18</td>
<td>xwa'lqwa'l eye 40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsetse'kwî button</td>
<td>xwi'tsxut deer 64.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( t\)a'ntan to come ashore (whale) 128.28
\( p\)h'z'pî to go home 28.3
\( y\)â'yû to stop (while traveling) 5.2

1 Chinook jargon.
Phonetic Changes (§§ 84-85)

Grammatical processes by means of phonetic changes are few in number, and not clearly developed. The phonetic change may be of a vocalic or consonantic character.

§ 84. Vocalic Changes

Vocalic change is confined to the verb, and consists in the amplification of the stem by means of a vowel (usually the a-vowel), or in the modification of the vowel connecting a suffix with a stem. Stem amplification is employed for the purpose of forming active or transitive verbs from verbal stems, and of denoting duration of action. The latter application occurs in verbs that have already been transitivized by means of some transitive suffix. The stem is frequently duplicated before amplification is applied to it (see §§ 82, 83). For another explanation of this phenomenon see §§ 4, 11.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tkwil- to follow} & \quad \text{tn tolo tkwil yal (they) can not follow him} \\
\text{tcinl- to reach} & \quad \text{ywil'wevetc tc'nal la kumalp. to (the roof of) the house reached its horn 86.25, 26} \\
\text{stonq he stood 20.4} & \quad \text{nah! stow'vaq at the foot of the tree he stood 26.17} \\
\text{ux yu'yu they two stopped} & \quad \text{ux yu'yu'yu they two stopped (for a long time) 5.2} \\
\text{ka'wi- to peck} & \quad \text{ka'do'vit ka'wi'wali he saw him (in the act of) pecking at it 20.9} \\
\text{silp- to comb one's hair} & \quad \text{silp'slap he is combing his hair 80.12} \\
\text{mintc- to ask} & \quad \text{wandi' mitemi'nahe that way she is asking 60.7} \\
\text{wil- to twist} & \quad \text{wil'actively wal slowly she is twisting him 60.7}
\end{align*}
\]

Modification of a connecting vowel, whenever it occurs, is employed for the purpose of indicating duration of action. As this phenomenon has been discussed more fully in connection with the transitive suffixes -t and -ts, the reader is referred to the chapters dealing with those suffixes (see § 26 and also p. 357), in order to avoid repetition.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ux l'cit they two shake it 13.8} & \quad \text{l'cat he l'ita (he) is shaking the earth continually 16.2} \\
\text{ymlw'wit I felt it} & \quad \text{ymlw'vcat I am feeling it} \\
\text{ydlits I painted it} & \quad \text{ydlats I am painting it}
\end{align*}
\]
§ 85. Consonantic Changes

The application of consonantic changes as a means of forming grammatical processes is a very peculiar phenomenon, characteristic of the Coos language. Its use is confined to a very few instances; and the process, while to all appearances consisting in the hardening of the final consonant, is of such a petrified nature that it is no longer possible to analyze it. It occurs only in a few nouns of relationship, and its significance may be said to be endearing and diminutive. The following examples of consonantic change have been found:

kwé'ls a young woman 86.1  kwé'ik' a young girl 12.2
hū'nis woman 24.6  hū'nik' old woman (used in the same sense as we use our phrase MY DEAR OLD WIFE) 58.5

dā'mił man 14.7  tō'mił old man 20.2
dīlōl young man 22.6  dīlōl young boy 60.2

Syntactic Particles (§§ 86-95)

§ 86. Introductory

By syntactic particles is meant here the great number of enclitic and proclitic expletives that are employed in Coos as a means of expressing grammatical categories and syntactic relations. They cover a wide range of ideas, and refer more properly to the whole sentence than to any specific part of it. With the exception of two particles, none of them are capable of composition; that is to say, they can not be used with any suffix or prefix, although two or even three particles may be combined into one. Such combined particles usually retain the functions of each of the component elements. All syntactic particles are freely movable, and may be shifted from one position to another without affecting the sense of the sentence.

§ 87. Temporal Particles

1. han ABOUT TO. It denotes actions that will take place in the immediate future. Its position is freely movable, and it may be placed before or after the verb.

tso han kwé'lt he k'itsimā'mis now he was about to bend the half 62.29
w'ab'yat han he dīlōl he is about to hug the young man 114.26.

§§ 85-87
2. **han** shall, will. It is regularly used to denote a future action, and it is the sign of the future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

*nev pkā'kate hanl ʁik'ił'o'wit* I will see my grandfather

*go's dil' hanl hā'wi* everything will grow

*čin sqats hanl te te!wít* you shall seize that yonder fire

*is ali'cani hanl* we two will play

*in te'yi hanl* not good will (it be)

3. **Eít** intend, about to. It gives the sentence the force of a periphrastic future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

*i qanto eít əla* when anywhere you intend to go

*i dil' il dōm'wít eít* when something they intend to eat

*qaikw úx wutxa'xa eít té'is hā'í'me* I thought that they two should come back, those our (dual) children

4. **nik!wa** used to (be). It denotes an action that took place long ago. It is often used as a sign of the past tense. In such cases it is always preceded by the particle he usually (see below), and it follows the verb which is used in its repetitive form.

*té' nik!wa ye'ne'w nā'hin* this used (to be) your shiny club

*wā'p ʁlu'qwert nik!wa* water I used to boil

*yutoi'naa! he nik!wa* I used to cheat

*yal'psilap he yax'ne'k' nik!wa* I used to comb my hair

By suffixing to **nik!wa** the obsolete suffix -lī, the temporal adverb **nik!wo'lit** yesterday is obtained.

**nik!wo'lit** yqa'la yesterday I crossed (the river)

**hū'mís he'laq le nik!wo'lit** a woman arrived yesterday

5. **he** usually, frequently, habitually, denotes an action that is performed very frequently. The particle either precedes or follows the verb. The verb is very often used in the repetitive form, whenever possible.

*go's ni'llátc he l!á'xem* always usually he is talking

*temá'lê mà la'w to!wä'dé'wít he* old people on that sit habitually

*38.3*

When following the future particle **hanl**, or its potential form **yanl** (see p. 391), he coalesces with them into **hanlawe** and **yanlawe** respectively.

**yanlawe dil' éqa'wenisa'na'ya**, **hanlawe xe'tic tepwoi é'l!á'xem** whenever you will get mad at something, you will talk with it
loud (literally, if shall usually something you get angry at it shall usually with it hard you be talking) 16.3, 4

\[ \text{yanlawe} \quad \text{aqantc} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{hul'yan}, \quad \text{lela}^* \quad \text{hanlawe} \quad \text{e}^*\text{kwu'nand'ya} \quad \text{whenever} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{gets} \quad \text{ready} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{somewhere}, \quad \text{this} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{shall} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{tell} \quad (\text{literally,} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{shall} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{get} \quad \text{ready} \quad [\text{to} \quad \text{come}] \quad \text{this} \quad \text{shall} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{tell} \quad \text{it}) \quad 19.3, 4

The particle he amalgamates with the adverb yū very into a temporal adverb, yuwe whenever.

\[ \text{xa'hmfi} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{yuwe} \quad \text{la'}^* \quad \text{hua'yam} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{gets} \quad \text{ready} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{somewhere}, \quad \text{this} \quad \text{shall} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{tell} \quad (\text{literally,} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{shall} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{get} \quad \text{ready} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{shall} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{tell} \quad \text{it}) \quad 16.3, 4

The same process may have taken place in the rare adverb towe when. The first component may be a stem, to-, while the second element is the particle he. The example given below will substantiate this assertion. We have here a complex of two sentences stating a fact of frequent occurrence. In the first sentence the repetitive particle occurs clearly, while it seems to be missing in the subordinate sentence. And since, according to the examples given above, all the components of a complex of sentences must show the particle he, it is safe to assume that the frequentative particle is one of the two elements in towe. The example follows:

\[ \text{xyEai' Litafltc} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{ux} \quad \text{yixu'me} \quad \text{towe} \quad \text{hul'mis} \quad \text{hik'lal'miye} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{another} \quad \text{country} \quad \text{usually} \quad \text{they} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{travel} \quad \text{when(ever)} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{gets} \quad \text{her} \quad \text{monthly} \quad \text{courses} \quad 26.6, 7

§ 88. Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Knowledge

6. kwa It seems, as if, like, kind of, denotes an object or an action the quantity or quality of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

\[ \text{hats} \quad \text{kwa} \quad \text{tö'hits} \quad \text{just} \quad \text{as} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{it} \]
\[ \text{kwa's} \quad \text{kwa} \quad \text{h'il-cat} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{tät} \quad \text{almost} \quad \text{as} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{shook} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{earth} \quad 16.2
\]
\[ \text{hats} \quad \text{kwa} \quad \text{ö'yu} \quad \text{wina'qaxem} \quad \text{lul} \quad \text{löwe'wat} \quad \text{just} \quad \text{like} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{rainbow} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{spread} \quad \text{out} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{which} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{eating} \quad 32.14
\]
\[ \text{hats} \quad \text{kwa} \quad \text{qö'mil} \quad \text{just} \quad \text{like} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{(am)}
\]

7. yiku, k* maybe, perhaps, I guess. Both forms appear without any apparent distinction. This particle may apply to any part of speech in a sentence, and its position is freely movable. It has a 3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——25

§ 88
dubitative character. It expresses the possibility of a certain action taking or having taken place, and at the same time doubts the certainty of its occurrence.

\[ h'ni k' \text{exem} \text{l}i'ye \text{h}a'\text{L}utc \] there perhaps amongst (them) is your elder brother 94.28

\[ ts' \text{he}wes'ni \] merely perhaps you two are lying 28.13, 14

\[ \text{la'}*\text{letat} \text{k}u \] (she) may get hungry 64.15

\[ \text{x}i'\text{a'nis} \text{k}u \] maybe (that) you are sick

This particle is very often followed by the negation in not.

\[ \text{yi}k\text{u} \text{in} \text{x}i'\text{a'nis} \] he is probably sick (literally, maybe [or maybe] not he is sick)

When followed by the future particle hanl, it amalgamates with it into \[ \text{yi}k\text{wanl} \] or kw\text{anl} (see §§ 8, 9), and it is translated by (i) wonder whether, (i) suppose if.

\[ n'k\text{wanl} \text{a'ya} \text{y}a'\text{ya} \text{won't I loose my breath?} \] (literally, not I perhaps will [be] gone my breath) 54.13, 14

\[ \text{la}'\text{a}w\text{at} \text{k\text{wanl} suppose I hit that one with a club (literally, that one I hit it with a club perhaps shall) 124.16} \]

\[ \text{yi}k\text{wanl} \text{d}i'\text{lit} \text{i' y}o\text{v\v^w} \text{at I wonder what I shall eat (literally, maybe will that there I eat it) 32.19, 20} \]

It is contracted with the following \[ \text{\u} \] into \[ \text{yi}k\text{\u}, \text{\k\u} \] (see § 9 and p. 391).

\[ \text{yi}k\text{\u} \text{in} \text{la}'\text{yi} \] perhaps that will be good (literally, perhaps would [be] that not good)

\[ \text{yi}k\text{\u} \text{a}c\text{it} \text{y}u\text{l} \text{\il m\ha} \text{\w\i}\text{ts I wonder how it would be if I should make a dam (literally, perhaps would [be] how, if should a dam I make) 34.16} \]

\[ \text{\in k\u} \text{aic ha}'\text{p\i} \text{t \tes a\mi'\nk\a} \text{t could not my son-in-law cut off a chunk?} \] (literally, not perhaps would a chunk cut off this my son-in-law) 128.29

When followed by the particle \[ \text{\u} \text{surely} \] (see p. 388), it is contracted with it into \[ \text{yi}k\text{\w\i} \] or kw\text{\i} (see § 8), and lends to a statement a high degree of probability.

\[ \text{qi'a}w\text{ax kw\text{\i} \text{\il y}e \text{h}a'\text{L}utc above may (be) surely your elder brother 96.4, 5} \]

The particle \[ \text{yi}k\text{u}, \text{k}u, \] appears sometimes as \[ \text{yi}k\text{wa}, \text{yi}k\text{we}, \text{or kwe}. \]

The reason for this phonetic change could not be found.

\[ \text{yi}k\text{wa} \text{gan\text{\i}c \tes where may it have gone?} \] (literally, perhaps somewhere it went?) 88.3

§ 88
yikwe diyl te yk'ld'venit what may it be that I see? (literally, perhaps something this I see it) 108.11
kwa kwe yù in ë'yu l slaì (I) wonder if it is not so, cousin? (literally, as if perhaps very not surely [it] must be, O cousin!) 38.21

8. hakwal, kwat. A compound particle having the same significance as kwa. It consists of the unexplained prefix ha- (which seems to occur also in hamìl, see p. 392), the particle kwa, and the abbreviated form of diyl (see p. 407).

hakwal wìdana lam le bi'kwot kind of reddish (were) the feathers 20.10
k!wòent hakwal qa'txat he heard some kind of a noise (literally, he heard as if a noise were made) 60.29

9. qen denotes suspicion. It is very difficult to render it in English otherwise than by a whole sentence.

kwa qen diyl l!i'meq she suspected some scent (literally, as if, suspicion, something [a] smell) 24.10
kwa qen mä lè sìnda'éwot it seems as if you two are hiding a person (literally, as if, suspicion, a person you two are hiding) 24.11

10. qaiku expresses a supposition on the part of the speaker. It was invariably rendered by I THOUGHT. Its first component can not be analyzed, while the second is clearly the particle kù.

qaiku ìxa wutxa'dxa ëit te'is hi'me I thought they two were going to come back, these our two children 44.7
qaiku in il ye'new lò I thought not surely (this was) your property 112.7

11. qainì. Neither of the two elements of this particle can be analyzed. It indicates that a certain fact came suddenly into one's recollection, and may best be translated by OH, I RECOLLECT, I REMEMBER. It is usually amplified by the particle l (see p. 392), which either follows it immediately or else is placed at the very end of the sentence.

qainì l nòd'waìa ì qàyìs he recollected that this was a spider (literally, recollection, must be, with [its] spider, world) 30.8
qainì hù nòd'we ì qàyìs l he came to remember that there was such a thing (literally, recollection, perhaps, with such a thing, the world, must [be]) 32.9

12. natsì. It is used by the speaker for the purpose of expressing doubt. It was rendered by I DOUBT.
natsi xdi'l la^ lōwe'wat I doubt (whether) some one (will) eat it
36.9
natsi xtic tln sqats (we) doubt (whether) we (shall) catch it
56.19, 20

13. hēn HEARSAY. It denotes that a certain occurrence or fact is
known to the speaker from hearsay only. It may best be trans-
lated by I WAS TOLD, IT IS SAID.

hâ'vî hēn le vo'ngas û temî'snâte grew up the Spider's grandson,
it is said 66.11, 12
penlô'vai hēn ta'nitan whales are reported to (have) come ashore
128.28
ye'ne'w û le hēn la^ yai'wâit your enemies (as I heard you say) those I
killed 110.16, 17

14. il SURELY, CERTAINLY, confirms a statement, and gives it the
appearance of certainty. It is often used in apposition to hēn,
whenever the speaker wishes to imply that he himself was a wit-
ness of a certain occurrence. It denotes knowledge by experi-
ence, and may be translated by I SAW IT. It either follows or
precedes that part of a sentence which it is to specify more
clearly.

mâ ìl ye'lôwê'wat persons I do eat, indeed 24.18
yîloxqâ'nis mâ il I am a doctor, surely 10.2
tôî ìl e'la'nâ there, indeed, sit down 38.22
yî'itô'wît îl I saw him, for sure
wa'nîs îl he is sick (I saw it)
be'yî hanel it will be good certainly 15.9 (hanel = hanî + îl
see § 7)
in hel sla not so, cousin 42.23 (see § 7)

15. cku indicates knowledge by evidence. It is used whenever the
speaker wishes to state a fact that occurred beyond doubt, but
whose causes are not known to him. It is composed of cE (see
p. 389) and kâ. It may be rendered by IT MUST HAVE BEEN
THAT.

yâ'xwâ cku hâ'mâl'ê yu'kwee two women must have gone ashore
126.11, 12 (the speaker knows this fact to be true by examining
the tracks on the sand beach)
hats cku kwâ xmî la^ tôî hîthîtôwê'wat just it must be as if a per-
son that thing there put it 112.2 (the evidence of this fact was
the finding of the object in question)

§ 88
§ 89. Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas

16. *yiqa*, *yiqa*. The exact significance of this particle is not clear. It was rendered by *still, anyway, at any rate, nevertheless, right away, just*. In some cases it denotes a continual action.

*yiqa in to'qats he to'qmas* still not he hit the woodpecker 22.5
*yiqa hanl. *tsxv* e'hauto'wat *b'ye *tx* at any rate, you will here leave your canoe 54.10, 11
*yiqa hanl. *yla* right away I am going
*mā yu'xwa mā la, *yiqa *il tsxav'wat* even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10
*hats *yiqa xqav'wat *xwa hvinda e'wat* just continually from above they two look at it 6.9

17. *qats* HOWEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NOTWITHSTANDING.

*xqav'wat hā'k!vitēm, la* w* qats kwa ā'yu lova'hai qa'xante* from above, some one pulled him, however, it seemed as if he surely ran upwards (by himself) 92.9, 10
*qats kwilkwā'yu, hats laqawwe le ā'la* nevertheless it was cut off (and) it just died, the child 76.15, 16

18. *mā* BUT, EVEN IF, REALLY.

*mā yu'xwa mā la, *yiqa *il tsxav'wat* even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10
*ma yanlawe ti'milī dīl e'to'qats, *yiqa hanlawe la* e'tsxav'wat even if strong something you will strike, still you will kill it 124.11, 12

*mā* with the negative particle *in* is rendered by *not at all*.

*mā in mā kwa'nīya, mā wāndj l!uíxem* not at all people he saw, nevertheless that way he was talking (making believe that he saw them) 30.27

19. *nā, nāyim* BECAUSE.

*ealqită'mī, nāyim wāndj e*l!uíxem* you scare me, because that way you are talking 110.15, 16
*nā ā'yu qa'lyeq ha'ltisat* because surely salmon (will) come into the river 36.26

§ 90. Particles Denoting Emotional States

20. *cE* expresses slight surprise at a state of affairs that has come into existence contrary to one’s expectations.

*hāw'mās cE la ā'la* a female (was) his child (a boy was expected in this case) 108.6

§§ 89–90
dad'mil e' a'yu a man (it was) surely
tsilim'ye e' summer it got 30.20
tso e' lg! now it was cooked 34.2
yuu e' le e'k'a'lat too loud you shout (literally, very contrary to my
expectations you shout [the speaker ordered the whale to shout
loud, but he did not expect such a noise; hence the use of e' in
this sentence]) 36.15
hawii e' le w'ingas u temi'snate grown up (has) the Spider's
grandson (this statement was made by a person who believed
the boy to have been dead) 64.24, 25
e' is combined with the future particle hanl into canl, and with the
potential ul into cul (see § 9). These new particles express
expectation that will certainly be fulfilled, and may be trans-
lated by I hope, it ought.
ev'yi canl you will be all right (I hope) 124.14
ni canl t'icte xa'wil (I hope) he won't do anything to me (literally,
not to me, it ought, what he does) 116.2
yuu cul jk' kid'iwa'vis yuu ni' mlet I ought to get very tired, if I
keep on spearing (literally, very much, it ought to be, I with-
out laziness, if should I spear it) 34.17
le'yi cul i la'u in kwilkwad'yu good it might have been if that one
not had been cut off 76.16
la'u cul ni'c'ic is pui'yat (of) that a little we two ought to take
home 112.3
e' is frequently prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun te, forming
a new particle c'te or cta. This particle often follows the
interrogative forms of to'te, di'il, and wit (see pp. 407, 411),
giving the interrogation a tinge of surprise, as it were.
ev'iti'c' ta who are you? (literally, you, who is it?)
di'il cta te jk' ult what do I see? (literally, what is it that I
see?) 106.16, 17
xtc'ctu cta te la'u in l'no' tat why does it not come open? (literal-
ly, why is it that that one not comes open?) 76.4

21. c'il indeed. Composed of e' and til. It has retained the signifi-
cance of both of its component elements. It consequently
denotes a fact known by actual experience, at the occurrence
of which the speaker is surprised, as it came into existence
contrary to his expectations.
his c'il e'ne ye e'mil'ku ka la u x'na'at also indeed, thou, O heart
of salmon! runnest? 36.19, 20
tso c'il xwändj'ye now, indeed, that way it is 8.2
ev'ne c'il you it is, indeed 10.3

§ 90
This particle occurs frequently with the transitional suffix -iye (see § 35).

hitc indicates surprise. The native Coos is unable to render it. Its meaning was deduced from the sense of the sentences in which it occurred.

§ 91. Particles Denoting the Conditional

23. āL WOULD, SHOULD. It puts the sentence in which it occurs in a potential mode. It may either precede or follow the verb to which it belongs.

kat’emisen qalim’ye āL wu’tsee ter ā’la in five days, if should return my child 42.22, 23

la‘u āL ยก’ Reed’wit ali’cani ะ mēn (I) should be the one to see them play, if— 92.16

ยก’ Reed’its āL I should find it if—

xtolv’tcū how would it be if— 5.2 (contracted from xtol’tcū + āL; see § 9).

24. yūL IF—SHOULD, IF—WOULD. It gives the sentence a conditional tinge. It occurs usually in the subordinate sentence whenever āL has been used in the co-ordinate sentence, although it is frequently used independently of āL. It always precedes the verb.

xtolv’tcū yūL ะ sōt’thīn’nī how would it be if we two should trade? 15.6

yūL kvōd’ēwat la‘u ิน āL aiaēwā’yu le hī’me if she had seen it, they not would have been killed, the children 58.10, 11

le’γi yūL งนี’me good (would it be) if I should have a fish-trap 34.19

25. yanL IF expresses the conditional in the present or future tense. It usually precedes the verb, and it is used in subordinate sentences in apposition to hanL. It also occurs independently of hanL. Since the native Coos does not distinguish between the conditional present and future tenses, yanL is used to express also the present conditional.

ī nī hanL kvōd’ū, yanL งำ’d’letet they will not see me, if I [will] work 128.23, 24

§ 91
yal en dōwā'ya wāndj, yīxē' ḍīl hanl ə'mitsmitstā'mī if you
don't want it that way, one thing I will teach you 124.7, 8
... yawl yea'i l'tā'atc is ḍelāq when in another country we
two shall arrive 28.23
yōk'emint yanol I guess, I will try, surely (literally, if I shall try,
surely; yanol = yanol + ɪl; see § 7)

§ 92. Exhortative Particles

26. L MUST, NECESSARILY. It signifies that a certain state of affairs
or an action must take place. It has therefore the force of an
emphatic imperative. It is placed either before or after the
verb (or noun), no matter whether the verb is used in its impera-
tive form or not.

Itcīlā'āris L ə'ni l'd'ęx close to the shore you (must) go 30.23
 qa'xante L pe'lte loud you (must) shout (literally, shout upwards)
30.26
in L tōtē wātē teq, dā'ilī don't you do anything to my husband
(literally, not [must], manner, do it, [to] that my husband) 26.15
Čīne tilid'qi L you must stay (here)
e'leqa'xwiłtanā L you (must) tell a story 38.13, 14
lō L ūl le'vi this must be good (literally, that thing, necessarily,
should be good) 40.25

27. hamōl, mił, īl. The exact function of this particle defies all
attempts at an explanation. It was usually translated by LET
ME, I SHOULD LIKE TO, BETTER (IT WILL BE, IF), whenever it
referred to the speaker. When referring to the person spoken
to or spoken of, it was rendered by BETTER, YOU MAY, PLEASE,
A WHILE.

hamōl ykwōnd'č'wat I should like to look at him
mił dītē' ɪs'č'hitś better hit this one 124.15
hamōl ə'ne wātēt č'k's'ntqem you may with it try 92.1
hamōl ɛ'ltātś please, speak 16.2
mił halt! ə'ne wātēt č'ltātś now you with it speak (a while) 16.5
īl hanl wōtis wōlād? what (would be) better to do? 86.10

In examining these sentences one must arrive at the conclusion that
hamōl (or mił) is of an exhortative character. By its means the
speaker either asks permission of the imaginary person spoken
to, to perform a certain action, or he conveys a polite command
to the person spoken to. In both cases the granting of the desire
is a foregone conclusion.

§ 92
hamil and mil are contracted with the periphrastic han into hamilan and milan, adding to the particle a future significance.

hamilan yi!e'te let me go out 28.26
hamilan ni'k'in yowlö'wat let me look for wood 102.3
milan e'muxitisa'mi permit me to feel of you 72.17

28. kwís let us two. This particle is composed of the particle kut perhaps and of the inclusive form of the personal pronoun is we two. Its function is that of an imperative for the inclusive. The verb, which it always precedes, takes the imperative suffixes.

kwís lexd'te let us two chop wood 26.15, 16
kwís tse'mlitse te tahā'lik' let us two loosen that quiver 122.27

29. kwín let us (all) exercises the function of the imperative for the first person plural. The first component is, beyond doubt, the particle kut perhaps. The second element can be no other than the personal pronoun for the first person plural lin. The contraction of kut+lin into kwín may have been effected by the analogy of kut+is into kwís.

kwín le tsxe'we let us kill him quickly 68.3
kwín sqa'tse let us seize it

§ 93. Particles Denoting Emphasis

30. héi. By its means the Coos emphasizes any part of speech. It usually precedes the word to be emphasized.

héi yū xtc'ayusw mā a very insignificant man (literally, emphasis, very small man) 42.6
héi xi'la lowbtat xal̩apac she first ran into the water 56.9
héi cil kwē'h-iye surely, indeed, it was a girl 12.1, 2

Whenever héi precedes the conjunction hats, it forms a new particle, which is rendered by suddenly.

héi'hats mā k'ilō'wit suddenly a person she saw 54.2
héi'hats linōw'tat le tc!'le suddenly came open the door 62.5

31. héikwain exceedingly (like the English colloquial awfully). This particle consists of the following three independent and separable components: héi, kwa, and in. Literally translated, the particle means verily, it seems not. Since the phrase is used as a sort of an exclamation with an interrogative character, it may best be compared to our English exclamation isn't this a fine day! which really means this is a fine day.

§ 93
§ 94. Restrictive Particles

32. **tí** is used in direct discourse only. It always follows the word that is to be emphasized.

\[ \text{tí e} \text{dówá:yex̂atí}s \ gə\text{'wa} \ \text{I am (emphatic) the one you wanted (last) night} \]
\[ \text{tí e} \text{húw:mís} \ \text{you will (be) a woman (emphatic)} \]
\[ \text{tí e} \text{kwo\text{'}xal li\text{'}ye e} \text{húw:lútc this (emphatic) (is) the bow (of) thy father} \]
\[ \text{tí e} \text{qal\text{'yeq} in íte penlo\text{'}wai it is salmon, not whale (literally, salmon [emphasis], not [emphasis] whale)} \]

§ 95. The Interrogative Particle **í**

35. **í**. This particle, exercising the function of our sign of interrogation, is used only in sentences that have no other interrogation. It is usually placed at the end of the sentence.

\[ \text{a\text{'}yu e} \text{iloqwa\text{'}nis í surely (art) thou a doctor?} \]
\[ \text{tsír u} \text{xw la í did they two go (by) here?} \]
\[ \text{e} \text{kwo\text{'}nda\text{'}kat í neq hú\text{'}xátic have you seen my elder brothers?} \]

When preceded by the particle **han**, **í** is rendered by **may í**?

\[ \text{qo\text{'}nís} \text{han í may I eat it?} \]
THE PRONOUN (§§ 96-100)

§ 96. The Independent Personal Pronouns

Coos has two sets of independent personal pronouns, formed from two different stems.

The first of these two sets is formed from the stem -xkan for the first and second persons, and -xka for the third person, to which are prefixed the personal pronouns (see § 18), giving the following series:

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<th>1st person</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>xke'kan</td>
<td>c'e'kan</td>
<td>x'ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>xwe'kan</td>
<td>zwinn'e'kan</td>
<td>ic'e'kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>linwe'kan</td>
<td>cine'e'kan</td>
<td>itzi'kan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The obscure vowel in ne'xkan is due to the law of consonantic clusters (see § 4).

For the dropping of the glottal stop, inherent in the second person singular, see § 3.

The peculiar vowels in the third person singular may be the combined effect of accent and of the dropping of the final n.

It will be seen from this table that the singular forms are the basis for the corresponding dual and plural forms. Thus, the inclusive is formed by combining the inclusive pronoun is with the singular for the first person ne'xkan; the second person dual is composed of the personal pronoun for the second person dual ic, and the singular for the second person e'xkan; etc.

These pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be translated by I (THOU, HE . . . ) AM THE ONE, WHO —

ne'xkan hanl la' pa'inti'yat te xar'p I will be the one to run away with that water 40.20, 21
his hanl e'xkan yixe'ek'wint also thou shalt be the one to shoot one (arrow) 13.1

§ 96
That the dual and plural forms of this set are not felt to be integral units, and may easily be separated according to their component elements, is best shown by the following example:

\[ tō hänł ne'akan xwin ő'ltō'mi \] now will we two tell thee

126.21, 22 \((ne'akan xwin instead of xwinne'akan)\)

This use of the singular pronouns in place of the plural has been referred to in § 46.

The second set of independent personal pronouns may be called the "verbal set." These pronouns are formed by prefixing the personal pronouns \( y, e^e, \) etc., to the stem -ne, which seems to have a verbal significance. The pronouns thus obtained may be translated by \( it \) \( is \) \( i, it \) \( is \) \( thou, etc.\)

The third persons singular, dual, and plural have no special forms in this set; but they are replaced by \( xú, ūwxu, īwxu, \) forms related to \( xú'kā, ūwxu'kā, \) and \( īwxu'kā.\)

The series follows.

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<th>1st person</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3d person</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\[ hīs hänł y'ne tei qla \] I too will go there 94.22

\[ hali! e'ne tsiw' e'stōuq \] now it is thy turn to stand here 64.32

\[ hīs xū e'p'a'loket \] she too is working 22.26, 27

The Possessive Pronouns (§§ 97-98)

§ 97. The Sign of Possession, \( û \)

The idea of possession is expressed in Coos by means of the possessive particle \( û, \) which follows the term expressing the possessor, and precedes that indicating the possessed object. The possessor is not infrequently preceded by the article.

§ 97
The possessive sign very frequently takes the place of the possessive pronoun for the third persons singular and plural.

The possessive sign is employed in impersonal sentences, where the subject of the sentence is qā'ýis world or mēn people. In these cases the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the possessive sign is affixed to the possessed object, immediately preceding the subject. The sentences are rendered by there was, they are.
§ 98. The Possessive Pronouns Proper

The possessive pronouns proper are formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns *y, e*, etc., the article *le* or *he*, or the demonstrative pronoun *te*. These forms may be regarded as loose prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>hey</th>
<th>ley</th>
<th>tey</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>h'ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>hā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ła</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>he'ls</td>
<td>le's</td>
<td>te's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he'mwin</td>
<td>le'mwin</td>
<td>te'mwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>he'c</td>
<td>le'c</td>
<td>te'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>he'ax</td>
<td>le'ax</td>
<td>te'ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>he'lin</td>
<td>le'lin</td>
<td>te'lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>he'cin</td>
<td>le'cin</td>
<td>te'cin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>he'il</td>
<td>le'il</td>
<td>te'il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The second person singular *h'ye* has resulted from the combination *le* + *e*. This phonetic irregularity remains unexplained. The forms *h'ya* and *la* occur before nouns having a-vowels (see § 7).

ā'yu cīb'ye hey kw'ad'tis surely, true came my dream 100.14
la' kwínav'éwat h'ye iluwe'stís that one is looking into thy heart

14.8
pī'nts bī'ya kəla bend thy foot 120.13
hān yē'es la' la'k'its into his mouth she poured it 102.12
la' hanl he'is hal'dlis these shall be our two subjects 124.6
halt! yū nā'nt he'lin c'ələtə'was too great (is) our work 68.27
lōwā'kats he'il ē'nutə living is their mother 84.21
lā l'ahā'was her clothes 110.3
lōwā'kats la a'la his child remained 110.10
wē'nis lē'xwin k'əlātc sick is our (dual) father 126.18, 19
iō lō'tūt lē'c k'əlātc you two go and get your (dual) father 20.13
āx kwiskwō'wat le'āx k'əlō'nts they two were informing their (dual)
father 20.25
l'yuwō'lte le'cĩn sō'wel! wiggle your fingers! 122.8
qtsxaw'wat hanl tey mō'nk'atc I will kill that my son-in-law 26.22
tī'yeex k'əlātc hanl la' k'ō'lō'nts tī'ye īx' thy father will find thy
canoe 54.11

A peculiar form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular is the frequently occurring *tey*. This form may be explained as a reduplicated stem, in which the first *n* is, so to speak, the article for the first person singular, formed in analogy to *le* or *he*.

*tey phā'k'atc hanl yk'-'tō'mit* my grandfather I shall see
*aιa'i-wā'yu tey hī'me* killed were (all) my children 62.18

§ 98
The personal pronouns without prefixes are often employed as possessive pronouns. In such cases the second person singular ə occurs as ye'.

\[ \text{vətə yədə'mıl? which one (is) my husband?} \]
\[ \text{a'yə yədə'ya I am out of breath (literally, dead my breath)} \]
\[ \text{nəənt həhl ye' ləwə'was you will have much to eat (literally, much will [be] your food)} \]
\[ \text{kə həhl ye'n kə'wiənts yədə'ats a rope around thy neck I'll put} \]

In two instances the possessive pronoun of the third person singular is amplified by the addition of the possessive sign.

\[ \text{lə'yi hə u əluwe'ətəs he is good-natured (literally, good [is] his heart)} \]
\[ \text{dzə'li lə u kwə'yəs a fur-seal (as) his dog} \]

A possessive pronoun expressing absence is formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns the prefix kə'lə-. The form for the first person singular only could be obtained in this series.

\[ \text{nɨ kwəskə'li təx kə'lə̱ mə not me informed that my (absent) grandmother} \]

Besides these pronouns, there is another series of independent possessive pronouns. They are formed by prefixing to the verbal form of the personal pronouns ə'ne, e'ne, etc., the article hə or le, or the demonstrative te, and by suffixing the possessive sign ə.

| Singular . . . | 1st person . . . | hey'ne'w |
| . . . | 2d person . . . | ye'ne'w |
| . . . | 3d person . . . | hezə'w |
| Dual . . . | Inclusive . . . | həsə'new |
| . . . | Exclusive . . . | həzəxin'new |
| . . . | 2d person . . . | helenew' |
| . . . | 3d person . . . | hezəxə'w |
| Plural . . . | 1st person . . . | helin'ne'w |
| . . . | 2d person . . . | hezin'ne'w |
| . . . | 3d person . . . | heiltə'w |

The second person singular shows a phonetic irregularity which I am at a loss to explain.

These pronouns are independent, and have a verbal significance. They may be rendered by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc.
hey'ne\textsuperscript{o} lō te qes'mā my property is that camas 112.6,7
e\textsuperscript{e} hey'ne\textsuperscript{o} y'le you (are) my enemy 118.3
y\textsuperscript{e} ne\textsuperscript{o} pōl z\textsuperscript{e} d'nēx thy cradle is new 38.17
hexē\textsuperscript{u} lō hēn it is his property (it is said) 116.21, 22

§ 99. The Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixing the possessive pronouns to the stem \textit{tet body}. The possessive pronominal prefixes for the first and second persons singular are \textit{q} and \textit{ye}\textsuperscript{e} respectively. The third person singular has no pronominal prefix. The rest is regular.

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<th>1st person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>\textit{qet}</td>
<td>\textit{yetet}</td>
<td>\textit{tet}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>\textit{he'ie\textsuperscript{et}}</td>
<td>\textit{he'zw\textsuperscript{et}}</td>
<td>\textit{he'ie\textsuperscript{et}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>\textit{he'īn\textsuperscript{et}}</td>
<td>\textit{he'ō\textsuperscript{et}}</td>
<td>\textit{he'ī\textsuperscript{et}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{qē\textsuperscript{o} hits qet} I hit myself
\textit{lō\textsuperscript{u}r\textsuperscript{ī}it ye\textsuperscript{e}tet} watch thyself 74.3
\textit{wānd\textsuperscript{j} πi\textsuperscript{icō}īs tet} thus he warmed himself 32.8
\textit{āx l\textsuperscript{ī}w\textsuperscript{ī}n\textsuperscript{ē}it he\textsuperscript{e}w\textsuperscript{et}} they examine themselves 84.3
\textit{īl yu\textsuperscript{o}x\textsuperscript{ītis he\textsuperscript{ē}l\textsuperscript{īt}} they rubbed themselves 52.13

The particle \textit{t\textsuperscript{n}ī\textsuperscript{ex} ALONE} is not infrequently placed before the verb (see § 108), and emphasizes the subject.

\textit{wā\textsuperscript{n}ī\textsuperscript{ex} qtō\textsuperscript{o} hits qet} alone I hit myself

§ 100. The Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns exhibit a variety of forms. Attempts have been made to discover whether the different forms may not indicate position from the standpoint of the speaker; but they have proved unsuccessful, owing to the fact that this idea does not seem to be clearly developed in Coos. Only the first two pronouns seem to accentuate this distinction. The following demonstrative stems have been found.

\textit{§§ 99–100}
tēi denotes an object that is near to the speaker, and may be translated by this here. It always precedes the object to which it refers.

It is frequently employed as an adverb in the sense of here.

tēi ḥañł tō'ḥits this here he shall hit 20.14

It indicates an object that is away from the speaker, and may be rendered by that there. It usually precedes the object.

tkwōlē'wat te to'qmas he is following that (there) woodpecker 22.2

It may be translated by this here.

"te" often exercises the function assigned in English to the conjunction that.

axōltcū te gōw's mīlātc e'gyxwome why (is it) that always you travel? 48.14

axōltcū te wāndj ē'iltā's why (is it) that thus you tell it to me?

(For te as a prefix in possessive pronouns, see § 98. See also under las below, and lewi, p. 402.)

"dītle'. A compound pronoun composed of the indefinite particle dīl something (see p. 407) and the demonstrative tēi this here. It may be translated by this here.

"dītle' kəl'yex this stone here 124.16, 17

"dīl'te'. A compound of dīl something (see p. 407) and te that there.

It is usually translated by that there.

"dīle' te kəl'yex that stone yonder

"dīlte' mā the person yonder

la", ha". This pronoun has the force of a whole sentence. It applies to both subject and object, and it is used in singular and in plural alike. It invariably precedes the subject or object to which it refers. It may be translated by he, that is the one; he it is.

yxae'n qalimye las lē'te hāl tō'mill one morning that one went out, (namely) that old man 20.4.

xqantc la" sī'x'wetsa la" toj la from where he (was the one to) scented it, there he (was the one to) go 22.24

la" xwi'luxa ba'novatat that (was the one) his head became bald 30.14

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—26

§ 100
laⁿ temᵃ'le mü laⁿ tc'icilə'ə'-wat he it is the old people (it is they who) sit (on) that, usually 38.3
laⁿ in laⁿ ʃ'lwats he did not look at it (literally, he was the one, not, it was the thing, he looked at it) 40.8
laⁿ hanl əx əʃ'a'-loctet it is they two (who) shall work 68.26
k'ida'minacə haⁿ x'Λ'it into the bowl she put it 102.6, 7
laⁿ and haⁿ are frequently emphasized by the prefixed article or by the demonstrative pronoun te.
le laⁿmak', lalaⁿ te hildzi'yex the bones, those are the Umpqua Indians 50.5, 6
lalaⁿ he löweᵗ'wat that's what she usually eats 24.5, 6
telaⁿ əxwaⁿts te l'ltā I am the one who made that land 10.3, 4
In composite sentences having one and the same subject, laⁿ and haⁿ are used in the subordinate sentence to avoid the repetition of the subject.
kuwaⁿq was svⁿ-v'etsa (le dį'ltō) i laⁿ hu'nī stōⁿq smoke scented (the young man) as he stood there 22.23, 24
xà'naną'ya la ələa i laⁿ leqaʷwe his child made him feel sorry, when it died 42.18, 19

lewi, a demonstrative pronoun with verbal force. It is invariably followed by the article or by the demonstrative pronoun te; and it is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, preceded by laⁿ. It may be translated by IT IS, THAT IS.

lewi le eni k'exem that is it, sticking out 46.11
hēcí əl lewi'yə le te!'t'le surely, indeed, it was a door 72.25

lāł, hāł, a demonstrative pronoun used for subject and object, singular and plural. It precedes the subject or object. It denotes objects that have been previously mentioned. It is composed of the article le, he, and of the abbreviated form of the particle dį'lt SOMETHING (see p. 407).

gə'nōte stōⁿq lāł tō'mił outside stood that old man 20.4, 5
wändį li'ats lāł hūʷmik' thus spoke that old woman 102.10
as' sqats hāł hūʷmik' lex swal again seized that old woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22
əx neqa'qa hāł tem'a'le they two ran away, those old people 24.12, 13

hāł and lāł have a nominalizing function, and often take the place of our relative pronouns.

hats kwa laⁿ əl'yu wina'qaxem lāł löweᵗ'wat just like a rainbow was spread out (that thing) which he was eating 32.14

§ 100
tō'toō tē lō=x tō'w s hāl e'L!lāhē'wēwēt why (is it) that that thing stiff (is) which you have on 110.4, 5

Lō has a nominal force, and denotes that kind, such a thing. It always precedes the object.

ā'yu lō k'v'Lō'w ts he pa'wxwiya surely, that kind he found, the manzanita berries 32.10, 11

tsō ā'yu lō ha'w'wts now surely, that thing she made 60.16

When preceded by a possessive pronoun, lō expresses the idea of property.

hep′ne u lō te qe'mā that camas belongs to me 112.6, 7

Lō has a local meaning, and may be translated by in it, on it. It always follows the object to which it refers.

p'v'sik ëd'tsem lō nīl'c'te xāx p ha'w'we a cup give me, in it a little water have 68.17, 18

tsetl'x'ume lō heu'heu ha'w'we! on this side make a knot (literally, where this side is, on it a knot make) 92.7, 8

k'!ān MY ABSENT. The prefix of this possessive pronoun may be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun (see pp. 328, 399).

THE NUMERAL (§§ 101-102)

§ 101. The Cardinals

1. yāxēu
2. yāxwā'ī
3. yē'psen
4. he'cīl
5. kā'tē'mis
6. yāxē'wēq
7. yāxwā'wēq
8. yāxē'ahāl
9. yāxwā'ahāl
10. lep!qā'nī
11. lep!qā'nī yāxē'w qtsi
12. lep!qā'nī yāxwā'w qtsi

20. yāxwā'ka
30. yāpsē'naka
40. hec'elka
50. kā'tē'miska
60. yāxē'wēqka
70. yāxwā'wēqka
80. yāxē'ahālka
90. yāxwā'ahālka
100. yāxē'nī'k'in
111. yāxē'nī'k'in lep!qā'nī yāxē'w qtsi

The Coos numeral system is of a quinary origin, and, strictly speaking, there are only five simple numeral stems; namely, those for the first five numerals. The numerals for six, seven, eight, and nine are compounds, the second elements of which can not be explained. In the same manner the numeral for ten defies all attempts at analysis.

Besides the cardinals, Coos exhibits special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and distributive numerals, formed by means of adding certain numeral suffixes to the cardinal numerals (see §§ 74–77).

§ 101
The collective numerals expressed in English by the phrases in twos, in threes, etc., are formed in Coos by means of suffixing to the numerals for two, three, etc., the adverbial suffix -e'te (see § 67).

$\text{yuxwe}'te'la^u\ hithito'we'\wat$ in pairs he is putting them down

34.7, 8

$\text{xyipsE'rie'te'}$ in threes

The collective numeral for one, $\text{yixe'ntce}$, shows a peculiar formation. It consists of the cardinal $\text{y\w{a}}'$, the distributive suffix -n (see pp. 327, 341), the modal suffix -tc (see pp. 327, 340, 369), and the suffix -e (see p. 359).

$\text{yixe'ntce} sqats$ together he seized them 64.8, 9

$\text{yixe'ntce} il\ h\s{a}^l\s{a}'\s{a}s$ together they (live) in (one) village 122.18.

§ 102. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten have forms exemplified by ten (twenty) one over. Thus $\text{lep!q\w{a}'n\ yixe'ntq\w{e}}$ eleven literally means ten one over, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of suffixing to the numerals from one to ten (exclusive) the suffix -ka. The numeral for one hundred, translated literally, means one stick, which indicates that the Coos may have used counting-sticks for the purpose of counting up to one hundred. Two hundred would mean two sticks, etc. The numeral one thousand does not seem to have been used at all. There is no special stem for it. The natives to-day form this numeral by adding the noun $\text{mt'k\w{e}n}$ stick to the numeral stem for ten, expressing one thousand by the phrase ten sticks.

THE ADVERB (§§ 103-106)

§ 103. Introductory

The dividing-line between adverbs and particles can not always be drawn very definitely. This is especially true in the case of the three particles expressing locality, time, and modality (see § 112). Adverbs express local, temporal, and modal ideas. A few of them may be said to express local phrases. In a number of cases two adverbs have been combined for the purpose of indicating a new adverbial concept, which is nothing more than an amplification of the ideas conduced by each of the two separate component elements. Some of the local adverbs seem to distinguish slightly between the idea of locality that is near the first, second, or third person; although §§ 102-103
I am somewhat doubtful on that point, owing to the fact that this idea is hardly recognizable in the demonstrative pronouns.

The great majority of modal adverbs occur with the adverbial suffix of modality -tc (see §§ 25, 36), and are often preceded by the modal prefix x- (see § 24). It is conceivable that this suffix may have been originally adverbial par excellence, and that it gradually became confined to adverbs expressing mode and manner. This opinion may be substantiated by the fact that the adverbial suffix -tc, when added to nouns, expresses other adverbial ideas besides those of modality. It is also suffixed to a number of stems expressing local phrases.

The following is a complete list of adverbs that have been found in Coos:

§ 104. Local Adverbs and Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ašt'l</td>
<td>between, halfway</td>
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<tr>
<td>qal'nas</td>
<td>close to the fire</td>
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<td>qa'wax</td>
<td>high up</td>
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<td>qa'xán</td>
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§ 106. Modal Adverbs

ā'yu sure, enough 16.2
yu very, very much 11.5
halt!yū (halt! + yū) too 44.18.
wändj, xwändj thus, that way 68.16; 6.8
p'elukwítc entirely 130.7
ta", ta so, such 52.16
nāntí much, many 44.18
nil'ítc a few, a little 68.17.
ťsd'nó both ways 6.2
tsq'ýéxtc edgeways 28.10
ká'c̓s almost 20.19
xu, ylax, yúxít'k'̌t hardly 28.17

A number of purely local adverbs occur with the modal suffix, implying the modal character of a local idea.

qa'xāntc upwards (literally, in the manner of up) 14.1
qa'nōtcl outside 20.4
qelc downwards 6.4
ył'qántc backwards
le'xátc inside 62.8
e'hěntc far off (compare e'he he was gone 108.9) 26.23
qa'lítc down stream 54.1
teqā'ítc up stream 160.15

The temporal phrase xtemí'towetc from that time on 42.12 may also belong here, although the original stem is no longer recognizable.

Whenever these modalized local adverbs are used in connection with verbs expressing motion or active ideas, they take the verbal suffix -e (see § 55).

e'hěntc stōq far off he stood 26.23
qa'nōtc lin tswu outside we lay 50.10
qelc vux ilax down they two looked 14.2

In e' ehe'ntce yíxul'me not you far away go 112.24
qa'stoxul Lètc outside they went 50.11
qel'tc ts'ux'ti hélag down right here it came 13.5
PARTICLES (§§ 107-112)

§ 107. Introductory

No formal distinction can be made between the stems that were termed "syntactic particles" (see §§ 86-95), and the words treated in the following chapters. Both exhibit practically the same phonetic structure. There is, however, a vast difference between these two sets of words, which asserts itself in the grammatical use to which they are applied, and in the morphological treatment that is accorded to them. None of the syntactic particles can be clearly and definitely rendered when used independently; or, in other words, the syntactic particles are capable of expressing concepts only in a complex of words. On the other hand, all particles proper express definite ideas, regardless of whether they are used independently or not. However, the most important point of distinction between syntactic particles and particles proper lies in the fact that the latter are capable of word composition. Hence all grammatical processes may be applied to them; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of them occur with a number of nominal and verbal suffixes.

§ 108. Pronominal Particles

By means of these particles Coos expresses the ideas conveyed by our indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns. The following particles are employed for this purpose:

wit somebody is applied to persons only. It often exercises the function of a relative pronoun, and is then translated by who.

\[ \text{in } \text{wit } \hat{\text{lo}}' \text{wita } \text{nobody that one can overtake} \]
\[ \text{kwa} \tilde{\text{ni}}' \text{ya } \text{wit } \hat{\text{lul } \hat{\text{hi}w}'' \text{mil}'} \text{she knew who it was that old woman} \]

dvl something is applied to objects other than persons. It always follows the object to which it belongs.

\[ \text{he'nis } \text{dvl } \hat{\text{lo}'' \text{wita } \text{big something I saw}} \]
\[ \text{g}'' \text{ns } \text{dvl } \hat{\text{hul } \hat{\text{hi}w}'' } \text{everything will grow (literally, all something will grow)} \]
\[ \text{y}'' \text{aw}'' \text{dvl } \hat{\text{lo}'' \text{wita } \text{two things I saw}} \]
\[ \text{nte'a'ha } \text{dvl } \hat{\text{lo}'' } \text{tci } \text{he'laq } \text{animals arrived there (literally, something [that is] with legs [walkers] arrived there)} \]
\[ \text{nte'p'e'ne } \text{dvl } \hat{\text{lo}'' } \text{tci } \text{he'laq } \text{birds arrived there (literally, something [that is] with wings arrived there)} \]
dīl is very often abbreviated to l.

$k'wen'yatl \quad qwilō'w'at$ for some food I am looking

(See also under lāl, hūl, p. 402.)

By suffixing the interrogative suffix -u (see § 73) to dīl and wīt, two interrogative pronouns are obtained that may be rendered by what and who respectively (see also p. 390).

$dīl'tū \quad hē \quad tē \quad wūlō'w'at$ what are you continually looking for? 54.3

$wūlī'tū \quad tūs'w'tīl'yat$ who did it?

$wǐctce'$ takes the place of our interrogative pronoun. It always stands at the beginning of the sentence, and may be rendered by which one.

$wǐctce' \quad e'dōwā'ya$ which one do you want? 50.16

$ǐtc$ which occurs very rarely. It may be said to exercise the function of our relative pronoun.

$ǐtc \quad yū \quad hē'mīs$ whichever is the biggest (literally, which [is] very big) 30.21

$ǐtc \quad hē \quad nq'le'ltse$ whichever had a handkerchief 70.19

$ù̂nǐEx$ alone. This particle exercises the function of the reflexive pronoun in intransitive sentences. It is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, and precedes the verb. It is then rendered by myself, thyself, etc. (see also p. 400).

$wūnìEx \quad lāu \quad LÊn$ alone they went down into the water 36.18

$ù̂nìEx \quad ñÊa'let$ alone I work, I myself work

$ù̂nìEx \quad Lōwā'kats$ alone he lived 106.24

This particle occurs sometimes as $ù̂nīExa'na$ or $ù̂nīExa'ŋa$. These forms frequently precede verbs having reciprocal suffixes.

$ù̂nīExa'ŋa \quad lāu \quad hūmī̄isâ'ⁿi$ they marry one another 12.5

$ù̂nīExa'na\quad ūx \quad yā'laⁿ$ they two speak to each other

$ù̂nīExa'ŋa \quad līn \quad tōisâ'ⁿi$ we are hitting one another

When used in connection with possessive pronouns, $ù̂nīEx$ assumes the function of a reflexive possessive pronoun, and may be rendered by my (thy) own.

$wūnìEx \quad ỹhəw̃ts \quad q̃w̃w̃t$ I build my own house

$wūnìExa'na \quad ỹhəw̃ts \quad q̃w̃w̃t$ I build my own house

§ 108
§ 109. Numeral Particles

įk'į both, gous all, he'ma all, denk each, every, and yeai' another, may be called numeral particles. he'ma is used to indicate plurality of the object, and immediately follows the verb, while gous precedes the verb and usually denotes plurality of the subject (see § 18).

go's xwändjį ụ llā'xem they all that way talk 50.9, 10
xygo's mā la kwār'niyahā'ya all people came to know it 102.29
įk'į xwändjį x'nuθ̌'tītī ga'xantīc now another one jumped upwards 76.3, 4

įk'į expresses the idea of duality in both subject and object of the sentence.

įk'į tō'hāts he hit both of them 114.4
e'qe įk'į dead (are) both 120.5
įk'į āx tc'a'ayī both walked 120.19

§ 110. Conjunctions

Coos has a number of stems that must be classed as conjunctions. The following may be regarded as such:

his also hats just
\( tā \text{ and} \) \( tsō \text{ now, then} \)
\( ī \text{ when, as, since, while} \)

his and ta serve as copulas between nouns and sentences.

his xā e'pā'ketet also she is working 22.26, 27
kwār'niyahā'ya láx hā'łātc his láx ē'nutēc his láx ē'k̑ałātc (they) came to know it, her elder brother, also her mother, also her father 86.22, 23
sqats ta tc'amāle'tc l'xant he caught and into the fire he threw him 104.15

i connects subordinate clauses with the principal clause.

ā'ya ụ iluwe'xotīs ī lau lāk'wāl'kā lē xāp he was tired (waiting), while it was running down, the water 17.3, 4
lqatsō'w̌at ī dį he waited, as he came 118.9, 10
\( ī \text{ lau} \) sqats lau wāhī'ye lau lō when one seizes it, it belongs to him (literally, when that one seizes it, that one becomes he [to whom] that thing belongs) 92.22

§§ 109–110
**hats** serves to introduce a new idea. It was conventionally rendered by *just*, although it hardly conveys the idea expressed by our English word.

\[ lqa'at \ t o! w'al'eto kw'i'nait. \]
\[ Hats kwa m'la le w'wa i la\u2012wai'la \]
he opened his mouth, as into the fire he looked. Just like a liver the little girl as she became warm 108.24, 25
\[ \ddag yu'\text{\textasciitilde}'nu\text{\textasciitilde} to!w'il yut he to!wul. \]
\[ Hats y'l'qax qa'gal le swal surely, she built a big fire. Just right away fell asleep the bear 100.27, 28

**hats** . . . **hats** is usually rendered by *as soon as*. **Hats** prefixed to the adverb *yù* very forms a new adverb, **hats**\*\*yù*, which was invariably rendered by *always* (see § 105).

**tsō** indicates a syntactic division with a continuation of the same thought. It was translated by *now*.

\[ "ham\text{\textasciitilde} lan n'k'\text{\textasciitilde} in wu\text{\textasciitilde}w\text{\textasciitilde}w\text{\textasciitilde}wat" wändj l!ä'xem le h\w'mik'. Tsō \ddag yu tsō'yu\w'm k'e sqats "(please) for wood I will look," thus said the old woman. Now, surely, a small basket she took 102.3, 4, 8
\[ mitsis\text{\textasciitilde}ya lål h\w'mik' lex swal, tsō asō' sqats häl h\w'mik' lex swal knew that old woman the bear, now again he seized that old woman, the bear 102.21, 22
\[ tsō \ddag uta' mî tsō hanl \ddag \w'lx when I tell you, then you shall look (literally, now I tell it to you, now shall you look) 17.2, 3

§ 111. Interjections

**ā'nta** **look, behold!** It is always placed at the beginning of the sentence.

\[ ā'nta tē ti'ye mā'laq look! here (are) your arrows! 22.28
\[ ā'nta k\w'\text{\textasciitilde}wite behold, see it! 94.25

**tā'ri** the greeting formula of the Coos. **It was rendered by halloo.**

\[ tā'ri sla' halloo, cousin! 44.3
\[ tā'ri nex ā'la halloo, my child! 28.21

§ 112. Miscellaneous Particles

**în** **not,** a particle of negation. **The particle of affirmation is En.** This is, however, rarely used, being supplanted by the syntactic particle *\u2013 sure\u2013* (see p. 388).

\[ în k\w'\text{\textasciitilde}lō\text{\textasciitilde}ts he did not find it 22.18, 19
\[ ìn în k\v\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}nîya they two did not know it 22.9, 10

(See also § 9.)

§§ 111–112
qantc PLACE, WHERE.

\[ qantc \text{ lel}a^v \text{ la}a' \text{ yam}, \text{ la}^u \text{ his} \text{ x}a^t \text{ to}^l \text{ la} \] wherever they went, he also there went 22.17, 18

\[ \text{y}k\text{wa}a^t \text{n}i\text{ya} \text{ qantc} \] I know where (it is) 80.14

\[ \text{g}o^u^s \text{ qantc} \] everywhere 46.22

\[ \text{in} \text{ qantc} \text{ k}^\prime \text{L}o^u^v \text{ts} \] nowhere he found it

mîlätc TIME. It is used mostly in connection with the numerical particle gôu^s, and is then rendered by always.

\[ \text{g}o^u^s \text{ mîlätc} \text{ L}d^\prime \text{xem} \] always he is talking 14.5, 6

\[ \text{mîlätcu} \text{ hani} \text{ s} \text{wu}^t \text{xe} \] when will you return? (literally, time, question, shall, you come back) 28.3, 4

tcîtc MANNER, KIND, WAY, MODE (see also p. 390).

\[ \text{g}o^u^s \text{ tcîtc} \text{ t} \text{ all}^\prime \text{can}^\prime \] all kinds of (games) they are playing 30.25

\[ \text{tcîtc} \text{ he} \text{ L}\text{ow}^\prime \text{wot} \] whatever he is eating (habitually)

\[ \text{il} \text{ in tcîtc} \text{ is} \text{wau}^\prime \text{wat} \] they can not kill her (literally, they [have] no way [to] kill her) 80.24

ä\'watu WHETHER OR NOT. This particle is very rarely used.

\[ \text{ä\'watu} \text{ ùd}ji \] I may or may not come

\[ \text{ä\'watu} \text{ in} \text{ i} \text{st}^\prime \text{x}^\prime \text{ti} \text{ h}^\prime \text{la}^q \] (they) may or may not come here 90.15

§ 113. The Stem ûts\'ts

Morphologically speaking, it is a verbal stem ûts\(-\), transitivized by means of the suffix -ts, but its application covers such a wide range of different ideas that each of them will have to be enumerated separately.

(1) It is used as an expletive particle with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence.

\[ \text{in} \text{ kwe}^\prime \text{ni}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{m} \text{ ûts\'ts} \text{ he}^\prime \text{il} \text{n}û\prime \text{ntes} \] no one knew how many they were (literally, they [indefinite] not know it, what [was] their number) 78.2

\[ \text{ye}^\prime \text{vi}^\prime \text{l}^\prime \text{ta}^\prime \text{tc} \text{ qîts\'ts} \text{ in another country} \text{ I stay} \] 26.8, 9

\[ \text{xtc}^\prime \text{tc}^\prime \text{tc} \text{ ûts\'ts} \text{ he} \text{n}û\prime \text{sk}^\prime \text{\'vi} \] what is the matter with the Big Woman 72.28

\[ \text{ûts\'ts} \text{ y}^\prime \text{k}^\prime \text{u}^\prime \text{ il} \text{ la}^u \] \text{heni}^\prime \text{ye}^\prime \text{xs} \text{ hini}^\prime \text{ L}\text{ow}^\prime \text{k}^\prime \text{ats} \] he may have been sitting there for a long time 40.14

\[ \text{kwa}a^t \text{n}i\text{ya} \text{ xtcîtc hani} \text{ le} \text{ ûts\'m} \] he knew what was going to happen (the -em in ûts\'m is the indefinite subject suffix [§ 30]) 26.19, 20

\[ \text{ax} \text{ in} \text{ kwa}a^t \text{n}i\text{ya} \text{ qantc ha}^u \text{ ûts\'m} \] they two did not know where he was 22.9, 10

\[ \text{ên} \text{ hani} \text{ tcîtc} \text{ ûts\'m} \] to you nothing will happen 66.5

§ 113
When the transitive suffixes, other than -is, are added to it, its significance is clearly verbal.

\[ yi'kwauL \text{xtcitc yitsitsi'wat } \text{I wonder what I shall do with it} \]

\[ yi'kwauL \text{xtcitc wavin } \text{I wonder what we two shall do with you, how we two shall keep you} \]

\[ \text{xtci'tuc } \text{yitsitsi'wat } \text{il'ye wixv'lis how did you get that your food?} \]

\[ \text{in kooel'myem } \text{xtcito ul } \text{il'setu no one knew what became of them} \]

§ 114. Verbs as Adjectives

The use of verbs as adjectives is confined to a few sporadic instances. These verbs are, as a rule, intransitive, although they occur with the transitive suffix -t. (See also § 117.)

\[ \text{Ikwi'lU } \text{ha^yixu'me she travels blazing (red-hot) (Ikwi- to burn)} \]

\[ \text{Ikwi'lU } \text{tsaxa'lixtc la'^} \text{lo'qHits by means of red-hot pebbles she boiled it} \]

Whether the phrases \[ pa'al'hit le yixu'wex the house is full, g'imrg'vi'tul it is raining, \] belong here, is a problem which is hard to decide, although the psychological relation between these examples and those quoted above is not inconceivable.

§ 115. Nouns as Qualifiers

Substantives are often used to qualify other nouns. In such cases the qualifying noun always precedes the qualified substantive, and both nouns retain their nominal character.

\[ d'il'loL a'la a young boy (literally, a young male child) \]

\[ haw'mik' mä lōwad'kats there lived an old woman (literally, an old female being) \]

\[ tō'mit dā'mit tsxū an old man lay (literally, an old male man) \]

\[ tśāyē'ne tō'mitl̓ le'āx hā' me their (dual) little children were boys (literally, little male children) \]

§ 116. Vocabulary

All Coos stems are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic (mostly bisyllabic). Monosyllabic stems consist of a vowel followed by one or two consonants, of one or two consonants followed by a vowel, or of consonants, vowel, and consonants. Some of the bisyllabic stems that are found in the language have been expanded by means of grammatical processes (see §§ 4, 84).
Examples of monosyllabic stems:

- aiw'- to kill (many) 58.8
- a'w'- to quit 14.4
- e'k'- to be among 46.13
- ila- to look 14.2
- vil- to tell 7.8
- iln- to set up 34.23
- ha'i- to gamble 38.23
- hui- to be ready 19.3
- pāa- to fill 15.7
- sqo- to seize 10.4
- Lqa- to believe 28.13
- tsxoa'- to kill (one) 14.7
- yeq- to run away 36.19
- yōq- to split in two 7.3
- win- to wade 58.2

Examples of polysyllabic stems:

- d'he to be gone 38.15
- y'ixw'- to have, to carry 54.12
- wu'txe to come back 28.4
- ha'kut- to leave 30.8
- sītsīn- to go and see 9.7
- k'ilōu- to see 6.5

- k'ul'na- to look 6.4
- ak'o'nak- to stick out 42.1
- itisil- to recognize 30.28
- y'ine to travel 10.3
- ti'k'ine to stand 62.22

With the exception of the terms of relationship, the nouns indicating parts of the body, and all other words of a denominative character, the Coos stems are neutral and receive their nominal or verbal character through the suffixes.

- stōw’q- to stand 20.4
- Lit'- to speak 9.3
- L'ha- to put on 28.22
- lō'vak'ua- lightning 18.5

- stōwa'qvis wall 90.18
- L'ehyis language 14.5
- L'ahā'was clothes 110.3
- lō'kwit it lightens 18.8

In a few instances nouns have been formed by reduplication or duplication of a neutral stem.

- tqaiz- to put around 28.22
- tco'- to jump
- lxat- to chop wood 26.16
- pūw'- to spout
- le'-p- to paint
- x'ìn- to be on top
- yim- to twinkle

- qa'tqain belt 28.22
- tco'teōx rabbit 60.23
- wx'lwat ax
- pūw'wpūw' a spout 30.25
- t'lip paint
- w'inx'ìn saddle
- yī'myīm eyelash

§ 116
§ 117. Structure of Sentences

The structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, owing chiefly to the fact that in the absence of incorporation, subjects, objects, and predicates are expressed by means of independent words. No strict rules can be laid down for the consecutive order in which the different parts of a sentence occur. It may, however, be said in a most general way, that all adverbial ideas precede the verb, and that the subject of the sentence tends to appear at the very end, especially in subordinate clauses. The object may either precede the verb or follow it.

*kwelè te lète tsù läl tō'nil* in the sweat-house was resting that old man 28.11, 12
*yixïl wëxic tâ le hù'w'nis* into the house went the woman
*lex tsùna' helc l'âts le mä'qal* with the thunder-language spoke the crow
*xwändj a ty'nas he tsâl'yuwx tō'nik* this is the name (of) the small river 46.10, 11
*sqats le hù'w'nis lex swâl* seized the woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22
*mâ xwín wutxa'ýat* a person we two brought home 128.8, 9
*qîl'hîts le dî'tol* I hit the young man

Nominal attribute complements precede the noun. When following the noun, they assume a predicative function.

*tsâl'yuwx tō'nik* a small river  *tō'nik* tsâl'yuwx* the river is small
*he'nis yixïl'wëx* the big house *yixïl'wëx he'nis* the house is big
*xâ'nis mâ* a sick person  *mâ xâ'nis* the person is sick

No formal distinction is made between coordinate and subordinate clauses, nor is the succession of the parts of speech changed in different types of sentences. Subordinate clauses may precede the principal clauses whenever the occasion requires it. Subordinate clauses are distinguished by means of conjunctions that are placed at the beginning.

*k'îl'iwits le qe'mâ lex dîlôl* i la* hî'ni hëluq* the young man found the kamass when he arrived there
*i la* tsùi le hù'w'nis k'îl'iwït* le yù'mî as the woman lay (there)
she saw the stars
§ 118. Idiomatic Expressions

An exhaustive discussion of the Coos idiomatic expressions is limited \textit{a priori} by the scope of the present work. Consequently only the most salient features of this phase of the language will be pointed out in this chapter.

Perhaps the most striking examples of idiomatic phraseology are found in the manner of expressing verbal concepts, like \textit{it grows}, \textit{it fills up}, \textit{it runs}, etc. These ideas are expressed in Coos by means of a phrase which consists of the verbal stem \textit{to go} or \textit{to run} and of the abstract derivative of the particular verbal concept preceded by the sign of possession \textit{u} (see § 97).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{hā'wî} he grew up 64.12
  \item \textit{la ū ha'w'we he tōci'mil} the spruce-tree grew up (literally, goes its growth [of] the spruce-tree) 20.16
  \item \textit{la ū ha'w'we le'āx hā'wîs L/ʔū their (dual) ready land began to grow (literally, goes its growth [of] their [dual] ready land) 8.10, 11
  \item \textit{x'ílwís} deep
  \item \textit{asîl la ū x'ílwîs'ye lex ya'bas} the maggots went halfway deep (literally, halfway went its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12
  \item \textit{paa-} to fill
  \item \textit{la ū paq'wes le xàq'p} the water is filling up (literally, goes its full [mark of] the water) 44.17
  \item \textit{x'in-} to run
  \item \textit{nlë'hî la ū x'nda'at} with it he ran (literally, with it went his swiftness) 42.8
  \item \textit{la ū x'nda'at} he \textit{cwîmì} the bear ran (literally, went his quickness [of] the bear) 86.3
  \item \textit{mil-} to swim
  \item \textit{djî ū mil'e} [it] swam [towards her] (literally, came its swimming [motion of]) 86.3
  \item \textit{haml-} to float
  \item \textit{la ū hamlalâ'was lîl tsâ'yîw'w L/ʔū} that small piece of land kept floating (literally, went its [conception of] floating [of] that small place) 46.10
\end{itemize}
Another idiomatic expression worth while mentioning is the manner in which our terms there is, they are, are expressed. The Coos subject of such a sentence is either the noun qā’yīs world or mēn people, which are invariably preceded by the sign of possession (see § 97).

*tōl*- to be dry  
\[tōl’ū qā’yīs\] there was low tide  
(literally, dry its [condition of the] world) 18.6

\[in tōl’le’xem qā’yīs\] there is no low tide (literally, not dry its [condition of the] world) 15.8

**nīk’īn** wood, tree 26.25  
\[k’i’i’ni’k’īn qā’yīs\] there were no trees (literally, without trees its [appearance of the] world) 8.7, 8

**wa’vawal** spider  
\[nwa’vwal’ā qā’yīs\] there was a spider (literally, with spider its [condition of the] world) 30.3

**tō** that thing 32.10  
\[nīo’we qā’yīs\] there was such a thing (literally, with that thing [as its] the world) 32.9

**kweet’ī** many live  
\[qaiq’īq’īs kweet’ī mēn\] they were living in a small place (literally, a small place [had as] their living [place the] people) 50.7

**k’al**- to shout  
\[qak’ele’ni’we mēn\] they began to shout (literally, began their shouting [act, of the] people) 24.22

**tīk’īne** many stand  
\[tō tīk’īne mēn\] they were standing there (literally, there [the] standing [place was of] people) 74.28

To the same group of idiomatic expressions belong phrases like I (thou, he . . . ) am getting hungry, I (thou, he . . . ) am getting heavy, etc. The verb of such phrases in Coos is always the stem la to go, which is preceded by the attributive complement amplified by means of the modal suffix -tc (see § 36). Consequently such a phrase, literally translated, means into a state of . . . I (thou, he . . . ) go.

**lqā**- to be hungry  
\[lqātc qla\] I am getting hungry

**pl!**- to be heavy  
\[pl!lqtc la\] he is getting heavy

§ 118
A very peculiar expression, though by no means confined to Coos alone, is the manner of forming sentences that have dual subjects. Such sentences present two possibilities. Either both subjects are actually expressed, or only one is indicated while the other is understood.

1. In sentences where one subject is understood, duality of subject is indicated in Coos by using the verb in its dual form, followed immediately by the (expressed) subject.

   yāxā'vexetc úx wu'txe hāl tō'mil into the house they two returned (the whale and) that old man 30.15, 16
   tsō a'yu teī úx la, le āmā'cāte now, surely, there they two went (he and) the grandmother 66.19
   yī'xen goṭim'ye tsī 'snta úx la lā hu'w'mis one morning just hunting they two went (he and) his wife 110.26
   a'yu teī úx la le tek'itsi'nāte surely, there they two went (she and) the granddaughter 80.15, 16

2. If both subjects are expressed, it will be found that, in addition to the dual form of the verb, the dual pronoun is placed before either one or both subjects.

   hōnā hanl úx tīlā'qai le āmāc úx phāk: there shall they two live (namely) the grandmother (and the) grandfather 68.28
   wāndj la úx kwee'nījēm te úx ts'na úx mā'qal thus only they two are known, that Thunder (and) Crow 19.10, 11

In a few instances a similar treatment has been found in sentences with plural subjects.

   yāxā'vexetc ūl la le dā'mil into the house they went (the two women and) the man 128.7
   tsī ūl huwe'itsēm le hu'w'mis just they got ready (he and) the (two) women 130.17, 18

The last idiomtic formation worth mentioning here is the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives in accordance with the three degrees,—the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

A comparative statement in the positive degree is expressed by means of a whole sentence in which the adjective is treated as a noun appearing with the nominal suffixes -es, -ēs (see § 57), or -iye, -āye (see p. 376), and is placed between the subject and object with which it is compared. The sentence is invariably introduced by means of the conjunction his also (see § 110); and its comparative character is

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further indicated by the use of the modal adverb ta, ta\(^u\), so, such (see § 106), which immediately follows the subject of the sentence.

*his y'ne ta y\(\lambda\)ne'tees te e\(\dot{e}\)ne* I am as rich as you are (literally, also I such I [have] wealth [as] this you

*his y'ne ta y\(\lambda\)d'n\(\ddot{e}\)ses le e\(\dot{e}\)ne* I am as sick as you are

*his y'ne ta \(\ddot{v}\)le'ry\(\ddot{e}\)tes te e\(\dot{e}\)ne* I am as good as you are

*his y'ne ta y\(\lambda\)ne'ti\(\ddot{e}\)ses le e\(\dot{e}\)ne* I am as tall as you are

*his x\(\dot{e}\)t ta x\(\ddot{w}\)d'\(\ddot{v}\)\(\ddot{y}\)ye le e\(\dot{e}\)ne* he is as light as you are

*his x\(\dot{e}\)t ta \(\dot{v}\)l\(\dot{e}\)l'ye le e\(\dot{e}\)ne* he is as heavy as you are

*his te l\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{v}\)nik' ta\(^u\) w\(\ddot{w}\)lu\(\ddot{m}\)\(\ddot{y}\)ye te balt\(\ddot{i}\)\(\dot{m}\)\(\dot{\dot{u}}\)\(\ddot{e}\)s that river is as deep as that ocean

In many instances the abstract noun expressing the adjective concept is repeated after the object, in which case the object (and also the subject) assumes the function of a possessive pronoun (for nominal subjects and objects) or of a genitive case (for nominal objects and subjects).

*his y'ne ta y\(\gamma\)aine\(\acute{e}\)s b\(\acute{e}\) ye gaine\(\acute{e}\)es* I am as cold as you are (literally, also [of] me such [is] my cold [condition as is] your cold [condition])

*his e\(\dot{e}\)ne ta y\(\ddot{e}\)\(\dot{e}\)ne\(\acute{\ddot{e}}\)\(\ddot{y}\)\(\ddot{e}\)ses te he\(\dot{e}\)y'ne\(\acute{e}\)\(\ddot{y}\)\(\ddot{e}\)ses you are as young as I am (literally, also [of] thee such [is] thy youth [as is] that my youth)

The comparative degree is expressed by means of a sentence in which the adjective is used in its simple form, while the object is indicated by the use of the instrumental suffix -etc (see § 70). There is a marked tendency to place the object at the beginning of the sentence.

*ye\(\dot{e}\)ne't\(\acute{e}\)c q\(\acute{e}\)le'yi I am better than you are (literally [as compared], with you I [am] good)*

*hex\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{e}}\)tc q\(\acute{e}\)le'yi I am better than he is*

*q\(\ddot{e}\)ne't\(\acute{e}\)c \(\acute{e}\)\(\dot{y}\)\(\dot{a}\)l you are taller than I am*

*x\(\ddot{u}\) q\(\ddot{e}\)ne't\(\acute{e}\)c ts\(\ddot{a}\)l'\(\ddot{y}\)\(\dot{u}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{e}\) he is smaller than I am*

*x\(\ddot{w}\)n\(\ddot{\ddot{v}}\)m\(\ddot{\ddot{m}}\)i\(\ddot{\ddot{t}}\) q\(\ddot{e}\)ne't\(\acute{e}\)c we two are stronger than you are*

The superlative degree may be expressed in two ways. Either the numeral particle \(\ddot{g}\)\(\ddot{d}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{v}}\)s all (see § 109), amplified by means of the adverbial suffix -etc (see § 70), is placed before the simple form of the adjective; or else the nominalized adverb \(\ddot{u}\)la'\(\dot{h}\)\(\dot{a}\)tc\(\acute{e}\)m (see §§ 58, 104) is used for that purpose.

*\(\ddot{a}\)g\(\ddot{d}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{v}}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{e}}\)tc q\(\acute{e}\)le'yi I am the best of all (for the use of the prefix \(\ddot{x}\)- see § 24)*

*te\(\ddot{n}\) \(\ddot{a}\) \(\ddot{d}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{p}}\) \(\ddot{a}\)g\(\ddot{d}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{v}}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{e}}\)tc pl.'\(\ddot{t}\)\(\ddot{i}\)\(\ddot{i}\)s this here is my heaviest coat*

*x\(\ddot{a}\) \(\ddot{u}\)la'\(\dot{h}\)\(\dot{a}\)tc\(\acute{e}\)m he\(\ddot{m}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{t}}\)\(\ddot{t}\)\(\ddot{e}\)\(\ddot{t}\)e he is the biggest chief*

*x\(\ddot{a}\) \(\ddot{u}\)la'\(\dot{h}\)\(\dot{a}\)tc\(\acute{e}\)m \(\ddot{t}\)\(\ddot{m}\)\(\ddot{\ddot{t}}\)\(\ddot{i}\)l m\(\ddot{a}\) l\(\dot{\ddot{t}}\)a'\(\ddot{y}\)\(\dot{a}\)s\(\ddot{t}\)o he is the oldest man in the village*

§ 118
TEXTS

ORIGIN OF DEATH

They cousins (were) two mutually. These they lived together. Both small male beings children.

They cousins (were) These they lived These both they two with wives

Merely just died his child. Not a long time sick his child.

That is looking after the child. Four times at morning it got that one

went to him his cousin. "Thou thinking art. Hallow, cousin! How

1 Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).
2 -sl'a- COUSIN; -ate suffix of relationship (§ 66); -ini distributive (§§ 72, 11, 7).
3 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
4 Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18).
5 Plural stem (§ 51).
6 Numerical particle (§ 109).
7 n- WITH (§ 21); hümak'e wives (§ 78): -e auxiliary (§§ 44, 10, 7).
8 Plural formation (§ 78).
9 Possessive pronoun 3d person dual (§ 98).
10 Plural formation (§§ 78, 115).
11 Plural formation (§ 78).
12 yize' ONE (§ 101); -en multiplicative (§ 75).
13 qalim- MORNING; -eye transitional (§ 85).
14 Restrictive particle (§ 94).
15 witchehaaste- SICK; -i neutral intransitive suffix (§§ 81, 7).
16 Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§§ 88, 7).
17 Particle of negation (§ 112).
18 hen- A WHILE; -eye transitional (§§ 35, 9).
19 zän- SICK; -is nominal (§ 56).
20 Conjunction (§ 110).
21 Conjunction when, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
22 Conjunction (§ 110).
23 ege DEAD; -andya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 70, 7).
24 Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
25 Conjunction (§ 110).
26 ege DEAD; -andya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 70, 7).
27 Conjunction (§ 110).
28 Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
29 Conjunction (§ 110).
30 qalim- TO-MORROW; -is ordinal (§§ 74, 10).
31 Lōan- TO EAT; -om (§ 65).
32 maken- TO WATCH; -katu frequentative (§ 33).
33 Definite article (§ 17).
34 Consequence (§ 110).
35 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
36 Consequence (§ 110).
37 ege DEAD; -andya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 70, 7).
38 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
39 Consequence (§ 110).
40 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
41 Consequence (§ 110).
42 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
43 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
44 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
45 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
46 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
47 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
48 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
49 Consequence WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
50 Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).
51 tönè- TO THINK, -e-nil verbal (§ 45, 10).
52 Interjection (§ 111).
53 Vocative (§ 66).
54 -a modal (§ 24); tcic particle (§ 112); -a interrogative (§ 73).

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ye 37 iluwe'xtcis, 38 
thy heart,

five times morning it gets should return that my child.

Wândj 42 Lâ'xêm 43 "In 17 hel 44 sla. 35 Hats 20 e 32 q'a'mtsam! 45
Thus talking condition.

"Not surely cousin. Just thou eat!

La 4 n'wets hanl 46 ye 37 iluwe'xtcis. 38 
That happy will (be) thy heart.

Thus (he) told it to him.

Tsô 24 qats 48 i'niye 49 tcîto 42 ű 50 iluwe'xtcis. 38 Hats 20 wândj 42

Now still no more manner his heart.

tcîne'heni. 53 "E 32 lalaha'ni 51 hanlê. 52 A'yu 53 in 17 yu 54
thinking (he) is.

"Thee get even with, I—these

Therefore.

he'niye 18 A'yu 53 wîtceuhe'xtci 15 la 16 a'la. In 17 he'niye 18
long time surely sick it is his child. Not long time

xâ'nis. 19 Mândj 55 leq'wê. 21 He'kwaînta 56 ű 50 iluwe'xtcis, 38

sick. Already (it) died. Very bad his heart

f 23 la 3 uq'wê 21 la 16 a'la. A'yu 53 cîl'ye 37 le 28 wândj 42
when that died his child. Surely it was

thus five he'nîye

Thus

li'xêm 43 f 23 la 3 dôwâ'ya 58 wut'xe la 16 a'la. Tsô 24 A'yu 53

Talking condition

when that wants it (to) return his child. Now surely

tcî 29 la. A'yu 32 A'yu 35 cûl 60 wutxa'xa 61 Eit 62
there (he) went. "Halloo, cousin! Surely sought (to) return singly about to

tcî'xâ 63 a'la. Kât'e'misen 39 qalimi'ye 13 fix 1 wut'xe hanl 46 te'îs 63

this our child. Five times morning it gets they return these our (dual)
a'la. Wândj 42 ñî. 47 "In 17 hel 44 sla. 35 Hats 20 hanl 46

Thus (he) told it to him

Thus

e 32 q'a'mtsam! 45 La 3 n'wets hanl 46 ye 37 iluwe'xtcis. 38 

That happy will (be) thy heart.

Thus

li'xêm 43 "Qaikii 64 fix 1 wutxa'xa 61 Eit 62 te'îs 63 hi'me 31 ta 95

Talking condition.

"(I) thought they return singly about to these our (dual) children, and

Notes:

1. Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§ 98).
2. Root: heart (?); -is nominal (§ 96).
3. Root: four; -en multiplicative (§ 75).
4. Syntactic particle denoting the optative (§ 91).
5. Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).
7. li'a— to speak; -xêm generic (§ 30).
8. Syntactic particle denoting degree of certainty (§§ 88, 7).
9. q'mi— to eat; -ts transitive (§ 26); -am (§§ 55, 11).
10. Syntactic particle (§ 87).
11. ñîl— to tell to; -t transitive (§ 26).
12. Syntactic particle (§ 89).
13. In not; -îye transitional (§ 35).
15. Lala— to get even with; -âmi transitive subject and object pronoun 1—three (§§ 46, 10).
16. hanl shall; it surely (§§ 87, 88, 7).
17. Modal adverb (§ 106).
18. Modal adverb (§ 106).
20. Syntactic particle (§ 93); ta so [literally, verily, not so] (§ 106).
21. âmi syntactic particle (§ 90); -îye transitional (§ 35).
22. Do— to wish, to desire; -âni non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
23. Local adverb (§ 104).
24. Syntactic particle (§§ 90, 91).
25. Reduplicated stem wut'xe to come back (§ 83).
27. Possessive pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 98).
28. Syntactic particle denoting degree of knowledge (§ 85).
29. Conjunction (§ 110).
Once upon a time there were two cousins. They lived together. They were both married, and each had a little boy. One morning one of the boys became sick. He was not sick long before he died. The father felt sorry when the child died. Then they buried it. The next day he (the father of the dead boy) could not eat. He was merely looking at the dead child. On the fourth day he went to his cousin. "Halloo, cousin! What do you think? Should my child return after five days?"—"Oh, no, cousin!" answered the other one. "You simply eat, and you will feel happy." He did not know what to answer. He was merely thinking to himself, "I will certainly get even with you."

After a short time the other man's child became sick. It was not very long before it died. The father was very much grieved when his child died. He therefore went to his neighbor and said to him, "Halloo, cousin! I think our two children ought to return. They ought to come back after five days." But the other man answered,
"Oh, no, cousin! You just eat and you will feel happy again. I had intended that our dead children should come back, but you did not wish it that way. And now, whenever people die, they will not come back; because you objected to it. You were right when you spoke against it."

He was justified in thus addressing him. People would have come back after five days if he had originally consented to it. It would have been good if the dead people could come back. Here the story ends. In this manner people relate this story.

The Theft of Fire and Water

[Text content follows]
HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LANG UAGES—COOS

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"'Tei 29 hanl. 31 lin 28 la." Ts6 a'yu 21 tei 30 il 6 la.

"There shall we go." Now surely there they went.

A'yu 21 tei 30 il 6 he'laq. A'yu 21 tcilwa'at 32 te 2 tciwal, il 6

Surely there they arrived. Surely to burn it is that there, fire, when they

te'ex'tits. 33 Hats 8 yiqa 34 k'ilo'wit 35 le 25 xap. Lowa'kats 36

entered. Just right away (he) saw it the water. Sat
tc 30 le 25 ma ha'lqait. Xta'nuwxwi 38

there the person (he) came to. Sideways (he) was sitting. "Halloo,

sla! Is 40 ali'cani 41 hanl. 31 Hats 8 kwa 42 il 4 klayaha'cwat 43

our! We play shall." Just if not (he) hears it.

Xpekwi'tcume 44 Lowa'kats. 38 Ts6 he'niye. 45 ts6 f'lxats. 46

From the opposite side (he) sat. Now (after) a while now (he) looked at him.

"Qaniya'ata 47 e 48 hen'ne 49 50 cante? 51 Wandi 21 L'its. 52

Stranger thou my cousin (surprise) (?)" Thus (he) spoke.

"E'48 leqa'wiyana'ti 53 L. 54

"M'a 54 cku 42 e 48 hen 49 nila'hatecm 55

"Thou story tell must." "But it must thou my at priority

la ye 56 hu'we 57. Ts6 qats 34 L'ets. He'niye 45 e'he gan'o'tca. 58

goes thy growth." Now, however, (he) went A while (he) was outside. gone

Ts6 8 aso 59 te'ex'tits. 33 "Ta 39 slal Anta 39 te 12 ni'k'la 31 ye'ne 56

Now again (he) entered. "Halloo, cousin!" Look this used (to be) thy

pi'il. Te 2 ye'ne 56 pi'il lau 2 L'a'nex. 60 Te 2 hen'ne 49 50 pi'il lau 2

Indian That thy Indian that (is) new. That my Indian that

qal'ox 61; ta 8 te 12 ni'k'la 31 ye'ne 56 na'w'hin, ta 8 te 12 ni'k'la 31

(is) old; and this used (to be) thy shiny-club, and this here used (to be)

32la- to go; -d transitive (§ 26); -qa non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
36 Local adverb (§ 101).
38 Syntactic particle (§ 87).
40 tcitl- to burn; -et causative passive (§§ 41,7).
42 te' to enter; -ts transitive (§ 26).
34 Syntactic particle (§ 89).
36 k'loa- to see; -t transitive (§§ 26,8).
38 Lskeu- to sit; -ts transitive (§§ 26,11).
38 hceq- to arrive; -t transitive (§§ 26,7,11).
40 X- modal (§ 21); tanuwa- side; -te modal (§§ 67,8).
42 Interjection (§ 111).
44 Personal pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 18).
46 alzc toy; -enl verbal (§§ 45,7).
48 Syntactic particle (§ 88).
48 k'loa- to hear; -eet frequentative (§ 33).
50 x- locative (§ 22); pekwil- opposite; -te adverbial (§§ 25,104); -ume nominalizing (§ 64).
52 hen- a while; -pe transitional (§§ 35,9).
54 be- to look; -ts transitive (§ 26).
56 qa'niya'ata belonging to a different tribe, a stranger.
58 Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).
60 Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).
62 Syntactic particle (§ 90).
64 Can not be analyzed.
66 L'd- to speak; -ts transitive (§ 26).
68 Legawwilatikas story (compare legaw wil to die); -enl verbal (§§ 45,7).
70 Syntactic particle (§ 92).
72 n- adverbial (§ 21); is before (§ 101); -te adverbial (§§ 25,103,10,7); -eem adverbial abstract (§ 58).
74 Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§§ 18,96).
76 han- to grow; -e (§ 80); see also §§ 8,118.
78 qam- outside; -te adverbial (§§ 25,104); -a directive (§ 55).
79 Temporal adverb (§ 106).
81 Lan- new; -te adjectival (§ 66).
83 Qal- old (compare qalu winter); -tz adjectival (§ 66).
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HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LANGUAGES—COOS

k’ha’nas. His 8 4inhen’i'yes 92 xy'a'bas 88 q'muts.18 4La 4 2 in 4 2 lau 2 that
ears. Also (in) no time maggot took him. Thate
That one 4 lau 2 not that thing

y’lxats.46 Hats 8 y’qa 34 te’i 30 Löwa’kats.36 Xyúwxw’ 93 mà
(at) looked. Just continually there (he) sat. Two
Two persons

ló’k im’é’wat 94 xpa’i’hitc.94 Wí’yax x’ló’wá’e’wat 78 lin 95
support him steadily from (the) back. Abalone shell (he) caused to be inside
inside his in

xwa’lxwal. Lexa’tem 79 qa’qal. Lau 2 qats 34 kwa 42 a’yu 21
eye. Inside the part (he) slept. That one just as if surely
surely

kw’í’na’t 96 Hitc 50 wí’yax le 25 x’l’i’ye 97 lin 95 xwa’lxwal. Hats 8
looked at it. Surprise abalone shell inside it is his in eye. Just
Just

lá’mak’ Löwa’kats.36 As’l 30 4 x’ílu’wí’ye 99 lex 100 ya’bas, 8ones sitting. Halfway goes its growth (of) the maggot, when
when

lau 2 xy’a’bas 88 lö’we’l’wat.10 Itse’ts 101 yíku 65 il 65 lau 2 heni’ye’s 92
that the maggot eat him continually. May be surely he for some time
one

hi’ni 30 Löwa’kats.36 Tso 5 wändj 21 tće’n’i’heni.73 “Yíkwan 65 dîlt’re’ 96
there (he) sat. Now thus thinking. “Perhaps shall something with
with
ten 70 L’aqá’e’wat?71 Hats 8 kwanl 102 in 4 yú 21 di’l 9 qaya’u’i’we’ye,103
that I point my fingers at him frequently? Just as if not very something
something

yú’l 27 xle’i’ta 15 ni 77 L’aqá’e’wat?71 Wándj 21 tće’n’i’heni.73 Yíqa 34 1n 4
if would with it I point my fingers at Thus thinking, still not
still not

y’lxats 46 le 25 ya’bas; mà 34 il 65 hats 8 lá’mak’ súl’né’l.104 Yíqa 34 1n 4
(he) looked the maggot; how surely just bones joined together.
ever

y’lxats.46 “C’í’n 105 k’e’l’lé’wat.106 Cín 80 sqats hán 31 tr 2 te’l’wal, yánl 27
(he) looked “You not forget it. You grab shall that fire, if shall
at it.

lin 28 tqats.107 Lau 2 his 8 te’ 2 xá’p cín 80 x’int’é’ta 108 hán 31
we win (game). That one also that water you cause it to run shall.”
there

Wándj 21 L’a’xém.82 Yíxe’ 109 mà wändj 21 L’a’xém.82 “Ne’xkan 110
That way talking. One person that way talking condition.
condition.

hán 31 lau 2 1 p 77 x’int’é’yat 111 tr 2 xá’p.—Te’i 2 la 2 of 48 x’int’é’yat 111 hán 31
shall (be) the I 1 run, cause it that water.— This the you to run, cause it shall there
there here

\[\text{footnotes:} \\
\text{102 la negation (§ 112); 1 abbreviated form of di’l (§ 108); henlye a while; -es noun of quality (§ 57).} \\
\text{103 x- discriminative (§ 23); y’á’wé’l two (§ 101).} \\
\text{104 x- from (§ 22); pqal back; -íc local suffix (§§ 67, 10).} \\
\text{105 -d possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); -a- adverbial (§ 21).} \\
\text{106 kwína- to look; -t transient (§ 26).} \\
\text{107 x-1- to be inside (§ 54); -ye transitional (§ 35).} \\
\text{108 Sign of possession (§ 97).} \\
\text{109 x-’lé- deep; -íye nominal suffix (§§ 80, 8).} \\
\text{110 1st article (§ 17); x- discriminative (§ 26).} \\
\text{111 See § 112.} \\
\text{112 kuá as if (§ 83); hán shall (§§ 57, 9).} \\
\text{113 qa’yan- to be afraid; -éye transitional (§§ 35, 8).} \\
\text{114 x-íl- to join; -ní distributive (§ 37).} \\
\text{115 cin personal pronoun, 2d person plural (§ 96); -n á not (see § 96).} \\
\text{116 k-d- to forget; -éwá diminutive frequentative (§ 83); see § 83.} \\
\text{117 tq- to win; -é transient (§ 26).} \\
\text{118 x-ent- to run; -iyat causative (§ 27); -a indirect object pronoun (§§ 49, 11).} \\
\text{119 Cardinal numeral (§ 101).} \\
\text{120 Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).} \\
\text{121 x-ent- to run; -iyat causative (§ 27).} \]
Tsó⁸ xwändj⁸ i'lt.⁸³ "Kwi'yal¹¹² halt!¹¹³ e'ne¹¹⁴ he¹¹
there

Very

fire." Now thus (he) told "Now now thou customarily

put (thy) hands behind (thy back)."

Hats⁸ in⁴ yú²¹ 81²⁹ yú²¹ qayawa'wal.¹¹⁵

Just not very something very

scaring. That never would good,

yú²⁷ x'owá'yasetc.¹¹³

if should snake with

K'late'ha'yim's.¹¹⁹ la²

point (my) finger at

him continually!" Without dying down that one

(he) pointed (the) finger at him.

X'owá'yas hän¹²³ dijl'ete xale'mats.¹²⁴

his at thighs wraps around. Just looks like something

Hats¹²⁵ kwa⁴² xtec.⁷ seven

itsém.⁸⁷ Mā²⁴ ai'wa¹²⁶ in⁴ k'ilō'wit.³⁵

happened. How ever still not (he) sees it.

Hän¹²³ we'he la²

His to wait that one

he'laq le²⁵ x'owá'yas. Hän¹²³ ye'es la² kwa⁴² 'yu'wit.¹²⁷

arrived the snake. His to mouth that one as if threatens (to go).

Ak'a'nak¹²⁸ he'ilta hex¹²⁹ x'owá'yas. Hats¹²⁵ hän¹³⁰ kwa⁴²

Sticks out (the) tongue the snake.

hän¹²³ tecul la² te't'its.³³

his in nose that one enter

one

la² k'ilō'wit.³⁵ Sí'x'its.¹³² e'l'qatce.¹³³ Néqá'ya.¹³⁴ L'xaná'vem¹³⁵

that (he) saw it. (He) shook it

one side to. (He) ran away

from it. (People shout at him)

ye'es. X'î'x'intúti²⁸ le²⁵ telwál. Hé'kwain¹³⁷ xu'h'wis¹³⁸ mā

mouth. (It) is being taken away quickly the

fire. Very

poor person (is)

la² x'intí'yat¹¹¹ le²⁵ telwál. He'yu¹³⁹ xtec'a'yux.¹³³ mā la²

the one person (he is) the

one
HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LANGUAGES—COOS

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tlkwi'tsaman 140 le 25 xəb. Xpiye' etc 141 tlowa'hait 142 he 25 mēn. 143
tack it the water. In the manner of run the people.

Ku'h'anasa'tc 144 ha 2 u lexalxá'yu 145 he 25 tē!wal. Nelihí 146 la 25-98
ear in that one was put in the fire. With it goes his

x'na'nt. 147 le 25 xəp ha'kwal 148 he'mtset 149 i 8 la 2 u 2 tlkwí'tsaman 140
that matter as if (to) lay bare, when that one kicked it.

Mändj 150 hats 8 g'ým'tset 151 le'tsi'x. 153 Kämene'iletc 153 L'xa'na 154
already 150 just (to) rain caused it right here. Brush into (he) threw it, 

le 25 tē!wal. K'we'hë'tc 155 la 2 u 3 L'Ixant. 156 Hats 8 L'Ixant. 156
the fire. Willow into that they threw it. Just (he) threw it,

mändj 150 Klkwílitu. 157 Tsō 8 asō' 150 i 6 wu'txe tśi'x'ti. 158
already to blaze, it begins. Now again they returned here.

Xtemi'towetc 159 lej 160 nte!wal'le. 161 Xtemi'towetc 159 towé 162
From that time on the fire are. From that time on usually

g'ým'it. 163 L'a 2 xwändj 21 towé 162 g'ým'it. 163 Xwändj 21 la 164
(it) rains. That (is) thus (the manner how) it usually

kwee'nìyëm. 165 Tsō 8 tē 20 a'wixem. 166 know it (indefinite). Now there end, condition.

[Translation]

The earth was full of people. All kinds of people lived in a mixed-up fashion. They had no fire or water. Whenever they wanted to eat, they would put the food under their arms (in order to heat it). They would dance with it, or the old people would sit on it. And when the food became warm, then they would eat it. Whenever salmon came ashore, they used to scoop it out.

140 Klke- to kick; -ts transitive (§ 20); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
141 x- modal (§ 21); pizo- to go home; -etc modal (§ 38; also § 3).
142 lowahi- to run,-t transitive (§ 26).
143 Plural formation (§ 78).
144 kuha'nas ear; -etc local (§§ 68, 7).
145 lā- to be inside (singular object); -agu past passive (§§ 39, 83, 54).
146 n- adverbial (§ 21); -i article (§ 17); -i instrumental (§§ 80, 10).
147 See § 118.
148 Syntactic particle (§ 88).
149 Aen- to lay open; -i is transitive (§ 26); -et causative passive (§ 41).
150 Temporal adverb (§ 105).
151 g'in- to rain; -i is transitive (§ 26); -et causative passive (§ 41).
152 Kl article (§ 17); telc here, local adverb (§ 101).
153 Kämene'il brush; -etc local (§ 68).
154 L'xan- to throw; -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
155 Kwe'hë- willow; -etc local (§§ 68, 9).
156 L'xan- to throw; -t transitive (§ 26).
157 Klkwíl- to blaze; -t transitive; -a transitional (§§ 35, 114).
158 Local adverb (§ 104).
159 x- from, locative (§ 22); temi'towete (see § 106).
160 Kl article (§ 17); if personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 96).
161 u- with, instrumental (§ 21); tē'set fire; -a auxiliary (§ 44).
162 See § 57.
163 g'in- to rain; -t transitional (§§ 26, 114).
164 Syntactic particle (§ 94).
165 kwuah- to know; -aya non-active object pronoun (§ 47); -em suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 7).
166 Že- to finish, to end; -lem generic (§ 30).
In this manner they had hardly any food. They were all the time talking about fire. "How would it be if we should go after fire?"—"Let us go." They went. When they arrived, they found the fire burning; and one of them saw the water. The chief of the people (to whom they came) was sitting indoors. He was sitting sideways. "Halloo, cousin!" said the earth-chief. "Let us gamble (for the fire and water)!" The sky-chief acted as if he did not hear. The earth-chief sat down opposite him. After a short time the sky-chief looked up and said, "You belong to a different tribe, so in what way are you my cousin? You must tell a story." But the earth-chief answered, "You are older than I," and he went out. After a while he came back and said, "Halloo, cousin! Look! this here is your Indian cradle. Your Indian cradle is new, while mine is old. And this here is your shinny-club, while that there is my shinny-club. This is your ball, and that one is my ball. Your ball is new, but mine is old. Is it not so?" Then he put all these things before him. The sky-chief looked at them, and said, "Indeed, it is so, O cousin! Sit down here, we will gamble."

They began to play. The earth-chief thought to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at the player who puts his hand behind his back? Suppose I put a piece of abalone shell into my eye? I will sleep in the inside part of my eye." Then he said to his followers, "You shall support me when I put my hands behind my back;" and what he demanded was done.

Then he pointed his finger at him (the sky-chief) when he put his hand behind his back. Two men were supporting him. Thus things happened. Maggots began to eat up his (the sky-chief's) anus, his face, his nose, his ears. Soon the maggots ate him up; but he did not notice it. He kept on sitting there. Two men were still supporting him from the back. He had an abalone shell in his eye, and was sleeping in that inside part. Now it seemed as if the sky-chief were looking at it. To his surprise, he saw an abalone shell in the other man's eye. By this time only bones had remained of him, for

---

1 "Cradle" or "bed" is a piece of canvas (in former days tanned hide) spread on the ground and stretched by means of pegs or nails, before which the player participating in the so-called "game of guessing" was squatting, while mixing the sticks in his hands, which were held behind his back. Upon receiving the guessing-signal from a player of the opposite side, the sticks were thrown on the "cradle," usually one by one, while the marked stick was laid bare.

2 The informant was mistaken in the use of these terms. "Club" and "ball" are used in a game of shinny, while the game played by the two chiefs was the favorite game of "guessing."
the maggots had eaten up almost half of his body. The earth-chief was sitting there for a while, and began to think, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that I ought to point at him with some very terrible thing." The sky-chief still did not look at the maggots. Only his bones, joined together, were sitting there. Still he did not look.

Now the earth-chief said to his people, "Don't forget to seize the fire as soon as we win the game.—And you take hold of the water." One of his men said, "I will run away with the water, and you ought to run with the fire." The earth-chief said to the head man of the sky-people, "Now it is your turn to put your hands behind your back." All the time he was thinking to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that nothing terrifies him. It will be very good if I point at him with a snake."

In the mean time the fire kept on burning. He then pointed at him with a snake. But he (the sky-chief) was on the lookout. The snake coiled around his thigh. Still he did not mind it. It crawled up to his waist and threatened to go into his mouth, all the while sticking out its tongue. Soon it seemed as if it were about to enter his nose. The sky-chief became afraid when he saw this. He shook off the snake and ran away. People were shouting at him.

The earth people quickly seized the fire. A very poor man ran away with the fire, while a little man kicked the water. They were running homewards. The man put the fire into his ear while running. As soon as the water was spilled, it began to rain. The fire was thrown into some willow-brush, and soon began to blaze. Thus they returned. From that time on, people have had fire; and from that time on, it has rained. Thus only the story is known. This is the end of it.
SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

BY

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INTRODUCTION

In 1884 J. Owen Dorsey spent a month at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, collecting short vocabularies of the Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua, as well as of other languages. Prior to Dorsey's investigations the linguistic position of Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua was a debated question. Some investigators believed that these two dialects belonged to the Yakonan family; while others, notably Latham and Gatschet, held them to form a distinct stock, although they observed marked agreement with some features of the Yakonan. After a superficial investigation, lasting less than a month, Dorsey came to the conclusion that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua were dialects belonging to the Yakonan stock. This assertion was repeated by J. W. Powell in his "Indian Linguistic Families" (Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 134), and was held to be correct by all subsequent students of American Indian languages. This view, however, is not in harmony with my own investigations. A closer study of Alsea (one of the Yakonan dialects) on the one hand, and of Lower Umpqua on the other, proves conclusively that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua form a distinct family, which I propose to call the Siuslawan linguistic stock. The term "Siuslaw" was given preference over "Umpqua" or "Lower Umpqua," in order to avoid the ambiguity of meaning which might arise from the fact that we have become accustomed to call the Athapascan dialect, spoken on the upper course of the Umpqua river, the "Upper Umpqua."

The material on which the following sketch is based was collected, under the joint auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of Columbia University, on the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the months of March, April, and May, 1911.

My principal informant was Louisa Smith, a Lower Umpqua Indian over 70 years of age. Her advanced years, her absolute lack of knowledge of the English language, her ill health, and, above all, the fact that prior to my arrival on the reservation she had

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1It is not at all impossible that this stock, the Yakonan, Kusan, and perhaps the Kalapuyan, may eventually prove to be genetically related. Their affinities are so remote, however, that I prefer to take a conservative position, and to treat them for the time being as independent stocks.
not used her native tongue for a considerable period, rendered her a poor, though willing informant. In the course of this investigation it was therefore necessary to employ such additional informants and interpreters as were available. By far the most important of these was William Smith, an Alsea Indian and the husband of Louisa, who had spent his childhood among the Siuslaw Indians, from whom he had gained a fairly good knowledge of their language. But he, too, was far from being an ideal informant. His command of English was imperfect, his degree of intelligence rather limited, his pronunciation of Lower Umpqua was affected by Alsea phonetics, and he was only too often unable to keep apart the Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua, and Alsea forms of a given word. However, in spite of these deficiencies, his services proved highly valuable, because, having previously assisted me in my work on the Alsea language, he knew more or less what was wanted of him. My other informants were Spencer Scott, a son of Louisa; Louis Smith, a full-blooded Lower Umpqua Indian; and Hank Johnson, the son of a Lower Umpqua father and of an Alsea mother. The three last mentioned were, comparatively speaking, young men, whose knowledge of Lower Umpqua was imperfect and rather vague. They were employed solely for the purpose of settling questions that pertained to phonetics, and of disentangling the frequent difficulties that were involved in the collection and translation of texts; and if I add that throughout the progress of this work, Louisa Smith was suffering from a severe ear-ache (which at times rendered her absolutely deaf), that William Smith had to undergo frequent surgical operations because of a poisoned finger, and that my other informants could give me only part of their time, I shall have mentioned all the difficulties under which the following material was collected. Should this sketch, therefore, be found deficient in completeness of treatment and clearness of interpretation, it will have to be accounted for by the extraordinary circumstances under which the work was conducted.

But if the actual work involved in this investigation was rather trying and tiresome, there were other features connected with it that rendered it pleasant and enjoyable. These features consist of the many courtesies and helpful assistance received from the inhabitants of Siletz; and it is a great source of pleasure to me to record my deep gratitude to these kind friends. My greatest obligations are due to
Superintendent and Mrs. Knott C. Egbert, to the former for his untiring efforts to assist me, both officially and personally, in whatever way he could, and to the latter for the motherly care with which she attended to my personal wants throughout my stay at the reservation. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Maximilian F. Clausius, the physician of the Siletz agency, for the numerous tokens of friendship received at his hand.

Columbia University,

September, 1911.
SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Siuslawan stock embraces two closely related dialects—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw—that were spoken by the people living on the lower courses of the Umpqua and Siuslaw rivers, in the southern part of Oregon. Their northern neighbors were the Alsea Indians1 (whom they called *Han'í's hítce*), on the east they came in contact with the Kalapuya (chiefly the Yonkalla tribe, known to them as the *Qa³wgaax*), and on the south they were contiguous to the Coos (*Qá'yax*). The territory of the Lower Umpqua was bounded on the north by Five Mile lake, on the south by Ten Mile lake, while on the east they claimed the whole region adjoining the Umpqua river as far as Scottsburg. The possessions of the Siuslaw Indians extended as far south as Five Mile lake, on the north they bordered on the Yahach river, and eastwards they extended as far as Mapleton. Thus it may safely be assumed that these two dialects were spoken in the western parts of what are known today as Lane and Douglas counties. No information pertaining to the previous strength of these two tribes could be obtained. Their numbers have been so greatly reduced, that, besides the four individuals who served as my informants, and the two or three Siuslaw Indians said to be living near Florence, Lane county, there are no other members living; and since these people no longer converse in their native tongue, the Siuslaw family may be looked upon as an extinct linguistic stock.

1 One of the two members of the Yakonan family.
2 For explanation of alphabet see pp. 443, 444.
The Lower Umpqua call themselves Qū'tc, and refer to their language as Qū'tcaw wa'as. These terms are of native origin, and are formed from the stem qū' or qū' south. The Alsea called them Tkul-ma'k', and they were known to the Coos as Bildjī'yar, i.e. northern Indians. The Siuslaw refer to themselves as Cā'yuc̓la, and were called Cā'yukte by the Coos and Qw̓as or Kwas by the Alsea Indians. The etymology of these names could not be ascertained.

Judging from the scanty notes on Siuslaw obtained by Dorsey and myself, the differences between this dialect and Lower Umpqua were very slight and of a purely phonetic and lexicographic character. No distinct morphological formations were found. The chief phonetic feature that seems to separate these two dialects is the change of a Lower Umpqua n into l in Siuslaw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower Umpqua</th>
<th>Siuslaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pā'nū</td>
<td>pāl'ū well, spring 76.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gani'nal 19.6</td>
<td>qali'nal knife 50.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'n̓n̓i</td>
<td>qa'l̓n̓i (D.) face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̓sna̓vi</td>
<td>t̓sla'we (D.) bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lkwa'n̓uq̓</td>
<td>lkwa'l̓uk̓ (D.) hat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lexicographical differences cover a limited number of stems and words, of which only a few examples may be quoted here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower Umpqua</th>
<th>Siuslaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lā'n̓- 23.7</td>
<td>ḥćín- to call by name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̓ip̓-</td>
<td>ḥq̓'a̓- to split (pitch wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̓il̓ 8.3</td>
<td>x̓um̓- to come, to approach 23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̓l̓a̓me 40.19</td>
<td>t̓l̓'lm̓s (D.) child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̓w̓a̓'ka 29.5</td>
<td>qam̓'t̓s (D.) head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k̓w̓i̓w̓'y̓s̓ 34.23</td>
<td>w̓its̓'̓l̓'we (D.) food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k̓ō'tan̓ 34.10</td>
<td>ḥq̓a̓x̓tc̓̓ dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t̓aw̓'̓wex (D.) horse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Texts of myths and tales in the Lower Umpqua dialect were collected by the author, and were published by Columbia University. All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

1 Words marked (D.) are quoted from Dorsey’s manuscripts in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.
2 Coos k̓w̓i̓w̓'y̓s̓.
3 Apparently related to Alsea tc̓q̓e'x̓.
4 Chinook jargon.
5 Related to Alsea t̓aw̓d̓'yu.
6 Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 4.

§ 1
§ 2. Vowels

The vowels have short and long quantities. Resonance vowels, marked here by superior vowels, are employed often, as is also the obscure vowel e, which seems to be related to short a. In some instances, due to contact phenomena, the obscure vowel partakes of the quality of a short o, and is represented here by o. The open e vowel appears to be lacking, while the long e frequently glides from e to i and resembles a long i. Significant pitch appears in a few cases (see p. 447).

The a\(\text{\textasciitilde}v\) and a\(\text{\textasciitilde}u\) diphthongs occur in two distinct forms, one with the initial element short or long (a\(\text{\textasciitilde}v\), a\(\text{\textasciitilde}u\), a\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\), a\(\text{\textasciitilde}u\)), and the other with the first element short and the second long (a\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\) and a\(\text{\textasciitilde}u\)). The latter two forms are closely related to the long i and u with which they constantly interchange. This interchange usually takes place after a, h, m, n, g, x, and l, although numerous instances will be found where the substitution of a\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\) and a\(\text{\textasciitilde}u\) for i and u respectively has taken place after vowels and consonants other than those enumerated, or where the interchange does not occur at all.

Examples of interchange between i and a\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\):

\begin{align*}
\text{inq}!'a'i & \text{30.23} \\
\text{m\textit{\textasciitilde}d}a'i't\text{in} & \\
\text{s'\textit{n\textasciitilde}w\textit{\textasciitilde}i} & \text{46.18} \\
\text{t'}\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}xaa & \text{here thou} \text{56.19} \\
\text{h\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}v\text{\textasciitilde}x\text{\textasciitilde}x\text{\textasciitilde}m} & \text{he was asked} \text{66.16} \\
\text{t\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}v\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}ha} & \text{i am very glad} \text{25.8}
\end{align*}

Examples of interchange between u and a\(\text{\textasciitilde}u\):

\begin{align*}
\text{w\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{7.4} \\
\text{w\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}u\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}e} & \text{he gave him his} \ldots \text{76.9} \\
\text{k'\textit{\textasciitilde}m\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}u\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \\
\text{h'\textit{\textasciitilde}g\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}v\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{he put it on} \text{11.8} \\
\text{\textit{\textasciitilde}p\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}q\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}u\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{made of raccoon hides} \text{70.23, 24} \\
\text{h\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{I tire him out} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}!\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}a} & \text{on a small place} \text{38.19}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{\textasciitilde}q\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}a'i't\text{\textasciitilde}m} & \text{my mother} \text{100.12} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}c\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}a'\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}e} & \text{he thinks} \text{90.15} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}x\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}e} & \text{here we two (incl.)} \text{56.6} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}w\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}v\text{\textasciitilde}x\text{\textasciitilde}m} & \text{it is placed (in) we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe} \text{56.5}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{\textasciitilde}w\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{he says to him} \text{20.7} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}w\text{\textasciitilde}u\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}v\text{\textasciitilde}ts\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}e} & \text{he buried his} \ldots \text{40.22} \\
\text{k'\textit{\textasciitilde}m\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{I am hitting him} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}g\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}^n\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{he took it off} \text{13.1} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{made of tied (grass) \text{8.6}} \\
\text{k'\textit{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}n} & \text{I am tired} \\
\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}^\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}a\text{\textasciitilde}y\text{\textasciitilde}a} & \text{in a bad place} \text{12.10; 13.1}
\end{align*}
The Siuslaw\textsuperscript{1} system of vowels and diphthongs may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semi-vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a (e)</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>a\textsuperscript{1} a\textsuperscript{u} a\textsuperscript{1} a\textsuperscript{2} u\textsuperscript{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å å å å å</td>
<td>å å å å å</td>
<td>å å å å å</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The umlauted å occurs rarely, and is pronounced like å in German wählen; ì is pronounced like the Slavic short y-vowel; and û indicates very short quantity.

\section*{§ 3. Consonants}

The consonantic system deviates in a great many respects from those of the neighboring tribes. Its chief characteristics are the total absence of the anterior palatal series (g\textsuperscript{*}, h\textsuperscript{*}, k\textsuperscript{*}, w\textsuperscript{*}); the absence of all sonants excepting ò; the presence of a palatal lateral (l\textsuperscript{*}); and, above all, the occurrence of a double series of glottalized explosives differing in the quality and amount of stress employed in their production. The real explosives are followed in this sketch by the sign of exclamation (!), while the glottalized stops of ordinary strength will be found accompanied by the apostrophe ('). The latter seem to be confined to the consonants of the dental series and to ò. The surds t and k occur also as aspirated consonants.

The following table illustrates the Siuslaw consonantic system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Aspirated</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q\textsuperscript{!}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{1}(w)</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{!}, t\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>s, c, n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricative</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ts, tc</td>
<td>ts\textsuperscript{1}, tc\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p\textsuperscript{!} (l)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>l, l\textsuperscript{1}, l</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palatal l\textsuperscript{*} is pronounced like l in the English word lure. The glottal stop occurs seldom, and seems to be associated with the explosive character of the consonants following it, although I did not succeed in verifying this connection definitely. The aspiration corre-

\textsuperscript{1} Whenever the term "Siuslaw" is used, it is to be understood as referring to the whole group, and not to the dialect only.
spends to the character of the vowels and consonants that precede or follow it: that is to say, after palatal vowels it is of a palatal character; while before the vowels a, o, and u, and before velar consonants, it becomes guttural. When followed by a vowel, it is changed into an h.

\begin{align*}
\text{tū'tē- } & \text{ to spear} \quad 62.2 \\
\text{gqū'n- } & \text{ to hear} \quad 30.18 \\
\text{sī' to grow (intr.) } & \quad 98.10 \\
\text{qnu'- } & \text{ to find} \quad 31.2 \\
\text{wa'tūx again shall} & \ldots \quad 11.2 \\
\end{align*}

\text{tuhatca'yūn he speaks it} \\
\text{q'a'q'hantūn he heard it} \quad 36.23 \\
\text{sīhī'čīn xinte'ay I began to grow up} \quad 100.17 \\
\text{qnu'hūn (they two) found it} \quad 56.9 \\
\text{wa'hūn hiyatsī'tsūn again he put it on} \quad 12.1

In some instances the aspiration results from the dropping of a t before a following n (see §§ 16, 58, 59).

§ 4. Sound Groupings

Clusters of two consonants are admissible, except \textit{w} + any consonant other than \textit{n}. Whenever a \textit{w} is followed by a consonant other than \textit{n}, it changes into a voiceless \textit{v}, represented here by \textit{hv}. Clusters of three or more consonants may occur medially or finally, provided a nasal or lateral forms the initial sound of such groupings.

When, owing to grammatical processes, three consonants that can not form a cluster come into contact, an obscure or weak vowel (mostly \textit{e}, \textit{a}, or \textit{i}) is inserted between two of the three consonants, thus facilitating the pronunciation of the cluster.

A similar insertion takes place in initial clusters beginning with \textit{m} or \textit{n}, and between two consonants belonging to the same series. The latter rule applies to clusters in initial, medial, and final position.

Examples of clusters consisting of \textit{w} + consonant:

\begin{align*}
\text{a'tenaw- } & \text{ to trade mutually +} \\
-a'tūx + -ts \\
\text{lo'nav- } & \text{ to hit mutually +} \\
+ -te' \\
\end{align*}

\text{a'tena'hu'tu'sts } \text{you two will trade mutually} \\
\text{lo'na'hu'ma'te'i } \text{you hit one another!} \\
\text{xni'w'na } \text{he does} \quad 11.11

Examples of avoidance of clusters in initial position:

\begin{align*}
\text{m- (prefix of relationship) } & \quad mītā father \quad 54.22 \\
+ \text{ta father} \\
\text{m- (prefix of relationship) } & \quad mītā mother \quad 54.23 \\
+ \text{ta mother} \\
\end{align*}
Examples of avoidance of clusters in medial position:

\[ \text{win}^x- \text{(to be afraid)} + -\text{naw}^x \text{w} \quad \text{win}^x\text{na}^w\text{w}^x \text{ they two were afraid of each other 86.1,2} \]

\[ \text{qâ}^x- \text{(to cry)} + -\text{tux} \quad \text{qâ}^x\text{tux} \text{ he will cry} \]

Examples of avoidance of clusters in final position:

\[ \text{qat}^x\text{ni}^x\text{tx} \text{ (to keep on going)} + -n \quad \text{qat}^x\text{in}^x\text{txan} \text{ I keep on going} \]

\[ \text{qa}^x\text{e} \text{ (night)} + -\text{nx} \quad \text{qa}^x\text{e}^x\text{nx} \text{ (at) night thou . . . 70.18} \]

\[ \text{ta}^x\text{k} \text{ (here)} + -\text{ns} \quad \text{ta}^x\text{k}^x\text{ns} \text{ here we two (incl.) 56.6} \]

\[ \text{ha}^x\text{q} \text{ (ashore)} + -\text{nxan} \quad \text{ha}^x\text{q}^x\text{nxan} \text{ ashore we (excl.) 88.13} \]

\[ \text{hato}^x\text{a}^x\text{yûn} \text{ (he asked him)} + -\text{të} \quad \text{hato}^x\text{a}^x\text{yûnat}^x\text{ê} \text{ ye ask her 74.10} \]

\[ \text{tcîn}^- \text{(to come back)} + -\text{nx} \quad \text{tcîn}^x\text{nan}^x \text{ they came back 72.23} \]

Examples of avoidance of clusters of consonants belonging to the same series:

\[ \text{kumî}^x\text{ntc} \text{ (not)} + -\text{tc} \quad \text{kumî}^x\text{ntc}^x\text{tno} \text{ not his 92.15} \]

\[ \text{ants} \text{ (that one)} + -\text{câ}^x\text{ya} \quad \text{ants}^x\text{câ}^x\text{ya} \text{ that penis} \]

\[ \text{piûla}^x\text{wax} \text{ (he intends to hunt)} + -\text{xûn} \quad \text{piûla}^x\text{wax}^x\text{xûn} \text{ we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22} \]

\[ \text{li}^x\text{l}^x\text{ (to eat)} + -\text{tûx} \quad \text{li}^x\text{l}^x\text{tûx} \text{ (you) will eat 50.2} \]

\[ \text{tcînt} \text{ (how much)} + -\text{tex} \quad \text{tcînt}^x\text{tex} \text{ suppose 38.20,21} \]

\[ \text{sa}^x\text{t}^x\text{ (such)} + -\text{l}^x\text{a}^x\text{at} \quad \text{sa}^x\text{t}^x\text{sa}^x\text{t}^x\text{sa}^x\text{t}^x \text{ such a place 15.1} \]

Examples of clusters permissible in medial or final position:

**Final**

\[ \text{tsîng}^x\text{t poor 16.10} \quad \text{tsîng}^x\text{tan}^x \text{ you are poor} \]

\[ \text{la}^x\text{vud}^x\text{ultx} \text{ (their) . . . was taken away 50.22} \quad \text{la}^x\text{vud}^x\text{ult}^x\text{tan}^x \text{ my . . . was taken} \]

\[ \text{tovx}^x\text{wam}^x\text{ltlx} \text{ his . . . was taken away from him 54.14} \quad \text{tovx}^x\text{wam}^x\text{ltxw}^x\text{x} \text{ their two . . . were taken away from them} \]

The only consonantie cluster that does not seem to be permissible is the grouping of \( nx+k \). Whenever these three consonants would appear together in the above-named order, the \( x \) is always changed into \( a \).

\[ \text{t}^x\text{ya}^x\text{t}^x\text{.în}^x \text{ (you will be shot)} + k^x\text{n}^x\text{u} \quad \text{t}^x\text{ya}^x\text{t}^x\text{.în}^x\text{a}^x \text{ k}^x\text{n}^x\text{u} \text{ you might get shot} \]

\[ \text{k}^x\text{w}^x\text{v}^x\text{în}^x\text{nx} (\text{they will be beaten}) + k^x\text{n}^x\text{u} \quad \text{k}^x\text{w}^x\text{a}^x\text{în}^x\text{a}^x \text{ k}^x\text{n}^x\text{u} \text{ they may be beaten} \]

\( \S \ 4 \)
An exception to this rule is found in the following sentence:

\[ l'kwa'y\ddot{\text{u}}nanx k^u \text{ti}^c\text{a}^i \] you may get (some) salmon 48.18

In like manner the combination \( nx + \ddot{u} \) is changed into \( a^\ddot{u} \) (see § 132).

\[ ya'qu'y\ddot{u}nanx \] (thou art seen) \quad \begin{array}{l}
\text{yaqu'y\ddot{u}nana}^a \text{ thou art seen} \\
+ -\ddot{u} (-a^\ddot{u})
\end{array}

§ 5. Accent

Siuslaw exhibits a stress accent, represented here by the acute mark ('); and a pitch accent, designated by the mark ('). Only a limited number of enclitic and proclitic particles show no accent whatsoever. The pitch accent occurs mostly in monosyllabic words that have a short vowel, and lends to the syllable a sharp, abrupt intonation. Both accents are freely shifted from one syllable to another. It seems, however, to be a fixed rule that in the past tense the accent is placed on the first syllable, and that the locative case-endings and the adverbial suffixes must be accented.

\[ \text{ha'qa}'q \text{ he goes ashore} \] 58.17
\[ \text{ga}'q\ddot{\text{u}}'x \text{ it gets dark} \] 64.19
\[ t^\ddot{\text{w}}\text{a}tch't\ddot{\text{c}}\text{u}n\ddot{\text{u}}\text{nx} \text{ they two are} \] 56.15, 16
\[ ts'\text{aln} \text{ pitch} \] 26.6
\[ \text{li}'t\ddot{\text{a}}\text{V} \text{ food} \] 34.23
\[ l\text{ga}''\ddot{t}\ddot{\text{u}} \text{ log} \] 32.21
\[ \text{pk}'t\ddot{\text{t}} \text{ lake} \] 62.18
\[ s\ddot{\text{V}}\text{xa}^i \text{ canoe} \] 56.5
\[ qa\ddot{\text{w}}'\text{un} \text{ above, up} \] 34.21
\[ s\ddot{\text{a}}'\text{tsa} \text{ thus} \] 8.7
\[ ya\ddot{k}'\ddot{\text{v}}'\text{sk}'\text{in} \text{ very small} \] 36.23
\[ \text{ha}''\text{q}'\text{qyax} \text{(having) come ashore} \] 56.13
\[ \text{ga}''\text{zixyax} \text{ it became dark} \] 34.4
\[ t^\ddot{\text{w}}\text{a}tch't\ddot{\text{c}}\text{u}n\ddot{\text{u}}\text{xan} \text{ I have been} \]
\[ \text{spearing it} \] 66.17
\[ ts'\text{ilna}'' \text{(locative case)} \] 94.18
\[ \text{lit}''\text{aya}'' \text{(locative case)} \] 13.7
\[ l\text{gat}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{wir}''\text{y}''\text{s} \text{(locative case)} \]
\[ 88.16 \]
\[ \text{ph}''\text{ti}''\text{y}''\text{s} \text{(locative case)} \] 34.11
\[ s\ddot{\text{e}}\text{xa}''\text{to} \text{ into the canoe} \] 34.5
\[ q\ddot{a}\text{xunt}''\text{to} \text{ upwards} \]
\[ s\ddot{\text{a}}'\text{tsi}''\text{to} \text{ in that manner} \] 8.1
\[ \text{y\ddot{a}k}'\text{isk}'\text{inu}' \text{ in a very small} \]
\[ \ldots 38.19 \]

§ 6. Phonetic Laws

In both dialects a number of phonetic laws are found which affect both vowels and consonants. All phonetic processes are due either to contact phenomena or to the effects of accent. They may be summarized as follows:

Vocalic Processes:

(1) Diphthongization of \( i \) and \( u \).

(2) Consonantization of \( i- \) and \( u- \).

\[ \text{§§ 5–6} \]
(3) Contraction.
(4) Vocalic hiatus.
(5) Vocalic harmony.
(6) Effects of accent.

Consonantic Processes:
(1) Consonantic metathesis.
(2) Consonantic euphony.
(3) Simplification of double consonants.
(4) Modifications of \( t \) and \( k \).
(5) Minor consonantic changes.

§§ 7-12. Vocalic Processes

§ 7. Diphthongization of \( i \) and \( u \)

This is by far the most important phonetic change, owing to the fact that it gives rise to a double form of stems that contain these vowels, and because it is employed in certain grammatical processes (see §§ 111, 112). The principle may be described as follows: For the purpose of expressing (in nouns) the discriminative case and (in verbs) intensity or duration of action, long \( i \) and \( \ddot{u} \) are changed into \( ya \) and \( wa \) respectively.

Examples of diphthongization of \( i \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hina'yu'n} & \quad \text{he brings him} \\
\text{hitši'wam} & \quad \text{it is put on}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ýlga} & \quad \text{he digs}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cítx-} & \quad \text{to flop}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yáqw'hítu'nx} & \quad \text{thou shalt see}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u'nax k:línk'ít} & \quad \text{they went to look for}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qá'ót'cítáx\;along\;the\;North\;Fork} & \quad 32.19
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of diphthongization of \( \ddot{u} \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{quá'n'wáxámíne} & \quad \text{it was poured into his . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lśux'wán} & \quad \text{he knows it}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kumíntówaáx\;te'q\;Lá'wáwáx} & \quad \text{not}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{quá'n'wáx} & \quad \text{pour it into his . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kwá'núux} & \quad \text{they two anything knew it}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{32.16}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{54.16}
\end{align*}
\]
lakū'kūn he takes it
tū'teod'yin he spears it 64.12

"la"x tkūma'yin they two made a dam 48.8

ūltē snow 76.10

pekū'ya wāl'a" L."'a"i people make shinnv-sticks 78.5

Owing to the interchange between ĭ and a', and ū and a (see § 2), these diphthongs are subject to the same amplification.

hi'qlaH he started 22.6
meqlat'x they dance 72.13
qā'tkin te a'qa'qa'ats (from) here he left me 60.4
ka"si's he keeps on following 92.7

The change of ĭ into ya often takes place in the third person singular, which ends in -ī (see p. 468).

Lī'wat'īn I come frequently
č'nxyat'īn I am thinking
ha'kwat'īn I fall frequently
xī'l'xečin I work
pelī'tcyn I (am) ahead
ya'q'n̄'hin I look
si'n̄'xín I want

§ 8. Consonantization of i- and u-

The i- and u- elements of the diphthongs are changed into the semi-vocalic consonants y and w whenever they are followed by vowels of different qualities. This law affects also the simple short or long i- and u- vowels.
Consonantization of $i$-

$p\text{íte}a\text{v}^v$ (he goes over) + $-a^x$

$s\text{í}l\text{í}t\text{í}\text{a}^l$ (food) + $-a$

$k\text{í}u^i$ (not) + $-a^x$

$q\text{núhú}^i$- (he finds) + $-a$

$t\text{éxmu\text{í}n}^i$ (male) + $-a$

$x\text{í}l\text{í}x\text{óí}$- (to work) + $-a$

$t\text{í}l\text{í}$ (bear) + $-a$

$s\text{í}\text{í}n\text{í}x\text{í}$- (to desire) + $-a$

Consonantization of $u$-

$L\text{íy\text{a}a}^u$ (fire) + $-a + -tc$

$w\text{íl\text{í}u}$- (to affirm) + $-ax\text{am}$

$x\text{á}\text{á}u$ (he died) + $-\text{í}$

$x\text{á}\text{í}\text{ts\í}l\text{í}u$ (two) + $-a^x$

Contraction of $i$-

$p\text{íte}a\text{ya}^n$ they two go over 88.15

$y\text{ú\text{á}wac\text{í}st\text{í}nx} l\text{ít\text{í}aya}'$ for food

$y\text{ú\text{á}wac\text{í}st\text{í}nx} l\text{ít\text{í}aya}'$ for food

$y\text{ú\text{á}wac\text{í}st\text{í}nx} l\text{ít\text{í}aya}'$ for food

You will always try to look 13.7

You will always try to look 13.7

You will always try to look 13.7

$y\text{ú\text{á}wac\text{í}st\text{í}nx} l\text{ít\text{í}aya}'$ for food

You will always try to look 13.7

You will always try to look 13.7

You will always try to look 13.7

A peculiar case of consonantization seems to have taken place in the objective case $t\text{é}l\text{í\text{wa}}$ 32.20, formed from the noun $t\text{é}l$ WATER 36.20.

§ 9. Contraction

Contraction of two or three vowels following in immediate succession does not seem to be of regular occurrence, and there are no fixed rules governing this process. The following usages may, however, be stated to prevail:

(1) Short or long $i$ or $u$ following a vowel of different quality form diphthongs.

$ai < a + i$

$au < a + u$

The combination $i + u$, however, does not form a diphthong (see § 10).

$t\text{émú}^i$- (to assemble) + $-tc$

$q\text{á\text{n\text{í}te\text{y\text{a}}\text{a}}$ (from where) + $-tc$

$q\text{á\text{n\text{í}te\text{y\text{a}}\text{a}}$ (from where)

$g\text{á\text{é}\text{v\text{í}}}$- (to drink) + $-\text{í}x\text{á}^n$

$g\text{á\text{é}\text{v\text{í}}}$- (to drink) + $-\text{í}x\text{á}^n$

$g\text{á\text{é}\text{v\text{í}}}$- (to drink) + $-\text{í}x\text{á}^n$

(2) A short vowel preceding another short vowel or a diphthong is contracted with the following vowel into a short or long vowel or into a diphthong.

§ 9
(3) The obscure vowel e is contracted with all vowels preceding it into a vowel of a clear quality.

\[ a'tsa \] (thus) \(+a^x\)
\[ waanda'wa\] (to talk to each other) \(+a^x\)
\[ s^a\] (this) \(+a^x\)
\[ x̂t'sl'\] (two) \(+a^x\)
\[ ya'qda'\] (a hole) \(+a^x\)
\[ a'\] (camas) \(+a^x\)
\[ xafts'\] (two) \(+a^x\)
\[ yalqad'\] (a hole) \(+a^x\)
\[ "\] (3) The obscure vowel e is contracted with all vowels preceding it into a vowel of a clear quality.

\[ hau-\] (to quit) \(+-a^x\)
\[ na\] (I) \(+-a^x\)
\[ s^a'na\] (him) \(+-a^x\)

An exception is

\[ wa-\] (to speak) \(+-a^x\)

(4) Two long vowels of similar qualities immediately following each other are contracted into one long vowel.

\[ peku-\] (to play shinny) \(+-a^x\)
\[ pek'u\] (locative case) \(+-a^x\)

A peculiar case of contraction has apparently taken place in the genitive case \[ lql'n\] of hides \(+-a^x\)
\[ -a^x\] the genitive case-ending (see § 87).

Another process of contraction takes place whenever a personal pronoun (see § 24) is added to the suffix \(-ya\), which expresses the past durative tense (see p. 526). In such cases the suffix \(-ya\) is invariably contracted into \(-\)es. Attention may be called to the fact that in this case we are dealing with a process that is of a character opposite to the diphthongization of \(-\), which has been discussed in § 7.

\[ a'\] (to sleep) \(+-a^x\)
\[ qato'\] (to drink) \(+-a^x\)
\[ pek'u\] (to play shinny) \(+-a^x\)
\[ lit'a\] (to eat) \(+-a^x\)

\[ a'tsa\] I have been sleeping,
\[ a'tsa\] I have been sleeping,
\[ a'tsa\] I have been drinking,
\[ a'tsa\] you have been playing shinny,
\[ a'tsa\] he has been eating,

\[ § 9\]
In cases where contraction has not taken place, two vowels occurring in immediate succession are separated by means of an inserted h or by means of the accent. No definite rules could be found that would show under what circumstances either of these processes may be employed. Separation of two vowels by means of an inserted h occurs more regularly than separation by means of accent.

\[
\begin{align*}
hi'g'u & \text{(dentalia shells)} + -a^n & hiq'aha^n & \text{consisting of dentalia shells 70.6} \\
lxa'&'u & \text{(pole)} + -ine & lxa^w'hine & \text{with a spear (in his hand) 64.11} \\
mekli' & \text{(mother-in-law)} + -itin & mektli'htin & \text{my mother-in-law} \\
l'v'a|^t & \text{(salmon)} + -anx & l'va^t'anx & \text{salmon they catch 82.13, 14} \\
l'i'&u (he came) + -un & liu'un & \text{he arrived 16.3}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 11. Vocalic Harmony

The tendency towards vocalic euphony is so inconsistent in Siuslaw, that one is almost tempted to deny the presence of such a process. The two examples I have been able to find are extremely unsatisfactory and do not permit the formulation of any clearly defined rules.

\[
\begin{align*}
ha^m\text{m}u't & \text{(all)} + -eml & ha^m\text{mu}tu'm & \text{of all} \\
qa'xun & \text{high up, above 34.21} & qa^w'xun & \text{on top 32.19}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 12. Effects of Accent

Besides the frequent tendency to lengthen the vowel of the syllable on which it falls, or to lend to it a clear quality, the loss of accent shortens or obscures the quantity of the stem-vowel as soon as it is shifted to one of the suffixed syllables. This law appears with such regular frequency as to make it a characteristic trait of Siuslaw phonology.

While examples covering the whole vocalic system could not be obtained, the following rules seem to prevail:

(1) The a-, i-, and u- vowels of the stem, when they lose their accent, are changed into open i (written here ɨ) or obscure vowels whenever they precede or follow non-labialized consonants.

(2) These vowels are changed—for the sake of harmonization—into short u whenever they appear before or after labialized consonants or w.

§§ 10–12
(3) The unaccented diphthongs lose the second element, especially in cases where the stem-vowel is followed by the accented verbalizing suffixes -a] and -∅ (see § 75).

Examples showing the change of a-, i-, and u- vowels before or after non-labialized consonants:

- **mā'li** dam 48.10
- **mītī'yū'au** the art of making dams 48.11
- **metī'tewa'wax** they two always made dams 50.12, 13
- **ts'lwad'tc** with pitch 24.1
- **mītewawwi** many were lying 36.27
- **metewawax** they intended to lie down 38.23

Change of a-, i- (and u-) vowels before or after labialized consonants or w:

- **mā'qwu'lem** of crow 34.21
- **ywa'waxm** (you) will pick 36.18
- **yuwa'wax** he digs 96.18
- **uqwa'wax** into the stem trunk of a tree 92.5, 6
- **mīk'wax** he will cut

Treatment of diphthongs:

- **xe'tc**- to roast (meat) 90.8
- **xatca'w** he roasts (meat)
- **xa'tc**- to roast (meat) 90.8
- **xatca'w** he roasts (meat)
- **p'axm**- to hunt 15.3
- **u'ne pamlī'te** they are hunting 82.16, 17
- **a'vus**- to sleep 23.9
- **asū'v** he sleeps 70.2
- **te'ha'w**- to be glad 23.3
- **te'ha'cū'v** he is glad
- **qū'v**- to dream 68.21
- **qū'v** he dreams

Shortening of the stem-vowel frequently takes place after the suffixation of an additional syllable, regardless of whether the accent had been shifted or not.

§ 12
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\[\text{yā'xa}^i\text{ much, many 8.5} \quad \text{ya'xbûx (ye two) will multiply 32.6}
\]

\[\text{t'lâm}^e\text{ infant 40.19} \quad \text{t'il'me'tîw (they) will raise children 32.3}
\]

\[\text{tc'mtöd'mî ax 27.10} \quad \text{tc'mtöd'nyâ (locative case) 29.1}
\]

In a few instances accent and suffixation have caused the loss or addition of a vowel, and hence that of an extra syllable.

\[\text{qûûtcû'nî woman 30.21} \quad \text{qûûtcûndî (when) he marries 76.8}
\]

\[\text{mît'a'sk'in step-father} \quad \text{mît'a'sk'nî'tîm my step-father 100.5}
\]

\[\text{waa'nu'muxî (they two) talk to each other 10.7} \quad \text{waa'yemuxst (they two) begin to talk to each other 56.4}
\]

\[\text{qayû'wînts stone} \quad \text{qayûnd'ts'êc upon the rock 62.11}
\]

§§ 13–17. Consonantic Processes

§ 13. Consonantic Metathesis

This change affects mostly the subjective suffix for the third person dual -aâx (see § 24), and (very seldom) the consonantic combination n+s or n+is.

In the first instance -aâx is transposed into -wâx (contracted sometimes into -ux) or whenever it is added to stems or words that precede the verbal expression (see § 26). This transposition never takes place when the pronoun is suffixed to the verb.

\[\text{tsîm (always) + -aâx} \quad \text{tsîl'mâwîx always they two . . . 50.10}
\]

\[\text{penl's (skunk) + -aâx} \quad \text{ants penl'swâx those two skunks 88.6, 7}
\]

\[\text{ants (that one) + -aâx} \quad \text{a'ntsux those two 52.3, 5}
\]

\[\text{s'atsî'te (thus) + -aâx} \quad \text{s'atsî'te'wîx thus they two 50.15, 16}
\]

\[\text{wîl (and, then) + -aâx} \quad \text{w'îl'wâx and they two}
\]

\[\text{an'tsîte (this his) + -aâx} \quad \text{a'ntsîte'wîx these their two 50.4}
\]

This transposition is seldom absent; and parallel forms, like a'ntsawâx and a'ntsux 50.12, stî'mawâx 50.21, and stîl'mâwîx 52.20, are extremely rare. As a matter of fact, the tendency towards the metathesis of -aâx is so great that it takes place even in cases where -aâx is suffixed to stems ending in a vowel.

§ 13
qwoa'txa (beaver) + -a wx  
gwoa'txaiwax they two (he and)  
beaver 52.4

tsim'l-ü (muskrat) + -a wx  
tsimal'd'wax they two (he and)  
muskrat 54.19

The transposition of n + s and ts actually occurs in a few instances only, although I have no doubt that under more favorable conditions a greater number of cases could have been collected (see also p. 599).

\[\text{ants ... } ha'qau ... \text{ when } ts'a'na\bar{a} \text{ vi'ütux when it will come} \]
\[\text{he comes ashore 82.5} \]
\[\text{... ants tkwa'myax when it } ts'a'nte'i \text{ if you ... } 74.8 \]
\[\text{closed up 78.3} \]
\[kū' nāts if not ... 29.7 \]

§ 14. Consonantic Euphony

This law requires that the consonants of the \(k\)-series should correspond to the quality of the vowel preceding or following it. Hence all velar and palatal \(k\)-sounds following a \(v\)-vowel become labialized. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not possess anterior palatal sounds, harmonization of consonants does not take place after or before \(v\)-vowels.

\[\text{iklanū'k}^u \text{ screech owl 86.1} \]
\[\text{tou'x}^{u}s \text{ vulva 90.16} \]
\[\text{qō'x}^{u}m \text{ off shore 34.6} \]
\[\text{cuqwa'an roast 90.12} \]
\[\text{qō'q}^{u} \text{ knee} \]
\[\text{tukwa'muq}^{u} \text{ hat} \]
\[\text{t'ā'ntūq}^{w}!/\text{mocasins} \]
\[\text{ts'ū'xwō spoon} \]
\[\text{k'u'wina}^{w} \text{ ice appears 76.13} \]
\[\text{cū'kwa sugar}^1 \]

§ 15. Simplification of Double Consonants

Double consonants, when not kept apart by means of an inserted weak vowel (see § 4), are usually simplified. This process especially takes place between two \(t\) and \(n\) sounds, in which case the repeated consonant is dropped. This phonetic law is of great importance; and it should always be borne in mind, because it affects the subjective suffix for the first person singular \(-n\), when following the transitive form in \(-ān\). In such cases the subjective pronoun is invariably dropped; and since the third person singular has no distinct suffix, it becomes at times rather difficult to comprehend by which of these two persons a given action is performed (§§ 24, 28).

^1 English loan-word.

§§ 14–15
hatca't (tall, long) + -t'ū
yikt (big) + -t'ū'wi
wān (now) + -nxan
siln'xyūn (he wants it) + -n
anxa'xa'n (he gives it up) + -n
mil'tcist (he begins to burn) + tx
yāk!v'tc (in pieces) + -yax + -xam

Compare, on the other hand,—

vkwa'yūn (he takes it) + -nx
L'wā'nīsin (he keeps on telling him) + -nx

§ 16. Modifications of t and k

Siuslaw seems to have a tendency to avoid as much as possible the clusters tn and kn. Since the phonetic character of certain suffixes causes t and n to come into contact frequently, there are many cases of sound shiftings due to the influence of n upon the preceding t. Combinations of this kind are the passive suffixes -ūnte and -isūnte (see §§ 58, 59). In these cases the t closure is not formed, but replaced by a free emission of breath, thereby changing these suffixes into -ū'ne and -isū'ne respectively. It is not inconceivable that this process may have a dialectic significance, differentiating the Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw dialects, because it was noticed that William Smith (who spoke the latter dialect) never used the forms -ūnte and -isūnte; while his wife ¹ (a Lower Umpqua Indian) invariably hesitated to acknowledge the correctness of the use of -ū'ne and -isū'ne. But as I had no other means of verifying this possibility, I thought it advisable to discuss this change as a consonantic process. The dialectic function of the process under discussion may be borne out further by the fact that in a good many instances these two suffixes occur in parallel forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wād' he says</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>wād'yūnte 20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wād'yūne he is told</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siln'xī- to desire</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>siln'xyūnte 18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siln'xyūne it is desired</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See Introduction.
hate' to ask 66.16  

hatc'd'yūtne 68.3  

hatc'ayū'ne he is asked 66.28  

xnî'wun to do 10.5  

xnî'wunū'tne 62.9  

xnî'wunū'ne it is done 23.10  

waż' he says 8.9  

waż'sū'tne 24.3  

waż'sū'ne he is continually told 62.6  

lī'ū to come 8.3  

lī'il'ū'sū'tne 26.2  

lī'ū'sū'ne he is continually approached 62.11  

qalx to count 8.5  

qal'xū'tne 62.8  

qal'xū'sī'ū'ne (they) are continually counted 62.11  

k'āha' he invites  

tanx k'āha'yūtne this one you are invited 24.3  

tū'tc'v he spears  

tū'tc'yūtne it is speared 8.7  

62.2  

hak'c vo' he drops  

hak'c'yū'ne it is thrown 8.7  

92.6  

tqū'lū'v he shouts  

tqū'lū'yū'ne he is shouted at 78.3  

hāl'tc' they shout  

thāl'tsū'ne he is continually shouted at 13.11  

14.2  

cil'x to move 27.3  

cil'xū'sū'tne he is continually shaken 27.2  

11.7  

k'īyats to put on  

k'īyatsū'sū'tne it is continually put on 11.7  

102.5  

The verbal suffix -t expressing periphrastically the idea to have, to be with something (see § 76), is very often dropped when followed by the subjective pronouns that begin with n (see § 24; see also § 88).  

atsl'tcin ḥa thus I think  

atsl'tcin ḥa thus I think 21.7  

na'ml'tcin vo'as my language  

na'ml'tcin vo'as my language 36.13  

l'a'ītānxan our residence  

na'ml'tcin our . . . 102.5  

100.3  

hū'sūnxan hūtsū' good (was) our house 100.13  

The same tendency of dropping a consonant prevails in clusters consisting of k+n.  

tak (this here) + -nx  

tanx this one thou 20.6  

tak (this here) + -nxan  

ta'nxan these ones we . . . 25.3  

The dropping of k in these instances may also be explained as having resulted from the abbreviation of tak into te (see § 115); the more so, as an analogous case is furnished by the local adverb § 16
§ 17. Minor Consonantic Changes

In this section those changes affecting the consonants will be discussed, for which not enough examples could be found to permit the formulation of clearly defined rules.

Here belongs in first place the apparent change of a sonant into a fortis in initial reduplication, a process exemplified by only three cases.

\[ \text{Lǐ'ū- to come 9.2} \quad \text{L'ūlw'ūl'sūtne} \quad \text{he is continually approached 26.2} \]
\[ \text{temū' - to assemble 7.3} \quad \text{t'emt'ma'xam} \quad \text{people assemble about him (passive) 23.3} \]

Another sporadic change is that of \( q \) and \( q' \) into \( k \) before the suffix of place -\( a^s \)mū (see § 103).

\[ \text{yaq'a- to look 9.1} \quad \text{yikya'zmū} \quad \text{a place from where one can see, a vantage point} \]
\[ \text{ma'q'ī'- to dance 28.7} \quad \text{mekya'zmū} \quad \text{a dance hall} \]

Compare, however, on the other hand,

\[ \text{yaq'a'ya'waxan I intend to look 25.8,9} \quad \text{m'nx'yem buy a woman!} \]

A third doubtful process consists in the change which the modal adverb \( kū^i \) yyal'x ALMOST, NEARLY (see § 121), undergoes whenever used with the subjective pronouns for the second person singular or third person plural (see § 24). In such cases the form obtained is always \( kwi'n^x \) yyal'x THOU ALMOST, THEY ALMOST, which may be explained as a result of a simplification from \( kū^i + -nx + yyal'x \) (see § 15).

\[ \text{kū' xyal'x smū' t'a it almost is 10.9, 11.1} \quad \text{kwi'n^x yyl'x kū' na'wūn you almost beat him} \]
\[ \text{kwinx yyl'x l'wīl they had almost arrived 66.25} \]
§ 18. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed in Siuslaw by one of the following four processes:

(1) Prefixation.
(2) Suffixation.
(3) Reduplication.
(4) Phonetic changes.

Prefixation as a means of expressing grammatical categories is resorted to in only two instances. Almost all grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes. A singular trait of the suffixes in Siuslaw is presented by the fact that the adverbial suffixes are added to the locative form of the noun and must precede the pronominal suffixes. Reduplication is practically confined to the formation of intensive and durative actions; while phonetic changes are employed for the purpose of forming the discriminative case and of expressing duration and intensity of action.

§ 19. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

By far the majority of stems that constitute the Siuslaw vocabulary are neutral, receiving their respective nominal or verbal significance from the functional character of the suffix that is added to them. All stems expressing our adjectival ideas are in reality intransitive verbs.

Of the two prefixes employed as a means of expressing grammatical categories, one indicates relationship, while the other points out the performer of an action.

The suffixes are overwhelmingly verbal in character; that is to say, they indicate ideas of action and kindred conceptions. Hence they are employed for the purpose of expressing activity, causation, reciprocity, the passive voice, the imperative and exhortative modes, etc. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes, as are also the possessive relations that may exist between the object of a sentence and its subject. All temporal ideas are conveyed by means of suffixes, and Siuslaw shows a remarkable development of this category, having distinct suffixes that express inception, termination, frequency, duration, intention of performing an action, as well as the present, future, and past tenses. Other ideas that are expressed by means of verbal suffixes are mainly §§ 18–19
modal in character, indicating distribution, negation, location of action, and the attempt to perform a given act.

Nominal suffixes are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and express chiefly adverbial ideas, such as local relationships and instrumentality. They are used, furthermore, for the purpose of forming abstract concepts, diminutive and augmentative nouns, and also express cases of nouns.

Ideas of plurality are hardly developed; for, with the exception of two suffixes that express plurality of the subject of the sentence, Siuslaw has no other grammatical means of indicating plurality of action or of nominal concepts. Distinct verbal and nominal stems for singular and plural subjects or objects, such as are employed in other languages, do not exist. Plurality of subject and object is sometimes indicated by particles.

Reduplication expresses primarily repetition and duration of action; while phonetic changes serve the purpose of denoting the performer and intensity of action.

The grammatical function of particles covers a wide range of ideas, pertaining chiefly to the verb. Some express finality of action, sources of knowledge, emotional states, connection with previously expressed ideas, others have an exhortative and restrictive significance.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,— one indicating the inclusive (I and thou), and the other the exclusive (I and he). In like manner the first person plural shows two separate forms,— one expressing the inclusive (I and ye), and the other the exclusive (I and they).

The demonstrative pronoun, while showing a variety of forms, does not accentuate visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, and nearness or remoteness, in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is poorly developed, exhibiting forms for the cardinals only. Means of forming the other numerals do not exist. They are expressed mostly by the cardinals. The ordinals are sometimes indicated by means of an adverbial suffix.

The syntactic structure of the sentence presents no complications. The different parts of speech may shift their position freely without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Nominal incorporation and § 19
words that are compounds of independent stems do not exist, and words denoting nominal or verbal ideas can be easily recognized through the character of their suffixes.

**MORPHOLOGY (§§ 20-136)**

**Prefixes (§§ 20-21)**

Siuslaw has only two prefixes,—a fact that stands out most conspicuously when we consider the large number of prefixes that are found in some of the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes. Of these two prefixes, one is employed for the purpose of denoting nouns of relationship, while the other forms the discriminative case of nouns and pronouns.

§ 20. **Prefix of Relationship m-**

This prefix is found in a limited number of terms of relationship. All these terms occur also in Alsea,¹ and it is quite conceivable that they represent loan-words assimilated by means of this prefix. By far the majority of nouns expressing degrees of relationship occur without the prefix m-. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit an m to appear in initial consonantic clusters, the prefix is often changed into m̌- (see § 4).

The following is a complete list of all terms employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of denoting the different degrees of relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Siuslaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>m̌ita²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>m̌ilà³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder brother</td>
<td>m̌at!i⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger brother</td>
<td>m̌u'isku⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder sister</td>
<td>m̌iši'la¹⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger sister</td>
<td>m̌ictei⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>lipl, lipl'mà (see § 84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>kamoc, kamoc'mà (see § 84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson</td>
<td>ľim̌iskin (see § 83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granddaughter</td>
<td>ľitko'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
<td>m̌at!a'sk'in (see § 83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal uncle</td>
<td>t'a'snts'ì⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal and maternal aunt</td>
<td>ǩula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See p. 437, note 1.
² Alsea ȟiit.
³ Alsea ťa'o.
⁴ Alsea m̌utek'.
⁵ Alsea m̌iši'la.
⁶ Alsea ťi'ata'a.
⁷ Alsea ťa'ata'a.

§ 20
Parent-in-law  $m\tilde{e}kli'$
Son-in-law  $m\tilde{u}'n(i)$
Daughter-in-law  $te'mxan (\tilde{?)$
Brother-in-law, sister-in-law  $t\tilde{a}'maxt$
Stepmother  $m\tilde{\tilde{a}}sk\tilde{\tilde{u}}'l\cdot\tilde{m}\tilde{\tilde{a}}$ (see §§ 83, 84)
Stepbrother  $m\tilde{\tilde{u}}'sku'\tilde{\tilde{u}}'l\cdot\tilde{m}\tilde{\tilde{a}}$ (see § 84)
Stepsister  $(\?)$
Nephew (son of brother)  $\tilde{\iota}$
Nephew (son of sister); stepson  $t'\tilde{\iota}'t$
Niece (daughter of brother)  $\tilde{\tilde{i}}'\tilde{\rho}xan (\?)$
Niece (daughter of sister); stepdaughter (?)  $\tilde{\tilde{t}}'\tilde{n}l$
Term of relationship, by marriage, after the death of the person that caused this kinship  $wax\tilde{\tilde{u}}'sl$

In addition to these terms of kinship, I have obtained a few other stems, whose exact rendering did not seem to be very clear in the minds of my informants. Thus, William Smith maintained that $q'\tilde{a}sk\tilde{\tilde{u}}'nt\tilde{\tilde{t}}$ denoted elder sister; while Louisa Smith thought she remembered that $\tilde{\tilde{t}}ag\tilde{\tilde{u}}'w\tilde{\tilde{t}}$ signified brother-in-law. Other terms that may belong here are the nouns $t\tilde{m}\tilde{\tilde{a}}'n\tilde{\tilde{n}}$ (rendered by my interpreter by cousin), that seemed to be used in addressing a non-related member of the tribe; $ts\tilde{\tilde{u}}'l\cdot\tilde{m}\tilde{\tilde{u}}'t$ friend, referring to a person outside the consanguinity and affinity group; $ts\tilde{\tilde{u}}'mqma$ people, folks; and $te'q$ relative (see § 123).

§ 21. Discriminative $q$- (qa-)

This prefix is added to all terms of relationship and to all independent pronouns for the first and second persons, whenever they are the subject of a transitive action or whenever the presence of both a nominal subject and object in one and the same sentence necessitates the discrimination of the subject. The discriminative case of nouns

1 Alsea $\tilde{m}ak\tilde{\tilde{t}}$.
2 Alsea $\tilde{m}\tilde{\tilde{u}}n$.
3 Alsea $t\tilde{m}\tilde{\tilde{t}}z$ SISTER-IN-LAW.
4 Likewise so by Dorsey for "nephew." The use of this term for "stepson" contradicts the term for "stepfather."
5 Frequently rendered cousin.
6 The same contradiction as mentioned in note 4.
7 Coos $xa'yu\tilde{u}st\tilde{\tilde{d}}c$.
8 Alsea $qu'sint$. 

§ 21
other than terms of relationship is formed by means of an internal phonetic change (see § 111). The same case for the independent personal pronouns for the third person will be found discussed in § 113 (pp. 575 et seq.). The rules of consonantic clusters change this prefix frequently into qa- (see § 4).

\[\text{mitù father 54.22} \quad \text{qamita'tc wîltoistûn her father sent her 92.20}\
\[\text{mù'ù'skù younger brother 56.6} \quad \text{ul wûn waha'ha'n qa'mskùtc now again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21}\
\[\text{mitù mother 54.23} \quad \text{a'ta'q qiûtq'i'mâ ta'yun qamîla'-a'tûn one old woman kept (in her house) my mother 100.12}\
\[\text{nà I 21.8} \quad \text{töï'kîyanx qnî sî'n'xyîts very much thee I like 22.7}\
\[\text{na'han I 40.14} \quad \text{L!'wû'yûn qnà'han I know it 19.9}\
\[\text{nîx'uts thou 50.16} \quad \text{hî'sanx mâ'nîsûts qnî'x'uts well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3}\
\[\text{na'w'xùn we two (excl.) 36.15} \quad \text{qna'xûn Lëbî'yûts we two (excl.) hit thee}\
\[\text{na'nxan we (excl.)} \quad \text{qna'nxan ya'q'xhîsûts we (excl.) will watch thee 72.6}\
\[\text{wato who, somebody 10.1} \quad \text{qwatc L!'wû'yûn he who knows it 44.8}\
\[\text{kumîntc'nt qwâtc kî'xîsûts not us (excl.) anybody will ever beat 72.17}\

Suffixes (§§ 22–105)

§ 22. General Remarks

Besides the few ideas that are conveyed by means of other grammatical processes (such as prefixation, reduplication, etc.), Siuslaw employs suffixation as a means of forming practically all of its morphological and syntactic categories. These suffixes are either simple or they are compounded of two or more distinct formative elements. The compound suffixes usually have the cumulative significance of their separate component parts. In many cases, owing to far-reaching
phonetic changes, the derivation of the compound suffixes can not be
given with certainty.

From a functional point of view all suffixes may be divided into a
verbal and a non-verbal group; the former used in the formation of
verbal ideas, the latter employed for the purpose of conveying gram-
matical concepts of a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial character. In
one or two instances we do find a suffix denoting both verbal and
nominal ideas. This is especially true of the suffix -ūv, -ūvəi, which
may indicate an act performed by several subjects, or else the abstract
concept of that action (see §§ 79, 97); and of the auxiliary -t, which is
also employed in the formation of a number of words denoting adject-
ival ideas. (See §§ 104.) While it might have been more proper
to discuss such suffixes in a separate chapter as “Neutral Suffixes,”
practical considerations have induced me to treat them in accordance
with their functional values, notwithstanding the fact that this treat-
ment entails some repetition.

The majority of Siuslaw stems are neutral, and receive their respec-
tive nominal or verbal meaning from the nature of the suffix that is
added to them. There are, however, a few stems denoting adverbial
ideas that can under no circumstances be amplified by nominal suffixes.
Furthermore, it seems to be a general rule that nominalizing
suffixes can not be added to a stem that has already been verbalized by some
verbal suffix; while numerous instances will be found where a stem
originally developed as a verbal idea, and nominalized by means of
suffixes, can again be verbalized by adding to the derivative noun an
additional verbal suffix.

The following examples will serve to illustrate the three possibilities
that prevail in the derivation of verbs and nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ści</td>
<td>to shoot 8.6</td>
<td>ściL' he shoots 10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ći</td>
<td>to eat 13.10</td>
<td>ċiL' he eats 44.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hits</td>
<td>to live</td>
<td>h'atsūwi they live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulti</td>
<td>to snow</td>
<td>walt it snows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsxat</td>
<td>to shine (?)</td>
<td>tsxaya' L'da'i day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulti</td>
<td>to dig 80.6</td>
<td>ulti they dig (the ground) 84.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 22
(2) Adverbiai particles:

\[
\text{Advekbial particles: } s^\text{a'ts}a \text{ thus } 8.7 \\
waha' \text{ again } 19.5
\]

\[
y^\text{a'tsa e^\text{a'ts}e^\text{yax} \text{ for a long time he did it thus } 11.3, 4 \\
s^\text{a'ts}i^\text{xamyax thus it was done } 32.16 \\
waha'ha^n qa'msk^\text{u'te again (said to him) his younger brother } 56.21 \\
w^\text{a'tn}x m^\text{u'wa'lemtc wa'as you will again (talk) Crow's language } 38.8, 9^1
\]

(3) Nouns:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Noun} & \text{Verb} \\
qu^\text{u'tc} & q^\text{u'tc}^\text{u'n} & q^\text{u'tc}^\text{u'n}^\text{o'} \text{ (when) } \\
52.17 & 30.21 & \text{he marries } 76.8 \\
p^\text{ictc} & p^\text{ictc}^\text{e'm} & p^\text{ictc}^\text{e'm}^\text{o'} \text{ (when) } \\
& 46.11 & \text{it gets summer } 54.2 \\
w^\text{aa's} & w^\text{a's} & w^\text{a's}^\text{a'm}^\text{tmtc w^a's} \text{ language } \\
& 34.21 & \text{spekt syaxa'n his language he spoke } 36.14
\end{array}
\]

**Verbal Suffixes (§§ 23–81)**

§ 23. INTRODUCTORY

The study of the verbal suffixes of Siuslaw brings out a strong tendency to phonetic amalgamation between different groups of suffixes, by which the component elements are often obscured. For this reason the question of an ultimate relationship between many of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw can not be ascertained as easily as might seem at first sight, owing chiefly to the fact that in most of the compound suffixes the originally separate elements have undergone considerable phonetic changes and have become to a large extent petrified. However, a careful examination of the phonetic composition of those suffixes that convey kindred psychological and grammatical concepts will show that certain phonetic elements of a given suffix may have served originally to conduce one leading idea, and have amalgamated, in the course of time, with other suffixes, thereby showing a genetic relationship between many of the verbal suffixes.

---

^1 See also § 135.
Thus, -ū may have had primarily a transitive indicative function occurring in the suffixes -ūn (see § 28), -ūts (see § 29), -ūw (see § 30), etc. In like manner, -ts- may have been the proto-suffix that indicated pronominal relations between subject and object, being present in suffixes like -ūts (see § 29), -emts (see § 31), -ūtsm- (see § 34), -ūts (see § 36), -ūs (see § 42), etc.; and -i- seems to have been originally a modal suffix, denoting chiefly the possession of the object of the verb by another person or thing, because it is found in suffixes like -ūl (see § 35), -ūlts (see § 36), -ū (see § 45), -ūts (see § 46), -iumt (see § 63), -ini (see § 41), etc.; and -to was undoubtedly the general adverbial suffix.

The following table will best illustrate the plausibility of relationships between some of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the probable original suffix, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear today.

*-ū indicative
-ūn direct object of third person (see § 28)
-ūts direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)
-ūw indirect object of third person (see § 30)
-ūtsm object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)
-ūl object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)
-ūlts object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
-yūn, -īyūn exhortative (see § 41)
-ūrn intentional (see § 70)
*-ts pronominal relations between subject and object
-ūts direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)
-emts indirect object of first and second persons (see § 31)
-ūtsm object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)
-ūlts object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
-ūts imperative with direct object of the first person (see § 42)
-iumts imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
-ūlts imperative with object possessed by a first person (see § 46)
-tsxi imperative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 47)
-ūtsmEx exhortative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
*-i imperative

§ 23
-i^yun, -iṇī exhortative with direct object of the third person (see § 41)

-īts imperative with the direct object of the first person (see § 42)

-īṁts imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)

-ī imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)

-īts imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)

-ītsmē exhortative with possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)

-ī imperative for transitive verbs (see § 62)

-īvnt̄ intransitive exhortative (see § 63)

*-ī possessive interrelations between object and subject

-ūl object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)

-ūlts object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)

-ūltx, -xamltx passive with possessive relations of subject (see § 39)

-ī imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)

-ūlts imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)

-ī imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)

-īts imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)

-īt̄ imperatives (see § 64)

*-tc adverbial

-tc' tentative (see § 52)

-tc local (see § 90)

-tc modal (see § 94)

In discussing these suffixes it seems convenient to begin with the group that appears in the sentence in terminal position and proceed backwards with our analysis. According to this treatment, we may distinguish—

(1) Pronominal suffixes.

(2) Objective forms.

(3) Modal suffixes.

(4) Temporal suffixes.

(5) Verbalizing suffixes.

(6) Plural formations.

(7) Irregular suffixes.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 24–26)

§ 24. The Subjective Pronouns

The pronouns denoting the subjects of an action, transitive and intransitive, as well as pronominal objects, are expressed by means of suffixes that invariably stand in terminal position. The third person singular has no distinct form. The first persons dual and plural have

§ 24
distinct forms for the inclusive and exclusive. The same pronouns are used for all modes and voices. In the imperative the second person singular is omitted.

The following table will serve to illustrate what may be called the fundamental type of the subjective pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person sing.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ns</td>
<td>-nl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive du. and pl.</td>
<td>-nx</td>
<td>-ts</td>
<td>-toc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-nx</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>-nxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-axun, -axun</td>
<td>-nxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive du. and pl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would seem that the exclusive forms are derived from the third persons dual and plural and the first person.

These suffixes appear also in the independent personal pronouns (see §113). The suffix for the first person singular, -n, disappears regularly after the transitive -un (see § 15), and the confusion that might arise from the fact that the transitive form for the third person singular ends in -un also, is avoided by accentuation of the first person singular as the subject of an action by the additional use of the independent pronoun that either precedes or follows the verb.

The second person singular and the third person plural happen to consist of the same phonetic elements, -nx. Ambiguity of meaning in both forms is avoided by addition of the independent personal pronouns. The suffix for the third person dual undergoes frequent changes, which have been fully discussed in § 13.

The rules regulating consonantic clusters require the insertion of an obscure (or weak) vowel between stems ending in a consonant and any of the subjective suffixes that begin with a consonant (see § 4).

According to the manner in which the subjective pronouns are added to a given verbal stem, the verbs may be divided into the five following distinct groups:

1. Verbs that add the pronominal suffixes directly to the stem or that take them after the verbalizing suffixes -a and -ui.

2. Verbs that end in -i.

§ 24
(3) Certain verbs that end in \( x \).

(4) Verbs that express the third person singular by means of stem amplification (see § 112).

(5) Verbs that end in \( -a \).

The first group presents no difficulties whatsoever. The subjective pronouns are added directly to the stem or else follow the verbalizing suffixes \( -a^i \) and \( -\ddot{u}^i \) (see § 75).

A number of verbs seem to end in \( -i \), which undergoes a phonetic change whenever the pronominal suffixes are added to it. Thus, it is shortened when followed by the pronoun for the first person singular, and it undergoes the process of diphthongization (see § 7) whenever a pronoun for any of the other persons is added to it. Whenever the third person singular is to be expressed, the verb appears with \( -i \), which is often diphthongized into \( -ya \). Verbs that take the tentative suffix \( -t^o \) (see § 52) and the frequentative \( -at!i \) (see § 68) are treated similarly.

A peculiar treatment is accorded to certain verbs that end in \( x \). Here belong only such verbs as have been amplified by means of the modal suffix \( -t^eax \) (see § 51) and of the temporal suffixes \( -awax \), \( -tux \), and \( -yax \) (see §§ 70, 73, 74). These suffixes do not change their phonetic composition when followed by the pronouns for the first person singular and second persons dual and plural. However, as soon as the subjective pronouns for any of the other persons are added to them, the final \( x \) disappears. An exception to this rule is offered by the future \( -tux \) (see § 73) when followed by the pronoun for the third person dual. In this case the final \( x \) is always retained. Whether the disappearance of the \( x \) is due to contraction or to other causes, can not be said with any degree of certainty.

The last two groups comprise verbs the stems of which undergo a process of amplification whenever the third person singular is to be expressed. Verbs belonging to the fourth group show an internal change of the stem, while those of the fifth group add an \( a \) to the bare stem. A full discussion of the phonetic character of these two processes will be found in § 112, p. 574.

§ 24
In accordance with these five types of verbs, the following tabular arrangement of the pronominal suffixes may be presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st type</th>
<th>2d type</th>
<th>3d type</th>
<th>4th type</th>
<th>5th type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual (incl.)</td>
<td>-ns</td>
<td>-yns</td>
<td>-ns</td>
<td>-ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural (incl.)</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ynl</td>
<td>-nl</td>
<td>-nl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-nx</td>
<td>-yanx</td>
<td>-nx</td>
<td>-nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-ts</td>
<td>-yats</td>
<td>-ts</td>
<td>-ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tei</td>
<td>-yatei</td>
<td>-tei</td>
<td>-tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-i, -ir</td>
<td>-i, -ya</td>
<td>-x</td>
<td>[Amplified stem]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-aux</td>
<td>-yaux</td>
<td>-aux, -aux</td>
<td>-aux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-nx</td>
<td>-yanx</td>
<td>-nx</td>
<td>-nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-anẓn</td>
<td>-yanzn</td>
<td>-anẓn</td>
<td>-anẓn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-nẓn</td>
<td>-yanzn</td>
<td>-nẓn</td>
<td>-nẓn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Pronominal suffixes added directly to the stem or following the verbalizing -a't and -u':

- **vina'** to be afraid 17.6
- **wa'a** to speak 7.1
- **vina'** to be afraid 17.6
- **lna'u** to be rich 76.3
- **lyag** to pass wind 86.7
- **tsine'** to be poor 16.10
- **vita'** he eats 46.5
- **tsine'** to be poor 16.10
- **tein** to come back
- **skwa'** to stand 10.9
- **tgula** to shout 52.8
- **smut** to end 8.8
- **gato'nta** he goes 12.
- **xint** to start 23.1
- **tsine'** to be poor 16.10
- **yuwa'** he gets pitch 96.18
- **neqú'** to be cold

§ 24
(2) Pronouns added to verbs that end in i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronoun added to verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xi'l'xci-</td>
<td>to work 50.3</td>
<td>xi'l'xci-</td>
<td>I work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xi'l'xein</td>
<td>we two (incl.) work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xi'l'xeyanl</td>
<td>(incl.) work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'nwi-</td>
<td>to desire 18.5</td>
<td>si'nwi-</td>
<td>if you desire 44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si'nwiyxan</td>
<td>you two desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'nki-</td>
<td>to work 50.6</td>
<td>wi'nki-</td>
<td>you are working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wi'nki</td>
<td>he is working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi'l'xci-</td>
<td>to work 50.3</td>
<td>xi'l'xci (xi'l'xeya)</td>
<td>he is working 50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xi'l'xeyaax</td>
<td>they two work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xi'l'xeyanx</td>
<td>they work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xi'l'xeyanxan</td>
<td>we two (excl.) are working</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Pronouns added to certain verbs that end in x:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronoun added to verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gate^n-</td>
<td>to go, to start 8.2</td>
<td>gate^n-</td>
<td>I shall go 22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>to run away 52.10</td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>I intend to run away 90.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vvu-</td>
<td>to come 8.3</td>
<td>vvu-</td>
<td>I came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>to run away 52.10</td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>we two (incl.) shall run away 92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>(incl.)) intend to run away 90.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwil-</td>
<td>to return 12.6</td>
<td>xwil-</td>
<td>we (incl.) shall return 60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xwil-</td>
<td>we (incl.) have returned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huto-</td>
<td>to play 8.8</td>
<td>huto-</td>
<td>we (incl.) shall play 7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vvu-</td>
<td>to come 8.3</td>
<td>vvu-</td>
<td>thou didst live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta^t</td>
<td>it lives 32.21</td>
<td>ta^t</td>
<td>you will cut 90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mikul-</td>
<td>to cut 82.14</td>
<td>mikul-</td>
<td>you shall assemble 30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temu-</td>
<td>to assemble 7.3</td>
<td>temu-</td>
<td>he will come 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li'vu-</td>
<td>to approach 8.3</td>
<td>li'vu-</td>
<td>he intends to run away 86.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>to run away 88.3</td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>(if) he lives 44.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>they two will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>they two came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aq-</td>
<td>they two intend to run away 86.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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$\bar{a}q$- to run away 88.3  
$\bar{L}v^\bar{u}$- to approach 8.3

(4) Amplification of stem:

$\bar{u}q$- to dig 80.6  
$\bar{c}i\bar{t}a$- to flop  
$ha^w$- to be ready 8.10  
$Ll\bar{o}n$- to tell 16.9

(5) Verbs that end in $-a$:

$ha\bar{\ddot{u}}$- to quit 11.4  
$wa$- to speak 7.1  
$qa\bar{\ddot{i}}\bar{\ddot{o}}n$- to go 12.1  
$w\bar{\ddot{i}}\bar{\ddot{w}}$- to affirm 17.7

$\bar{a}qa\bar{\ddot{w}}a^{\bar{w}}\bar{x}a\bar{n}$ we two (excl.) intend to run away  
$L\bar{v}^\bar{u}\bar{\ddot{t}}\bar{\ddot{a}}\bar{n}a\bar{n}$ we (excl.) will come 30.11  
$L\bar{v}^\bar{u}\bar{\ddot{u}}\bar{\ddot{y}}\bar{\ddot{a}}\bar{n}a\bar{n}$ we (excl.) have come

$\bar{y}a\bar{\ddot{q}}$ (they two) dig 84.7  
$\bar{c}\bar{\ddot{y}}\bar{a}t\bar{\ddot{a}}\bar{\ddot{w}}$ (they) flop (around) 36.23  
$ha\bar{\bar{\ddot{w}}}a\bar{n}$ it is ready 23.10  
$L\bar{\ddot{w}}e\bar{\ddot{a}}\bar{n}$ he relates 16.6

$\bar{h}a\bar{\bar{\ddot{w}}}a$ it is ready 23.10  
$\bar{w}\bar{\ddot{a}}\bar{\ddot{d}}$ he said 12.10  
$ga\bar{\bar{\ddot{w}}}\bar{\ddot{e}}\bar{\ddot{o}}\bar{\ddot{n}}a$ he goes 36.1  
$\bar{\ddot{w}}\bar{\ddot{t}}\bar{\ddot{w}}\bar{\ddot{a}}\bar{\ddot{d}}$ he affirms 58.9

§ 25. The Objective Pronouns

The same forms as those discussed in § 24 are used to express the pronominal objects. In these terms the verbal stem is followed by an objective element, which in most cases is followed first by the pronominal object, then by the pronominal subject. In all cases where this composition would bring two consonants into contact they are separated by a weak vowel ($a$ or $i$).

The objective elements here referred to are $-\bar{\ddot{u}}\bar{n}$, which expresses the relation to the third person object, and $-\bar{\ddot{u}}\bar{\ddot{t}}\bar{\ddot{a}}$, which indicates the relation to the first and second persons. These will be treated more fully in §§ 27-29.

In all forms that express a relation of a second person subject or of an exclusive subject to a singular pronominal object, the latter is omitted, and the pronominal subject follows directly the objective element before referred to. Perfect clearness is attained here, since the objective element defines the person of the object. Thus the forms $THOU$, $YE$ TWO, $YE$, acting upon either first or second person, can refer only to the first person; $I$ AND $HE$, and $I$ AND $THEY$, only to the second, for otherwise they would be reflexives. In the combination $I$–$THEE$ the subject is omitted. In the combinations $I$–$HIM$, $I$–$THEM$ TWO, $I$–$THEM$, the subject pronoun $-n$ seems to have been contracted with the $n$ of the objective element (see § 15); while in $THEY$–$ME$ the order of subject and object is reversed.

§ 25
These phenomena may be indicated in the following tabular form:

### I. OBJECTIVE FORMS FOLLOWED BY SUBJECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Third person object</th>
<th>First and second persons objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-unans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-unazun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-unawze</td>
<td>-unawze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-unawze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II. SUBJECT OMITTED

I-them—-untsanx.

### III. INVERSION OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

They-me—-untsanzin.

### IV. SEQUENCE: OBJECT-SUBJECT

All dual and plural objects; all third person subjects (except they-me).

The following table may serve to illustrate more fully the forms that are used in Siuslaw to express relations between subject and object. Suffixes marked with an asterisk (*) are forms reconstructed by analogy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Thou</th>
<th>He</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-untsanx</td>
<td>-untsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thee</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-untsanx</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-untsanx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-unanz</td>
<td>-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-untsanzin</td>
<td>-untsanzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-untsatzin</td>
<td>-untsatzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-untsatzin</td>
<td>-untsanzanx</td>
<td>-untsatzanx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Them</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-unawzin</td>
<td>-unawzanx</td>
<td>-unawzanx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-unanz</td>
<td>-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-untsanzanx</td>
<td>-untsanzanx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-untsatzin</td>
<td>-untsatzin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-untsatzin</td>
<td>-unanzanx</td>
<td>-unanzanx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Them</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-unanzin</td>
<td>-unanz</td>
<td>-unanz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25
While all these forms may actually appear suffixed to the verb, there prevails a tendency (discussed on p. 479) to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial terms preceding the verb rather than to the verb itself. This transposition of the suffixes for the subject of the action considerably lessens the syllabic quantity of the whole verbal expression.

The pronoun I—THEE coincides phonetically with the form for THOU—ME; and in order to avoid ambiguity of meaning, the subjects § 25
of these combinations may be indicated by means of the discriminative forms of the independent personal pronouns (see §§ 21, 113).

All forms having a third person as the object do not, as a rule, indicate the number of the subject. This is rather done by means of the numeral xă'tsă'ū two for the dual, and the numeral particle ha'i'mūt all for the plural.

The difficulty arising from the fact that the suffix -ūnanx may express thou-him, etc., and they-him, etc., is bridged over by the additional use of the independent pronouns for thou and they (see § 113). This rule applies to all cases, so that it may be stated that, whenever, by some process of contraction, simplification, or abbreviation, two or more suffixes expressing identical relations between subject and object are phonetically alike, their subjects are indicated by the use of the independent pronominal forms. Thus, for instance, the form -ūtsanx may express I-thee, thou-me, and he-thee. These are usually distinguished by means of the pronouns qnà I, qnīwa'ts thou, and se̓s he (see § 113), that are placed before or after the verb, denoting that the first, second, or third person respectively is the subject of the action.

The third person singular has no subjective element, owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct form for that pronoun (see § 24).

s̓ł'ux̱- to desire 18.5
waa'w he says 19.3
l̓kwav̓ he gets, he takes 82.6
hin- to take along 9.5
tcaq- to spear 68.18
yagʷ̃- to look, to watch 9.1
yaw̓ to see 34.4
xnì'w̓- to do 9.7
temū'- to assemble 7.3

si̓n̓t̓x̱yūtsanx qnà hūte'a'w ax I want thee to have fun 21.6
s̓e̓atsilte̓n̓x w̓aad'yūts (when) thus thee I tell 36.19
s̓e̓d̓tsanax tux̱̓ l̓kwa'yūts qnà that's why I (came to) get thee 21.3
h̓ya̓nyūtsanx hūtsil'mi̓cin I'll take thee into my house 58.6
ya̓kʷ̓̃sin t̓e̓̃aq̓̃g̓̃a'n a seal I was spearing 68.8
ya'qu yūtsats qnà I will look at you two
y̓w̓̓x̱̓n̓a'x̱̓x̱̓n̓ qnà I see them two
s̓e̓d̓tsa̓x̱̓n̓ x̱̓n̓i̓y̓n̓'w̓y̓̓ün thus to them two I will do 88.17
kum̓i̓nte̓tc̓ tac̓tc̓ tc̓temū'-ūts not you in vain these you I assembled 30.18, 19

§ 25
sa'tsa thus 8.7

waa't he says 8.9

temü'- to assemble 7.3

tqül- to shout 52.8

män- to take care of 38.13

L'wo'na- to tell 16.5

Lelü' he is hitting

yaq'- to look 9.1

waa'- to speak 7.1

hün- to take along 9.5

L'xü- to know 19.9

yax- to see 20.10

skwa'- to stand 10.9

yax- to see 20.10

Lelü' he hits

yax- to see 20.10

xintm- to travel 13.3

kün- to beat 78.18

§ 25
yaq' to look 9.1

Lelü' he hits

xnî'n- to do 9.7

Lelü' he hits

Lelü' he hits

xaũ' he died 40.21

Lelü' he hits

§ 25
ya'x- to see 20.10

qnú'- to find
Lelú" he hits

Llxmíya" he kills

k'á'- to invite 16.3
hace'- to ask 66.16
yaq'"- to look 9.1
si'nxí- to desire 18.5
Lelú'- to dry 60.19
Lelú" he hits

anx- to give up 54.12

yaq"- to look 9.1
hace'- to ask 66.16
yaq"- to look 9.1
waa" he says 19.3

§ 25

yíxa'yúna"x they two saw him 62.20, 21

ũxa"x qnú' hú'n they two find it 56.9
s'rá'sa"x Lelú'yútsans they two are hitting us two (incl.)
s'rá'sa"x Lelú'yútsanxan they two are hitting us two (excl.)
tú'a'sa"x Lelú'yútsa'tó' those two are hitting you two
tú'a'sa"x Lelú'yún ha't'mut those two are hitting (them) all

Llxmíya'yúnáń we (incl.) will kill him 28.3
qnan Llxmíya'yún tü'ánx we (incl.) will kill those (all)

s'átsanxan k'akah'yuts that's why we (excl.) invite thee 24.10
a'tsxanxan te hect'ah'yuts qná' that's why we (excl.) ask thee 74.15
qna'nxan ya'q'shisúts we (excl.) will continually watch thee 72.6
sínxínánxan lí'útáx we (excl.) want him to come 17.2, 3

yáxa'nxan lí'á'í Lwuyú'yún lots we (excl.) salmon dry it

qna'nxan Lelú'yútsats we (excl.) are hitting you two
qna'nxan Lelú'yún tú'a"x xő't'sú we (excl.) are hitting those two
qna'nxan Lelú'yútsa'tó we (excl.) are hitting you (pl.)
ha't'mut'nxan Lelú'yún qná' we (excl.) are hitting (them) all

a'nxo'tsa'tó you (shall) let me alone 27.5

yaqa'w'yútsa'tó haya'mut you all shall look at me 72.11, 12

haté'a'yúnató you (shall) ask her 74.10

ya'd"yútsa'xún qnú'xtsëtó you are looking at us (excl.)
atsë'nxan waa'yúts thus they told me 46.20, 21
§ 26. Position of Pronouns in Verbs Accompanied by Adverbial Forms

As has been stated before (see p. 474), the pronominal suffixes stand in terminal position, and theoretically are added to the verb; but whenever an adjective, an adverb, or a particle precedes the verb, the pronouns are preferably suffixed to these and precede the verbal expression. The verb appears in all such cases in what may be called the fundamental type (see pp. 470, 474).

$n'vct'em$ because 18.8

$kum'vntc$ not 12.2

$ta'k$ here

$sqa'k$ there 14.6

$s^atsi'tc$ thus 8.1

$ha^n'a$ different 58.9

$yä'a^x$ much 8.5

$tcik$ where 34.2

"l and, then 7.4

The same tendency to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial expressions that precede the verb is shown even in cases where a verbal expression is preceded by a nominal subject or object.

$h'ya'tc$ people 60.25

$L'wa'x$ messenger 7.7

§ 26
ilqwa'tem root, alder tree  ilqutmi' a'x qa'a' an alder tree they
two entered 92.6
ya'kus seal 62.4  yek'u'snx t'u'tca' sea-lions they
spear 62.2
qa'x night 40.14  qa'a'snx a'l'du ya'q'u'hitux(at) night
likewise you will watch 70.18, 19

OBJECTIVE FORMS (§§ 27-48)

§ 27. Introductory

In sentences containing subject and object the interrelation between
them is expressed with great definiteness by means of suffixes that
precede the subjective and objective pronouns. My original intention
was to treat these suffixes as pronominal elements; but the chief
objection to such a treatment lies in the fact that the pronouns, sub-
jective and objective, are repeated after them. Hence it was found
advisable to treat them as objective elements. In the expression of
the relations a distinction is made between third person objects on the
one hand, and first and second persons on the other. Furthermore,
the indirect object is distinguished from the direct object, and the
same classification of persons is found. The possessive relations
between the subject and the two objects are also expressed with great
clearness; and, finally, a sharp line of demarcation is drawn between
the indicative, imperative, and passive modes.

It would seem that the following table represents all the suffixes
belonging to this group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATIVE</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Interrelations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>1st &amp; 2d per.</td>
<td>3d per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>-tlt</td>
<td>-én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-łmt</td>
<td>-ąx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of possession</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not own</td>
<td>-tlt</td>
<td>-įł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own insep.</td>
<td>-ίltx, -ίx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own sep.</td>
<td>-ίltm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 27
Some of these forms are applicable to the present tense only, showing different suffixes in other tenses. Thus, an entirely divergent treatment is accorded to the suffixes denoting possessive interrelations for the durative, intentional, and past tenses (see § 37).

For the purpose of greater clearness, these forms have been subdivided into the following four groups:

1. Indicative forms denoting personal interrelations.
2. Indicative forms expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject.
3. Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.
4. Imperative forms denoting pronominal and possessive interrelations.

Indicative Suffixes Denoting Personal Interrelations (§§ 28-31)

§ 28. Direct Object of Third Person -ūn (-a^a^n)

This suffix transforms nouns into verbs, transitivizes all verbs expressing intransitive actions, and changes a transitive idea into a causative concept. In all these cases the object must be a third person. All stems ending in i-diphthongs change the i of the diphthong into y before adding the transitive suffix (see § 8). This suffix immediately precedes the subjective pronouns, and hence invariably follows the tense signs. For the interchange between -ūn and -a^a^n see § 2.

\[k!\text{w}w\text{in}a^v\text{ ice appears 76.13}\]
\[\text{tekl}^\prime a^k\ell!\text{ trap 100.4}\]
\[y\text{alqa}^\prime a^u\text{ hole 84.6}\]
\[s^\prime a^t^\prime s\text{a thus 8.7}\]
\[h^\prime s\text{a well 12.2}\]
\[w\text{in}x\text{ he is afraid 17.6}\]
\[c^\prime l\text{x it shook 36.10}\]
\[m\text{a}^t\text{c}^\prime \text{e to burn 25.2}\]
\[x\text{aw}^\prime \text{ he died 40.21}\]
\[m\text{a}^t\text{c}^\prime \text{e it lay 32.26}\]

§ 28
§ 29. Direct Object of First and Second Persons -üts (-a⁹ts)

This suffix indicates that an action has been performed upon a first or second person as object. The person of the actor is expressed by suffixing to -üts the corresponding subjective pronouns (see § 24). Its use corresponds to that of -ün for the third person object.

An explanation for the interchange between -üts and -a⁹ts will be found in § 2. This suffix follows all other verbal suffixes excepting, of course, the subjective pronouns. The ü unquestionably denotes the indicative mode, and is identical with the ü in -ün, -ux, -üts, -ül, etc. (see §§ 23, 28, 30, 35, 36).

This suffix has been referred to in § 25, where a tabular presentation of the different combined subject and object pronouns will be found.

§ 29
si’nxi- to desire 18.5
yaqu’- to look 9.1
mān- to take care 38.13
yaqu’- to look 9.1
waa’- to speak 7.1
yāw- to see 13.7

For further examples see § 25.

§ 30. Indirect Object of Third Person -ux (aux)

Each language has a number of verbal expressions that require the presence of a direct and indirect object. Such verbs are, as a rule, distinguished from other stems by means of some grammatical contrivance. Siuslaw uses for that purpose the suffix -ux added to the bare stem. This suffix, however, is used only when the third person (singular, dual or plural) is the indirect object of the sentence. As soon as the first or second person becomes the indirect object, another suffix, -emts, is used (see § 31).

The pronoun expressing the subject of the action always follows the suffix -ux.

waxax- reduplicated stem of wax- to give 18.5
hamts- to dip out
h'iyatsi'ts- reduplicated form of h'its-, h'iyats- to put on, to wear 11.8
lak'- to take, to fetch 7.5
hamx- to tie 8.6.

ul waxa'vaux ants mi'n'wvi then he gave him that lightning 38.2 (for ux = aux see § 2)
s'as ha'mtsxux he dipped it out for him 46.6
h'iyatsi'tsuxan I put it on him
lakwa'kuxan I took it away from him
hamx'tuxux he tied it on him

§ 31. Indirect Object of First and Second Persons -emts

This suffix is used only with verbal stems that require a direct and indirect object. The direct object expressed by this suffix is always the third person, while the indirect object must be either a first or
a second person, regardless of number. The suffix expressing the same idea with the third person as the indirect object has been discussed in § 30. The pronominal suffixes denoting the subject of the action and its relation to the direct object are the same as those used in connection with the suffix -"uts (see § 29). The verbal stem to which this suffix is added has frequently terminal reduplication.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hamx} & \text{- to tie } 8.6 \\
\text{wax} & \text{- to give } 18.2 \\
\text{hītsa} & \text{ he put it on } \\
\text{a'q} & \text{- to leave } 56.5 \\
\text{wax} & \text{- to give } 18.2
\end{align*}
\]

Indicative Suffixes Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject (§§ 32-37)

§ 32. Introductory

The phenomenon of expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject of a sentence through the medium of distinct suffixes is by no means of uncommon occurrence in the American Indian languages.\(^1\) From a logical point of view such a formation is perfectly justifiable, and may be said to have its origin in the actual difference that exists between the concept of an act performed upon a given object and the conveying of the same act performed upon an object that stands in some relation to the subject of the sentence. Thus the English sentence I whip my horse states a fact that is fundamentally different from the sentence I whip the horse, in so far as it expresses, besides the act performed by the subject upon the object, also the possessive relation that exists between object and subject. In the Indo-European languages, in which each idea maintains an independent position in a complex of grammatical concepts, such

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\(^1\) See, for example, Sioux, Chinook, Kutenai.
relations are indicated by means of independent words, as a rule possessive pronouns; but in Siuslaw these relations are relegate to the verb, and consequently we find them conveyed by means of certain suffixes that are added to stems denoting verbal ideas.

The possessive relations that may exist between object and subject of a sentence are of a threefold nature. The object may form an inseparable part of the subject (I wash my face); the object may be separably connected with the subject (I lose my knife); or the object may stand in a possessive relation to another object (I lose his knife). Siuslaw distinguishes clearly between these three types of relationship, and expresses each of them by means of a distinct suffix.

§ 33. Suffix Indicating that the Object Forms an Inseparable Part of the Subject -itx (-atx), -tx

This suffix indicates that the object of the sentence is inseparably connected with the subject. Hence all stems expressing an action performed by the speaker upon any part of his own body (and even upon his name) occur with these suffixes. Now and then they will be found added to stems denoting actions that do not necessarily involve an integral part of the subject as its recipient. All such formations must be looked upon as ungrammatical; that is to say, as due either to analogy or to an unintentional mistake on the part of the informant.1

The verbal ideas which are expressed in this manner need not always be transitive in our sense of the word. They may, and as a matter of fact they do, denote conditions and states in which an integral part of the subject may find itself. Such expressions are possible, because to the mind of the Siuslaw they convey transitive ideas. Thus the sentence I am sorry expresses, according to our interpretation, an intransitive idea. The Siuslaw treats it as a transitive sentence, and expresses it by saying I make my mind sick. In the same manner Siuslaw conceives of our expressions my hair burned, his child died, it is cold, etc., as transitive sentences, and renders them by (I) burned my hair, (he) caused his child to die, the earth makes its body cold, etc.

No specific reason can be given for the occurrence of the parallel forms -itx and -tx, nor has any distinction been detected in the use of

1 My informant made such mistakes rather frequently, but corrected them promptly whenever her attention was called to them.
the two forms. It seems, however, that -tx tends to appear after other suffixes, while -itx is added to bare stems.

This suffix must not be confounded with the frequentative -itx (see § 68). -itx interchanges frequently with -atx. For an explanation of this interchange see § 2.

- kuts- to paint
  - kutsatx qa'nni I paint my face

- lk'- to open (mouth) 28.2
  - lk'atax laa' he opened his mouth 96.1

- skw'- to stand 14.4
  - ha'mutnx la'qat skwahas'tx awak'i they all had feathers on their heads (literally, all they, feathers to stand caused on their heads 10.9

- k'w'win- ice 76.11
  - k'w'wina'htx l'a'ei ice appeared (literally, ice made on its body, the earth) 76.10

- pbn- to be sick 40.21
  - pban'tx ha' they were sorry (literally, sick they made their minds) 15.4

- yâ'xo' much 8.5
  - yâ'xatxan ha'I am crafty (literally, much I have in my mind) 20.7

- tcanhati- to club
  - tcanhatim'xutxaw xal'tm t ants peni's they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9

- tìn- to boil, to be ripe 98.7
  - tintx ha' his heart cooked 96.9, 10

- hamx- to tie 8.6
  - ha'mextaxan hi'qvi I tie my hair

- mîltoist he commenced to burn 29.3
  - mîltoistx ha'mut hi'qvi his hair began to burn (literally, it began to burn on him his all, hair) 29.4

- haw- to end, to make 14.6
  - ha'tna haw'x ha' his mind had become different (literally, different on him it had made itself, his mind) 60.21

In the following examples, terms of relationship are treated as inseparable parts of the subject:

- pbn- to be sick 40.21
  - pban'tx anti tlamc (he) got sick his boy 40.20

§ 33
§ 34. Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by the Subject, but Separate from it -utsm- (-aʔutsm-)

This suffix seems to be a compound consisting of two separate suffixes, -ʔut- and -m. While the original function of the second element is unknown, the first component is undoubtedly the suffix expressing the direct object of the first and second persons (see § 29 and also § 23).

It expresses a transitive action whose recipient is possessed by the subject without forming an integral part of it. Terms of relationship, and all concrete nouns, excepting those nominal stems that denote parts of the body, are thus considered; but, owing to frequent errors on the part of the informant, this suffix will be found used also in connection with objects expressing parts of the body. All subjective pronouns are added to this suffix by means of a connecting weak vowel, as a result of the law regulating the use of consonantic clusters (see § 4); and, as the third person singular has no distinct form, this suffix appears in final position as -ʔutsm. The a of this suffix often interchanges with the diphthong aʔ (see § 2). The suffix follows the tense signs, and is frequently added to reduplicated stems.

laʔu- to take, to get 7.5  lākwaxʔutsmín kʔaʔnî I take my bucket
qnuʔ- to find 56.9  qnûʔhûtsmín qalʔto I found my knife
l!wmaʔ- to kill 15.3  l!wmaʔyûtsmanx mûʔsku you killed your younger brother

1 See § 33, p. 455.
lāk'- to take 7.5
l'ōx- to send 16.10
waa' he says 8.9
lī'ū (they) come 9.3
waa - to speak 8.1
mīltcīst he begins to burn 29.3
wīl'xečt- to work 50.9

In the following instances this suffix has been used in connection with nouns that form an integral part of the subject:

t!'emxu- to cut 36.16
pāx- to close (eyes) 36.16
yā'q'ha't he looked 58.1
wīl'tcīst he begins to send 92.20
phn- to be sick 40.21
mīnax- to lighten 38.5
tōlt'i wind

§ 34
§ 35. Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person Object -ul (-a\textsuperscript{a})

This suffix expresses an act performed upon an object that forms an integral part of or that is separably connected with another object. Hence it indicates the possessive relation that exists between two objects as seen by the subject of the sentence. The possessor of the object of the action must be the third person, regardless of number. If, however, it is absolutely necessary to indicate the number of the possessor, this is accomplished by means of suffixing to the possessed object the possessive suffixes for the third person singular, dual or plural (see § 88). It is noteworthy that the possessed object appears in the absolutive form, and not with the locative case endings, as might be expected. The pronominal suffixes expressing the subject of the action follow the suffix -ul; and as this suffix ends in a consonant, and some of the subjective pronouns begin with a consonant, the pronouns are frequently preceded by a connecting, weak vowel (see § 4). There exists undoubtedly an etymological connection between the \textit{u} of this suffix and the \textit{u} of the direct object of the third person -un (see §§ 23, 28). For the \textit{u} of -ul the diphthong a\textsuperscript{a} is quite frequently substituted. This interchange has been discussed in § 2.

\begin{itemize}
  \item si'nx\textsuperscript{i}- to desire 18.5
  \item hamx- to tie 8.6
  \item yax- to see 34.4

  h\textit{in}- to take along 23.2
  ya'q\textsuperscript{a}- to see 23.9

  yax- to see 34.4
  ya\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{a}- small 36.23

  haw- to end, to make 14.6

  lak\textsuperscript{a}- to take 7.5

\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item si'n'xy\textsuperscript{u}ln h\textit{is}i\textsuperscript{a} I like his house
  \item ha'mx\textsuperscript{a}ln te\textit{in} I tie his hands
  \item y\textit{iwa}y\textsuperscript{u}lanx mi\textit{t}\textsuperscript{a} you see his father

  h\textit{iwa}y\textsuperscript{u}lanx l\textit{!x}m\textit{\textsuperscript{a}ni\textsuperscript{t}i you took his bow along

  "I ya'q\textsuperscript{a}"y\textit{u}l m\textit{\textsuperscript{a}c}k\textsuperscript{a}la\textsuperscript{a} and he saw her vulva (bad thing) 90.10

  y\textit{\textsuperscript{a}w}i\textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{a}x\textsuperscript{a}x te\textsuperscript{u}x\textsuperscript{a}s he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.15

  y\textit{ak}l\textit{\textsuperscript{a}}t\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a}l w\textit{\textsuperscript{a}n}\textit{\textsuperscript{a}k}a she cut his head into pieces 96.11

  ha\textsuperscript{a}na hai\textit{u}l ha\textsuperscript{a} different she made his mind 58.9

  t!\textit{\textsuperscript{a}l}y\textsuperscript{a} l\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{a}l ants m\textit{\textsuperscript{a}t}!\textsuperscript{a} bear had seized that his older brother 58.16
\end{itemize}

§ 35
qwa’.native to pour 29.2

"I wan qwa’native naayad to te (they two) now pour it into his mouth 96.7

hate’ - to ask 66.16

"Ute hate’ad’yul ha you ask her (literally, and you ask about her mind [opinion]) 74.8

§ 36. Suffix Expressing an Object Possessed by a First or Second Person Object -aults (-aults)

This suffix has the same function as -uł, but differs from it in so far as the possessor of the object must be either a first or a second person. The number of the possessor, when required, is indicated by the possessive suffixes added to the possessed object (see § 88). Owing to the variability of the person of the possessor, this suffix conveys, besides the idea of a possessive relation between two objects, also the connection that exists between subject and object. Hence it assumes a function, limited in scope, but similar in character to the suffix for the combined subject and object pronouns. This functional similarity is indicated even in the phonetic composition of the suffix. -aults is undoubtedly a compound suffix consisting of the previously discussed -uł and of the suffix for the subject and object pronoun -uts (see § 29). It is not inconceivable that the original form may have been -ułuts, contracted later on into -uluts. A comparison of the Siuslaw transitive indicative suffixes shows that the majority of them have the ū in common. Hence it may be claimed that the ū originally conveyed the idea of a transitive indicative action (see § 23); and as the ū was already present in the first element of this suffix (-uł), it may have been omitted as superfluous in the second part.

Owing to this additional function of this suffix as a medium of expressing subject and object pronouns, the subjective pronouns are added to it in a method similar to the one employed in the suffixation of the subjective pronouns to the suffix -uts (see § 25). After certain consonants this suffix is changed into -aults (see § 2).

hìn- to take along 23.2

hinda’yultsanx l’xniití I take along thy bow

yax- to see 34.4

yiced’yultsanx qa’nní I look at thy face

L’x(u)- to know 40.16

L’xii’yultsanx mitù qnà I know thy father

§ 36
wax- to give 18.2

L!xmaĩ- to kill 15.3

tsxan- to comb

lak^ to take 7.5

L!x(u)- to know 40.16

yax- to see 34.4

§ 37. Suffixes Denoting Possessive Interrelations for Tenses other than the Present -isiti, -awiti, -yaxaiti

When possessive interrelations that occur in tenses other than the present are to be expressed, the Siuslaw language resorts to an interesting form of composition of suffixes. Thus the durative suffix -is (see § 69), the intentional (see § 70), and the past -yax (see § 74), are combined with the possessive suffix -it (see § 88), forming new compound suffixes -isiti, -awiti, and -yaxaiti, that indicate semi-reflexive actions performed constantly, or about to be performed, or performed long ago. In these new suffixes no sharp line of demarcation is drawn between objects that are inseparably connected with the subject, and objects that are possessed by the subject.

ya^k!- small 36.23

yäk!is he is constantly (getting) small

haw- to finish 14.6

ha^wís he makes continually

kwí'tci yä'k!isíti ha³ don't ye be downhearted! (literally, not you small always make your mind) 66.5

u²nex hümí'nte atsí'tc ha³wísíti ha³ and you don't believe it thus (literally, and you, not thus, make continually your mind) 46.24

qa'xantc ha³wísíti ha³ downward make continually your hearts 8.10

§ 37
h'ín- to take along 23.2
h'ín'ís he always takes along

xní'mo- to do 10.5
xní'mo'nís (we) always do it 72.15
hamx- to tie 8.6
hamx'á- to intend to tie
páx- to shut (eye) 36.16
páx'á- to be about to close
yá'xate'- to try to look 13.7
yá'xate'á'- to intend to try to look
tquya'á'- to intend to boil

A similar process is resorted to whenever the prohibitive mode (see § 40) of an action denoting that the object is possessed by the subject is to be expressed. In such cases the durative -is (see § 69) is combined with the possessive -ítá- (see § 88), and the whole verb is preceded by the negative particle k wz, kumí'nte not (see § 131).

tswanu- to comb
uk'á- to open 28.2
hin- to take along 23.2
haw- to finish, to work 14.6

§ 37
§ 38. Passive Suffixes for Verbs Requiring in the Active a Double Object -imE, -ümE (-ämE)

-imE. This suffix invariably follows the verbalizing -i or -a (see § 75), and seems to express the passive voice of verbs that require in the active the presence of a double (direct and indirect) object, although it will be found suffixed to verbal stems that do not necessarily require such a double object. Whenever the subjective pronouns are added to it, the obscure e of this suffix is changed into a weak a or i. The form -imE occurs in terminal position only. This suffix follows all temporal suffixes.

wax- to give 18.2 waxa’yìmanx qanǐ’nal it (will) be given to you, (a) big knife 19.6

hīts- to put on 11.10 hītsa’yïmin it is put on me

haw- to end, to make, 14.6 txūnx hì’usa hava’yíme hals they are just good-minded toward thee (literally, just thee well it is made towards, mind) 21.1

In two instances this suffix has been added to a stem without the aid of the verbalizing -i (-a).

ha’ūs easy atsil’to ha’usìme thus it was agreed upon (literally, thus it was [made] easy) 24.1

haw- to finish, to end 14.6 ha’usìme aunts ts’aln ready (made for him is) that pitch 26.5, 6

This suffix may be preceded—for the sake of emphasizing its passive function—by the present passive -xam (see § 55). In such cases the verbalizing suffix is omitted.

hīts- to put on 11.8 wad’ aunts hītsìxamìme said that one on whom it was put on 11.10

qū’n- to pour il wàn qū’ni’xamìme and now it was poured down into his . . . 29.2

āq- to take off 13.1 aqì’xamìme it was taken off him

§ 38
-ūme has the same function as -ūme, and is used in connection with similar verbal stems. It differs from it only in so far as it is added directly to the stem. An explanation of the parallel occurrence of -ūme and -a^kume has been given in § 2.

wax- to give 18.2

qani'nal waxa^l manxa a big knife is given to you 21.4

pī'ū- to be noisy 36.24

wa³ yā'a'xa³ tē'q 两个维护 they made noise with everything (literally, although many things [they have], still it is made noise with) 29.1

§ 39. Passive Suffixes Denoting Possessive Relations of the Subject -ultx, -xamltx

These suffixes express, besides the passive voice, also the fact that the recipient of the action is either possessed or forms an integral part of a given object.

-ultx seems to be composed of the suffix -ul, which indicates that the object forms an integral part of or is possessed by another object (see § 35), and of the suffix -tx, denoting that the object is an integral part of the subject (see § 33). If this is the origin of the compound suffix, the amalgamation of these two independent suffixes into one new formative element that expresses the passive voice, and at the same time contains the idea of a possessive relation between object (grammatical subject) and object, presents a problem that must remain unexplained. The person of the possessed subject is indicated by the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24). The stem to which this suffix is added occurs frequently in an amplified form (see § 112). Stems ending in i (short or long) change it into y before adding the passive suffix (see § 8).

lakw- to take, to get 7.5

kumī'nte¹x lakwa'ultx ants qī'ütc not their (dual) were taken, those wives 50.22

lakwa'ultxa^k tā'te^o ax qī'ütc taken away were these their (dual) wives 52.3, 4

§ 39
In many instances this suffix is preceded by the verbalizing -a (see §§ 75, 8).

-\text{skwaha}^\prime\text{u} he stands 14.4

-\text{tkwi}^\prime\text{- to bury 80.10}

-\text{waa}^\prime\text{u} he says 8.9

-\text{xam}^\prime\text{ttx} is undoubtedly composed of the suffix for the present passive -\text{xam} (see § 55), of the abbreviated -\text{ul} (see § 35), and of the suffix -\text{tx} (see § 33). When it is remembered that this suffix can be added only to verbs that require a double object, the amalgamation of these three independent formative elements into one suffix for the purpose of expressing the passive voice of an act whose recipient (grammatical subject) stands in some possessive relation to one of
the three persons (speaker, person spoken to, or person spoken of), becomes at once apparent.

The use of this suffix may be illustrated by an example. The verb to put on requires a double object, because it implies the idea to put something on somebody, or vice versa. Hence Siuslaw renders the English sentence his hat was put on (really, his hat was put on him) by a complex consisting of the verbal stem and the compound suffix -xamltx. In this suffix the first element, -xam, indicates that the action is passive (performed by somebody upon the recipient); the second element, -t-, denotes that the direct object (in this case the noun hat) is possessed by the recipient of the action; while the last element, -tx (which when used alone indicates that the object forms an integral part of the subject), serves to bring out the idea that the action is performed upon the indirect object (on him) which (in this case) can no be separated from the (logical) subject (his hat).

The persons that are implied in the possessive relations as indicated by this suffix are expressed by means of the subjective pronouns added to it (see § 24). Since the first element of this compound suffix is the present passive -xam, the manner in which it is added to the verbal stem is similar to that employed in the suffixation of -xam (see § 55).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āq-} & \text{ to take off 13.1} & \text{aqāxamltxan lkwda'nug'\text{u}} & \text{taken off (me) is my hat} \\
\text{hits-} & \text{ to put on 11.8} & \text{hitsīxamltxan lkwda'nug'\text{u}} & \text{put on (me) is my hat} \\
\text{t!emxu-} & \text{ to cut off} & \text{t!emwxu'd'xamltxanx tei'ū} & \text{cut off (thee) was thy hand} \\
\text{laku-} & \text{ to take (away) 7.5} & \text{s\text{'}at\text{'}t\text{'}w\text{'}a'xam a'ntsux lo-kw\text{'}xamltx qu'ute} & \text{thus were told those two from whom the wives were taken away (literally, thus they two were told, those two [of] whom taken away were [those their dual] wives) 54.14}
\end{align*}
\]

**Imperative Forms Denoting Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations (§§ 40-48)**

**§ 40. Introductory**

In the following sections there will be discussed suffixes that express not only the imperative mode, but also the exhortative.

§ 40
Besides separate suffixes indicating the imperative of intransitive and transitive verbs (see §§ 61, 62), Siuslaw shows distinct suffixes that express the pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object.

Another interesting feature that may be noted in connection with the formation of the imperative mode is the presence of a distinct negative form of the imperative or prohibitive mode, and the manner in which it is expressed. Generally speaking, the durative suffix -\(\ddot{s}\) (see § 69), used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see § 24), and in addition to the particle of negation (see § 131), expresses the prohibitive mode. This idiomatic expression may be justified by the fact that a prohibitive command addressed to the second person has much in common with the negative form of a durative action performed by the same person.

Owing to the fact that the imperative suffixes express other categories than a command, the prohibitive form of the imperative referring to such categories is expressed by adding to the durative -\(\ddot{s}\) the respective suffixes that denote the non-imperative idea (see §§ 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37). Examples of the prohibitive mode and a detailed description of its formation will be found in §§ 60–62, 42–46.

§ 41. Exhortative Suffixes Expressing the Direct Object of the Third Person -\(\ddot{y}u\n\), -\(\ddot{w}\ddot{y}u\n\), -\(\ddot{m}\)

These three suffixes express an admonition to perform an action having a third (not mentioned) person as its object. The difference between -\(\ddot{y}u\n\) and -\(\ddot{w}\ddot{y}u\n\) could not be traced to any particular cause, owing chiefly to the fact that the latter form occurs very seldom. The informant always rendered the first two suffixes by a transitive future, and they seem to have been employed quite extensively in this secondary function.

-\(\ddot{y}u\n\) is suffixed to verbs expressing transitive ideas only, and the stem to which it is added always occurs in an amplified form (see §§ 7, 112).

\[
\begin{align*}
a'q\, &\text{to leave 56.6} \\
L'o\ddot{x}\, &\text{to send 16.10}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
tu'k'ns\, ay'a'q\ddot{y}u\n\, te \, &\text{here we two (incl.) will leave this salmon (literally, let us two leave)} \\
l'o'wa'a'q\ddot{y}u\n\, lito\, &\text{I will send these people (literally, let me send)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
3045'^\circ - \text{Bull. 40, pt 2—12—32}
\]
anx- to give up 60.11

\[ \text{kum}^\prime \text{ntc}^\prime \text{nt} \text{and} \text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un} \text{not we (incl.) will give it up (literally, don't let us two)} \]
\[ \text{16.8} \]

\[ \text{L}^\prime \text{xma}^\prime \text{t} \text{- to kill 15.3} \]

\[ \text{L}^\prime \text{m}^\prime \text{wo}^\prime \text{ya}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un}^\prime \text{nt we (incl.) will kill him (literally, let us kill him)} \]
\[ \text{28.3} \]

\[ \text{lit}^\prime - \text{to eat 15.2} \]

\[ \text{kum}^\prime \text{n}^\prime \text{t}^\prime \text{nto ti}^\prime \text{t}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un} \text{not he will eat it (literally, don't let him eat it)} \]
\[ \text{34.22} \]

\[ \text{h} \text{amx}^\prime - \text{to tie 8.6} \]

\[ \text{h} \text{am}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{xy}^\prime \text{un} \text{he will tie it (literally, let him tie it)} \]

\[-\text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un} \text{exercises apparently the same function as the first suffix, but does not necessarily require amplification of the stem to which it is added.} \]

\[ \text{an}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{yn}^\prime - \text{to do 11.11} \]

\[ \text{x} \text{n}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{n}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un} \text{we two (incl.) will do it (literally, let us two do it)} \]
\[ \text{10.5} \]

\[ \text{q} \text{a} \text{to}^\prime \text{n}^\prime - \text{to go 12.1} \]

\[ \text{q} \text{a} \text{to}^\prime \text{c}^\prime \text{n}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un} \text{I will make him go (literally, let me make him go)} \]

\[ \text{kwa}^\prime \text{h}^\prime \text{un} - \text{to bend down 13.5} \]

\[ \text{k} \text{u} \text{n}^\prime \text{i}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{un} \text{I will bend it down} \]

In an analogous manner Siuslaw seems to have formed an exhortative suffix expressing the direct object of the first person. This is done by substituting -ts (see § 23) for the -n. As but few examples of this formation were obtained, a full discussion is impossible. The examples follow.

\[ \text{ya} \text{q}^\prime - \text{to look, to see 25.3} \]

\[ \text{y} \text{aq}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{utsa}^\prime \text{t} \text{ch} \text{ye look at me} \]
\[ \text{72.11, 12} \]

\[ \text{L}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{u}^\prime - \text{to know 40.7} \]

\[ \text{L}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{w}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{utsa}^\prime \text{t} \text{c} \text{ch} \text{ye shall know me} \]
\[ \text{30.17} \]

\[ \text{k} \text{a} \text{g}^\prime \text{s} - \text{to follow 92.7} \]

\[ \text{k} \text{a} \text{g}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{u}^\prime \text{tsa}^\prime \text{n}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{g} \text{you shall follow me} \]
\[ \text{92.3} \]

\[ \text{hin} - \text{to take along 9.5} \]

\[ \text{h} \text{y} \text{a} \text{g}^\prime \text{a}^\prime \text{y}^\prime \text{u}^\prime \text{tsa}^\prime \text{n}^\prime \text{a} \text{w} \text{I will take you along} \]
\[ \text{58.6} \]

\[-\text{in}^\prime \text{e} \text{is suffixed to transitive verbs, and is always used in connection with the exhortative particle qa}^\prime \text{t} \text{(see § 129). The subjective pronouns for the first and third persons as the performers of the action are always added to the particle (see § 26). This suffix appears frequently as -a}^\prime \text{t} \text{in}^\prime \text{e} \text{(see § 2).} \]

§ 41
§ 42. Imperative Suffix Expressing the Direct Object of the First Person -its (-a^ts)

This suffix is added directly to the stem, and commands the person addressed (subject) to perform an act upon an object which must be one of the first persons. The -ts of this suffix is undoubtly identical with the -ts found in all suffixes that express first and second persons objects (see §§ 23, 29, 34, 36). The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix can be only those indicating the second persons as the subject and the first persons as the object of the action (see table, pp. 473, 474). In this connection the following peculiarities may be noted:

1. The singular subject is not expressed, being understood in the command.

2. Dual and plural objects are not expressed in the suffixes, but are indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns for the first persons.

3. For a singular object the subjective pronoun for the first singular (-n) is added to the imperative suffix.

4. For dual and plural subjects the subjective pronouns for these persons are added to the imperative -its.

The following table will best serve to illustrate these four rules:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou</th>
<th>Ye</th>
<th>You</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me . . . . . .</td>
<td>-it'n</td>
<td>-it'ets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us two (exclusive) . .</td>
<td>-it'awz'n</td>
<td>-it'ets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us (exclusive) . .</td>
<td>-it'anzan</td>
<td>-it'ets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added by means of a weak a-vowel (see §§ 4, 24).

This imperative suffix occurs often as -a^ts (see § 2).
waa' - to speak 7.1
hín- to take along 23.2
l'a'wan- to tell 7.3
yaq'n- to look 23.9
a'q- to leave 56.5

The prohibitive form is expressed by combining the durative -Is with the objective form -ûts and by placing the particle of negation kû', kuni'tnc, before the verbal expression (see §§ 69, 29, 60). The pronominal suffixes are those used to express the second person as the subject, and the first person as the object, of an action (see § 24 and table, pp. 473, 474).

§ 43. Imperative Suffix Indicating the Indirect Object of the Third Person -yûk

This suffix is etymologically related to the suffix -ux discussed in § 30. It is added to verbs requiring the presence of a direct and indirect object, and it expresses a command that involves the third person (singular, dual and plural) as the recipient of the action.

wax- to give 18.2
qû'n- to pour 29.2
hûts- to put on 11.8
hamx- to tie 8.6

The prohibitive mode is obtained by combining the durative -Is (see § 69) with the suffix -ûx (see § 30) and by placing the particle kû' or kuni'tnc (see § 131), before the verbal expression.

wax- to give 18.2
hûts- to put on 11.8
qû'n- to pour 29.2
§ 44. Imperative Suffix Denoting the Indirect Object of the First Person -imts

This suffix expresses a command to perform an act the indirect recipient of which is the first person. It is etymologically related to the imperative suffix -its (see § 42) and to the objective form -emts (see § 31), being composed of the initial element of the former suffix and of the whole of the latter formation (see § 23). The method of adding the pronominal forms to this suffix is identical with the method discussed on pp. 472-475.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wax-} & \text{to give 18.2} \\
\text{hits-} & \text{to put on 11.8} \\
\text{hamx-} & \text{to tie 8.6}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wā'ximtsin} & \text{give it to me!} \\
\text{hīya'tśemtsin} & \text{put it on me!} \\
\text{ha'memtsatēi} & \text{you (pl.) tie it on me!}
\end{array}
\]

The suffixed particle -ū (see § 132) is frequently added to this combined suffix. In such cases it denotes an act performed near the speaker.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{xwil/-} & \text{to return 12.6} \\
\text{hamx-} & \text{to tie 8.6}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{xwil'i'mtsinū} & \text{give it back to me!} \\
\text{hamwū'mtsinū} & \text{tie it on me!}
\end{array}
\]

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative -īs (see § 69) with the suffix -emts (see § 31 and also § 40).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wax-} & \text{to give 18.2} \\
\text{hits-} & \text{to put on 11.8}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kwinax wā'xaisemts} & \text{don't give it to me!} \\
\text{kwinax hīya'tśisemts nātc} & \text{don't put it on me!}
\end{array}
\]

§ 45. Imperative Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person -ūl.

This suffix indicates that the possessor of the recipient of the action is the third person singular. Duality and plurality of the possessor is expressed by suffixing the subjective pronouns for the third persons dual and plural (see § 24) to the possessed object (see § 35). This suffix is added directly to the stem, and is related (phonetically and etymologically) to the suffix -ūl, indicating that the object is possessed by a third person object (see §§ 23, 35). Duality and plurality of the subject of the action are expressed by adding the subjective pronouns -ts and -toc (see § 24) to the suffix -ūl; and as these pronouns begin with §§ 44-45
a consonant, they are merged with the imperative suffix by means of a weak a-vowel (see § 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yū\wi'ł/ to break 94.4</td>
<td>yū'ł!/il qal' tc break his knife!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsxanu- to comb</td>
<td>tsxa'n'wil h'i'qū̂ comb his hair!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hĭn- to take along 23.2</td>
<td>hĩ'nîl 1/xmîl̃î take along his bow!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lăn- to call 23.7</td>
<td>lâ'nîl l'in'te'awx call their (dual) names!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamx- to tie 8.6</td>
<td>ha'mx̄il tô'îl'înxw tie their hands!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'slx'mxū- to cut 48.12</td>
<td>t'lx'mx̄il'tach xwâ'ka you cut (off) his head!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prohibitive form is obtained by combining the durative -îs (see § 69) with the suffix -ûl (see § 35) and by placing the negation kû', kumî'ntc not before the verb (see § 40).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yū\wi'ł/ to break 94.4</td>
<td>kwîn̄x yū'ł/îsîl qal' tc don't break his knife!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamx- to tie 8.6</td>
<td>kumî'nte'nx ha'mvwîsîl tcîl don't tie his hands!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsxanu- to comb</td>
<td>kwîn̄x tsxa'nvwîsîl h'i'qū̂ don't comb his hair!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 46. Imperative Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a First Person -înts

It expresses a command to perform an action, whose recipient is either possessed or forms an integral part of the first person. It is related to the imperative -înts (see § 42) and to the suffix -ûltîs discussed in § 36. The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix for the purpose of indicating the number of subject and possessor are identical with those discussed on pp. 472-475.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xâl/- to make 50.8</td>
<td>xâ'ł/întsîn qal' tc fix my knife!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamîl- to wash</td>
<td>x̄mîlîntsîn qa'nînî wash my face!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hĩn- to take along 23.2</td>
<td>hĩ'nîltsîte si xwâ you take my canoe along!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamx- to tie 8.6</td>
<td>ha'mvx̄întsînxan tcîl tie our (excl.) hands!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prohibitive form is obtained by combining the durative -îs (see § 69) with the suffix -ûltîs (see § 36). The negative particle kû', kumî'ntc not must precede the verb, while the pronouns expressing § 46
the person spoken to may be suffixed either to the negation or to the combined suffix (see §§ 40, 26).

tsxanu- to comb  
kwi'n's tsxan'mvisülts hi'qâ; don't comb my hair!

hamx- to tie 8.6  
kum'into'ts ha'mvisülts toi don't you two tie my hands!

hin- to take along 23.2  
kwi'te'i hi'nisülts l'xmütî don't you take along my bow!

§ 47. Imperative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations between Object and Subject -tsx

In the imperative the suffix -tsx is used for expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject in both cases, when the object forms an integral part of the subject and when it is only separably connected with it. Considering that actions involved in such a command presuppose the presence of a pronominal subject and object, it is not improbable that the suffix -tsx may be related to the suffixes -üts and -its (see §§ 23, 29, 33). For subjects other than the second person singular, the different subjective pronouns are added to -tsx (see §§ 24, 4).

hi'n^k'y to rain 78.1  
hi'n^k'y'tsx L'a'^a cause (thy) rain to come down! 76.18

tsxanu- to comb  
tsxanu'tsx hi'qâ comb thy hair!

lk'a'a'- to open 28.2  
lk'a'a'tsx Lao open thy mouth!

lakw- to take 7.5  
lakwtsx kâ'nî get thy basket!

L'ox- to send 16.10  
L'oxtsx hîte send thy man!

pâx- to close 36.16  
pâxtsx kôpë shut thy eyes!

mînxw- to lighten 38.5  
mînxwtsx L'a'^a make lightning! 38.5

a'to- to trade 36.4  
a'to'tsxan let us two (incl). trade!

lakw- to get 7.5  
lakwtsxâts qî'âtc you two take your wives! 52.17

hi'n^k'y- to rain 78.1  
hi'n^k'ytsx L'a'^a you two cause your rain to descend 76.19

For the formation of the prohibitive mode see § 37.
§ 48. Exhortative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject -itsmE (-a'tsmE)

This suffix may be called the imperativized form of the suffix -ūtsm denoting that the object is separably connected with the subject (see §§ 23, 34). It expresses, however, possessive relations between subject and object regardless of the kind of possession, and is used only in connection with the particle qa'il (see § 129). By its means Siuslaw expresses a desire addressed to the first and third persons that a certain act be performed upon an object that either forms an integral part of or else is separably connected with the third person. All subjective pronouns are added to the particle qa'il (see §§ 24, 26). Siuslaw has no distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possessive relations with the first or second persons as the possessor, or relations between subject and object. For the interchange between -itsmE and -a'tsmE see § 2.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pāx-} & \text{ to close 36.16} & \text{qa'il paxa'itsme kōpx let him shut his eyes!} \\
\text{xāl!-} & \text{ to build 50.8} & \text{qa'ilını̊x xāl!itsmE hìtsi'ì let us two (incl.) fix his house!} \\
\text{xamL-} & \text{ to wash} & \text{qa'ilınx xamLitsmE qa'nnē let them wash their faces!} \\
\text{hìts-} & \text{ to put on 11.8} & \text{qa'ilào'x hìyatśi'tsmE ukwann'g'u let them two put on their (dual) hats!}
\end{align*}
\]

**MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 49-64)**

§ 49. Introductory

In the succeeding chapters will be discussed, besides the suffixes that indicate the passive voice and the imperative and exhortative modes, also the formative elements expressing such concepts as reciprocality, distribution, and tentative and negative actions. A separate section might have been devoted here to a discussion of the formative elements -ū and -i, the former expressing the indicative and the latter indicating the imperative mode. Since, however, these two elements never occur alone, and since they have been fully discussed in connection with other suffixes (see §§ 23, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48), it has been thought advisable to call attention here to their modal functions, but not to treat them separately.

§§ 48-49
§ 50. Reciprocal -naw(a), -mawu-

-naw(a) precedes all other suffixes, and is followed by the subjective pronouns. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit clusters of w+ any consonant (excepting n), the w of this suffix changes into a voiceless w (written here $^{h}$w) before all consonants except n (see § 4). For that reason the reciprocal -naw(a), when followed by the present -t (see § 72), the future -tux (see § 73), or by the imperative -em (see § 61), is heard as -nahu$t$, -nahu$tux$, and -nahuwem respectively.

The stem to which this suffix is added is not infrequently followed by the reflexive particle ts'ims (see § 123). The full form -nawa is added when the suffix stands in final position; that is to say, when it expresses the subjective pronoun for the third person singular (see § 24).

Lōl- to hit

Lōlna'wans we two (incl.) hit each other
Lōlna'wa'tsun ts'ims we two (excl.) hit each other
Lōlna'wats ts'ims you two hit each other

winx- to be afraid 17.6

waad'- to speak 7.1

s'na'- to desire 18.5

winx- to fear 17.6

tqūl- to shout 52.8

a'to- to trade 36.4

Lōlna'wans we two (incl.) hit each other
Lōlna'wa'tsun ts'ims we two (excl.) hit each other
Lōlna'wats ts'ims you two hit each other

winxna'wa'tx they two were afraid of each other 86.1, 2
waand'wa'tx they two talk to each other 10.4
sa$ttső'to'wax waand'wa thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2
waanda'wisaxants mōt'ti they two keep on talking to each other, those chiefs 78.8, 9
a'tsəmt'umbl'ntc mōk'l'a'na s'na'wits thus we (incl.) won't try to abuse one another (literally, thus we not badly will desire [to abuse] one another continually) 78.12, 13

vAnxna'wanxan ts'ims we (excl.) are afraid of one another.
tqūlnd'wanxe they shout at one another.
a'tenahu$tuxns we two (incl.) will trade 36.7

§ 50
lōl- to hit  

loñna'hu'tuxts you two will hit each other  

lōñna'hu'mats you two (hit) each other!  

tqūł- to shout 52.8  

tgūlña'hu'tünxon we (excl.) will  

shout at one another  

yaq'- to look 23.9  

yaq'hu'nda'hu'match look you at one  

another!  

waa' to speak 7.1  

waana'hu'twana'wa'as they speak  

one another's language

In two instances this suffix is followed by the verbalizing -at implying the commencement of a reciprocal action. For an explanation of this inchoative idea see § 75.

waa' to speak 7.1  

atsi'te'wa waanawa' thus they two  

(begin to) talk to each other  

78.13  

kū'n- to beat 72.17  

u'ëna'wa'kú'na'wa' now they  

(begin to) beat one another 80.1

In a few instances this suffix is used to express distribution of action.

t'ë'mawu'- to cut 48.12  

ul t'ëme'mawu'wa' also he cut it into  

pieces (literally, he cut it here  

and there) 52.23, 24  

lqu'nu'knot  

lqu'nu'wina'hu'tün yàa'wa' he made  

lots of knots (literally, he made  

many knots here and there)  

sū'qu- to join 80.9  

sū'qu'na'hu'tün he joined it together  

lásq'- (l) 80.15  

lásq'na'hu'tün he put them side by  

side  

āq' to take off 13.1  

āq'na'hu'tün he took it apart.

-mux'- has the same function as the preceding -naw(a), but is  

employed less often, and seems to be confined to a limited number  

of stems. This suffix is frequently affected by the shifting of the accent  

(see § 12).

waa' he says 8.9  

waa'muxwa'ux they two talk to  

each other 10.6  

sats'ica'xw waa'muxwa'ux thus they  

two talk to each other 10.6, 7  

atsi'te'wa waad'ye'mawust thus they  

began to talk to each other 56.4  

waad'ye'mawust'wa'ux they two began to  

talk to each other 48.13

§ 50
teanhâti- to club  
teanhâti'mau'txawx q'ul'mt ants pen'i's they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9
kimâ'li/- to hit  
kimâ'li/mu'wwanx they hit one another

§ 51. Distributive -it'ax

This suffix expresses the distributive of intransitive verbs. Owing to the fact that most nouns, even without the aid of any specific device, may have the function of intransitive verbs, this suffix will be found added to nouns, especially to terms of relationship. The initial ʽ is frequently changed into aterno (see § 2).

The form -it'ax followed by certain subjective pronouns is subject to a peculiar law of contraction (see § 24).

k̓l̓tn- to hear 70.5

kłtn'axte wa'as wâ'ts!u ḫ̓nq'a'-a'ti two rivers will have one language (literally, hear mutually their language [the people of] two rivers) 32.6, 7

súqu- to join

sú'q̓it'ax ants hiti̓t'i' wál-ul'yusne adjoining these houses are built 80.9, 10.

l̓apq- (?)

alq̓ta l'ayal ʷl cinəx hiti̓t'i' xá-l'al'yá'ne l̓apq̓it'ax on one place three houses are built side by side 80.1, 15

n̓učč̓- to fight

n̓učč̓it'axəx sə'n̓wəyún (to) fight mutually they two want (with them) 52.2

mičč̓ə'skə younger brother 56.6

ma'skwiləwəx wâ'ts!u'wa̓x younger brothers mutually they two (were) 40.18

n̓učč̓it'axəx, ma'skwiləwəx = n̓učč̓it'axəxəx, m̓skwiləwəxəx (see § 24)

mičč̓ə'ti' younger sister 40.2

ma'čč̓ət'axən ( = ma'čč̓ət'axənən) sisters mutually we (excl.) are

§ 51
§ 52. Tentative -to'

This suffix indicates an attempt on the part of the subject to perform a certain action, and may best be rendered by to attempt, to try . . . The native Siuslaw, unable to express its exact meaning, rendered it by various phrases, chiefly by sentences like to do something slowly, to "kind of" . . ., etc. Verbal stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between its final sound and the suffix (see § 4). In terminal position this suffix appears as -to'ya (see § 24).

yaw- to see 34.4  
staw'mxnw yå'xato'd'wax there they intend to try to look 60.7
yå'xato'ist'xnw lit'aya' you (will) try to begin to look for food 13.7
yå'xato'aw'within t'låme I intend trying to look for my boy 60.1, 2

lawat- to run 12.3
låxat'at'st k'èxü'te l'aya'te he begins to attempt to run everywhere 13.8, 9

kù'n- to beat 72.17
\"s\'så tså'k'ya kù'nù'tswa that one very (hard) tries to beat (them) 78.18

l!ùha'- to sell, to buy 74.5
l!ùhat'oe'ntaw'xw (they two) try to sell their (dual) many (hides)

lit!- to eat 13.10
li't'at'cin I eat slowly

mìx- to swim
mi'xato'ya he is "kind of" swimming

§ 53. Negative -il (-aU)

This suffix expresses negation of action, and is used with intransitive verbs only. Negation of transitive verbs by means of a special suffix is not exhibited. The verbal stem to which this suffix is added must be preceded by the negative particles kùi, kuni'ntc not (see § 131). An explanation of the parallel occurrence of -il and -aU is given in § 2.

a'xís- to sleep 23.9
kumi'ntc'xnaw a'xísil not we (excl.) sleep 70.19

xìntm- to travel 12.10
kumi'ntc ni'k'la xìntmil not alone he traveled 94.11

čì'nxìi- to think
kumi'ntc niìctoi'cte cì'nxìil not (of) anything he was thinking 60.20, 21

čì'lxì- to move, to shake 27.2
kùi cì'lxìil not he moved 27.2, 3

§§ 52-53
Modal Elements of the Passive Voice (§§ 54-59)

§ 54. Introductory

Siuslaw employs a great number of suffixes for the purpose of expressing the passive voice. Many of these suffixes express, besides the passive idea, some other grammatical category, and according to this secondary function they may be divided into the following classes:

1. Pure passive suffixes.
2. Suffixes conveying the passive voice and temporal categories.
3. Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.

The suffixes of the last category have been fully discussed in §§ 38 and 39.

§ 55. Present Passive -xam

It expresses the present tense of the passive voice, and may be added directly to the stem or may be preceded by the verbalizing suffix -a¯ (-i) (see §§ 75, 2). In the latter case it conveys an inchoative passive idea. In narratives this suffix assumes the function of an historic present. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between their final sound and the suffix (see § 4).

- L'ïwax- to send 7.7  
- qao- to enter 44.4  
- waa'- to speak 7.1  
- wilw- to affirm 17.7  
- skwa'- to stand 10.9  
- hato'- to ask 66.16  
- lak- to get, to take 7.5

-wilw- to affirm, to answer 17.7  
-waa'- to speak 7.1  
-sing'- to be hungry 44.11  
-xo'- to die 40.21

kwi' ya'tsə wilwɨ not (for) a long time he answered 74.4
sqi'ma u t kumi'nte ta'il inq!'a'te pelican did not live in the bay 44.1
"n kumi'nte sing'ala I (am) not hungry 44.15, 16
kumi'nte xo'wil he does not die 15.8

HwanLfoxa'xam then finally he was sent 16.10
sèxə' te qao'xam into a canoe it was put in 34.5
waa'xam səatsɨ'te he was told thus 8.1
wilwa'xam he was answered "yes" 30.11
skwah'xam ants wa'teq'a placed was that roast (in the fire) 90.9
"t hatə'xam he was asked 66.16
təmtə'mi lokwi'xam an ax was seized 27.10

§§ 54-55
In two instances the verbal stem, to which this suffix is added, has been reduplicated (see § 107).

\[ \text{tēmū- to assemble 7.3} \]

\[ \text{vān ʻl tēmū- to assemble 7.3} \]

\[ \text{tēmū- to assemble 7.3} \]

\[ \text{tēmū- to assemble 7.3} \]

For forms in \(-xamīt\), expressing passives with indirect object, the grammatical subject being the property of the indirect object, see § 39.

§ 56. Future Passives in \(-atam, -i (-a\text{t}), -aa\text{u}\)

These suffixes indicate the future tense of the passive voice. No explanation for the occurrence of the variety of forms can be given. Similarly, all attempts to correlate these different suffixes with certain stems have been without results.

\(-atam\) is added directly to stems. Stems ending in \(\alpha\)-vowels contract this vowel with the initial \(\alpha\) of the suffix (see § 9). Final \(\tilde{\alpha}\) and \(\tilde{u}\) of the stem are diphthongized into \(ya\) and \(wa\) respectively before the addition of the suffix (see § 7).

\[ \text{temū- to assemble 7.3} \]

\[ \text{qna' - to find 34.12} \]

\[ \text{sətə'su thus 8.7} \]

\[ \text{k'la' - to invite 16.3} \]

\[ \text{vəa' - to speak 7.3} \]

\[ \text{hmī - to take along 23.2} \]

By adding to \(-atam\) the objective form \(-\text{un}\) (see § 28) a compound suffix \(-atam\text{u}\) is obtained which exercises the function of a causative passive for the future tense. No examples of this formation have been found in the texts.

\[ \text{hīm - to take along 23.2} \]

\[ \text{skwa' - to stand 10.9} \]

\[ \text{hīn - to take along 23.2} \]

\[ \text{skwa' - to stand 10.9} \]

\[ \text{hīn - to take along 23.2} \]

\[ \text{skwa' - to stand 10.9} \]

\[ \text{hīn - to take along 23.2} \]

\[ \text{skwa' - to stand 10.9} \]
tū' - to invite 16.2  
	tū'na'tamūn I will cause him to be invited

-ᵦ (⁻ᵃ). This suffix must not be confounded with the nominalizing suffix of identical phonetic value. The stem to which it is added invariably undergoes a phonetic change, which may be called stem-amplification (see § 112). An explanation for the parallel occurrence of -ᵦ and -ᵃ⁻ is found in § 2.

hin- to take along 23.2
kū'n- to beat 72.17
lōl- to hit
hakw- to fall 8.7

ana'x- to give up 16.8

L!'xūxʷ- reduplicated form of L!'xū- to know 40.16

-ᵦᵦ occurs more frequently than the two previously discussed suffixes, and is added to the bare stem. Stems ending in a contract their final vowel with the initial a of the suffix (see § 9). Sometimes, but not as a rule, the stem is amplified before adding the future passive -ᵃᵃᵦ. This suffix usually requires the accent.

\[\text{xnīw̱n- to do 10.5} \quad \text{yā'o'x̱a} \quad \text{hūṯo} \quad \text{xṉw̱nə'x̱a} \quad \text{much playing will be done 9.6, 7} \]

\[\text{L!'x̱m̱a} \quad \text{ṯo kill 15.3} \quad \text{I ṉḵm̱ṉtc} \quad \text{s'ṉx̱y} \quad \text{L!'x̱m̱ṉa} \quad \text{I not want it (that) he shall be killed 15.8, 16.2} \]

\[\text{tū'n- to invite} \quad \text{s'̱a} \quad \text{ṯa'x̱a} \quad \text{thus he will be invited 16.2} \]

\[\text{ma'q!i- to dance 28.7} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{s'̱i} \quad \text{ṯc} \quad \text{wad'x̱a} \quad \text{as it was said, "A dance will be arranged for him" 19.1, 2} \]

\[\text{L!'x̱o} \quad \text{ṯo send 16.10} \quad \text{c'̱ṉx̱y̱at} \quad \text{y̱a} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{s'̱e} \quad \text{w̱d'x̱a} \quad \text{thinking that man (who) was going to be sent 19.8, 9} \]

\[\text{x̱a} \quad \text{ṯo die 40.21} \quad \text{s'ṯṉx̱y} \quad \text{ṯṉx̱a} \quad \text{it was desired (that) he be killed 24.1} \]

\[\text{hīn- to take along 9.5} \quad \text{w̱ṉ ẖṉa} \quad \text{now he will be taken along 25.1} \]

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\[tu'te\] to spear 62.2
\[lak\] to get 7.5

\[t^2\text{ovated}'a^u\] it will be speared 62.8
\[\text{kum}^\prime\text{nto}_{\text{ox}} \text{tu} \text{\ la}^\prime\text{wa}'a^u, } \text{t}^\prime\text{u}^\prime\text{ha}'-\text{a}^\prime\text{nx} \text{y}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{xa} \text{not for nothing they will get you, they will buy you big (literally, not you just taken will be, bought you will be much)} 74.16, 17

§ 57. Past Passive -xamyax

This suffix is (loosely) composed of the present passive -xam (see § 55) and of the suffix for the past tense -yax (see § 74).

\[gn\prime^\prime\] to find 56.9
\[\text{li}^\prime\text{m}^\prime\text{na}'^\prime q \text{gn}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{wa'wamyax} \text{elk was found} 34.12, 13
\[\text{lak}^\prime\] to seize 7.5
\[\text{ants hitc l}^\prime\text{lo}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{v}^\prime\text{xamyax that man (who) was seized} 60.12
\[\text{s\text{e}'t\text{sa} t\text{u} \text{h} \text{a'nx} \text{thu} \text{a} \text{y}^\prime xa \text{not for nothing they will get you, they will buy you big (literally, not you just taken will be, bought you will be much)} 74.16, 17
\[\text{h}^\prime\text{iq}^\prime^\prime\] to start 15.1
\[\text{s\text{e}'t\text{sa} h}^\prime\text{iq}^\prime\text{a'axamyax thus it was started} 32.16
\[\text{xaw}^\prime\] he died 40.21
\[\text{xaw}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{v}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{xamyax he was killed} 29.6

That the composition of this suffix is felt to be rather loose may be best inferred from the fact that the sign of the past (-yax) may precede the passive suffix -xam, as is shown in the following instances:

\[\text{ci'n}^\prime\text{xi'}\] to think 60.21
\[\text{ci'n}^\prime\text{xyaxam s\text{e}'t\text{sa} te it was thought thus} 27.6
\[\text{h}^\prime\text{ut'}\) (\?) to lose
\[\text{h}^\prime\text{ut}^\prime\text'{yaxan (I) got lost} 68.2
\[\text{y}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{l}'t\text{tc}- \text{in pieces} 96.11
\[\text{y}^\prime\text{a}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{l}'\text{tc}'a^x\text{am xv}^\prime\text{w}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{ate into pieces was (cut) his head} 29.4, 5
\[\text{tc}^\prime\text{ha}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{tc}- \text{to be glad} 27.1
\[\text{tc}^\prime\text{ha}^\prime\text{k}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\text{tc}^\prime\text{yaxam xw}^\prime\text{n} \text{gladness was felt now} 23.3

In all these instances the suffix -yaxam has resulted from an original -yaxxam (see § 15).

§ 58. Passive Verbs in -\(\text{-a}^\text{t}n\)- (\(-\text{a}^\text{t}n\)-), -\(\text{n}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\) (-\(\text{n}^\prime\text{e}^\prime\)-)

These suffixes are extensively employed in the formation of the passive voice; alone they do not express any particular tense. They may be added either directly to the stem, or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffix -\(\text{a}^\prime\) (see § 75). The subjective suffixes are added to these suffixes by means of a weak vowel (see § 4); but since the third person singular has no distinct form, and as clusters of §§ 57–58
consonants in final position are inadmissible, the form of this suffix in terminal position is always -ūtne (-aⁿtne).

The form -ū'ne has resulted from the change of the t of -ūtn- to a weak aspiration (see § 16). The interchange between ū and aⁿ has been discussed in § 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qalw-</td>
<td>to count 8.5</td>
<td>ñl qa'lxūnē then it was counted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xniʷn-</td>
<td>to do 10.5</td>
<td>s²aⁿ'txa xniʷnūtne thus it was done 62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waa-</td>
<td>to speak 7.1</td>
<td>kumîntc nîctoît waa'aⁿtne nothing was said 18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatɕū'ţx</td>
<td>he drinks</td>
<td>pāl-ū gatɕū'txaxaⁿtne (from the) well it is drunk 76.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lḥaʔ'tx-</td>
<td>to shout continually</td>
<td>lḥaʔ'txaxaⁿtne he is continually shouted at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.10</td>
<td>aʦiʔtcn waa'yūtnē thus I am told 20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū'țca'</td>
<td>he spears 62.2</td>
<td>ñl tū'țca'yūtnē it is speared 8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāl'a'</td>
<td>he makes 50.8</td>
<td>tsiʔl'í l'a'ání ñl xāl'a'yūtnē many arrows are made 78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xniʷn-</td>
<td>to do 10.5</td>
<td>s²aⁿ'tsa xniʷnū'nē thus it is done 74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mîlto-</td>
<td>to burn 26.9</td>
<td>ma'ltců'nē ants hîtsî'í a fire was built (in) that house 25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waa'</td>
<td>he says 8.9</td>
<td>s²atsiʔtc waa'yū'nē ants hîtc thus was told that man 30.2, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāl'a'</td>
<td>he makes 50.8</td>
<td>k'î'x̂ qe xāl'a'yû'nē everything is made 78.5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'á'-</td>
<td>to invite 16.3</td>
<td>k'áha'yû'nîn I am invited 17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k'áha'yû'nax thou art invited 16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sî'nxī-</td>
<td>to desire 18.5</td>
<td>sî'nîyû'nax l'î'ūtnx you are wanted (to) come 19.7, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'ônîtx-</td>
<td>to tell continually</td>
<td>aʦiʔtc L'ônîtxaⁿtne thus it is frequently said 16.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When preceded by the sign of the past tense, -yax (see § 74), these suffixes denote the passive voice of the past tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hâtc'-</td>
<td>to ask 66.16</td>
<td>aʦiʔtc waa' ants hâtc'yaxaⁿtne thus said that one (who) was asked 66.24, 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—33
haw- to finish 14.6 ... ants hîtsî' ha'wa'styawa'tne (when) that house began to be finished

§ 59. Durative Passives in -isût'n- (-isû'ne), -ûsn-

-îsût'n- (-îsû'ne). This suffix is composed of the durative -îs (see § 69) and of the passive -ûn- (see § 58). It denotes a passive action of long duration. Owing to its durative character, the verbal stem to which this suffix is added is frequently amplified (see § 112) or duplicated (see § 107). -îsût'n- interchanges constantly with -â'sût'n- (see §§ 2, 69). The subjective pronouns are added by means of a weak vowel. In final position it occurs as -îsûtne, because a final cluster of t+n is inadmissible (see § 4). The change of the t to a weak aspiration in -îsû'ne has been fully discussed in § 16 (see also § 58).

lân- to call by name lâ'nîsûtne ants hîto he is constantly called, that man 23.7

cîl'w- to shake 27.3 cîl'îsûtne he is constantly shaken 27.2

vaa'- to speak 7.1 âtsî' to woa'dâ'sû'ne thus he is always told 24.2

hîts- to put on 11.8 hîya'têsîtûne it is frequently put on 11.7

lî'û (they) come 9.3 lî'îl'wî'sûtne he is being approached 26.2

yaq'- to look 23.9 yaq'ûhîsû'ne he is continually watched 26.1

qâlx- to count 8.5 qa'lxîsû'ne it is being counted 62.11

vaa'- to speak 7.1 âtsî' to woa'vû'sû'ne thus he is being told 28.10

hal- to shout 13.11 lhatí'sû'ne he is continually shouted at 14.2

L.'xû- to know 40.16 kû' Lîxû xû'xû'sû'ne tecîte'lo ants xînt not it was known where that one went 64.15, 16

-ûsn- is a combined suffix. Its first element is undoubtedly the durative -ûs (see § 69); while the second component seems to represent an abbreviated form of the passive suffix -ûtn-, discussed in § 58. It indicates a passive action of long duration or frequent occurrence, and may best be rendered by IT WOULD . . .

§ 59
This suffix is always added to the verbal stem by means of the verbalizing -a (changed into \( -i \); see § 75). Both \( -i \) and \( -a \) are subject to consonantization before the initial vowel of the passive suffix, so that this suffix invariably occurs as \( -iyusn- \) or \( -ayusn- \) (see § 8). In a few instances it appears as \( -iyusn- \) (see § 2). The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added to this suffix by means of a weak vowel; and as a third person singular has no special form, and since a terminal cluster of \( s+n \) is inadmissible, these suffixes in terminal position always appear as \( -usne, -iyusne \) or \( -ayusne \) (see § 4).

\[ \text{tgul- to shout 52.8} \]
\[ \text{tquli'yusne ants tcwni'ne he is always shouted at, that raccoon 76.16, 17} \]
\[ \text{hal- to shout 13.11} \]
\[ \text{lahali'yusne he would be shouted at 70.22} \]
\[ \text{waa'- to speak 7.1} \]
\[ \text{atsi'tc waa'yusne thus he would be told 24.7} \]
\[ \text{t̕an- to call 23.7} \]
\[ \text{t̕anali'yusne he is continually called 76.17, 18} \]
\[ \text{t̕u'- to buy 74.17} \]
\[ \text{t̕uha'yusne she would be bought 74.18, 19} \]
\[ \text{xn̕wn- to do 10.15} \]
\[ \text{xn̕wa'nî'yusne thus it would be done 76.5} \]
\[ \text{̕ul- to dig 84.2} \]
\[ \text{̕ulq̕i'yusne ants l'la'a'i dug would be the ground 80.6} \]
\[ \text{x̕al'- to make 50.8} \]
\[ \text{x̕al'i'yusne ants hîtsî'i made is that house 80.13} \]

In one instance this suffix has been added to a verbal stem by means of the verbalizing \( -u \) (see § 75).

\[ \text{tcn̕u- to pack} \]
\[ \text{tcn̕unî'yusne â'l qato'nî'yusne they pack it and go (literally, it is packed and carried off) 100.20} \]

In another instance the suffix appears as \( -wusne. \)

\[ \text{L̕v'û (they) come 9.3} \]
\[ \text{L̕mi'koû L̕mi'wusne flounder is brought continually 100.10} \]

This occurrence of the \( w \) before \( -usne \) may be explained as due to retrogressive assimilation; that is to say, the original \( y \) has been changed into \( w \) to agree in character with the \( w \) of the stem \( L̕wa'v \) he comes.
Modal Elements of the Imperative and Exhortative Modes (§§ 60–64)

§ 60. Introductory

Attention has been called in § 40 to the variety of suffixes that are employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the imperative mode. By far the majority of these suffixes indicate, besides the imperative idea, also pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object. These have been treated as primarily objective forms, and have been fully discussed in §§ 40–48. In the following sections only such suffixes will be discussed the primary functions of which are those of an imperative mode.

Siuslaw makes a clear distinction between a true imperative, a prohibitive, and an exhortative mode, and expresses these three varieties by means of distinct formative elements.

The difference between the ideas expressed by the imperative and exhortative is one of degree rather than of contents. The imperative expresses a command more or less peremptory; while the exhortative conveys an admonition, a wish. Furthermore, the exhortative rarely applies to the second person as the subject of the action. All exhortative expressions are preceded by the particle qa7 (see § 129) and are rendered by LET ME, HIM . . . , PERMIT ME TO . . ., MAY I . . . , etc.

§ 61. Imperative Suffix for Intransitive Verbs -Em

This suffix is added to intransitive verbs only, regardless of whether they express a real active idea or a mere condition. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem; and when added to stems that end in a vowel, the obscure e of the suffix is contracted with the vowel of the stem. In such contractions the quality and quantity of the stem-vowel usually predominate (see § 9). The second person singular is not expressed. The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is obtained by suffixing to -Em the subjective pronouns -ts and -tc respectively (see § 24). These pronouns are added by means of a weak a-vowel (see § 4).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lit/- to eat} & \quad 13.10 \\
\text{kwis/- to wake up} & \quad 40.9 \\
\text{waaw/- to speak} & \quad 7.1 \\
\text{qatcEn/- to go} & \quad 8.2 \\
\text{ma'q!/r/- to dance} & \quad 28.7 \\
\text{lit/Em eat!} & \quad 40.26 \\
\text{kwis/Em wake up!} & \quad 58.5 \\
\text{waam speak!} & \\
\text{qatcEnem go!} & \\
\text{maq/yem dance!} &
\end{align*}
\]

§§ 60–61
havo- to quit, to end 14.6  
qate$^m$- to go 8.2  
tgül- to shout 52.8  
qâli- to cry 58.15  
xa't$^m$- to climb up 12.4  

ha'üm quit!  
qate$^m$emats you two go!  
tgül$^m$emats you two shout!  
qâtiemati to you cry!  
xa't$^m$emati you climb up!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix -$em$ is replaced by the 
durative -$is$ (see § 69). The whole phrase is preceded by the particle 
of negation $kù', kum$'nte NOT (see § 131), to which are added the sub-
jective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 24, 26).

$wintm$- to travel 12.10  
$aw^s$- to sleep 24.1  
qa'ha'nte far 10.3  
$wa'a$- to speak 7.1  
qate$^m$- to go 8.2  
ma'q!$i$- to dance 28.7  

kwìn$^nx$ $wintmis$ don't travel!  
kwìn$^nx$ $aw^s$is don't sleep! 23.9  
kwìn$^nx$ qa'ha'nte$is$ don't (go) far away! 56.21  
kwìn$^nx$ $stats$'tc $wa'a$'s don't thus say! 50.1  
kù'ts qa'te$^m$nis don't you two go! 54.23, 56.1  
kum$'nte$'tc ma'q!$is don't ye dance!

By suffixing to the imperative the subjective pronouns for the first 
persons dual and plural (see § 24), an exhortative mode for these per-
sons is obtained.

toa'uxtum go!  
li't$^m$em eat! 40.26  
na't$^m$em start!  

toa'uxtumans let us two (incl.) go! 58.5  
li$t$'emans let us two (incl.) eat!  
li$'temanl$ let us (incl.) eat!  
na$'temanl$ let us (incl.) start!

§ 62. Imperative Suffix for Transitive Verbs -$is$ (-a$^s$)

This suffix expresses an imperative transitive idea. It must not be 
confused with the durative suffix -$is$ (see § 69), the phonetic resem-
blance between these two suffixes being purely accidental. It must 
be borne in mind that the durative -$is$ indicates an intransitive action, 
and is made transitive by the addition of the transitive -$ûn$ (see § 28).

The student is easily apt to confuse these two suffixes, because in 
the prohibitive mode the transitivized durative -$isûn$ (see p. 518) is 
used; but this use is perfectly logical, since a transitive prohibitive is 
imimately connected with the idea of a (negated) action of long dura-
tion performed by a second person as subject.

§ 62
The following table may best serve to distinguish at a glance between the different suffixes in -iš that occur in Siuslaw:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not related</th>
<th>-iš transitive imperative</th>
<th>-iš transitive prohibitive</th>
<th>-iš intransitive durative</th>
<th>-iš intransitive durative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Related</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is not often expressed by suffixing to -iš the subjective pronouns -iš and -et respectively (see § 24), because the subjective pronouns are usually suffixed to attributes and particles that precede the verbal term (see § 26). The interchange between -i and -a has been discussed in § 2.

- waa'- to talk 7.1
- 7/9an- to tell 7.3
- tā'lo- to speak 62.2
- hin- to take along 9.5
- skwa' - to stand 10.9
- hamx- to tie 8.6
- qato'n- to go 8.2
- lit!- to eat 13.10

In negative sentences the imperative suffix is replaced by the transitive form of the durative -išün (see § 69). The verb is preceded by the negative particle kū', kumünte, used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 131, 40).

- 7/9an- to tell 7.3
- qato'n- to go 8.2
- hin- to take along 9.5

The exhortative for the first persons is formed by adding to -iš the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24).

- lak'- to take 7.5
- haw- to quit, to stop 14.6

§ 63. Intransitive Exhortative -išmi (-ašmi)

This suffix expresses an admonition, addressed to a first or third person, to perform an action that has no object. The verb must be preceded by the exhortative particle qat' (see § 129), and the subjective § 63
pronominal pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to this particle and never to the exhortative suffix (see § 26).

The reasons for the interchange between -ixa and -aixa are discussed in § 2.

\[
\begin{align*}
qatem\text{-} & \text{ to go 8.2} \\
a^{*}\text{a} & \text{ to sleep 23.9} \\
waa^t\text{-} & \text{ to speak 7.1} \\
ma'qicont; & \text{ to dance 28.7} \\
hal\text{-} & \text{ to shout 13.11} \\
qateu& \text{- to drink 76.12} \\
lit!- & \text{ to eat 13.10} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In one single instance the exhortative for a second person (singular) occurs. The suffix is followed by the future passive -i (see § 56), and the exhortative particle is missing.

\[
\begin{align*}
maltc\text{-} & \text{ to burn 25.2} \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 64. Exhortative -I

This suffix admonishes the speaker to perform an act, the object of which must be one of the second persons, and may best be rendered into English by LET ME, THEE ... The object of the action is expressed by adding the subjective pronouns to this suffix (see § 24) by means of a weak a-vowel (see § 4). Singular subjects are not expressed phonetically; duality or plurality of subject is indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The particle ku (see § 127) frequently follows these exhortative forms, and, when preceding a form with the second person singular as the object (-lanu), it changes the final e into a (see § 4).

\[
\begin{align*}
l^i\text{w}u^i\text{n}\text{-} & \text{ to tell 17.1} \\
löö\text{-} & \text{ to hit} \\
hatc\text{-} & \text{ to ask 66.16} \\
l^i\text{w}a^i\text{n}\text{-} & \text{ to tell 17.1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

For other devices employed in Siouan for the purpose of expressing the exhortative mode, see § 129.
TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 65-74)

§ 65. Introductory

Siuslaw shows a rich development of the category of time, and employs a variety of suffixes for the purpose of denoting the different tenses of actions and conditions. The simple form of the verb has an indefinite character and is used to denote past and present occurrences, but otherwise the temporal classification is strictly adhered to.

All temporal suffixes may be divided into semi-temporal and true temporal suffixes. Primarily, each of these suffixes expresses the tense of an intransitive action only; but by suffixing to the tense sign transitive suffixes, such as -un, -uts, etc., the same idea of time for transitive occurrences is obtained. The only exceptions are found in the intentional and future tenses, which show two separate forms—one for intransitive verbs and the other for transitive actions (see §§ 41, 70, 73).

Semi-temporal Suffixes (§§ 66-70)

§ 66. Inchoative -st

This suffix denotes the commencement of an action, and assumes in some instances a transitional significance. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between the final consonant and the initial element of the suffix (see § 4). When it is desired to express the inchoative tense of a transitive action, the transitive -un or any of the other transitive forms is added to the suffix (see §§ 27 et seq.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qwaxtc-</td>
<td>to go towards</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>ul qwa'xtcist tei'watc and she began to go towards the water</td>
<td>90.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malič-</td>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>mi'litičst he began to burn</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'wutatc'-</td>
<td>to attempt to run</td>
<td></td>
<td>l'wutatc'ist k'wxut'tc L'ya'atc he begins to attempt to run in all directions</td>
<td>13.8, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'n'c-</td>
<td>to be tired</td>
<td></td>
<td>qa'n'c'ist a'nts'c to m'u'la'sku he began to get tired, his younger brother</td>
<td>58.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'tx-</td>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>58.15</td>
<td>ul qa'txast and they two there began to cry</td>
<td>58.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilic-</td>
<td>to send</td>
<td></td>
<td>qamītu'c wilicistūn her father (discriminative) began to send her</td>
<td>92.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mato-</td>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>38.21</td>
<td>s'atsītc mī'tecistūn ... thus he began to fell</td>
<td>94.7, 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 65-66
ha'ninit! - to believe 78.1, 2  
ul wän ha'ninit! istün and finally she began to believe him 46.3

In a few instances this suffix will be found added to a stem after the same has been verbalized by means of the suffix -a (see § 75).

wintm- to travel about 12.10  
k'ewîte l'aya'tc ul'ax x'n'tma'st everywhere they began to travel about 72.20
sh'tu'ne pel'i'tc x'n'tma'stün the big one first he began to take along 92.18

wusi- to be sleepy  
wusya'a'st ants mî'k'â hîte began to feel sleepy that bad man 26.1, 2
wusya'a'stün I begin to feel sleepy 26.8

lit!- to eat 13.10  
wâ'n'vîts Â!'stün already he (had) commenced to devour him 94.19
(i = a see § 2)

It sometimes follows the other true temporal suffixes, lending to the inchoative action a definite tense.

planya'it- to be sorry (present tense)  
planya'tütsme ha'tc he began to feel sorry for his (boy) 40.21

matle- to burn 25.2  
'lmattcî'üst he will begin to build a fire 90.6

In a number of cases this suffix expresses an adjectival idea.

plin- to be sick 40.21  
ant plina'st he (who) begins to get sick, he (who) is sick: hence the sick (man) 86.15

yi'g'곳!- to split  
i'g'a'st q'a'd'îl pitch (that) begins to split, split pitch

how- to finish 14.6  
ho'woxt' finished tsima'st any kind of a place (sic) 66.6

§ 67. Terminative -ixa (-a'ixa)

This suffix expresses termination of an action. The stem to which it is suffixed must be preceded by some form of the verb hoû- to end, to finish. For the interchange between -ixa and -a'ixa see § 2.

§ 67
pîte- to go over 88.15 hau'în pîteay'waî I quit going over (logs)

qâtw- to cry 58.15 hau'în qa'txaw'waî I quit crying

wait- to snow hau'tx waitî'waî it stopped snowing

hal- to shout 13.11 hau'txan halâ'waî I stopped shouting

hamx- to tie 8.6 hau'în hamaxî'waî I quit tying

ln- to call hau'în lnaxî'waî lintci I quit calling his . . .

waa'- to talk 7.1 hau'în waa'waî I quit talking to him

It seems that the terminative suffix is frequently subject to the law of vocalic harmony, in spite of the fact that Siuslaw makes but little attempt at the harmonization of its vowels (see § 11). I have found a few examples showing that the initial vowel of the suffix has been assimilated to the quality of the vowel of the stem. Whether this rule applies to all cases could not be determined with any degree of certainty.

wûn- to snore 27.9 hau'txan wûnû'waî (and not wûna'w- waî) I quit snoring

hûn- it gets dark 34.8 hau'tx hûnû'waî l'â'at (and not hû-na'w'waî) it stopped getting dark

temû'- to assemble 7.3 hau'tx temaxa'waî hîtû'te (and not temaxa'waî'waî) he quit assembling (the) people

§ 68. Frequentatives -at'î, -itx (-a'tx)

-at'î denotes frequency of action, and may best be rendered by FREQUENTLY, ALWAYS. In the first person singular the final long vowel of this suffix is shortened (see § 24). In terminal position the suffix -at'î is often changed into -at'ya (see §§ 7, 24).

cî'nxî- to think 60.21 cî'nxîyaxî'ya he is always thinking

hakw- to fall 8.7 ha'kwat'ya it always falls down

qa'te'n- to go 8.2 qa'te'nat'ya he frequently goes

nakwaît- to be poor nákwa'yat'yanxon we (excl.) are always poor 76.19

§ 68
lī'ū- to come 9.2

\*nl'ctorn sqa\*k lī'wat\*i because there he came frequently 68.4, 5

\*pī'∫tōs ta'ytat\*i in the ocean he always lived 44.18

qaa'- to enter 34.5

\*nictōl'canx tanx k̈q̈ad\*at\*i in-g\'.d\'a\*tc why do you, this one, not frequently come into the river? 44.3, 4

In one instance this suffix occurs as -t\*i.

k\!lap- low tide 36.18
te k\!apa\*t\*i inq\!a\*a\*t (so that) always dry (may be) this river 38.2

When frequency of action in transitive verbs is to be expressed, the transitive suffixes are added to the frequentative -at\*i. This suffix amalgamates with the transitive -un into -at\*y\*un (see § 8).

cit\*n\*i- to think 60.21

cin\*xyat\*y\*un mita\*in I am always thinking of my father

cit\*r\*x- to shake 27.2
ts\*k\*ya plany\*at\*y\*un ha\*tc (everybody) is very sorry for him, (everybody) hates him 19.2, 3 (< plany\*at\*y\*un).

planya\*t- he is sorry

ants t\*t\*t\*y\*un (<tasy\*t\*y\*un) that (on which) he was sitting 94.6

-\*l\*tx has the same function as -at\*i, and was invariably rendered by constantly, always. It is usually preceded or followed by the temporal adverb ln\*at always (see § 120). The phonetic resemblance between this suffix and the objective -\*l\*tx (see § 33) I believe to be purely accidental. This suffix occurs often as -a\*l\*tx (see § 2).

qate\*n- to go 8.2

\*yā\*a\*x̆a\*x̆e l\!ona\*t d\!ntsux qato\*n\*l\*tx much they two talk, those two (who) keep on going 56.7

\*p\*a\*l\*tn- to hunt 15.3

ts\*m\*gmt\*e \*p\*n\*x \*p\*\*n\*t\*tx some of them are constantly hunting 82.16, 17

\*m\*q\*l\*t\*n- to dance 28.7

meg\*a\*l\*tx he always dances 86.2

§ 68
wil'xci- to work 48.10
slnxi- to desire 18.5
tâqn- to be full 60.19
yâxum- to watch
gaton- to go 8.2

In a few instances, especially when following other suffixes, the frequentative -itx seems to lose its initial i.

hawa'i' it ends 14.6

The difference between -is and -ūs seems to be of a true temporal nature.

§ 69. Duratives -is (-a's), -ūs

Duration of action is expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix -s, which, however, never occurs alone. It invariably enters into composition with other suffixes, such as the suffix for the past tense, for the passive voice, etc., or it is preceded by either i or ĕ. It is not inconceivable that this durative -s may be related to the auxiliary -s (see § 69). The difference between -is and -ūs seems to be of a true temporal nature.

-īs (-a's) denotes duration, continuation of action of a clearly marked future significance, and, owing to this future character, it is employed extensively in the formation of the imperative mode (see § 69)
Transitive verbs add -un or its equivalents (see § 28) to the durative -is. For the interchange between -is and -a's see § 2.

-uns is suffixed mostly to stems that have been verbalized by means of the suffix -a (see § 75), and expresses a continuative action performed in the present tense. It applies to transitive verbs having a third person object. Examples for similar forms with a second person object were not obtained.

-una' he digs 84. 2
[2]xmay- to kill 16.1
[1]lit.- to eat 13.10

-una to make a dam 48.8

Li'ú (they) come 9.3
ha'wana' to finish

§ 60, 62).
By suffixing the durative -s to the sign for the past tense, -yax (see § 74) a compound suffix -yaxs is obtained which denotes an action of long duration performed in the past. This suffix is often contracted into -ixs (see § 9).

§ 70. Intentionals -awax, -awän

-awax. This suffix indicates intention to perform a certain action. Hence it was usually rendered by I (thou) . . . am about to, I (thou) . . . am going to, I (thou) . . . will, I (thou) . . . want to. It is used with intransitive verbs only; and it is contracted with the subjective pronouns, for persons other than the first person singular and the second dual and plural, into -awanx, -awans, -awa'x, -awan, -awanxan, and -awanx (see § 24).

āq- to run away 52.10  
āqa'waxan I intend to run away 90.21  
ants phna'st ul č'n'ixyat'ya āqa'wax that sick (man) always thought of running away 86.15

lī'ū (they) come 9.3  
liwa'wanx you intend to come 25.8

yagʷ- to look 23.9  
yogʷ'ya'wax he intended to see 70.8

qaqū'n- to listen  
qaqū' na'wax l.la'at they were going to listen 30.18

hūte- to play, to have fun 7.2  
hūl'cawans we two (incl.) are going to play 10.5

píul- to hunt  
píul'a'wax'xun we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22

mīkʷ- to cut 90.5  
mīkwad'wa'xts you two will cut
-aw’un. This suffix expresses the same idea as -awax, from which it differs in so far only as it implies a transitive action that has a third person as its object. It is probable that by some process of contraction this suffix represents an abbreviation from an original -awaxa’n or -awaxūn.

hīn- to take along 9.5

hīnd’wūn ants pīna’st she intends taking along that sick (man) 88.1, 2

waa’- to speak 7.1

uľ waa’dwūn ants hītc l’a’ai and he was about to talk to these people

lak’- to take, to get 7.5

gā’xa t’lāme lakwa’dwūn many children he wants to have (to get)

temū’- to assemble 7.3

temūd’wūn ants l’a’ai hītc many people are about to assemble 30.8

yaq’- to look 23.9

sqū’ma’x yaq’ya’wūn from there they two intended to watch 62.18, 19

True Temporal Suffixes (§§ 71–74)

§ 71. Introductory

Siuslaw distinguishes between three true temporal categories, namely, present, future, and past. Excepting for the first of these, which is used to denote present and past, this differentiation is clearly marked and strictly adhered to.

§ 72. Present -t

It denotes an action performed at the present time. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the vowel before adding the suffix -t; stems ending in a t insert an obscure (or weak) vowel between their final consonant and the suffix (see § 4). Transitive present actions are expressed by adding to the -t the transitive suffixes -ūn and -ūts (see §§ 28, 29).
wítw- to affirm 30.11  u'ta'ux wàn wi'ltūt they two finally affirmed 90.6
hīq!- to start 15.1  səatsi'tc waa' u1 hīq!u1t thus he talks and starts (off) 22.5, 6
si'nxī- to desire 11.7  sīnxīt tāqa'na he wants something 18.5
wa'slsī- to be angry  wā'slsīt ants tsmīl'ū was angry that muskrat 52.17

tcə'xu- to turn back 58.5  u1 tcə'xu2t he turns back 16.5
qatoxn- to go 8.2  qa'tōntx they two are going 23.1
xaln- to climb up 62.7  tux xa'lvnt he just climbs up 12.4
qa'had'nəc way off 10.3  qa'had'nəctanl wān we (incl.) have come far Now 66.3, 4
maltc- to burn 25.2  hā'mūt ml'tct everything burned (down) 34.18
qaqū'n- to listen 30.18  qa'qūha'tūn pī'ū hitc he heard (make) noise (the) people 36.23, 24
lit!- to eat 13.10  li't2tūn he ate him (up) 94.19
yag'- to see 23.9  yo'q'hōa'tūn ants ǐng'a'gī he looked at that river 36.21, 22
wítw- to affirm, to agree 30.11  u1 mā'qg'2l wi'ltūtūn then Crow agreed to it 36.6, 7

§ 73. Future -tūx

This suffix is added to intransitive stems only, and it denotes an action that is to take place in the future. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the same before adding this suffix. When added to stems that end in a t, an obscure (or weak) vowel is inserted between the final t of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending (see § 4).

Whenever -tūx is to be followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual and plural, and the third person plural, it is contracted with them into -tūnx, -tūns, -ta2xūn (?), -tūnl, -tūnxan, and -tūnx respectively (see § 24). The transitive future is rendered by means of the suffixes -yūn, -̱iyūn (see § 41).

qatoxn- to go 8.2  qa'tōntūnx I will go 22.2
l!wān- to tell, to relate 17.1  l!wāntūnx thou shalt tell 30.12

§ 73
§ 74. Past -yax

This suffix expresses an act performed long ago. The idea of a past transitive action is conveyed by suffixing to -yax the transitive -un and -uts (see §§ 28, 29, 2). It is subject to contraction whenever followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual, third dual, inclusive and exclusive plural, and third plural (see § 24). The contracted forms for these persons are -yanx, -yans, -yaxan, -yx, -yanl, -yanxan, and -yanx. This suffix always requires that the accent be placed on the first syllable of the word.

qü'ī- to dream

kūm- to close 48.8

tīha- to pass by 80.12

tā'- to live 16.2

xīnt- to start 20.3

lū (they) come 9.3

smū't'- to end 9.1

lū'ū- to come 9.2, 3

qwaxte- to go down to the river 48.18

hūte- to play 7.2

āq- to run away 52.10

sīng/- to be hungry 44.11

mīk'- to cut

xau'- he died 40.21

xwil/- to turn back 12.6

k'īnk'y- to look for 16.1

smū't'e-yax it will end 20.5

lū'ūtx he will come 9.2

lū'ūtunxan we (excl.) will come 30.11

mīk'u'xtoux only we (incl.) will go down 62.14

hūte-tuns we shall play 10.6

hūte-tunl we (incl.) shall play 7.2

ā'qtuns we two (incl.) will run away 92.2

sīng/txun we two (excl.) will be hungry

mīk'u'toxts l'ł'aya you two will cut salmon 90.5

xau'ūtxax they two will die 88.7

xwil/tunl we (incl.) will turn back 60.9

tqaw'ton k'īnk'ītx upstream we two will look for . . . 56.17

§ 74

This suffix expresses an act performed long ago. The idea of a past transitive action is conveyed by suffixing to -yax the transitive -un and -uts (see §§ 28, 29, 2). It is subject to contraction whenever followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual, third dual, inclusive and exclusive plural, and third plural (see § 24). The contracted forms for these persons are -yanx, -yans, -yaxan, -yx, -yanl, -yanxan, and -yanx. This suffix always requires that the accent be placed on the first syllable of the word.
The past suffix is frequently added to a duplicated stem, denoting a past action of long-continued duration (see § 108).

In a few instances it has been found following the present -t, although for what purpose could not be ascertained.
(For the idiomatic use of the past suffix in conditional clauses see § 136.)

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 75-77)

§ 75. Verbalizing -ai, -ii

While the majority of Siuslaw stems do not require the addition of a specific verbal suffix in order to convey a general verbal idea, these two suffixes have been found added to a large number of neutral stems, especially in the present tense. They may therefore be explained as verbalizing a neutral stem and as expressing an intransitive action of present occurrence. They are frequently used to denote an action performed by the third person singular, for which person Siuslaw has no distinct suffix (see § 24). There can be no doubt, however, that these suffixes are identical with the Alsea inchoative -al, -ul,¹ and that -ai bears some relation to the Coos intransitive -aai.¹ While no difference in the use of these two suffixes could be detected, it was observed that -ii is never added to stems that end in a q, p, or a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example (Stem)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>pln- to be sick</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hutc- to play</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waa' to speak, to say</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lit- to eat</td>
<td>13.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha'q- shore</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yax- to see, to look</td>
<td>20.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skwai- to stand</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>smui'- to finish, to end</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aw- to dream, to sleep</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lxa- to fly, to jump</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tqu- to shout</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sün- to dive</td>
<td>64.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That these suffixes are not essentially necessary for the purpose of expressing a verbal idea, but that, like their Alsea equivalents, they may have originally conveyed inchoative ideas, is best shown by the fact that all such verbalized forms are parallel to bare stem-forms. In all such cases the amplified form seems to denote inception and (at times) finality of action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wan wilwa' now he affirms</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan wilwa' he begins to affirm</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul toin and he came back</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toinai' he came back</td>
<td>68.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See Coos, p. 332.
These suffixes express our ideas to have, to be with. A peculiarity that remains unexplained is the fact that they are always added to the locative noun-forms that end in -a or -us (see § 86).

-s is always added to the locative form ending in -a, and never to the -us form, which may be due to phonetic causes. The use of this suffix is rather restricted. It is not inconceivable that it may be related to the durative -is (see § 69).

-\textit{t} occurs very often, and is added to all forms of the locative case. It can never be confused with the sign of the present tense -\textit{t}, because it is invariably preceded by the locative forms in -a or -us, while the suffix for the present tense follows vowels and consonants other than \textit{a} or \textit{s} (see § 72).
§ 77. Suffix Transitivizing Verbs that Express Natural Phenomena -l!

A suffix with a similar function is, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in but one other American Indian language; namely, in Alsea. This suffix is added exclusively to stems expressing meteorological phenomena, such as it snows, it rains, the wind blows, night approaches, etc.; and it signifies that such an occurrence, otherwise impersonal, has become transitivized by receiving the third person singular as the object of the action. Its function may best be compared with our English idiomatic expression rain, snow overtakes...
Him, Night comes upon him, etc. By adding to -l/ the subjective pronouns for the first and second persons (see § 24), the same expressions with these persons as objects are obtained. This suffix always follows the tense signs, and immediately precedes the pronominal suffixes.

qaᴛx night, darkness 38.21  uļxn stīmk qa’xτux! us two (excl.) there night will overtake 94.18

tcɪ’ɪ’ wind  tcɪ’ɪ’l/ a storm overtook him

tsxayaɪ’ day breaks 50.3  tsxayaɪ’l/aux (when) day came upon them two 48.9

k’aɪ low tide 36.18  k’alpₜuxl/ low tide will overtake (them) 36.18

u’lɪ’ snow 76.10  wɑ’ilstuxl/’on snow will overtake me

hi’n’k’ it rains  hi’n’k’/ɪ’l/lanx rain pours down upon them

It is not inconceivable that this suffix may represent an abbreviation of the stem L’ɑ’ai PLACE, WORLD, UNIVERSE (see § 133), which the Siuslaw always employs whenever he wants to express a natural phenomenon.

tsxayaɪ’ L’ɑ’ai day breaks 50.3  tsxayaɪ’/ɪ’/ya L’ɑ’ai it rains 78.1

k’uwi’n’ L’ɑ’ai (there was) ice all over 76.11  qa’xɪxyax ɪ’e L’ɑ’ai it got dark 34.4

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-80)

§ 78. Introductory

The idea of plurality in verbal expressions may refer either to the subject or object of the action. In most American Indian languages that have developed such a category, and that indicate it by means of some grammatical device, plurality of subject is exhibited in intransitive verbs, while plurality of object is found in transitive verbs. Such plurality does not necessarily coincide with our definition of this term. It may, and as a matter of fact it does, in the majority of cases, denote what we commonly call distribution or collectivity. Thus the Siuslaw idea of plurality is of a purely collective character, and seems to have been confined to the subject of intransitive verbs only. Even the contrivance so frequently employed by other American Indian languages, of differentiating singularity and plurality of objects by
means of two separate verbal stems—one for singular and the other for plural objects—is not found in Siuslaw. One and the same verbal stem is used in all cases; and when it becomes necessary to indicate that there are more than one recipient of a transitive action, this is accomplished by the use of the numeral particle *yā'xa* (see § 139) or of the stem *L'ad'at* (see § 133), as may be seen from the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siuslaw</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yuwa'yün ants q!a'il</em></td>
<td>he gathered pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yuwa'yün yā'xa</em> ants q!a'il*</td>
<td>(they) gathered lots (of) that pitch 88.5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yix'a'yun hítc I saw a person</em></td>
<td>many people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yix'a'yun yā'xa</em> hítc I saw many people*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wa'dasme ants hítc he said to his man</em></td>
<td>many people 7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L'oxa'xo'atsme hítc he sent his man</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L'oxa'xo'atsme hítc L'ad'at</em> he sent many people 80.1, 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But if Siuslaw does not employ a distinct grammatical process for the purpose of pointing out plurality of objects of transitive actions, it has developed devices to indicate collectivity of subjects of intransitive verbs. For that purpose it uses, besides the numeral particle *yā'xa* (see § 139) and the stem *L'ad'at* (see § 133), two suffixes (-āu and -tx) that are added directly to the verbal stem. These suffixes are always added to verbal stems that denote an intransitive act, and their functions may best be compared to the functions exercised by the French on or German *man* in sentences like *on dit* and *man sagt*.

§ 79. Plural -āu, -āwt

This suffix expresses an action that is performed collectively by more than one subject. Etymologically it is the same suffix as the verbal abstract of identical phonetic composition (see § 97), and the use of one and the same suffix in two functions apparently so different may be explained as due to the fact that there exists an intimate psychological connection between an abstract verbal idea and the concept of the same act performed in general. The following example, taken

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1 I have found only one case of such a differentiation. I was told that the stem *qaa*—to enter, to put in, refers to singular objects, while the stem *lzaa*—can be used with plural objects only. But as this information was conveyed to me after much deliberation and upon my own suggestion, I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this interpretation. It is rather probable that these two stems are synonyms.

2 The same phenomenon occurs in Dakota.
at random, will serve to illustrate the comparison more clearly. The
Siuslaw word *xil'xéu⁹⁰i* (stem *xil'xé*- to work) may have two distinct
meanings. When used nominally (as a verbal abstract), it may best be
rendered by the concept of working, work; when used verbally, it is to be translated by to work in general, all (many) work. This psychological connection between such terms as work
and to work generally, collectively, may have led to the use of one and the same suffix in a nominal and verbal capacity (see § 22).

This suffix is added directly to the verbal stem, and its double form
may be due to rapidity of speech rather than to any phonetic causes.
It is frequently preceded by the temporal suffixes, especially the present
-t (see § 72), and it was always rendered by they . . . The subject
of the action is usually emphasized by the use of the numeral particles *hat'mút all, yā'a'xa'i many* (see § 124), and of the stem *l'a'at*
(see § 133). The particle either precedes or follows the verb. This
suffix requires the accent.

\[\begin{align*}
temū' & \text{- to assemble 7.3} \\
hūtec- & \text{- to play 7.2} \\
pékū' & \text{- to play shinny 9.4} \\
h'ya'ts- & \text{- to live} \\
hal- & \text{- to shout 13.11} \\
ma'q.'l- & \text{- to dance 28.7} \\
xnī'/n- & \text{- to do 10.5} \\
mīk' & \text{- to cut 90.5} \\
gate^n- & \text{- to go 8.2} \\
tsīl'- & \text{- to shoot 10.3} \\
ma'ga'tc- & \text{- to lay 32.22} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
temū'u & \text{ they came together 30.16} \\
hūtec' & \text{l'a'at they play 8.8} \\
pékū'wi & \text{l'a'at they play shinny 70.10} \\
yā'a'xa'i h'ya'tsū' & \text{ lots (of people) live} \\
hal' & \text{ ants hūtec l'a'at shout collectively, those people 70.9} \\
meq!'yūu & \text{l'a'at they dance 28.8} \\
sā'd'sa & \text{xnī'nūn' they dance 70.22, 23} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
bēc & \text{-rcut salmon 82.14} \\
gate^n&tū & \text{ they walk about 34.19} \\
tsīl'atū & \text{they are shooting 8.6} \\
yā'a'xa'i & \text{ they saw that food lying} \\
mīk'u & \text{ around in great quantities 36.26, 27} \\
\end{align*}\]

Owing to the frequent interchange between the ē-vowel and the
diphthong *a* (see § 2), this suffix occurs often as -aa, -aaw.

§ 79
skwa'- to stand 10.9

hiq/- to start 15.1

s²a'tsa thus 11.10

k'lin'- to go and see 16.1

This suffix exercises the same function as the preceding -ūʷ, differing from it in so far only as its subjects must be human beings. It is added either to the bare stem or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffixes -aʷ, -ūʷ, and -ai̇ (see § 75), or it follows any of the temporal suffixes. The function of this suffix as a personal plural is substantiated by the fact that the verb to which it is added must be followed by the collective forms of hítō PERSON, hítōʷ, hítō'wi (see § 97). Whenever this suffix is added to a stem that has been verbalized by means of the suffixes -a⁸, -ū⁸, it coincides in phonetic structure with the temporal and objective form -itx (see §§ 33, 68). But the following collective hítō'w differentiates these two forms. Stems ending in an alveolar or affricative add this suffix by means of a weak a-vowel (see § 4). This suffix is always rendered by they, PEOPLE.

temū'- to assemble 7.3

s²a'tsa thus 11.10

hútc- to play 7.2

waa'- to talk 7.1

gateºn- to go 8.2

ta'- to live 16.2
§ 81. IRREGULAR SUFFIXES -n (-IN), -myax (-m)

Here belong two suffixes whose exact function and etymology can no longer be analyzed. It is even impossible to tell whether they represent petrified formative elements, or elements of an exceedingly restricted scope, which may be responsible for their sporadic appearance.

The first of these suffixes to be discussed here is the suffix -n- or -IN-. It never occurs independently, being always followed by another verbal suffix, such as the transitive -ûn (see § 28), the temporal (see §§ 65-74) and the passive suffixes (see §§ 38, 39, 54-59). It seems to be related to the reciprocal -naw (a), and its function may be characterized as expressing a transitive action involving reciprocality or mutuality.

\[ t!û'hato' - to try to sell \]
\[ ma'qû - to dance \]
\[ mîngû - to buy (in exchange for a slave)? \]
\[ li'û - to come \]

The other irregular suffix is -m, which, however, occurs by itself in only one instance. It is usually followed by the suffix for the past tense -yax (see § 74), and expresses in such cases an action that almost took place. It was invariably rendered by ALMOST, VERY NEAR.

1 The use of this suffix may be justified here by the fact that the idea to sell requires a seller and a buyer.
2 The -a is used here because the action involves two persons—one that comes, and another that is approached.
xůnt he goes, he travels 20.3  \( \pi \' \text{ts}s \ x'^{\text{ntma}} \) in the ocean he travels (around ?) 44.1, 2

\( hakw- \) to fall 8.7  \( ha'k'wumyaxan \) I almost fell down

\( a^w{s}- \) to sleep 24.1  \( a^w'smi'\text{yaxan} \) I very nearly fell asleep

\( qate^n{-} \) to go 8.2  \( qa'ten'myaxan \) I very nearly went

\( ků'n{-} \) to beat 72.17  \( ků'n'\text{namyaxa}^n \) I almost beat him

\( qätx{-} \) to cry 58.15  \( qa'tx'myax \) he very nearly cried

Nominal Suffixes (§§ 82–105)

§ 82. INTRODUCTORY

The number of nominal suffixes found in Siuslaw is, comparatively speaking, rather small, and the ideas they express do not differ materially from the ideas conveyed by the nominal suffixes of the neighboring languages. There is, however, one striking exception, for among the neighboring languages (Coos and Alsea) Siuslaw alone possesses nominal cases. Another interesting feature of the Siuslaw nominal suffixes is the large number of suffixed formative elements that require the accent, and their phonetic strength (see § 12).

§ 83. DIMINUTIVE -\( \text{isk}'\text{in} \)

This suffix conveys our diminutive idea, and may be added to stems that express nominal and adjectival concepts. Under the influence of the consonant preceding it, it may be changed into -\( \text{ask}'\text{in} \). When added to stems that end in a vowel, the vowel of the suffix is contracted with the final vowel of the stem (see § 9). When followed by the augmentative -\( \text{lam} \), the -\( \text{in} \) element of this suffix disappears (see § 84). This suffix requires the accent.

\begin{align*}
\text{tlûme} & \text{ infant } 40.19 \quad \text{tlûme}^l'sk'in \text{ a little boy } 94.16 \\
\text{tû'a} & \text{ fish } 56.1 \quad \text{tû'sk'in } l'\text{tû'\text{ai}} \text{ many small fish } 46.6, 7 \\
\text{qûtûl'ni} & \text{ woman } 30.21 \quad \text{qûtu\text{cûn}l'sk'in} \text{ a little woman, a girl } \\
\text{mîtû} & \text{ father } 54.22 \quad \text{mîtû'\text{a}sk'n'tin} \text{ my step-father (literally, my little father) } 100.3, 4 \\
\text{bû'p}xan \ & \text{ niece (?) } 92.17 \quad \text{bûp}xan\text{b'sk'into}^o\text{ax} \text{ they two (were) } \\
\text{kôt}\text{t}an & \text{ horse } 34.9 \quad \text{kôt}\text{t}an\text{b'sk'in} \text{ a small horse, a pony }
\end{align*}

\footnote{Owing to the fact that most of the texts and examples were obtained from William Smith, an Alsea Indian (see p. 438), whose native tongue has no true alveolar spirants (\( s, c \)), this suffix appears frequently in the texts as -\( \text{sk}'\text{in} \).}
§ 84. AUGMENTATIVE -iT-mä

-il-mä expresses the idea of largeness, and, in terms of relationship, that of age; and it may be suffixed to stems expressing, besides nominal, also adjectival ideas. When added to stems that end in a lateral, the lateral of the suffix disappears in accordance with the law of simplification of consonants (see § 15). This suffix requires the accent.

qVûtc woman 48.17            qVútól-mä old woman 94.22
lpLt- grandfather            lpl-mä grandfather
kamt grandmother 96.22      wao'tx ants kamt'matc she said
tlâmec infant 40.19         tlmel-mä old infant, hence
Texm strong 10.1             Texm-mä very strong (man),
penisl's skunk 86.1           hence old (man) 40.10
yikt big 48.8                 yiktól-mä a large skunk

The diminutive suffix is not infrequently added to the augmentative for the purpose of mitigating the impression made by the augmentative, and vice versa.

tlâmec infant 40.19           tlmel'ma'sk'ín little big infant,
hence little boy 94.20
mälâ mother 54.23            milâsk'ól-mä1 step-mother (literally, little old mother)

CASE-ENDINGS (§§ 85-87)

§ 85. Introductory

Unlike the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes, Siuslaw shows a rich development of nominal cases. Two of these, the genitive or relative case and the locative, are formed by means of separate suffixes, while the discriminative case is formed by means of a vocalic change (see § 111). In addition to these distinct case-endings,

1 The contraction of milâsk'ól-mä from milâsk'initl'mä may be explained as due to the assimilation of n to following the contraction of the vowels.

§§ 84-85
there exists a great number of nominalizing suffixes indicating nominal ideas of an absolutive (nominative) form; so that the Siuslaw noun may be said to show four possible cases,—the nominative or absolutive case, the discriminative, the genitive or relative case, and the locative, which has an extended meaning. In discussing these case-endings it will be found preferable to begin with the locative case, because of the important position it occupies in the language.

§ 86. The Locative Case -a, -nt

These two suffixes indicated originally local ideas of rest, and, as such, are best rendered by our local adverbs ON, IN, AT, TO, etc. It would seem, however, that this primary function was extended so that these suffixes may also mark the noun as the object of an action, thereby exercising the function of an accusative case-ending. The use of these suffixes for the purpose of expressing objects of action and the adverbial idea of rest may be explained by the intimate psychological connection that exists between these two apparently distinct concepts. The following example will serve to illustrate this connection. The sentence I CUt SALMON may, and as a matter of fact does, denote the idea I CUT ON THE SALMON.

The correctness of this interpretation is furthermore brought out by the fact that the verb, upon which these suffixes are dependent, can under no circumstance appear in transitive form. Should, however, such a verb appear with a transitive suffix, the noun will then occur in the absolutive form; and, since confusion might arise as to the identity of the subject and object of the action, the subject of the action is always discriminated (see §§ 21, 111).

The importance of these two suffixes as formative elements may be deduced from the fact that they enter into the formation of the forms expressing our periphrastic conjugation TO HAVE, TO BE WITH (see § 76) and that the adverbial suffixes (see §§ 90, 91, 93) can be added only to nouns that occur with these locative endings.

-a expresses, besides the nominal object of an action, also the local idea of rest. There is a tendency to have the accent fall upon this suffix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ltv'at} & \quad \text{fish 56.1} \\
\text{liya'om} & \quad \text{fire 25.5} \\
\text{ts'aIn} & \quad \text{pitch 26.6}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mt'kuxtxs lt'iyay} & \quad \text{you two shall cut salmon 90.5} \\
\text{ha'qmaz liya'wa} & \quad \text{near the fire 26.1} \\
\text{yuwa'ya''xun yu''xa' ts'Una} & \quad \text{we two (will) get much pitch 94.17, 18}
\end{align*}
\]
\textit{q\=ï\=\textcircled{u}t\=c\=y\textsuperscript{n}i} woman 30.21

\textit{pek\=u\textsuperscript{u}}- to play shinny 9.4

\textit{tc\=i} water 36.20

\textit{l'\=a\textsuperscript{a}it} ground, place 7.1

\textit{k\=o\textsuperscript{u}tan} horse 34.9

\textit{t'\=i}x tooth

\textit{tc\=i} water 36.20

\textit{tc\=i\textsuperscript{u}tc\=a\textsuperscript{m}i} ax 27.10

-\textit{\=u}s. Like the preceding -\textit{\=a}, it is employed for the purpose of forming the locative case of nouns and of expressing the local idea of rest. It is suffixed to nouns in -\textit{\=u} (see § 97) and in -\textit{\=i} (see § 98). When added to nouns in -\textit{\=i}, the -\textit{\=i} of the noun is consonantized, so that the suffix appears to be -\textit{\=i}y\textit{\=u}s (see § 8); while, when suffixed to nouns in -\textit{\=u}, the -\textit{\=u} of the suffix is contracted with the \textit{\=u} of the noun (see § 9).

\textit{k\=u\textsuperscript{w}wi\textsuperscript{n}i} ice

\textit{pk'\=i\textsuperscript{u}ti} lake 62.18

\textit{ts\=i\textsuperscript{u}ti} sand beach

\textit{pek\=u\textsuperscript{u}} shinny game

\textit{h\=u\textsuperscript{t}e\=u\textsuperscript{wi}} fun 8.5

\textit{u\=m\=i\=\textcircled{m}i} thunder

\textit{b\=i\=c\=e} \textit{\=i}n\textit{\=i}xy\textit{\=a} \textit{q\=u\textcircled{t}e\=u\textsuperscript{u}nya} (a) person wants a woman 76.7

\textit{pek\=u\textsuperscript{u}ya\textsuperscript{x}al'a\textsuperscript{u}l'a\textsuperscript{a}it} many shinny sticks (they) make 78.5

\textit{tc\=i\textsuperscript{u}wa} mark'te ants . . . in the water lay that . . . 32.22

\textit{tc\=i\textsuperscript{u}wa} \textit{\=i} \textit{k\=u\textsuperscript{u}\=w\=i\=n\=a\textsuperscript{u}} on the water ice appeared 76.13

\textit{m\=i\=k\=a\textsuperscript{a}it} \textit{l\=a\textsuperscript{a}ya} in a bad place 12.10; 13.1

\textit{kum\=i\textsuperscript{u}utc} k\=o\textsuperscript{u}tan'a't not they had horses 100.20; 102.1

\textit{t'\=i\=xat} (it) has teeth 90.19

\textit{u\=la\textsuperscript{a}x tc\=i\textsuperscript{u}wate} ak\=w\=a'a\textsuperscript{a} they two into the water thrown will be 88.7, 8

\textit{tc\=i\textsuperscript{u}wane} ha\textsuperscript{u}q\=i\textsuperscript{u}ya\textsuperscript{x} from the water (it) came ashore 56.13

\textit{tc\=i\textsuperscript{u}tc\=a\textsuperscript{m}ya\textsuperscript{a}x} \textit{xawa'a\textsuperscript{a}u} with an ax (he) killed will be 28.1

\textit{ra\textsuperscript{u}xa\textsuperscript{a}x} \textit{k\=u\textsuperscript{w}wi\textsuperscript{n}i\textsuperscript{u}} on top of the ice 76.14, 15

\textit{ts\=i\textsuperscript{u}s\=i\textsuperscript{x}ag\=a\textsuperscript{a}x} \textit{pk'\=i\textsuperscript{u}t\=i\textsuperscript{y}ya\textsuperscript{x}}\textsuperscript{u}s tem\=i\textsuperscript{u}ya\textsuperscript{x} deer at (the) lake assembled 34.11.

\textit{ta\textsuperscript{a}} is \textit{ts\=i\textsuperscript{u}ty\textsuperscript{u}ya's} (you) will keep on living on the sand beach 46.15

\textit{s\=a} ku\textsuperscript{\textcircled{m}i\textsuperscript{u}nts\=i\textsuperscript{a}wa} \textit{pek\=u\textsuperscript{u}ya\textsuperscript{u}s} \textit{l\=a\textsuperscript{a}ya} he always beats (people) at shinny 78.18, 19

\textit{a'l\textsuperscript{a}t\=u\textsuperscript{u}m\=i\textsuperscript{m}tx} h\=u\textsuperscript{t}e\=u\textsuperscript{u}w at thou also shalt come to the fun 22.8

\textit{um\=i\=\textcircled{m}iy\=u's} \textit{te} \textit{l\=i\=\textcircled{m}i} to thunder (it) came 36.8, 9

§ 86
A number of nouns undergo unexplained phonetic changes whenever the locative suffix is added, while others employ an abbreviated form of this case-ending. Since no fixed rules can be given that will cover each of these cases, it will be best to tabulate all such nouns, giving their absolutive and locative forms. These nouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive case</th>
<th>Locative case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mǐst'ə elder sister 90.23</td>
<td>mǐst'yūs 40.12, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mícə'ə younger sister 40.2</td>
<td>mícə'yūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǐtə father 54.22</td>
<td>mǐtə'yūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǐtə mother 54.28</td>
<td>mǐtə'yūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'a'əi earth, many 7.1</td>
<td>L'a'yū's 76.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lqa'^'ti log 32.21</td>
<td>lqa'tiwi'yū's 88.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'w'cə's camas 96.20</td>
<td>a'w'cə'yū's 98.11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hītc person 15.2</td>
<td>hī'tū's 66.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sī'max' landing-place</td>
<td>sī'ma'x's 48.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tseha'w'ya yas grass 8.6</td>
<td>tseha'w'ya's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'x'a fern-root 80.18</td>
<td>ya'x'a's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīts'i' house 25.2</td>
<td>hīts'i' 58.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many cases one and the same noun shows in its locative forms both case-endings, as may be seen from the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L'a'əi ground, many 7.1</td>
<td>L'a'yū' 13.1 and L'a'yū's 76.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'w'cə's camas 96.20</td>
<td>a'w'cə'yū's 98.11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hītc person 7.1</td>
<td>hī'tū's 66.14 and hī'tū'tc 7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few nouns appear with locative case-endings that seem to bear no relation to the suffixes -a, -ūs. The following have been found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sī'xə boat 56.5</td>
<td>sexə'^' 48.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexə'^'tc qaa'xam into a canoe it was put 34.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamī'tic whale 82.5</td>
<td>hamī'tic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'mīt hamī'tic' t'kwə' all (some) whale got 82.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñqwa'^'tem alder tree 92.5, 6</td>
<td>ñqutmi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñqutmi' a'w'x qaa't an alder tree they two entered 92.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xw安定'ka head 29.5</td>
<td>x安定'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə'nət skwa'hə'tx x安定' feathers (they) placed on their heads 10.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lxa'w'hí spear 64.7</td>
<td>lxa'w'hí 64.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The locative form sexə'^' may be explained as a noun with the local suffix of rest used as the object of an action (see § 91).
hite person 7.1
mā'qʷl crow 34.23
qayū'wints stone
qʷli'mt anus 86.9
yaʃkʷs seal 62.4
Iaa' mouth 28.2

hītū'ic
w'k'u'wi hītū'ic a sheriff 7.5
məq'wa'l 34.21
qayuk'ís 62.7
qʷli'mt
yekū's 62.2
laayā' 29.2, 96.7

Nouns that end in the augmentative suffix -il·mā (see § 84) change the final ā into a clear a-vowel whenever the locative is to be expressed.

yikti'l·ma very big 40.6
yikti'l·mat cā'ya he has a big penis 92.1
qūtci'l·mād old woman 96.15
qūtci'l·mate to the old woman 94.16

In a few instances the locative suffix -a has the function of an adverbial suffix of instrumentality.

tei'mtəmāx ax 27.10
u'lə x wān tei'mtəməya qa'tent and they two now an ax take along (literally, with an ax go) 96.10, 11
skwahənwi l'ad'ai ha'mut ants tei'mtəməya they are standing, all those who have axes 28.9; 29.1

§ 87. The Relative or Genitive Case -Emt, -Em

These suffixes have the function of the Indo-European genitive case-endings.

-Emt is suffixed to the absolutive form of the noun; and when added to nouns that end in a long vowel, its obscure E is contracted with the long vowel of the noun and disappears (see § 9). The noun to which this suffix is added is always the object of the action.

l'i'ə salmon 56.1
lq'ə'nū hide 100.15

t\l'\l' ya salmon's tracks
lq'ənəmīl' ənə many hides (literally, of hides a multitude) 102. 1, 2

\l\l' 56.11; 58.14
pɪمعنىts raccoon
\t\t\t
\t\t\t
	pi'ye'se'ml lq'ə'nū raccoon-hide
\t\t\t
\t\t\t

texmū'nī man 30.21
texmū'nyemī l'xmū'tī a man's bow

§ 87

1 See § 9.
This suffix may be added to pronouns and particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

\[ \text{nà I 21.8} \quad \text{nùctemnx na'mùt òq} \text{ because thou (art) of me (a) relative 21.5} \]

\[ \text{ha'ìmùt all 10.9} \quad \text{ha'màtù'mùt òq'òtù of all (the) chief} \]

This suffix is also employed in the formation of the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114).

-\text{em} differs from the preceding -\text{em} in so far as it can be added only to the locative form of the noun, and that in the few examples that were obtained it denotes the subject of an action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mà'qùL crow 34.23</td>
<td>mùqwa'L</td>
<td>mùqwal em wa'as Crow's language 34.21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëmìli thunder</td>
<td>umìli'ùs</td>
<td>umìli'ùsem wa'as Thunder's language 36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hito a person 7.1</td>
<td>hitù'to 7.5</td>
<td>hitù'tcem lìxmìli (an) Indian's bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitìli house 25.2</td>
<td>hitìli'ùs 58.8</td>
<td>hitìli'sem tegyú'ùt of house (the) frame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When followed by other suffixes, the obscure \text{e} of -\text{em} drops out, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mìlù mother 54.23</td>
<td>mìla'yùs</td>
<td>mìla'yusmittin mìlù of my mother (her) father; my grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìltùlù elder brother</td>
<td>mìltùlù'ùs</td>
<td>mìltùlù'ùsmìlitin tlùmc my elder brother's boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 88. THE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive relations of the noun are expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix -\text{t} that is followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24). Possession for the third person singular is expressed by the suffix -\text{tc} added to the noun without the aid of the sign of possession, -\text{t}. Possession for the third persons dual and plural is indicated by adding the subjective pronouns -\text{a}x and -\text{n}x to the suffix -\text{tc}. Thus it would seem that Siuslaw employs two distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possession: -\text{t} used for the first and second persons, and -\text{tc} for the third persons.

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\[ \text{§ 88} \]

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\[ \text{§ 88} \]
The possessive suffixes are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix -t (see § 76) to the sign of possession; so that Siuslaw may be said to possess two sets of possessive suffixes,—one purely nominal set and one with a verbal significance. In the latter set the suffixes for the third persons are missing.

All possessive suffixes stand in terminal position following even the case-endings and the adverbial suffixes.

The following table will serve to illustrate the formation of the possessive suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-ijn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-inz</td>
<td>-inax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-tc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-ins</td>
<td>-itásan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>-izán</td>
<td>-itís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-its</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-itexax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-inl</td>
<td>-itínl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>-izont</td>
<td>-itízon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-itíei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-itíex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronominal suffix for the exclusive dual -ați xún, -axún, has been abbreviated here to -xún. This abbreviation may be the result of contraction. The i of the possessive suffixes appears frequently as a diphthong aɨ (see § 2). The possessive suffixes follow all other nominal suffixes.

- *ts’i’l-mú’t friend 23.4
- *mítá father 54.22
- *hítsí’i house 25.2
- *lín name 13.10
- *túa’né track, path 56.10
- *mísí’a’t elder sister 90.23
- *wa’as language 34.21

*ts’i’l-mú’tin my friend 36.15
*mítá’a’in . . . míta’a’itín my father . . . my mother (literally, I have a father . . . a mother) 100.1
*ta’axumans hítsí’steín let us two go back to my house! 58.5
*lítc’tí lá’iníx cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6
*ma’tó túa’ní’tícínx it lies in thy path 45.22
*mísí’a’té her elder sister 40.11
*s’atsí’té wa’a’ste thus he said (literally, thus his language) 40.26

§ 88
t'āmcins to'ntūx our (dual incl.) boys will return 42.7
körpxa'xūn our (dual excl.) eyes
toi'ītis your (dual) hands
mitā'to'ntīx their (dual) father 52.8
xvä'kān our (incl.) heads
mō'tā'tto'nxan our (excl.) chief
mō'tā'ttok your chief
xun'hā'tōnx their bets 70.7

The possessive suffixes may be added to particles and attributive elements that precede the noun. This is due to a tendency inherent in the language to keep the principal parts of speech free from all pronominal elements, and which finds its counterpart in the tendency to add all subjective suffixes to the adverbs that precede the verb instead of to the verbal stem (see § 26).

In many instances the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114) are used in addition to the possessive suffixes. This is done for the sake of emphasis; and in all such cases the suffixes are added to the independent pronouns, and not to the nominal stem.

s'ats'ī'tco thus 8.1
nā I 21.8
nīcto'ī'tco how, manner 36.4
his good 38.21
s'ō'tsa thus 11.10
s'ō'na he, that one 15.4
nā I 21.8
kīx's ten 8.1
his good 38.21

§ 88
Nominal possessive suffixes are added to verbal stems in many cases when the object stands in some possessive relation to the subject of the sentence (see § 33). Siuslaw uses for that purpose the verbal set of possessive suffixes (see table on p. 546); and, since the pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to particles and attributive elements preceding the verb (see § 26), these suffixes occur mostly in terminal position.

The possessive suffixes are sometimes added to the verbal stem, especially the suffix for the third person singular.

§ 88
The subjective pronouns may at times perform the function of the possessive suffixes. This is especially true in the case of the pronoun for the first person singular when used in connection with a demonstrative pronoun.

\[ tā^a k \text{ this here 32.13 } \]
\[ t!v'ya^i lakw'a'kū'n tā'kín tɬame (a) \text{ bear caught this my boy 60.9, 10 } \]
\[ wa'a'tsín tā'kín wa'as speak to me (with) this my language 36.10 \]
\[ ants that there 7.1 \]
\[ t!v'ya^i lakw'a'kū'n a'ntsín māt'i' (a) bear caught that there my elder brother 58.18 \]

**ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 89-96)**

§ 89. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses all adverbial relations derived from nouns by means of suffixes, that precede even the pronounal suffixes. Of these, the local suffixes indicating motion and rest, and the local suffix expressing the ablative idea from, can be added only to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86). It is rather interesting to note that there is no special suffix denoting instrumentality. This idea is either expressed by means of the locative -a (see § 86), or it is conveyed through the medium of the local suffix of motion -tc (see § 90) and of the local -ya (see § 93), or it may be contained in the suffix of modality -ītc (see § 94). All these ideas are so closely interwoven with that of instrumentality, that the instrumental use of elements denoting primarily objects, motion, and modality, presents no difficulty whatsoever.

§ 90. Local Suffix Indicating Motion -tc

It is added to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86), and may be best rendered by to, into, at, on, upon, towards.

\[ tci \text{ water 64.24 } \]
\[ "la'x tci'wato lakwa'a' and they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8 \]
\[ hitsu't house 25.2 \]
\[ "inx wən tci'n hitsu'ste they now returned into the house 60.10, 11 \]
\[ mīša'i elder sister 90.23 \]
\[ wīltōistūn mīsa'yūste he sent her to her elder sister 92.20 \]

§§ 89–90
Local adverbs and stems denoting local phrases are not considered as nouns. Hence they can have no locative forms, and the adverbial suffixes are added directly to such words.

- **ha'q** shore 44.7
- **lnü** outside 38.23
- **qö'xm** away from shore 34.6
- **qa'dü** up, above 34.21
- **qa'hän** far 56.8

In like manner the local suffix is added to the independent pronouns; and all such pronouns, when followed by this suffix, have the function of objective pronouns (see § 113).

- **nà** I 21.8
- **níxsts** thou

In a few instances the local suffix -tc has been found added to the absolutive form of nouns. This ungrammatical suffixation may be due either to imperfect perception on my part, or to errors on the part of the informant. The instances referred to are as follows:

- **paaqwi** sand beach
- **lk'í'á** mouth of the river

§ 90
Inq' a'ı river, creek 30.23

 ula'x inq' a'ı'lıc and they two
 came to a creek 56.4

In many instances the locative form of a noun or pronoun followed by the local suffix of motion -ıc indicates the idea of instrumentality.

tč water 64.24
hıtc person 7.1
tcɛmte' mị ax 27.10
li'lt'ał food 34.6
tslaln pitch 26.6
s'ą that one 10.1

§ 91. Local Suffix Indicating Rest -u (-a=center)

This suffix is added to such stems as are not considered nominal, and hence can not express the local idea of rest by means of the locative -a or -us (see § 86). It is consequently suffixed to adjectives—which are really intransitive verbs—and it performs for such terms the additional function of a locative case-ending. The only noun to which this suffix has been found added in its local and objective meaning is the stem s'ı'xą' canoe (see § 86). This apparently exceptional use of the local suffix -u in connection with a noun may be due to the fact that the informant, unable to recall a single instance of the noun s'ı'xą' in its proper objective form (s'ı'xayal), and not conscious of the grammatical processes of her language, has endeavored to form the objective case according to her own idea. The idea implied by this suffix may be rendered by in, at, on. The interchange between -u and -a has been discussed in § 2.

m'k' a bad 14.7

k'íx each, every 24.4

§ 91
Instances where this suffix has the function of a locative case-ending may be given as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
k'ix & \text{ each, every } 24.4 \\
s^a'tx & \text{ such, in that manner } 15.1 \\
yaw'k'ix'sk'İ'n & \text{ very small } 36.23 \\
s'xa^t & \text{ boat } 56.5
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k'ix & \text{ each, every } 24.4 \\
m'k'ixa & \text{ bad } 14.6 \\
s'xa^t & \text{ canoe } 56.5
\end{align*}
\]

§ 92. Local Suffix \(-ix\) (-\(a^t\), -\(ya\x\))

This suffix is used chiefly in connection with verbs of motion, and is added to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Its function may best be compared to the function performed by our adverbs on, over, along, when used in connection with verbs of motion. The long \(i\) of the suffix is often changed into \(a^t\) (see § 2) or diphthongized into \(ya\) (see § 7).

\[
\begin{align*}
Qo'ate & \text{ a tributary of the Siu-slaw river called at present North Fork } 32.19 \\
paa^x\text{w} & \text{ sand beach } 34.14 \\
ha'q & \text{ shore } 44.7 \\
qa^ux & \text{ high, up } 80.9 \\
his & \text{ well, straight } 38.21 \\
qa^ux^a'n & \text{ sky } 32.20 \\
tea^k & \text{ where } 34.2
\end{align*}
\]
In one instance this suffix is added to a demonstrative pronoun.

$s^a$ that one 10.1

$s^a^'xa'^x$ pîtca$'$ over that one they two stepped 88.18

§ 93. Local Suffixes -ya, -ne

-ya is added to those locative forms of the personal pronouns and nouns that end in an alveolar or affricative consonant ($t$, $s$, $t$) and to adverbs the final consonant of which belongs to the same series.

\[
\begin{align*}
g^u\tilde{v}^m\text{t} & \text{ anus 86.9} \quad g^u\tilde{v}^m\text{tyate } \text{Viha}^t \text{ from his anus he came out 94.20} \\
pî'^t^s^s & \text{ ocean (locative form) 44.1} \quad pî'^t^s^sya \text{ ha}^q^{a^t} \text{ from the ocean he came ashore 82.4} \\
gû'^t^c & \text{ Umpqua river} \quad gû'^t^cyaa$ from the Umpqua river (they came) 100.15 \\
hîtsî'i & \text{ house 25.2} \quad hîtsî'sya \text{ from the house} \\
\text{nà I 21.8} & \quad nà'teya \text{ from me} \\
ha'q & \text{ shore 44.7} \quad ha'^q^{a^t} \text{teya go away from the fire! (literally, what is shore like from it you go away) 26.7} \\
\text{qante where} & \quad qa'nteza$yax $\tilde{v}^u$ from where (dost) thou come 66.16
\end{align*}
\]

-ne is suffixed to nouns and to personal pronouns whose locative forms end in a vowel (see § 86), and to such stems as form the locative cases by means of the local suffix of rest -ū (see § 91).

\[
\begin{align*}
k!îx \text{ L.'a'ai} & \text{ every place} \quad k!îx^{u} \text{ne } L!\text{aya}'ne \text{ from each place, from everywhere 8.2} \\
tcî & \text{ water 64.24} \quad tcî'\text{wane ha}^q^{a^t} \text{gyax from the water he came ashore 56.13} \\
xwâ'ka & \text{ head 29.5} \quad xwâ'kî'ne \text{ from the head} \\
sî'xâ$ \text{ canoe 56.5} & \quad sî'xâ$'ne \text{ from the canoe}
\end{align*}
\]

These local suffixes are frequently used as implying the idea of instrumentality.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qal'c} & \text{e knife} \quad L!\text{xma}l'yûn \text{ qal'teya he killed him with a knife (literally, from a knife)} \\
tcî & \text{ hand 50.18} \quad tcî'\text{lne } L\text{ôle'bûn with the hand he struck him} \\
xwa$ & \text{ spear 64.7} \quad xwa$'hîne \text{ até } hîtca \text{skwaha' with a spear (in his hand) that person stood up 64.11, 12}
\end{align*}
\]
§ 94. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Modality -ite (-aite), -na

-ite. This suffix has both a nominal and a verbal function. As a nominal suffix it signifies LIKE. It is found suffixed to a number of modal adverbs (see § 121), and it invariably requires the accent. The interchange between the long i and the diphthong aɪ has been discussed in § 2.

\[ \text{ckö'tc} \] hill 46.10  
\[ \text{qa'xunte qa'te'nt ckö'tc'ëtc} \] he went up a hill (literally, upwards he goes, hill-like) 12.9

\[ \text{txa'në} \] tracks, road 56.10  
\[ \text{teik ants lqa'tu'të} \ l'o'wa txa'në'te} \] wherever that tree falls across the road (literally, road-like) 84.2, 3

\[ \text{alag} \] one 18.7  
\[ \text{al'qa'to'nt l'xü'yün qnà} \] half I know it (literally, one [half] like I know it) 92.12

\[ \text{s'atsl'ta} \] thus 11.10  
\[ \text{wad'wam s'atsl'te} \] he was told thus 8.1

\[ \text{ni'etoa} \] something, how 16.2  
\[ \text{kwî'nx ni'etoa'te} \ l'wâ'nisün} \] don't you tell him anything 17.1, 2

My informant frequently rendered this suffix by the phrase WHAT YOU WOULD CALL A . . ., SOME KIND OF . . ., especially in cases where the noun employed did not convey the exact idea that was wanted.

\[ \text{mō'ä'ti} \] chief 10.2  
\[ \text{mō'ä'tite te qwo'txa} \] beaver (was) (what you would call a) chief 50.6, 7

\[ \text{mō'ä'ti} \] chief, general  
\[ \text{s'atsl'te wad' ants mō'ä'ti'wite ants sī'xa} \] thus said that (what you would call) captain (of) that boat 64.26; 66.1

\[ \text{lnaw'wi} \] rich man 86.4  
\[ \text{lnaw'wite ants hite} \] (what you would call a) chief (was) that man 76.3

\[ \text{teq近期} \] frame 80.7  
\[ \text{teq近期'wite} \] (what you would call a) frame

\[ \text{lk'ì'a} \] mouth (of river)  
\[ \text{lk'ì'a'wite ants pk'ì'ti} \] (something like the) mouth (of) that lake

When added to adverbs that convey local ideas, it must be preceded by the local suffix of motion -te (see § 90).

§ 94
This modal suffix may also express the idea of instrumentality, as will be seen from the following examples:

- *tsi'li* arrow 50.7
- *tsax* slave 76.3
- *tcin'ntc xin't tsili'ntc* not he can die through (literally, with) an arrow 15.8
- *tūha'ha*n texas* he bought her in exchange for a slave

When added to verbal stems, *-ītc* is almost invariably followed or preceded by the verbs *xin't- to go, to start, and hīq'- to start, to begin; and the idea conveyed by such a phrase may best be compared with our English sentences *I go into a state of . . ., I start . . .-ly. The Siuslaw informant, unable to express this native phrase in English, usually rendered it by I, THOU, HE ALMOST. . . .

- *tci'n- to go home, to return 12.10*
- *temū'- to assemble 7.3*
- *lī'ū- to arrive 9.2*
- *tcax'- to go back, to return 30.14*
- *xaū' he died 40.21*
$k'ap$- low tide 36.18

\[ vl k'ap'te xint'l' ant s tc\d\] and the water began to get low (literally, into a state of low tide went that water) 36.20

$s'i'$- to grow 98.10

\[ sili'tc'n x'i'ntyax \] (when) I began to grow up (literally, [when] into a state of growing I went) 100.17

In one instance this suffix occurs as $-q^a^t$e, and is preceded by the stem $qaten$- to go.

$yax$- to see 20.10

\[ vl qd'te'nt yexa'^q'tc a'nts'tc temâ'n\] he went to see his cousin 40.24

The verbs $xint$- and $hiq!$- may be omitted, as is shown in the following example:

$teq$- to spear 68.8

\[ qa'h\d'n\] te hi'nyaxa'^q'n ya'^q's teq-qa'^q'tc the seal took him way off as he speared him (literally, way off took him, seal, spearingly) 68.17, 18

$'na$ is added to adjectives only, and expresses an idea similar to that of the English suffix $-ly$.

$mil'\!a$ bad 14.7

\[ krei'n\!x la\d'w\d'n\d\'s\d\'n\ mil'\!a'na don't tell it to him badly 17.1, 2 \]  
\[ kum\d'ntc mili'a'na sini'xna'wis not badly (we shall) keep on thinking of each other 78.12, 13 \]

$t!l'sa$ grease

\[ mil'tcim t!l'sa'an\d\'x lili'd'wax because greasy (things) they are going to eat 82.8 \]

§ 95. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Time $-titu$, $-ita$

These suffixes are added to nouns that indicate division of time, and to verbs expressing celestial phenomena, and they may best be rendered by TOWARDS, WHEN THE TIME OF . . . COMES. Both suffixes require the accent.

$p\d\d'cem$ summer 46.11

\[ p\d\d'cemtitu' v\d'nx sq\d'k tayo'\] towards summer (hence, in the spring-time) they there live 62.2, 3
q'ëx̱a'yᵲ'wᵲ salmon season
q'ëx̱a'yᵲ'wᵲ'itita' "l tqa'wᵲ'to taya" when salmon-time comes (they)
up-stream live 82.12, 13
qįw'nome̍l winter 80.18, 19
hί'n'k'i- to rain 76.18
qɑ'x night 38.21
nǐtcǐnwa' spring comes
nǐtcǐnwa'iti' towards spring-time they two
towards spring-time they two
thus do it 98.5

§ 96. Modal Adverbs in -a

This suffix may be called the suffix of modality par excellence. By
its means all stems expressing adjectival ideas, and all particles, are
transformed into adverbs. Many of these stems (amplified by means
of the modal suffix -a) do not occur in their original form, being
used adverbially only. All such stems are denoted here by an asterisk (*). Whether this suffix may not be ultimately related to
the locative -a (see § 86) is a debatable question.

his good 38.21
kumǐ'ntc hǐ'sa nātc not well (it is)
on me 12.2
li'ū near 40.12
lǐ'wə k'.nz n interle'itc te to' near,
perhaps, the creek, these live
66.7, 8
yàxa' much, many 8.5
hū'tcíns yàxa we shall play a
great deal 10.6
yùkt big, large 48.8
ganístc' to ḻg'àyúnsə yùkta very
deep it would be dug (liter-
ally, down-like it is dug largely)
84.3, 4
*Límq- quick
Lǐ'mqan teč'ntux right away I shall
return 56.22
*ha'n- different
ha'na differently 58.9
*nį'k/- alone
nį'k'a alone 94.11
*səats- thus
sə'atsa thus, in that manner 18.4
*tsik/- much, very
tσi'k'ya very, very much 13.9

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 97-105)

§ 97. Nominal -u (-ān), -uwi

This suffix conveys a general nominal idea, changing any neutral
stem into a noun, and is employed extensively in the formation of
verbal abstract nouns. It is also used to express collectivity of action,
§§ 96-97
an application that is in perfect harmony with its nominal character, as has been explained in § 78. The forms -ău and -ăwi may be explained as due to imperfect perception on my part, while the double occurrence of -ău and -ăă is caused by the phonetic relation that exists between the ā and the diphthong aă (see § 2).

\begin{align*}
\text{hütæ} & \text{- to play 7.2} \\
\text{temăă} & \text{- to gather 7.3} \\
\text{pum} & \text{- to hunt 82.17} \\
\text{xil'exi} & \text{- to work 48.10} \\
\text{sē} & \text{- to grow 98.10} \\
\text{lxa} & \text{- to run 12.3} \\
\text{xintm} & \text{- to travel 12.10} \\
\text{yalq} & \text{- to dig 84.5} \\
\text{xa'lo} & \text{- to roast 90.8} \\
\text{anxī} & \text{- to sing}
\end{align*}

This suffix is found in a great number of nouns whose original stems can no longer be analyzed. The following list may be given:

\begin{align*}
\text{ha}wăă'ău & \text{ shaft} \\
\text{paoău} & \text{ sand beach 34.14} \\
\text{păă'ău} & \text{ codfish} \\
\text{păă'ău} & \text{ spring, well 76.12} \\
\text{ma'loău} & \text{ bed (place of lying?)} \\
\text{ma'loău} & \text{ chimney, stove (place of burning?)} \\
\text{teqyău} & \text{ frame (of a house) 80.7} \\
\text{tūyă'ău} & \text{ up the river 32.22} \\
\text{tă'ăni} & \text{ pocket} \\
\text{năctēma'ău} & \text{ custom, fashion 36.28} \\
\text{cină'ătxău} & \text{ upper lip} \\
\text{tsayău} & \text{ day, sun, weather 8.1} \\
\text{toă'ău} & \text{ fun, 8.5; 16.6} \\
\text{toă'ău} & \text{ where (there is) that big assembly 88.3} \\
\text{qwă'ău} & \text{ (he) who knows (the art of) hunting 82.18} \\
\text{tsă'ău} & \text{ very (well) he knows (the art of) working 52.22, 23} \\
\text{skă'ăsăte} & \text{ such (was) her growth 98.6} \\
\text{lxa'ău} & \text{ a race 78.18} \\
\text{wâ'ănăsă} & \text{ thou art afraid to go to the ocean (literally, thou fearest to water the journey) 84.6} \\
\text{xa'ăcă'ău} & \text{ roast 90.9} \\
\text{anxă'ău} & \text{ a song}
\end{align*}
Ik'una'atsu live-coals  
Lqa'"tu tree, log 32.21  
Lq!a'nu hide, skin 100.15

When added to the numeral particle yâ'a'xa' much, many, it denotes the idea expressed by a noun of quality. This particle is to all appearances a stem amplified by means of the nominal suffix -a'. (see § 98); and since two nominal suffixes of a similar function can not be added to one and the same stem, the -a' disappears, and the suffix -a is added to the bare stem yâx-.

yâ'a'xa' much, many 8.5  

tci'nt'c ya'xa' xalno" how many had climbed up (literally, what their number climbed up) 62.11  
tci'nt'c ya'xa' te'qte ants qituto'n' as many relatives as that woman had (literally, how much their number [of] her relatives [of] that woman) 76.1  
Lxa'"p'st c ya'xa' five their number 100.15

§ 98. Nominal -i (-a')

This suffix is found in a large number of nouns expressing a variety of concepts. It occurs with nouns indicating instrumentality, with verbal abstract nouns, with nouns of relationship, with terms designating animals, with stems expressing natural objects, etc. It is not altogether inconceivable that this nominal formative element may be identical with the verbalizing suffix -a' (see § 75), even though its nominalizing function can no longer be explained in a majority of cases. In many instances the original stem to which this suffix has been added does not occur in its independent form. The substitution of the diphthong -a' for the long i has been discussed in § 2.

pek' - to play shinny 9.4  

tsîl' - to shoot 8.6  

minx' - to lighten 38.5  

wî'nki - to work 50.6  

ta' he sits 16.2  

§ 98
When added to stems that express adjectival ideas, this suffix forms nouns of quality.

hī's good 38.21
yīkt big 48.8
yāx- much, many 8.5

§ 99. Nouns of Quality in -t'ūn (t'ūwi)

There can be little doubt that the vocalic elements of this suffix are identical with the nominalizing suffix discussed in § 97. The etymology of the initial consonantic element is obscure. This suffix is added to adjectives and adverbs only. Owing to the fact that a number of adjectives end in -t (see § 104) and that double consonants are invariably simplified, these adjectives drop their final consonant before adding the suffix (see § 15).
hatca't long 76.1 toč'ni'to ha'toc'wu' for a long time (literally, how much its long period) 48.2

lnowι rich 86.4 lnowι'tu'wu' wealth
yikt large 48.8 yikt'u'wu' large size
qa'xin high 8.7 qaxunt'u'wu' height
qa'n- deep qa'nt'u'wu' depth
his good 38.21 hıst'u'wu' kindness
qa'ha'n- far 10.3 qa'hant'u'wu distance

§ 100. Nouns of Agency in -ya'x, -it (-aH), -t!, -t!wu

Nomina actoris are formed by means of the following suffixes:

-ya'x This suffix seems to have been used frequently.

lak' - to fetch, to catch 7.5 la'k'κya'x sheriff (literally, a catcher [of people])
xu'n- to snore 27.9 xu'nya'x a snorer
la'wat/- to gamble la'wat'ya'x a gambler
ln- to call (?) ln'dya'x an interpreter
temū' - to gather 7.3 temaw'ya'x a person who assembles (people) 30.2

-it (-aH). This suffix is easily confounded with the verbal negative suffix of similar phonetic structure (see § 53); but this similarity is purely accidental.

walt' - to work s₂å tso'k'ya walt' he (is a) very (good) worker 50.5, 6
xil'xel'- to work 48.10 xil'xel' a workingman
xinim- to travel 12.10 xinim' a traveler
waa' - to speak 7.1 waa' a speaker
pekū' - to play shinny 9.4 pekaw' a shinny player

-t! It is quite possible that this suffix may have some connection with the initial element of the suffix for nouns of quality, -t'w (see § 99).

l!win to tell 8.2 l!wånt! an informant
tsil/- to shoot 8.6 tsil't! a marksman
yuw- to pick, to dig 96.18 yu'ya'ɑt! a person who picks (berries [reduplicated stem])
pain- to hunt 82.17 pain't! a hunter
tlāmo child, infant 40.20 t'l!moc! one who raises children 30.23

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—36
-t'wî seems to be another form of the preceding suffix.

lak'- to fetch 

\[ \ldots \text{te} \ be \ ka'kt'wî \ hîhtî'te \ this \ gatherer \ of \ the \ people \ 7.5 \ ka'kt'wî \ a \ fetcher \ 22.9 \]

§ 101. Nouns in -ax

This suffix is used for the purpose of forming nouns from verbal stems, adverbs, and stems denoting geographical terms. When added to verbs or to adverbs, it is best rendered by PERSON, PEOPLE; while when used in connection with geographical terms, it denotes a tribal name and may be translated by INHABITING, BELONGING TO.

\[ xa'û' \ died \ 40.21 \]

\[ kû'\ nats \ xôi'\ wâo\ xo\ tne \ if \ he \ had \ not \ been \ killed \ (literally, \ not \ had \ he \ been \ a \ person \ [who \ was] \ killed) \ 29.7 \]

\[ L'öx- \ to \ send \ 16.10 \]

\[ tōîn \ ants \ hîto \ L'ôwa'x \ returned \ this \ human \ messenger \ (literally, \ returned \ that \ person \ [who \ was] \ sent) \ 7.7 \]

\[ (L'ôwa'x \ instead \ of \ L'ôwa'xax, \ see \ § \ 24) \]

\[ a'wstûx \ he \ will \ sleep \ 27.7 \]

\[ stû'n^xyû'\ nè \ tsîlûnà'\ tc \ xawôa'\ a'ws- \ stûxax \ it \ was \ desired \ (that) \ with \ pitch \ killed \ shall \ be \ the \ person \ (who) \ will \ sleep \ 24.1 \]

\[ wâ'nwîts \ long \ ago \ 14.7 \]

\[ nîcî'tîns \ s^atz\ wa'nwîtsax \ because \ thus \ (did it) \ the \ old-timers \ (literally, \ [people \ belonging \ to] \ long \ ago) \ 68.13 \]

\[ nîcî'tîns \ s^atz\ wa'nwîtsax nîcî'tîns \ mû \ custom, \ fashion \ 36.28 \]

\[ pêtî'tc \ first \ 32.19 \]

\[ Lxôwî? \]

\[ qû'\ tc, \ qû'tc \ south \]

\[ qpa' \ north \]

\[ qa'xq- \ east \]

\[ pî'\ tsîs \ ocean \ 44.1 \]

\[ ckô'tc \ mountain \ 46.10 \]

§ 101
§ 102. Nouns in -unt (-a\textsuperscript{ni})

This suffix is added to adjectives, a few adverbs used in an adjectival sense, and to nouns. It has a double function. When added to adjectives or to adverbs, it transforms them into nouns, just as any adjective is transformed into a noun by adding one to it (compare our phrases the big one, the good one, etc.). When used with other nouns, this suffix has an adjectival character, which may be best rendered by made of, composed of.

\textit{tex\textsuperscript{m}} strong 10.1 \quad \textit{tex\textsuperscript{m}u'ni} the strong one, a man 30.21

\textit{lxa\textsuperscript{w}yax} other 42.8 \quad \textit{lxa\textsuperscript{w}yaxu'ni} the other one 86.18

\textit{yakt} big 48.8 \quad \textit{yaktu'ni} the big one

\textit{s\textsuperscript{a}t} large \quad \textit{s\textsuperscript{a}tu'ni} the larger one 92.18

\textit{y\textsuperscript{a}kt/-} small 33.19 \quad \textit{t\textsuperscript{u} y\textsuperscript{a}ktu'ni} that small one 88.12

\textit{limn\textsuperscript{t}o} behind 86.11 \quad \textit{limn\textsuperscript{t}oitu'ni} the youngest sister 40.2

\textit{hi'q/a} beads, Indian money, \quad \textit{hiq/aha\textsuperscript{a}u'ni} consisting of dentalia shells 74.19

\textit{pi\textsuperscript{u}q\textsuperscript{i}ts} coon \quad \textit{pi\textsuperscript{u}q\textsuperscript{i}tsu'ni} tah\textsuperscript{a}n'ik made of raccoon (-hide) quivers 70.23, 24

\textit{t!\textsuperscript{i}} bear 12.4 \quad \textit{t!\textsuperscript{i}y\textsuperscript{a}n'ik} made of bear (-skin) quivers 70.24

\textit{k\textsuperscript{l}ix tr\textsuperscript{q}} everything 24.4 \quad \textit{k\textsuperscript{l}ex\textsuperscript{u}n\textsuperscript{t}e'ya\textsuperscript{w}u'ni} h\textsuperscript{u}te\textsuperscript{a} composed of every sort (of) fun 10.5

\textit{lo'qlaq} boards \quad \textit{la\textsuperscript{g}laq\textsuperscript{a}n\textsuperscript{t}e h\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{t}isi'\textsuperscript{i}} made of some kinds of boards the house 80.7

This suffix may be added to verbal stems provided the verb has been changed into an attribute of a following noun.

\textit{hamx-} to tie \quad \textit{\textsuperscript{u}l hamx\textsuperscript{a}n'ik ants tse\textsuperscript{a}haw'ya} and that made of tied grass . . . 8.6

§ 103. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place -\textit{a\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{u}}

This suffix indicates the place where a certain action is performed. When added to stems ending in a velar or palatal consonant, it appears as -ya\textit{a}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{u}, and changes the final velar of the stem (\textit{q}, \textit{q\textsuperscript{i}}) into a palatal \textit{k} (see § 17). After all other consonants it occurs as -\textit{a}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{u}. The short \textit{u}-vowels following velar and palatal consonants disappear before this suffix. It is possible that the final \textit{u} of the suffix may be related to the general nominalizing suffix -\textit{\textsuperscript{a}u} discussed in § 94 (see § 23).

\texttt{§§ 102–103}
ma'q'i- to dance 28.7
ya'q'u- to see 23.9
peki'- to play shinny 9.4
nictcat/- to fight
t̄uhatc'- to try to buy
lxat- to run 12.3
mékya'mū a dance-hall
(yekya'mū a vantage point
pekiya'mū a place where shinny is played, ball-grounds
nictcat/a'mū battlefield
tuhatc'a'mū a store
lxata'mū track (literally, a place where people run)
nictcimam'ū custom, fashion 29.9

§ 104. Adjectives in -t

Siuslaw has no true adjectives. All stems denoting adjectival ideas are intransitive verbs, and may be used as such, as may be seen from the following examples:

mī'k'a hitc that bad man 23.2,3
tisk'ya mī'k'a very bad it was 14.7
hatct' hi'q'!a long (strings of)
ta'nt anst lqat'tū there was a
dentalia shells 76.1
tall tree 92.21

Owing to this verbal significance, the Siuslaw adjective shows no special suffixes. A few stems denoting adjectival concepts appear in duplicated form, mostly those expressing color (see § 109). There will be found, however, a number of words expressing attributive ideas that end in -t.1 Whether this consonant is related to the auxiliary -t (see § 76) or whether it may be looked upon as a true adjectival suffix, is a question open to discussion. The following is a list of such adjectives:

yikt big, large 48.8
tuxit'it straight
hawā'tsit new
hatct' long, tall 76.1
hīxt wild
tsi'it thick
pā'ala'st2 spotted
k'tk'it heavy 11.9
pini'lt sharp
k'wic'act proud
mekt fat 90.16
timsgayā't bitter, sour
lqut red
tint ripe
lqat'ya't dear, expensive
l'nwā'tit deep

§ 105. Irregular Suffixes -Em, -ist, -wi, -yūvi, -wit

These suffixes occur very seldom, and, while their function is to all appearances nominal, it can not be explained accurately.

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1 See also § 124.
2 Dorsey: p'āl-list gray.

§§ 104-105
-Em occurs with a few nouns.

-Em root, alder tree

\[ \text{tsamI}'tem \text{ chin} \]
\[ \text{qiI}'tem \text{ winter} 80.19 \]
\[ \text{xaI}'tem \text{ woman's basket} \]

-ti seems to denote an abstract idea.

\[ \text{plI}- \text{ to be sick} 40.21 \]
\[ \text{plI}'ti \text{ sickness, cough} \]
\[ \text{qaI}'i \text{ dark, night} 38.21 \]
\[ \text{qaI}'i'ni \text{ darkness, night} \]
\[ \text{hWu}'hi'\text{ black} \]
\[ \text{ho}'ni'\text{ dusk} \]
\[ \text{nI}'tci (?) \text{ how} 16.2 \]
\[ \text{nI}'tci'ni \text{ arrival (?)} 40.16 \]
\[ \text{nI}'tci'ni'wI' \text{ spring comes} \]
\[ \text{nI}'tci'ni'wI' \text{ year} 92.12 \]

The following nouns have analogous form:

\[ \text{cu}'tci \text{ camas} 96.20 \]
\[ \text{cu}'tci'ni \text{ small-pox} \]
\[ \text{ti}'tsni'ni \text{ small-pox} \]

The nouns Iwa'si FROST and Luwa'si NOSE may also belong here.

-wi is found in a small number of nouns.

\[ \text{si}'nawI' \text{ grouse} \]
\[ \text{ku}'xwi' \text{ gnat} \]
\[ \text{tsna'wI' \text{ bone} \text{ gnat} \]
\[ \text{qU}'ha'wI' \text{ broom} \]

In a few instances this suffix seems to form nouns of agency, and may be related to the suffixes discussed in §§97 and 99.

\[ \text{tsxan}- \text{ to comb one's hair} \]
\[ \text{tsxan'wI' \text{ a comb} \text{ broom} \]
\[ \text{qatoI}- \text{ to drink} 76.12 \]
\[ \text{qatoI}'wI' \text{ a person who waters} \]
\[ \text{cU}'xwI'- \text{ to drive away, to scare} \]
\[ \text{cU}'xwI' \text{ a driver (?)} \]
\[ \text{Uq}- \text{ to dig} 80.6 \]
\[ \text{Uq}'wI' \text{ one who digs holes} \]

-yUwI, -IwI. These two suffixes have a peculiar function. They seem to denote the nominal object of an action performed by a noun of agency (see §100). The most puzzling phenomenon connected with their function is the fact that they can be added only to the discriminative form of a noun (see §111), which seems to stand in direct contradiction to its objective significance, because the discriminative case points to the noun as the subject of the action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Discriminative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>penI's skunk 86.1</td>
<td>pena's 86.7</td>
<td>tsI'I' pensayu'wI' a skunk-shooter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 105
Another nominalizing suffix that seems to be confined to one stem only is -as in the noun wa'as language, word, message 34.21, formed from the verbal stem waa- to speak, to talk.

Reduplication (§§ 106-109)

§ 106. Introductory

Reduplication as a factor in the formation of grammatical categories and processes does not play as important a rôle in Siuslaw as in many other American Indian languages.

Considered from a purely phonetic point of view, the process of reduplication may affect a single sound, a syllable, or the whole word, while from the standpoint of position of the reduplicated elements it may be either initial or final. In accordance with these processes, a given language may show the following possible forms of reduplication: Vocalic or consonantic initial reduplication; consonantic final reduplication, commonly called final reduplication; syllabic reduplication, usually referred to as doubling or reduplication of the syllable; and word-reduplication, better known as repetition of the stem.

Of the forms of reduplication known actually to occur in the American Indian languages, Siuslaw shows only duplication of the (first) syllable, duplication of the final consonant, and repetition of the stem. Syllabic duplication occurs rather seldom, final duplication is resorted to frequently, while repetition of the stem plays a not unimportant part in the formation of words.

Reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb; its use for expressing distribution—a phenomenon commonly found in American Indian languages—is entirely unknown to Siuslaw, which employs this process solely for the purpose of denoting repetition or duration of action.

§ 106
§ 107. Duplication of the Initial Syllable

This process occurs in a few sporadic instances only. The repeated syllable occurs in its full form, the original syllable losing its vocalic elements. Initial stops of both the original and repeated syllables are usually changed into fortis (see § 17).

\[ \text{temū’} \] to assemble 7.3

\[ \text{t’emt’ma’xam wän} \] they come to see him (literally, he is assembled about) 23.3

\[ \text{Li’ū} \] (they) come 9.3

\[ \text{L’il’wa’xam} \] he is approached 16.3

\[ \text{L’il’wi’sūtne} \] he is continually approached 26.2

\[ \text{a’isax} \text{t’e L’l’l’utūts} \] that’s why I came (to see) you 21.6, 7

\[ \text{h’ya’ten’xan L’l’l’utūts} \] people us came (to see) repeatedly 100.8

\[ \text{ta’} \] to sit, to live 16.2

\[ \text{ants T’xun’pū t’l’t’yūn} \] (that) on which Coyote was sitting 94.6

\[ \text{hal’} \] to shout 13.11

\[ \text{thali’t’yūsne} \] he would be shouted at 70.22 (this form may be explained as derived from an original halali’t’yūsne)

\[ \text{thali’txa’w’ne} \] he is continually shouted at 11.10

\[ \text{yuw’} \] to pick 96.18

\[ \text{yū’ya’w’t’} \] one who picks

§ 108. Duplication of Final Consonants

This process is employed extensively, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant with insertion of a weak \( a \)- or \( i \)-vowel. In many instances the quality of the connecting vowel is affected by the vowel of the stem. This is especially true in cases where the stem ends in a \( u \)-vowel, after which the connective vowel is assimilated and becomes a weak \( u \). The short vowel of the stem is not infrequently changed into a long vowel. This duplication plays an important part in the formation of the past tense (see § 74), and, in addition to denoting frequency and duration of action, it seems to be capable of expressing commencement, especially of intransitive actions.

\[ a’w’s \] to sleep 23.9

\[ a’w’s’ \] he began to sleep 26.9

\[ qax \] dark 38.21

\[ qa’x’l’x wū’nw’its \] it got dark long ago 64.19

§§ 107–108
A very interesting case of duplication applied to formative elements is presented by the nominal suffix -ax. This suffix signifies PEOPLE, BELONGING TO, and, when added to the adverb wān'wits LONG AGO, it was invariably rendered by OLD-TIMERS (see § 101). Whenever the speaker wants to imply the intensive idea PEOPLE OF VERY LONG AGO, he usually repeats this suffix.

§ 108
wā’nwīt’sax old-timer 68.13 wā’nwīt’saxax people of long, long ago 29.9
s’da’tsa xinī’nūtnex wā’nwīt’saxax thus it was done (by) people of long, long ago 62.9
wā’nwīt’saxax nīctcīma’mū (of) old, old-timers their custom 68.19

Similarly the modal -ītce (see § 94) is found repeated in a few instances.
tcā where 34.4 tcaīte’ite nūcētūx where he will go 64.20

§ 109. Duplication of Stems

While this process is, strictly speaking, of a lexicographical character, and as such ought to be treated more properly under the heading “Vocabulary” (see § 137), it will nevertheless be found useful to give here a list of doubled stems. Barring a few nouns, most of these terms are adjectives denoting color and quality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Stiff, hard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥuv’ṇhuvun</td>
<td>qa’sgaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorrel, yellow</td>
<td>gu’lqu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu’ktuk</td>
<td>qtṣl’ṇgtśin blue, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘n’k!‘nk! soft</td>
<td>xu’sxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki’k’it heavy</td>
<td>qimad’tim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopher, mole</td>
<td>tśiṅi’l’tsiṅi’l’² little beaver (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.19</td>
<td>50.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>tci’mte’a’mu ax 27.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘t’al’t’al’ tongue</td>
<td>q’la’l’q’la’l’ otter from ocean (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsiyį’ktsių’k wagon¹</td>
<td>laqlaq board 80.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocalic Changes (§§ 110–112)

§ 110. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses two distinct grammatical categories by means of vocalic change. Of these two categories, one is nominal, while the other has a strictly verbal character pertaining to intensity and frequency of action. When applied to nouns, vocalic change expresses the discriminative case.

¹ Chinook jargon.
² Chinook.

§§ 109–110
The discriminative case is that form of the noun which singles it out as the performer of an action directed upon an object; i.e., it designates the nominal subject in sentences containing pronominal or nominal object.

The discriminative form of pronouns and of nouns of relationship is expressed by means of the prefix q- (see § 21). All other nouns express the discriminative form by means of a vocalic change that varies according to the quantity of the stem-vowel, and in polysyllabic stems according to the quantity of the vowel of the accented syllable. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

1. The discriminative form of nouns the stem-vowel of which is a long i or u is obtained through the diphthongization of these vowels into ya and wa respectively (see § 7). For purely physiological reasons a weak vowel corresponding to the quality of the diphthongized vowel is inserted between the diphthong and its preceding consonant.

Somewhat irregular discriminative forms are shown by the nouns t!i GRIZZLY BEAR and q'uteC WIFE, which occur as t!iyaC and qa'yute respectively.

§ 111
2. Nouns with short stem-vowels, or with short vowels in the accented syllable, change these vowels into an a in their discriminative forms. Short a-vowels of the stem are lengthened into ā.

1. penī's skunk 86.1

2. tsī'sgan deer 13.9

3. qwód'txa' beaver 48.6

4. pilqu'its raccoon 70.23, 24

5. q'ā'xa'xt wolf 13.2

6. swāl grizzly bear

7. sqūma' pelican 44.1

3. Stems containing diphthongs, or stems whose accented syllables end in the diphthong ā', add a short a to the diphthong for the purpose of forming the discriminative case.

1. hat'mūt all 9.5

2. hat'na different 58.9

4. Polysyllabic stems whose accented syllable ends in a consonant and is followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant form the discriminative case by inserting a short a between these two consonants.

1. tsxul'npī coyote 88.9

2. texmī'ł·mū old people 58.25

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1 Probably misheard for qwa'txa'.
um'ti thunder
qūtoc'ł'mă old woman 96.15
tčô'nta u which one 90.1

§ 112. Intensity and Duration of Action
Vocalic change as a means of expressing intensive and durative actions is of a twofold character. The change consists either in the diphthongization of the long ĭ- and ā- vowels of the stem (see § 7), or in stem-amplification. In both cases the underlying principle may be described as the change of a monosyllabic root into a stem having two syllables.

Diphthongization is applied to those stems only whose vowels are either long ĭ or ā. A verbal stem with a diphthongized vowel expresses durative actions only in connection with other proper devices, such as the temporal suffixes or duplication of final consonants (see §§ 41, 56, 69, 108). Owing to the fact that certain temporal suffixes—notably the inchoative, the frequentative, the durative, the present, the future, and the imperative—imply to a certain extent intensive actions, or actions that are being performed continually, the suffixes for these tenses are frequently found added to the verbal stem whose vowel has been diphthongized, while all other tenses are formed from the simple root.

L'ôn- to tell 16.9
kū'n- to bend down
tkūm- to close, to shut 48.8
tū'cō to spear 62.2
qū'n- to pour 29.2
L'/ōx- to send 16.10

§ 112
Intensity and duration of action of verbal stems whose root-vowels are vowels of quantities and qualities other than i and ü are expressed by means of amplification of the root by the insertion of a weak vowel between its two final consonants. This process occurs in a few rare instances.

Another example of stem-amplification for the purpose of expressing duration of action is furnished by the stem a'tq- TO LEAVE, which is changed into ayaq-.

Siuslaw possesses a number of stems that occur in such double forms, and I give here a few of the most important.
Amplification of the stem seems to have been used in a few instances for the purpose of expressing intransitive actions performed by the third person singular. It will be remembered that this person has no special suffix, the same being understood in the stem or in the verbal suffixes. In some cases, however, Siuslaw adds a weak a to the stem, provided the same is not followed by any of the subjective suffixes (see § 24).

haʻu' to quit, to be ready 28.2    \(\text{wō}n\text{wits ha'wa long ago it (was) ready 23.10}

xaʻu' to die 22.5    \(\text{txūn xa'wa si'n'xyūtne just I to die am wanted 20.8, 9}

yax- to see 40.11    \(\text{txūn̄ ya'x̄a si'n'xyūtne merely thou to (be) see(n) art wanted 20.10}

§ 112
§ 113. The Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns occur primarily in two forms, according to whether they are used as subjects or objects of an action; but, owing to the fact that from the subjective pronouns there is obtained by means of the prefix $q$- (see § 21) a discriminative form, the independent personal pronouns may be said to have three distinct forms—the discriminative, subjective, and objective or locative sets. Both the discriminative and subjective pronouns refer to the subject of the sentence, differing, however, in so far as the former applies to subjects of transitive actions, while the latter is used mostly in connection with intransitive verbs. The discriminative form, moreover, is employed whenever the sentence absolutely requires that subjectivity of action be indicated (see §§ 21, 111). To be sure, cases where the subjective pronouns are used with transitive verbs are by no means rare.

Siuslaw, like so many other Indian languages, has no distinct pronoun for the third person singular, this person being supplied by the demonstrative pronouns $sd$, $sda'na$, $sda$s (see § 115). The first person dual has two separate forms, one for the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other for the exclusive (I AND HE). Similarly, in the first person plural are distinguished the inclusive (I AND YE) and exclusive (I AND THEY).

These pronouns perform the function of a whole sentence, and may be rendered by I, THOU, HE, etc., AM THE ONE WHO. . . .

§ 113
The tabular presentation of the independent personal pronouns is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Discriminative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>3d person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular.</td>
<td>na'han, ná</td>
<td>náte</td>
<td>qna'han, qná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nizats</td>
<td>nizats</td>
<td>qnizats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s'áá</td>
<td>s'áá'na, s'áá'nate</td>
<td>s'áá's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual.</td>
<td>nans</td>
<td>na'xóón</td>
<td>qnans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nav'xóon</td>
<td>na'xóon</td>
<td>qnav'xóon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nizats</td>
<td>nizats</td>
<td>qnizats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s'áá'nax, s'áá'nx</td>
<td>s'áá'nax</td>
<td>s'áá'nax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nanl</td>
<td>na'nuxan</td>
<td>qnanl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na'nuxan</td>
<td>na'nuxan</td>
<td>qnana'nuxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nizatsetic</td>
<td>nizatsetic</td>
<td>qnizatsetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s'áá'nce</td>
<td>s'áá'nce</td>
<td>s'áá'nce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that the independent pronouns are derived from two stems—ná for the first persons, and náw or náxts for the second persons; the first singular and all dual and plural persons being obtained by suffixing the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24) to the singular forms. Thus the inclusive and exclusive dual náns and naxón are composed of the first person singular ná and of the subjective suffixes -ns and -xón. In like manner the inclusive and exclusive plural nanl and na'nuxan consist of ná + -nl and ná + -nxan respectively.

The second person dual náxts is abbreviated from an original ná'xóonts. This abbreviation is due to simplification of double consonants (see § 15), causing a phonetic similarity between the pronouns for the second person singular and dual. In order to avoid possible confusion, duality of subject is indicated by suffixing to the verb the subjective pronouns for the second person dual. The second person plural is regular, consisting of the singular form for the second person plus the subjective suffix plural for that person.

The third persons dual and plural are obtained by adding the subjective pronouns for these persons to the subjective form of the demonstrative pronoun s'áá.

The objective forms of the personal pronouns—that is to say, those forms that are used as objects of a sentence—are formed by adding to the subjective pronouns the local suffix indicating motion -to (see § 90). The form for the second person singular is the result of an abbreviation from an original ná'xts·to caused perhaps by a reduction of the cluster of final consonants.

§ 113
It will be noticed that the subjective suffixes employed in the formation of the corresponding dual and plural persons are added after the adverbial - tc, a trait which Siuslaw has in common with the Alsea language. The objective pronouns for the third persons have as their basis the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun.

For the sake of emphasis the subjective suffixed pronouns are sometimes used in addition to the independent forms.

Examples of subjective pronouns:

na'han \(\text{yn tsîl'\text{'}ya's}\) I have an arrow (literally, I am the one who is arrow-having) 50.16
\(\text{a'\text{'}s\text{'}an te nà l\text{'}ô\text{n}x\text{sun}\) that's why this I was sent 21.8
na'han a'nts\(^{en}nx sî'n\text{'}xyût\) I am that one whom you wanted 40.14
\(\text{kum\text{'}n\text{'}ct\text{'}in nà nictc\text{'}tc te w\text{'}d\text{'}a\text{'}l}\) not I anything will say (literally, not I, I am the one who anything will say) 74.9
\(\text{k\text{'}tx\text{'}u\text{'}l\text{'} nà alone (was) I 100.3}
\(\text{nîx\text{'}ts\text{'} w\text{'}nx qa\text{'}nl hî nîsîtî you\text{'}ll take along your knife (literally, you are the one, you, knife take along will, yours) 50.16, 17}
\(\text{nîx\text{'}ts li\text{'}t\text{'}a\text{'}t\) you are eating
\(\text{ul s\text{'}a pëlt\text{'}t\text{'}t\text{'}un\) and he will be first 10.1
\(\text{n\text{'}ns hî\text{'}sa we two (incl.) are well}
\(\text{na\text{'}w\text{'}x\text{'}un t\text{'}x\text{'}ts\text{'}Â\text{'} we two (excl.) are two 36.15}
\(\text{s\text{'}a\text{'}nx at\text{'}a\text{'}s li\text{'}xû\text{'}l\text{'}yûn they two only knew it 98.9}
\(\text{s\text{'}\text{'}an\text{'}x t\text{'}\text{'}k\text{'}\text{'}k\text{'}\text{'}ya li\text{'}xû\text{'}l\text{'}yûn they very (well) know it 72.1, 2}

Examples of objective pronouns:

\(\text{kum\text{'}n\text{'}tc hî\text{'}sa nàtc it is not good for me 12.2}
\(\text{w\text{'}nx nàtc t\text{'}vx\text{'}is then you shall come to me 44.6}
\(\text{kum\text{'}n\text{'}tc hî\text{'}sa ni\text{'}x\text{'}tc it (does) not (look) good on you 12.5}
\(\text{kum\text{'}n\text{'}tc na\text{'}tc\text{'}ns sî\text{'}n\text{'}xya te qi\text{'}ut\text{'}c\text{'}nû not us two (incl.) like these women 52.13}

Examples of objective and discriminative pronouns for the third persons will be found under "Demonstrative Pronouns" (see § 115), while the discriminative pronouns for the first and second persons have been illustrated in § 21.

§ 114. The Possessive Pronouns

The independent possessive pronouns are compound forms consisting of the following three separate elements: the independent personal pronoun (see § 113), the relative case-ending - eml (see § 87), 3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—37

§ 114
and the sign of possession -i (see § 88). The sign of possession is not present in forms that express the third persons as the possessor. To these compound forms are added the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24) for the purpose of indicating the person of the possessor. The suffixed pronouns, to be sure, agree always with the independent pronouns that form the initial elements of the compound. The following peculiarities will be observed in connection with the pronominal forms that enter into the composition of the independent possessive pronouns:

1. For the first and second persons (singular, dual and plural) the subjective forms of the independent pronoun are used. The stems na and nix are employed for that purpose.

2. For the third person (singular, dual and plural) the objective form of the independent pronoun (s'na'ta) is used.

3. Singularity, duality, or plurality of the person is expressed, not in the initial pronominal element, but in the suffixed subjective pronoun. Consequently the initial element remains unchanged for all numbers.

Owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct subjective suffix for the third person singular, the suffix -tc is added without the aid of the sign of possession -i. Duality and plurality of the third person are indicated by adding to -tc the subjective suffixes -a'tx and -nx respectively.

In § 88 the fact has been mentioned that possessive phrases are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix -t (see § 76) to the sign of possession. This -t often figures in the composition of the independent possessive pronouns, especially those for the first and second persons.

The following table shows the independent possessive pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>na'm'Hlin, na'm'Hlit'in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>ni'z'amlit'inx, ni'z'amlit'inxz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>s'aina'm'tle, s'aina'm'nl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>na'm'Hlin, na'm'Hlit'ins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>na'm'Hlit'iniz, na'm'Hlit'inxz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>ni'z'amlit'ite, ni'z'amlit'ixz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>s'aina'm'itl'inxz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>na'm'Hlin, na'm'Hlit'ins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>na'm'Hlit'iniz, na'm'Hlit'inxan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>ni'z'amlit'ite, ni'z'amlit'ixan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>s'aina'm'itl'en'ezx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 114
It will be noticed that the obscure e of the relative suffix -Eml has been contracted with the preceding vowels of nù and s'a'na into a clear a-vowel (see § 9). The weak vowel in na'mélín, na'mélins, etc., is due to the law of sound-groupings (see § 4).

The third person singular often loses its distinct suffix for that person (-tc). This loss is due to the fact that the form s'a'na'ml is in itself capable of expressing a possessive idea that has the third person as its possessor.

These possessive pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be properly translated by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc. They are frequently used for the sake of emphasis in addition to the possessive suffixes that are added to nouns, and in such cases invariably precede the nominal concept.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wa'a}s'e\text{nx na'}mélìn} & \text{ wa'as you shall continually speak (with) my language 36.13} \\
na'mélìn q'a'îl} & \text{my pitch, this is my pitch} \\
nâ'mélìn lkwâ'nuy} & \text{this is my hat} \\
n'a'mélìn mlét} & \text{(he) is my father} \\
nî'xamlinx kô'tan} & \text{your horse} \\
nî'xamlinx mlét} & \text{(she is) your mother} \\
s'a'na'mltc} & \text{wa'as wa'syaxax} \text{n his language he had spoken 36.14} \\
s'a'na'mltc} & \text{Laa' his mouth} \\
s'a'na'ml} & \text{kô'tan his horse} \\
n'a'mélins kô'tan} & \text{our (dual, incl.) horses} \\
n'a'mélî̃n} & \text{toc} \text{ our (dual, excl.) hands} \\
nî'xamliits kwiyo's} & \text{your (dual) dog} \\
s'a'na'mltc} & \text{az kô'tan their (dual) horse} \\
n'a'mélîn} & \text{kô'tan our (plural, incl.) horses} \\
n'a'mélînxan} & \text{te'q our (plural, excl.) relative 102.5} \\
nî'xamliitect} & \text{te'q your (plural) relatives} \\
s'a'na'mltc} & \text{nx qal'tc their (plural) knives}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 115. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Although Siuslaw has a number of stems that are used as demonstrative pronouns, there could not be detected in them such categories as visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, nearness to or remoteness from the speaker. It is true that in some instances the informant would render a certain demonstrative pronoun as indicating nearness or remoteness; but this rendering was invariably caused by
the leading character of my questions, and never appeared spontaneously.

The demonstrative pronouns, however, present another striking feature that is not commonly found in the American Indian languages. This feature consists in the fact that some of them occur in two distinct forms, one being used with subjects of the sentence, while the other is applied to objects only. This fact serves as another instance illustrating the extent to which the category of subjectivity and objectivity permeates this language.

The following demonstrative pronouns have been found in Siuslaw:

\( t\partial^k \) has been invariably rendered by this, and in some instances by here. It may be used in connection with subjects and objects alike. Duality and plurality of subjects and objects are indicated by the suffixation of the subjective pronouns \(-a^x\) and \(-nx\) respectively (see § 24).

\( t\partial^k \) peni's this skunk
\( t\partial^k \) texmu'në this man
\( ta\'k^\prime ya his te'q ta'kön lakwa'kün (a) very good thing this here I have obtained 72.15, 16
\( L!\o'wa'xan t\partial'kön liü' as a messenger here I come 17.6, 7
\( t\partial^a'kwax qa'tö'ntux these two will go 32.10, 11
\( t\partial^a'k^3nx texmu'në these men

\( tE \) applies to subjects and objects. There can be no doubt that it is an abbreviated form of the demonstrative pronoun \( t\partial^k \) (see above). It was usually rendered by this or the. When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), the obscure vowel assumes a clear tinge and appears as a distinct a-vowel.

\( "l meqla'tx ha'i'qmas liya'wa te ëk'lanü'k^u \) and she danced near the fire, this Screech-Owl 86.11, 12
\( li\^ha'yax te liya'a\(^a\) it passed (by), this fire 32.19
\( ti'kön te ta\(^i\) this here is my house (literally, here I, this one, live) 58.8
\( s\(a\)'tsa hi'loc'ic nictö'ma'mu te tli' that's why bear acts like a person (literally, thus [of a] person his fashion [has] the bear) 60.26
\( vo'ni'zax te peni's she was afraid of this skunk 86.1
\( hina'yun te mî'ka hîte he took along this bad man 23.2, 3
\( nîc'to'amx tanx yâx'xa'qâtx why do you cry much (literally, how [is it that] you this, much cry) 94.16, 17

§ 115
s'atsa tanx s'il'nyútne that's why this you are wanted 18.4 
takvć̓əltxʷax ta'lewx q'i'utc ta'ux tə̱məl'á quoa'txa'wəx taken away (were) these their (dual) wives, (namely of) them two, 
Beaver and Muskrat 52.3, 4

. . . . ta'nxan hùtcū' . . . . (as) these we (here) play 70.12

In some instances this pronoun may have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by this who . . .

s'atsa əltlə' te ta'yax thus ate those who lived (there) 82.12

s'əəs is used with subjects of transitive verbs only, and seems to have a distinct discriminative character. In this capacity it exercises the function of the missing independent pronoun for the third person (see § 113). It may either precede or follow the verb, although there is a prevailing tendency to place it at the end of the sentence. It may be translated by this or he.

'ıltlə'd'yün s'əəs and he devours him 94.10
məɬkla te'q xa',u'n s'əəs bad something this (one) had killed 96.12, 13
s'əəs k'unà c'u'yən ants li'və' he, perhaps, has scared away that salmon 56.11
s'əəs qa'da'yən ants lxə' he hooks that spear 64.7
s'əəsəənət li'xə'yūts he killed us 28.3

s'əə refers to subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The difference between this pronoun and the above discussed s'əəs lies in the strictly discriminative character of the latter. It may best be rendered by this, he, and is mostly employed as a personal pronoun for the third person singular (see § 113). Duality and plurality of the subject are indicated by suffixing to s'əə the subjective pronouns -əəx and -nx respectively (see § 24).

s'əə tešim̓əl'ni' this man
'ı tə̱m s'əə yu'q'u'yən always he sees it 68.22
'ı s'əə pu'le'la'tux and that one will be first 10.1
s'əəx at'a's l!xə'yən li'ltla' these two only know (where) food (is) 98.9
s'əənx teš'k!ya l!xə'yən hùtcū' these very (well) know (how to) play 72.1, 2

In four instances this pronoun has been used as referring to objects. I believe this use to be the result of erroneous application on the part of the informant. The examples follow.

§ 115
him she knows, Screech-Owl 86.7
that one I (will my) wife make 90.1, 2
(for) him only the dance was arranged
28.7
spear now that big (one)!
64.2

s'at'na refers to objects only, and serves as the objective form of the missing personal pronoun for the third person (see § 113). Hence it may be rendered by THIS, THAT, HIM. By adding the subjective suffixes to it (see § 24), the dual and plural persons for this pronoun are obtained.

The s as a demonstrative element has been also found in Alsea.
s*a'tx l'd'a't such (a) world 15.1
wa*l yâ'o'xa'te hîtc, s*a'tâ' si'n'xya although many (are) these
people, that kind (of a thing every one) likes 102.2, 3

ants is the only pronoun that may be said to contain a locative
force. It is invariably used in connection with objects that are away
from the speaker, and may be rendered by that one. It may refer
to subject and object, and is used in the singular, dual, and plural,
although in most cases duality and plurality are accentuated by suffix-
ing the respective subjective pronouns -a'ux and -nx (see § 24). This
pronoun may also have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by
that one who . . . , those who. . . . It always precedes the
noun.

hamxa*nî ants tseha'ya that tied (up) grass 8.6
s*kuw'le tsîng'îl ants hîtc very poor (was) that person 16.10; 17.1
ants qa'x last night (literally, that night) 40.14
lk'a'n'wâ'k'a' wi'nxâ'n ants pen'i's Screech-Owl was afraid of that
Skunk 86.5
ants lqa'û'tû ants Tsxunapî' t/î't/yân that tree on which
Tsxunpî (Coyote) was sitting 94.6
xâ'da'n'xûn ants mî'k'a hîtc we two killed that bad person 96.8, 9
lakwa'k'ûn ants qî'te'û'nî ants x t'sîn'i'lt'sîn'i'l those two otters
took away those women 52.16
ants l'd'a'at hîtc those many people 7.1
ants peku'wi those who play 70.6, 7
ats'il te wad'xam ants hîtc tca'xa'î thus was told that man who was
go back 30.13, 14
lk'a'n'nyâq' gu'yân a'ntsux meq/a'vtx Screech-Owl watched those
two who kept on dancing 86.8
s*a'tsa xnt'unîs a'nts'nx pukwa'î thus keep on doing those who
play shinny 78.17

In a number of instances two demonstrative pronouns are used, fol-
lowing each other in immediate succession. This is done primarily
for the sake of emphasis. In such sentences the second demonstra-
tive stem may be rendered by a relative pronoun.

ha'nûtîc a'sa xî't l't'lî Î te s*a q'ûLîl'tc that otter is eating a
different food (literally, different her, also, food, [of] this here sea-otter)
54.7, 8
ul s*a te t'âmèl'sk'în and this here (is) the little boy 94.16
ul wad'xam ants s*a qa'tô'ntûx and was told that man who will go
16.7

§ 115
kumñnteaux sînîxyûn li'â tu'is ants sê they two don't want to stay near here (literally, not they two, want it, near [to] keep on staying, that one here)

Parallel to these forms are the indefinite, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The following have been observed:

woûcê. It has the function of an interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animate beings only. When used in an interrogative sense, it is best rendered by who, while as an indefinite pronoun, it is to be translated by somebody. The interrogative character of this particle can be recognized only by the interrogative tone of the sentence in which it occurs.

woûcê ko'tan whose horse (is it)?
woûcê xa'lintûx somebody will climb up
woûcê te'xamte haî (he) who strong (is) his heart 10.1
woûcê li'xû'yûn lixatûwî (he) who knows (the art of) running 78.18

Te'q is used as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animals and inanimate objects only. It may best be rendered by WHAT or something.

Te'q what (is it)?
haî'mût te'q everything 9.5
tsêk'ya haî te'q (a) very good thing 72.15, 16
kumînteûnx te'q you (will be) nothing 13.2
ats te'q waxal'eyxayim when something will be given to him 18.5
ûls'dâ'îsa te'q qnuhû'yûn that’s why something he finds

In a few instances te'q has been rendered by RELATIVE. This free rendering is perfectly justifiable, because in the instances quoted te'q implies the idea of BEING SOMETHING TO the person spoken to or spoken of.

na'mûlinx te'q you (are) my relative (literally, my something you [are]) 20.6
TS'ÌNSTO te'q ants låqûl'dómû her own relative (was) that pelican (literally, her own something) 46.1

An objective form of this particle has been found in one instance.

te'gând'nî ta'kvisên something we (incl.) will always get 72.17,18
tîqua'nu is the regular objective form of te'q, and occurs frequently.

§ 115
kum'i'tex'ün tāqan'na vol'nx not we two (excl.) anything fear 94.17
sl'nxit tāqan'na he wants something 18.5
wā'si'syanx tāqan'na (when) you get mad at anything 36.11, 12
wā'as'nx tāqan'na (when) you will say something 38.4

Another objective form of this particle may be the form tā'qan, occurring in one single instance.

tā'qan tex tei'tel'te xł'ntmīs why do you want to go anywhere
(literally, for something, perhaps, somewhere [you] keep on
going) 48.1, 2

tei'nt, tei'ntau, serves primarily as an interrogative pronoun,
in which case it is rendered by which one? Its scope, however, has
been widened, permitting its use as a relative pronoun and in some
instances as a numeral adverb. In the latter sense the form tei'nt is
invariably used. It is then translated by whoever, whatever, or by
how much, how many?

tei'ntau̯n tex ła'kwed'yun which one I (wonder) shall I take? 88.20;
90.1
tei'ntau̯nx ła'n'xyun which one do you want? 40.4, 5
tei'ntau̯ nił:taw'ants hit'c whatever does that man 70.22
tei'ntau̯ hit'c ła'wad' whatever person came (here) 24.7
tei'ntau̯ yil'kī'te . . . whosoever . . . is big 90.1
tei'nt hit'c qa'nteyà ła'wad' wax whatever person from somewhere is
going to come 38.10, 11
tei'nti'nx hi'yila how many shells have you? (literally, how many
thy dentalia shells?)
tei'nt kō'tan how many horses?
. . . tei'nt tsxayā'wi . . . on such a day (literally, [on] whatever
[a] day) 7.3

ts'ims has the function of a reflexive pronoun, and is best ren-
dered by (I) myself, (thou) thyself, etc., or, when used with nouns,
by (my) own, (thy) own, etc.

ts'ims s'ats'le ci'n'zyatiya to himself thus he always thinks 88.11
leł'yun ts'ims I hit myself

It'simstel te'q ants ylation of ants sqūmā' her own relative that Pele-
can (is of) that Sea-Gull 46.1, 2
l.e'mai'yū'smīn ts'ims ma'w'šk' I killed my own brother

qa'w'nti, qa'w'ntīte, imparts the idea of reciprocality, and is
best rendered by each other, mutually. The difference between
the two parallel forms lies in the fact that the latter has been amplified
by means of the modal suffix -īt (see § 94).

§ 115
By origin the Siuslaw numeral system is probably quinary, although there seem to be only four simple numeral stems; namely, those for one, two, three, and five. The numeral *x̂a'ts!ún* four is to all appearances a plural form of *x̂a'ts!*ù two. The numeral *qa'timx* six could not be analyzed. It is not improbable, however, that it may signify one (finger) up, in which event seven could be explained as denoting two (fingers) up, while eight could be rendered by three (fingers) up. In spite of incessant attempts, the numeral for nine could not be analyzed. Its probable rendering may be suggested as one (lacking to) ten. The numerals for fourteen and fifteen may be translated as by ten and four its addition and ten and five its addition respectively. The exact rendering of nineteen is obscure, while twenty evidently denotes two times ten, etc.

Siuslaw does not possess the series of ordinal numerals. These and the numeral adverbs, such as the multiplicative numerals, are expressed idiomatically by means of adverbs or adverbial suffixes. The adverbs *peł'te* ahead and *limnít'e* behind (see §119) are very often used as ordinal numerals for the first two numbers.
Multiplicative numerals are sometimes formed by adding to the cardinals the modal suffix -"tc (see § 94).

Ordinal numerals in the sense of AT THE FIRST, SECOND, etc., are sometimes formed by suffixing to the cardinals the suffix -'tu.

The suffix for the numeral FIVE appears in a somewhat changed form. Instead of the expected -'tu, this numeral takes the suffixes -"ta'tu, -tya'tu. The suggestion may be offered that the initial t- of these suffixes is the adjectival suffix -t (see § 104), and the -'tu the regular modal suffix. Of course, this does not explain the occurrence of the semi-vowel y in -tya'tu.

Two stems, k'l'i'x and ha'i'müt, are used as definite numerals. The former is best rendered by EACH, EVERY; while the latter, to all appearances an adjective in -t (see § 104), is best translated by ALL.

The units exceeding multiples of ten are expressed by forms whose exact rendering would be TEN (TWENTY) AND ONE (TWO) as, for instance, k'l'i'x te'q everything 24.4
the suffix -t̄ım, that is added to the cardinal numerals for ten. The numeral thus amplified is preceded by the cardinals from two to ten (inclusive). Thus twenty, literally translated, means two times ten, thirty signifies three times ten, and one hundred denotes ten times ten. The numeral for thousand was, naturally enough, never used. The informant invariably gave the English equivalent for it.

The Adverb (§§ 118-121)

§ 118. Introductory

Siuslaw has, comparatively speaking, a small number of adverbial stems. These express ideas of a local, temporal, and modal character. A few of them are compounds,—that is to say, they consist of two or more adverbs that occur independently also,—while others occur with the adverbial suffixes whose function is always in harmony with the ideas expressed by the bare stem. Thus a few adverbs indicating local ideas appear with the local suffix -te (see § 90), while most of the modal adverbs take the suffixes of modality -t̄ic or -a (see §§ 94 and 96).

It is quite conceivable that the final k in the local adverbs tik, st̄imk, and sq̄a'k, may imply some local idea, especially in view of the fact that both st̄im and st̄imk occur.

A very important law applying to local adverbs (and phrases) is the fact that, whenever they are used in connection with nouns, the nouns invariably take the locative case-endings (see § 86).

§ 119. Local Adverbs and Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phrase</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'ha'tx</td>
<td>in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'tq</td>
<td>ashore 44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha't̄qmas</td>
<td>alongside, near 25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'wi's</td>
<td>beyond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pel'te</td>
<td>ahead, first 32.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̄ḡȳk̄s</td>
<td>in the beginning 82.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̄u't̄s</td>
<td>here 17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tik, ta'k</td>
<td>here 56.5, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̄u't̄m</td>
<td>there 72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̄uqa't̄me</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̄uqa'a'^2</td>
<td>up-stream 32.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa't̄ic</td>
<td>across the river, opposite 80.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa't̄ki</td>
<td>from here 60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'xant̄</td>
<td>under, down, below 8.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'xú'n, qa'xú'n⁵</td>
<td>high up, above,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on 8.7, 34.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Probably related to the Coos t̄a' over there.
2 Alsea to'qući.
3 Coos qa't̄ic DOWN THE STREAM.
4 Related to Alsea q'xant̄ UNDER, BELOW.
5 Coos qa'xú'n- up.

§§ 118-119
§ 120. Temporal Adverbs

ats³ at that time, when 16.8
a³'lay then, afterwards 34.3
hā'nak! right away 20.1
vō'am'its long ago, already 14.7
vō'yu still, yet
yā'tsa a long time 11.3
ta'litl after a while 50.2
tīl awhile

lī'amba quick, right away 19.6

§ 121. Modal Adverbs

a'tsa, aets'tc thus 15.5; 11.2
hī'catec a little
yō'xa much, many 8.5
yuxu too much 12.2
tī'mwā together 40.18
nī'tcmawu'nat'ē differently

9.3, 4

§ 122. Introductory

Siuslaw has a great number of particles which serve to define more clearly a certain part of speech or even a whole sentence. Their

1. Alsea ga'ny HIGH.
2. Possibly related to Coos gaga'atu DOWN THE STREAM.
4. A compound adverb consisting of the negation kō NOT, the adverb yō'xu A LONG TIME, amplified by the obscure suffix -c, and of the stem Līsa at (see § 133).
5. By prefixing to this adverb the demonstrative pronoun ant, Siuslaw forms a compound adverb ant'ī'xu, which is best rendered by YESTERDAY.
meaning was deduced mostly from the sense of the sentence in which they occurred. These stems are either monosyllabic (in which case they may be enclitic or proclitic) or they consist of two or more syllables. A limited number seems to be composed of two or more originally independent particles. As a rule, particles are not capable of word-formation—that is to say, they can not be amplified by means of any of the grammatical processes, such as prefixation, suffixation, etc. But owing to the fact that Siuslaw shows a tendency to keep the verbal stem free from all subjective suffixes, these suffixes are preferably added to the particles that precede the verb (see § 26). Some of these particles seem to be in reality verbal stems, but do not convey a clear verbal idea unless used in conjunction with a proper verbal suffix (see § 135).

In accordance with their syntactic function, the particles may be conveniently subdivided into the following categories:

1. Pronominal particles.
2. Numeral particles.
3. Conjunctions.
4. Temporal particles.
5. Particles denoting degrees of certainty.
6. Particles indicating connection with previously expressed ideas.
7. Exhortative particles.
8. Restrictive particles.
10. Suffixed particle -ū (-ə).**
11. The stem ələ'.

§ 123. Pronominal Particles

The pronominal forms treated in § 115 are used sometimes without formative prefixes, and appear then like true particles. The following are particularly used in this manner:

- ṭàk this, here
- ṭê this
- ṭū that
- ańa that one
- wàtc who, some one

§ 123
Related to *teint* are the particles *teik* where, and *teä, teaitoe'te* where to.

*teik*, a local particle denoting rest. It may be used indicatively and in an interrogatory sense. It is best rendered by *where*.

*teik sava'na'ml kọ'tan* where is his horse?
*teik qa'hā'yūn hītc* where (ever) he finds a person 94.9, 10
*kā teik* nowhere 56.11
*teik ants k'alat'i'a where* that fun (is) 88.2
*teik ants yikīl'mā lq'ut'tū* where that big log (is) 88.17, 18

*teä, teaitoe'te*, a local particle indicating motion. It is used in an interrogative and indicative significance, and is best rendered by *where* (to). The form *teaitoe'te* may be explained as caused by the double suffixation of the adverbial suffix -ite (see §§ 90, 94). Such double adding of a suffix occurs in only one other instance; namely, in the case of the nominal suffix -ax (see § 101).

*kumi'nte teä yax* nowhere (anything to) see 34.4
*kumi'ntexi'qan qa'hā'nte teä niv'clics* not we two (excl.) far somewhere will go 56.2

... *teä'nte liw* ... where this I arrived 66.19
*teaitoe'te lo'x niv'clux* (I) wonder where he will go 64.20
*teaitoe'te qa'to'ntyax* he went somewhere

§ 124. Numeral Particles

Here belong the following stems: yā'xa many (see also § 12), te'mxut, tsil'nexma, tsil'nīxt half, and kē'a't how many. The particles serving as fractional numerals invariably follow the noun they define, while the two other numeral particles may either precede or follow it.

*yīxa'yūn yā'xa hītc* I saw many people
*te'mxut tā'la* half a dollar
*hītc teil'nexma ants t'i that bear is half a person (literally [a] person [is] his [one] half, that bear) 60.16
*hītc tsil'nīxt ants t'i half human (is) that bear 60.22

These forms might also be considered as adjectives. It will be noted that most of them end in the adjectival suffix -t (see § 104).

§ 125. Conjunctions

Only three particles were found that may be properly said to have the function of our conjunctions. These particles are a'l'dū, a'sxa, and u'.
a'ldū refers to nouns only, and its function is of an inclusive character, indicating that the defined noun is included in the action. It always follows the noun and is best rendered by likewise. It is frequently used as a verb (see § 135).

"l l'i a'ldū ma'ṭo'ṭ Bear likewise got burned 34.16
hī'q u a'ldū mōlt̄o̥t̄ Wild-Cat likewise burned 34.17
ya'w x:n a'ldū lit̄ u yūn fern-roots they two likewise eat 98.15
qa'ṭ x:n x a'ldū ya'q' u hit̄ux at night you likewise shall watch 70.18, 19

ai'sxa serves the same purpose as the preceding a'ldū, but may either precede or follow the noun to which it refers. It is best rendered by also, too.

a'ldū təxmuńi "l a'ldū qiūṭc̄uńi "l ai'sxa sq̣q̣ḳto̥t̄qo̥t̄ qa'ṭc̄uńt̄ux one
man and one woman too will go there 30.21, 22
ha'nte ai'sxa lit̄.a" her food belonged to some one else (literally, different her, also, food) 54.7

"l has various functions. Its chief function is that of a copula between nouns and sentences, and in that case is best rendered by and. Its position is free, although it tends to follow the noun and to precede the verb.

a'ldū təxmuńi "l a'ldū qiūṭc̄uńi "l ai'sxa sq̣q̣ḳto̥t̄qo̥t̄ qa'ṭc̄uńt̄ux one
man and one woman 30.21, 22
mit̄a'aṭin "l mit̄a'aṭin my father and my mother
peñi's qen'ṭqo̥t̄qo̥t̄ "l ik' anūk' u linnî't̄qo̥ Skunk (doctored) first, and
Screech-Owl second 86.11
ṣq̣atṣṭ'qo̥t̄waa' "l hī'q'.a"t̄ thus he said and started 22.5, 6
ta" "l lit̄.a" he sits and eats

It serves, furthermore, to introduce a new idea, in which case its functional character may best be compared to that of our syntactic period. Its exact rendering is a rather difficult matter, unless the arbitrary then be excepted.

l xū'yūn mī'k'a tsōk'ya. l xū'yūn hī'sa ik' anw'wak'u ants peñi's.
Enaw'wi kito "l iqaqasťnxena pen'a's she knew him (to be) very bad.
Screech-Owl knew that Skunk very well. At a rich man Skunk was breaking his wind 86.5, 6, 7
ṣq̣atṣṭ'qo̥t̄waa' ants ik' anūk'. Ants plno'st "l cil'n'xyat' ya āqa'wax.
"l ṣq̣atṣṭ'qo̥t̄waa' ants ik' anūk'. Thus said that Screech-Owl.
Then that sick man thought of running away. Then thus said
That Screech-Owl 86.14, 15, 16

§ 125
Finally, it may denote a connection with a previously expressed idea, especially when used in conjunction with the particle wa' (see §128).

wa' yikt ants hîst'î', "il tā'qîs hîtû'ste although big (is) that house, still (it is) full (of) people 25.2, 3
wa' tcf'wâ maq'te ants lqâ't'î, "il mîltca'i 'although in the water lay those logs, nevertheless (they) began to burn 32.22
wa' yâ'za'i hîto, "il ha'mît sâ'as bîl'd'ûn although many (were) the people, still he devoured (them) all 94.10, 11

This subordinate function, as it were, is particularly brought out when "il is followed or preceded by the modal adverb a'tsa, sâ'ot'sa thus (see §121). This phrase is invariably rendered by that is why.

a'tsa "lîwâ'n temû'tx hîtû'"u that is why now people assemble 15.5, 6
a'tsan "ln kumû'ntc sî'n'xyûn that is why I don't want it 15.8
sâ'a't'sa "lkumû'nto nî'k'â xî'n'tmil hîto that was why not alone traveled a person 94.11
"l sâ'a't'sa "l hayo'mît hî'ytûc l.xû'ûn and this is why all people know it

§ 126. Temporal Particles

While Siuslaw employs distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing the different tenses in the verb, it has a few particles that are used to define more clearly the time, duration, or occurrence of a certain action. These are used mostly in conjunction with the proper temporal suffixes. The following particles serve this purpose:

a'âL denotes commencement of an action, and has been rendered rather freely by now.

a'âL lan lit'â'wax now I commence to eat
a'âL síla'wax now he commences to swim
"lznx a'âL hûtca'tc now they began to play 72.23, 24

wâ'n indicates finality, completion of action. It either precedes or follows the verb. The informant invariably rendered it by now, then, but the most proper rendering would be finally.

"l wâ'n tcî'n he finally returned 68.12
âq'aq'o'x wâ'n they two finally ran away 92.5
wâ'n smû't'a't finally it ends 9.1
sqa'â'h wâ'n hawa'i' there finally it ends 14.6

wa', waha', expresses repetition of action, and is best rendered by again. It rarely occurs as an independent particle, being mostly used as a verb (see §135). The explanation for the occurrence of the double form has been given in §3.
qa'to'nt ants hīto waha' that man went again 19.5
k'in'ka'wa'xan waha'wax I will look again 56.20
"l wān wahā'ha'n qa'msk'utc finally again (said) to him his younger
brother 56.20, 21
"ln kum'ntc xwīl'itūx wa"tūx I will not go back again 46.8
waha' xaln' ants yā'k'yūs again climb up those seals 62.10

\[ \text{\textit{wiyax}-} \] indicates short duration of action. It always occurs in
verbal form (see § 135), and is best rendered by \textit{A WHILE}.

\[ \text{\textit{wiyaxem qa'q'x'em! listen a while!} } \text{\textit{wiyaxq'xyaxan a"sīsyax I slept a while}} \text{\textit{wiyaxd'waxan a"sa'wax I intend to sleep a while 27.5, 6}} \]

\[ \text{§ 127. \textbf{Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and}} \]
\[ \text{\textbf{Emotional States}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{a'ck!ali} indicates a supposition on the part of the speaker, and is}
\text{best rendered by \textit{PERHAPS}, (I) \textit{THOUGHT}}. \text{It consists of two etymologi-
\text{cally obscure stems, a'ck'a and } ì. \text{The subjective pronouns, when}
\text{added to this particle, are always suffixed to the initial element, and}
\text{never to } ì. \text{It is invariably placed at the beginning of the sentence.} \]

\[ \text{a'ck!anl ì xāû (I) thought you (had) died 68.14, 15} \]
\[ \text{a'ck!alí ats'ít to xwīl'a'wax ants t!ā'mo'ins (I) thought thus were}
\text{going to return our (dual, incl.) boys 42.9, 10} \]
\[ \text{a'ck!alí qa'to'nt he went (away) perhaps} \]

\[ \text{ha'nhan emphasizes a statement as having actually occurred.} \]
\[ \text{Hence it is rendered by \textit{indeed}, \textit{TO BE SURE}. \ It precedes the verb.} \]

\[ \text{"l wān ha'nhan s"ats'ī'tz hīteū" now, indeed, thus people play 7.4} \]
\[ \text{"awān ha'nhan wīl'wanx hīts'ī'stc finally, sure enough, they were}
\text{coming to different houses 30.6} \]

\[ \text{\textit{hank!} "'KIND OF,' \LIKE, has a double function. \ When used with}
\text{verbs, it implies that the action is not intimately known to the speaker.} \]
\[ \text{When referring to nouns (objects), it expresses a comparison between} \]
\[ \text{the defined noun and one already known to the speaker. \ It always} \]
\[ \text{precedes the noun or verb.} \]

\[ \text{hank! te'kto ha' he is in a way glad (literally, \"kind of\" some-
\text{where his mind?) 70.15} \]
\[ \text{hank! wī'n's'tx ha' he is rather afraid} \]

\[ \text{§ 127} \]
hank! hî'teł tc nîtcima'mû te qwo'txâ the beaver acts like a person
(literally, like a person his actions [of] this beaver) 54.11
hank! hîtc (he is) like (an) Indian 102.5

tEx (I) WONDER, SUPPOSE (IF), (I) DON'T KNOW. This particle
has a dubitative character, expressing doubt on the part of the speaker
as to the possibility or advisability of a certain action. It may refer
to any part of the sentence, but must always precede the verb.

to'tna'n teX lî'kwa'qûn I wonder which one (shall) I take 88.20;
90.1
nî'ceți teX xî'nûmis hîtc (I) wonder how (a) person (can) keep on
traveling
nî'ceçän teX nîtcod'wax (I doubt whether we) shall accomplish (any-
thing) 60.9
nî'ceçänl teX xawo'qun (I) wonder how we (incl.) can kill him 15.7

kîl. This particle occurs in the texts only once; but, judging
from the examples obtained in conversation, it seems to express
agreeable surprise.

hî'san kîl wàn waw'qûus well he told me (I was agreeably surprised)
46.18
ta' kîl wàn he is here (literally, he stays, surprise)

k (I) MAY, PERHAPS. This is a dubitative particle, occurring
also in Coos, and denoting possibility of action. Owing to its dubita-
tive character, it has often an interrogative significance.

nî'ceça kʷ what is the matter? (literally, how, perhaps . . . ) 90.12
k'înc'ya'd waxan tqaʷwî'tc kʷ waha'wax I may look again up-stream
56.20
nî'ceçän kʷ a'ntsín mêt!î te kîl to'nl what may (be the cause that)
that my elder brother, this here, not comes back? 58.11, 12
lî'kwa'qûnax kʷ lî'l'a³ you may get salmon 48.18

kʷnâ, a compound particle, consisting of the preceding one and
of the particle of interrogation nâ (see § 131). Its significance is
dubitative, and it may be rendered by IT SEEMS, PERHAPS, MAYBE, (I)
GUESS. Its position is freely movable.

wân kʷnâ tâ'kîn sâ'atsî tc a'sî's now it seems, this I thus dream 70.1
yâxâl tê'l'a³ tqaʷwî' kʷnâ much salmon may be up-stream 56.8

1 See Coos, p. 385.
s'as k'nu' c'xu'yün he, I guess, drove it away 56.11
lakw'a'k'nu' k'nu' he took him (away), perhaps 58.14
kumí'tóe k'nu' s'atsí'tóe not thus (it is), I guess 21.10

\( \pi \) has the same function as the previously discussed \( \text{h} \)ank! (see p. 594). It may best be rendered by (it) looks like, as if.

\[ \text{xó' } \text{ú xí } \text{hítc te kí' } \text{nna (it) looks as if two people here were talking} \]
\[ \text{plná'tx xí (it) looks as if he were sick} \]
\[ \text{tgala' } \text{ixan xí I feel rather warm} \]

\( \text{Ló' } \) (I) wonder, (I) don't know. It either precedes or else follows the verb.

\[ \text{teúctó' } \text{cé Ló' } \text{nú' } \text{ctúx (I) wonder where (he will) go} \]
\[ \text{toú } \text{Ló' } \text{li' } \text{úúux (I) wonder where he will stop (arrive)} \]
\[ \text{plná'ó' } \text{Ló' } (I) wonder whether he is sick} \]

\[ \text{síuslaw has only two particles that serve this purpose. These are } \text{nú' } \text{ctóim and } \text{wa } \]

\( \text{nú' } \text{ctóim intúcú indicates causality, and is best rendered by because.} \)

\[ \ldots \text{nú' } \text{ctóim sqá' } \text{li' } \text{wat'ó' } \ldots \text{ because there he frequently came 68.4, 5} \]
\[ \ldots \text{nú' } \text{ctóim s'as k' } \text{xo' } \text{yün te } \text{hítc } \ldots \text{ because he made disappear these people 18.8} \]
\[ \ldots \text{nú' } \text{ctóim } \text{mqú' } \text{ya'wax } \ldots \text{ because I intend to dance 72.12} \]
\[ \ldots \text{nú' } \text{ctóim } \text{nú' } \text{nx nam } \text{tv } \text{te ' } \text{q } \ldots \text{ because you are my relative 21.5} \]

\( \text{wa } \) is best rendered by although, even, in spite of. It may refer to the sentence as a whole or to any of its parts. The complex of ideas dependent upon \( \text{wa } \) is invariably introduced by the conjunction \( \text{u } \) (see § 125).

\[ \text{cuqádo' } \text{an hawa' } \text{yün, } \text{wa } \text{cá' } \text{yato he passes it as roast, although his penis [it was] (literally, roast he makes it) 90.13} \]
\[ \text{nú' } \text{ctóim sqá' } \text{li' } \text{wat'ó' } \text{, wa } \text{yá' } \text{tsa, because there he frequently came every time (literally, because there he came frequently, even for a long time) 68.4, 5} \]
\[ \text{wa } \text{mí' } \text{k' } \text{a } \text{a } \text{l' } \text{aya' } \text{u } \text{l' } \text{xata' } \text{even on a bad place he runs 14.1} \]
\[ \text{wa } \text{yíkt } \text{ants } \text{hísc } \text{u } \text{t } \text{á' } \text{qnis } \text{hitú' } \text{stc although big (was) that house, nevertheless full (it was of) people 25.2, 3} \]

\[ \text{§ 128} \]
wal qa'^x, w' l'x't in spite of (the fact that it was) night, (they) kept on going 64.24
wal te'g mî'k!a w' l'tla'yûn xvûs even (if it is) something bad still she eats it 44.20

§ 129. Exhortative Particles

qa'h expresses a polite command addressed to the first and third persons. It is hence employed in the formation of the exhortative mode. The verb usually occurs with exhortative suffixes (see §§ 41, 48, 63, 64), although instances of idiomatic expressions are not lacking where these suffixes have been omitted (see § 139). This particle is best rendered by LET (ME, HIM, US, etc.).

qa'h qa'te'nî't'xmî let him go!
qa'h'la'^x lakoi'nî let them two seize (them)! 52.12, 13
qa'h'n xâl! l'sme hûsî' I let me fix his house!
qa'h'wîn aw'stûx let him sleep now! 27.8

tcu serves to emphasize the imperative and exhortative modes. It invariably follows the verb, which must occur in either of these two forms. It can not be translated easily. In some instances the informant rendered it by TRY TO.

qa'qû'nem tcû listen now!
l't'emans tcû let us (incl. dual) eat!
qa't水墨 tcû cry!
aw'sem tcû try to sleep!

t'Emûc indicates a polite command addressed to any person. The informant rendered it by IT IS BETTER TO. . . . Although it usually followed verbs having imperative suffixes, I was able to obtain examples showing the use of this particle in conjunction with verbal expressions of a non-imperative character.

qod'nyûx t'Emûc laaya'te better pour it into his mouth! 29.2
aw'sem t'Emûc (you had) better sleep!
t'Emûc wa'tlûx it is better (that) he should talk

ak'wûha'n is apparently a compound particle, whose component elements can no longer be analyzed. It has an emphatic character, implying that a certain command addressed to the second person must be obeyed. It is best rendered by MUST, NECESSARILY.

l't'em ak'wûha'n you must eat!
l'vâ'nîs ak'wûha'n you must tell him!
l'ô'lis ak'wûha'n you must hit him!

§ 129
§ 130. Restrictive Particles

atu's limits the action to only one object, and is to be rendered by only, merely. It usually follows the restricted object.

\[\text{lq'a} \text{q'a}^n \text{z} \text{atu's your wind only (is sick) 86.16, 17} \]
\[\text{p}^\text{d} \text{l}^\text{z} \text{atu's qate}^\text{tza}^\text{z} \text{tza}^\text{tze from (one) well only it is being drunk (plural) 76.12} \]
\[\text{sqa}^\text{k} \text{w} \text{in} \text{atu's hawa}^\text{t} \text{only there now it ends 29.7} \]
\[\text{s}^\text{d} \text{a} \text{tas} \text{atu's l} \text{xu}^\text{y} \text{yn} \text{he only knows it 44.8} \]

ha'tsi has a restrictive function, and is best rendered by nothing but.

\[\text{hi}^\text{q} \text{a}^\text{a}^\text{m} \text{ni} \text{ants xu'nh} \text{h} \text{ha'tsi nothing but dentalia shells these (people) bet 78.14} \]
\[\text{ha'tsi} \text{in k} \text{otan y} \text{ixd} \text{y} \text{yn nothing but horses I saw} \]

txu merely, only, just. It refers mostly to the verb, and may either precede or follow it.

\[\text{txu xy} \text{x} \text{a}^\text{t} \text{sk'in q} \text{a}^\text{to} \text{nt just a little ways he went 12.1} \]
\[\text{txu} \text{h} \text{t} \text{e}^\text{t} \text{t} \text{h}^\text{n} \text{inx just Cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6} \]
\[\text{xa}^\text{w} \text{ya}^\text{t} \text{txu hicato'sk'in he merely came out for a little while 64.8} \]
\[\text{li't} \text{sm txu just eat! 40.26; 42.1} \]
\[\text{ol'n} \text{xyat!} \text{ya txu he was only continually thinking 42.2} \]
\[\text{kumi'nte txu q} \text{t} \text{u} \text{c} \text{yn} \text{ya't hitc not for nothing a person gets a wife (literally, not just a woman has [gets a] person) 74.1} \]

§ 131. Miscellaneous Particles

kū, kumī'nte, no, not. These are two etymologically related stems that are used as particles of negation. The final te in kumī'nte is the adverbial suffix (see §§ 23, 94)

\[\text{kū} \text{ci'l} \text{x} \text{t} \text{d} \text{e} \text{he did not move 27.2, 3} \]
\[\text{kū} \text{nī'cta} \text{nī'ctōtunē nothing could be done to him 94.12, 13} \]
\[\text{kū'yē} \text{tacl} \text{c} \text{a} \text{at} \text{not long then . . . 7.7} \]
\[\text{kumī'nte kū'sa not good (it is) 12.2} \]
\[\text{kumī'nte li'tlaya't ants kō'tan not food had the horses 34.10} \]

When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), kū is contracted into kwī. This contraction is not based on any distinct phonetic law, but is the result of rapidity of speech.

\[\text{kwī'y} \text{w} \text{x} \text{ya'xa}^\text{d} \text{nī'ck} \text{la} \text{not he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.3} \]
\[\text{kwīnx yā'tsa s}^\text{a} \text{ts}^\text{ax} \text{not they long (did) thus 11.3, 4} \]

§§ 130–131
In certain cases the negated verb takes, beside the negative particle, the distinct suffix of negation -il (see § 53).

ha\(^n\), hā'nik, yes, all right, are used as particles of affirmation.

ha\(^a\) yes, all right 21.8
hā'nik yes
ha\(^a\) tī'mgan to'ntūx all right, I’ll come back right away 56.21, 22
ha\(^a\) wá'nxan hātča'wūn yes, now we (excl.) shall ask her 74.12

nà serves as a particle of interrogation, and refers to the sentence as a whole. Its phonetic similarity to the independent personal pronoun for the first person singular (see § 24) is merely accidental.

nictcī'tcin tex nà wa'als I wonder what shall I say? 74.7
pīnā' nà is he sick?
pākwā'wanx nà are you going to play shinny?

a\(^n\), hē, have an exclamatory character, and may be called interjections.

a\(^a\), nictcī'tc pla'nt nà waha' what! is he sick again?
hē, kumī'ntc hē'tsa nǐ'xtc Hey! it (does) not (look) well on you 13.5

ka'tī, kā'čxtī, an emphatic particle. It never occurs alone, being always preceded by the negation kū\(^i\), kumī'ntc (see p. 598), and is then best rendered by NOT AT ALL.

kumī'ntc kā'tī xa'w'wil not at all he came out (from water) 64.7, 8
kū\(^i\) kā'tī'xtī l'xma'nts ya'k\(^a\)s he did not entirely kill that seal 64.12, 13
kū\(^i\) kā'tī'xtī xa'w'wil not again he floated up 64.16, 17

mī'ntc, a temporal particle indicating time in general. It is rendered by WHEN, SOMETIMES. The final tc is the adverbial suffix par excellence (see § 23).

mī'ntc l'laya' some time
mī'ntc lō'lo'ltūtūx (l) wonder when he will arrive
mī'ntc\(^a\)nx tc'a'xrayax when did you go home?

tsan, ants, kū\(^i\) nāts. These three particles are etymologically related. The last one is composed of the particle of negation kū\(^i\) not and of nāts. The forms ants and nāts resulted from the law of consonant metathesis (see § 13); ants is easily confused with the demonstrative pronoun of similar phonetic structure (see § 115).
These particles serve to introduce conditional clauses, and are best rendered by **if, since**. *kū* nāts is rendered by **if not** (see also § 136).

*tsa'nte* tū'ha sī'n'xyūn ... if you want to buy her . . . 74.8 *tsa'nte* sī'n'xyaxā*n* *u*te*i* has'oa'yūn since you want her, (go and) ask her 74.10, 11

*yā*a xa*T hai tem*wa*i* sqa*T, *ants* ha'qa*T *ants* ha*m*i* 'te*i* many people assembled there, when (if) those whales come ashore 82.21, 22 ... *ants* tkwa*myax *ants* inq'a*a* when (ice) closed up that river 78.3

Whenever the subordinate clause is introduced by the negative *kū* nāts, the co-ordinate sentence that follows must be preceded by the particle nāts.

*kū* nāts xā*wa*xa*T ne, *u*l nāts tsī'k'ya mī'k'a l/a*a* if he had not been killed, it would have been a very bad country 29.7, 8

*kū* nāts tī'iyax, *u*l nāts nakwa*γātīli* ha* if he had not come, I should have been sorry

**nićteca**, **nićteca**, **nićtx**. These three forms are undoubtedly etymologically related. Their primary function can not be easily defined, owing to the fact that they are used for the purpose of expressing grammatical concepts of a varying character. The most frequent uses made of these particles are those of an interrogative and indefinite pronoun. The function of an interrogative pronoun is chiefly confined to the form **nićteca** when followed by the demonstrative pronoun *te* (see § 115), while it serves as an indefinite pronoun whenever it is preceded by the negative particle *kū*, *kumî'te* not. *nićteca* is frequently amplified by means of the modal suffix -ītc (see § 94).

**nićteca** *ku* te cuqwa'dan *te* ha'kwat'ya what may (be the reason that) this roast here continually falls down? 90.12

*nićtecanx* tānx yā*a* xa*T gūtx why do you (this one) cry (so) much? 94.16, 17

*nićtecan* *tez* **nićteca**'wax I doubt whether (we) shall accomplish anything 60.9

*nićtecanl* *tez* xawd'ün how can we kill him? 15.7

... *nićteca* *te* *tā* . . . how this one was living 16.2

*kū* *nićteca* *nićteca* inzw nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13

*kū* *nićteca* qa*to*wi*l* not able to get a drink 76.11

*kū* *nićteca* la'kwil *lit*a*yad' she could not get food 96.16, 17

**nićteca**'te*te*i* *te* *tem*wa*tem* . . . why you have been gathered 30.17

§ 131
The Suffixed Particle -ū (-aū)

It indicates an action, transitive or intransitive, that is performed near the speaker, and may be added to stems other than verbal. It always stands in final position as a loose suffix. Since similar formative elements expressing other locative categories were not found in Siuslaw, and in view of the fact that Alsea employs, besides this suffix, many other suffixes denoting location of action, I am inclined to believe that this element represents a formative element borrowed from Alsea. The Siuslaw render it by here, this way. A peculiar phonetic law seems to be intimately connected with this particle. When following the consonant cluster nx, it causes the dropping of the x (see § 4). The interchange between ā and aū has been discussed in § 2.

katūs = to follow 92.7  
kʷawatūtsanaa you will overtake me 92.3

Qaawuxūn above 80.12  
yuwl'atx qaawuxūn' it broke on top 94.4

§ 132
qa'tcintux he will come
xw'il'ēm come back!
li'ūl'ūnanx they come (trans.)
li'ūl'ūnanx they come out from the water
x'i'ntanx they travel 88.20
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
ya'gu'yū'nanx they come (trans.)
全省'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the water
x'i'ntana' bī'mwa they travel this way together
ya'gu'yū'nanx thou art seen here
qa'tcintuxa' nātche he will come to me
xw'il'ēm come back this way!
li'ūl'ūnanana' tei'wā'ne they come out from the wate
qlútcu'ni tE’tu’ni all the children 34.6, 7
qlútcu'ni L!a’aï many women 82.14
sæxæ’tc qad'xam ants L!a’aï te’q into the canoe were put many
things 34.5
mætæ’ltto xvă’ka ants L!a’aï one-sided their heads (of) those
(people) 70.5, 6
yă’xă’i xu’nha’i L!a’aï they bet a great deal 70.6
hĩqaha’nî L!a’aï many dentalia shells 70.6
tsă’k’ya mă’t’k’a ovă’nuwts L!a’aï very bad (things existed) long ago
14.7
stîm L!a’aï ma’q’is there they keep on dancing 29.3
wad’a’ntsmt ants L!a’aï hîc he said to all his people 7.1
pekū’u L!a’aï they play shinny 9.4
L’ôxă’xă’ntsme hîc L!a’aï he sent all his people 30.1, 2
k’u’w’i’nun L!a’aï he made ice all over 94.2, 3
to’t’a’l’ün L!a’aï he caused the wind to blow all over 94.5

This stem occurs also as a suffix. In such cases it is abbreviated
into -l! (see § 77).

§ 134. Nouns and Verbs as Qualifiers

Siuslaw has no means of indicating by a grammatical device the
sex of a given noun; that is to say, it does not exhibit grammatical
gender. Hence, whenever it is desired to distinguish between the
male and the female of a species, the nouns tÈxmu’nî MAN and
qlútcu’nî WOMAN are used as qualifying a given appellative term.
The qualifying noun either precedes or follows the qualified term.

qlútcu’nî kwi’yös a female dog
tÈxmu’nî kõ’ton a male horse, stallion
tol’sqan qlútcu’nî a female deer, doe
lă’kukyax hîtuc te tÈxmu’nya she took a male person 60.23
tÈxmu’nîtco’wax ants t’âme k’ilix they two had boys each (literally, 

male their [dual] those infants each [are]) 40.19

Not infrequently verbs are used to qualify the actions implied by
another verbal stem. The qualifier has then the function of a
modal adverb, and its significance may best be compared to that of
our adverbs ending in -ly. The position of the qualifier is freely
movable.

u’slóxu’u’ xvăil’a’l! so down(-wardly) he came back (literally,
he slid down and came back) 12.6

§ 134
xawa't hítc u'kumí'nto tcí'níl xwu'x'í'níl (when) a person dies, (he will) not come back (by way of) return(-ing) (literally, not he comes back [and] returns) 42.11
mita'c wax ants tgu'uí' waa' their (dual) father, that one, shouted, saying (literally, shouted [and] said) 52.8

§ 135. Particles as Verbs

The frequent use of particles as verbs constitutes a characteristic feature of Siuslaw that is chiefly due to the fact that the majority of stems are neutral, deriving their nominal or verbal significance from the nature of the suffix that is added to them (see § 22). Consequently any particle (or adverb) may serve as a verb when occurring with the proper verbalizing suffixes, mostly the pronominal and temporal elements.

ha'q shore (§ 119)  ha'q'qyax it was (coming) ashore 56.13
s'ud'tsa thus (§ 121)  yu'tsa s'ud'tsa-yax for a long time thus they (did) 11.3, 4
yá'xo' many (§ 124)  stínts ya'xtúx there you two will multiply 32.6
a'l'dú likewise (§ 125)  a'twu'venx also you (come) 16.4 a'twu'núx hútecw'ste also you (have) fun 22.8

wa', waha' again (§ 126)  u'wavnwaho'hu'n qa'msk'nte finally again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21
wa'túnx m'qwa'í'mnte wa'as you will again (talk with) Crow's language 38.8, 9

li'yax- a while (§ 126)  liyxax'waxan a'so'wax a little while I intend (doing it), (namely to) sleep 27.5, 6

ni'cicá (§ 131)  tcí'nta' ni'cicá' ants hítc whatever does a man 70.22
kumíntcúx ní'cicís not we two (excl.) will keep on (going) 56.2

§ 136. The Conditional Clause

The rendering of the conditional clause in Siuslaw is accomplished in so many different ways, that it was thought best, for the sake of §§ 135–136
conciseness, to devote a separate section to this subject. The usual procedure is to introduce a conditional clause by means of the temporal adverb *ats* at that time, when (see § 120), or by means of either of these three related particles: *tsan*, *kū* nāts, *ants* (see § 131).

*ats te'q waxa'ya{yāyūn* if something (will) be given to him 18.5 *tsa'ntcē tū' ha sī'n'ya{yūn* if you (to) buy want her 74.8 *yāa'xi tīto te{m{rwax sqa'k, ants ha'qa'v ants hamī'teī many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22 *kū* nāts xā'wa{xawatiE* if he had not been killed 29.7

There are, however, other ways of expressing a conditional clause that are resorted to more frequently than the process just mentioned. Of these, the use of the past tense as conveying conditionality is of an exceedingly frequent occurrence, and is due to the participial function that is assigned by the Siuslaw to that tense (see § 74). In such cases the conditional clause tends to precede the sentence expressing the co-ordinate thought, although instances of a reversed order are by no means rare. The verb of the co-ordinate clause takes usually (but not as a rule) the durative suffix (see § 69).

tsi'kex xa'{yaxaq nāts, *vlu*nx l'wa'nīsūn* if somewhere you see a person, you will tell of it (literally, having seen . . . ) 38.12, 13 *wa'sl'syanx tāqa'na, *vlu*ntc*ya qa'wxān wa'a's* if you get mad at anything, you very loud will always talk (literally, having become mad . . . ) 36.11, 12

*lī'wayanx inq'a'ite, *vlu*ntc qnū'wī'wūs* whenever they came into a river, they would find (literally, having come . . . ) 66.21, 22 *lī'nuqwax 'a'wx, *vl s'avst'E to xaw'yūn* when they two came together, then thus she said 46.7

*inq'a'ite tīto te{yax, *vl yāa'xa'i sīng!* if in the ocean a man lives, (very) much he is hungry 44.12, 13

tsi'k!ya hīs ats'E xaw'yax very good (it would have been) if thus he had said 42.13

The conditional clause is also expressed by the use of the future tense.

*sī'n'xyū'ne tsīl{n'a to xa'{wawix, *a'wistuxax* it was desired (that) with an arrow he (should) be killed, if he should (be a) sleep(er) 24.1

tsi'k!ya hīs t.l'ā'meins to'ntīx very good (would it be) if our children (dual incl.) should come back 42.6, 7

*hawa'tīx te tsīl'tī, *vlu*nx l'tsīl'tītīx* when finished will (be) these arrows, then we two (incl.) will shoot 50.14

*sīl'tīnax, *vlu*nx qnī'x waxiE{nE,wīsūn* when (if) you will grow up, then you will do it 98.10

§ 136
The conditional clause may also be expressed by the verb in its present tense.

\[ \text{sl}^{'n}\text{eyanx} \text{lit'}\text{aya}', \text{snx} \text{nute i}^{'n}w\text{i} \text{is if you want food, then you will always come to me} \]

\[ \text{te}'q \text{xawa}^{'n} \text{p}^{'n}t'sis, \text{si}^{'n}d'\text{sa} \text{lit'}\text{a'yun ha}^{'qyax if something dies in the ocean, he eats it (it) having come ashore} \]

\[ \text{w}^{'n}l'\text{a}^{'n}t'sis \text{ha}^{'qyax} \text{gmos to'wa x}^{'n}t'me when the water is low, alongside of the beach he travels} \]

\[ \text{to'nu hitsi'sto ants quo'txa}, \text{atsi' to vad'yutsme qiu'to when he gets home, that Beaver, thus he says to his wife} \]

§ 137. VOCABULARY

All Siuslaw words may be divided into two distinct classes, those of a denomintating character and neutral stems. To the former belong all nouns of relationship, terms denoting parts of the body, animal names, words expressing natural objects, etc. These nouns never consist of more than three syllables. By far the greater part of the vocabulary consists of neutral stems, whose nominal or verbal function depends solely upon the sense in which they are used in a sentence and upon the functional value of the suffix with which they occur (see § 22). These stems are mostly monosyllabic, and consist of a vowel and consonant, of a consonant or consonant cluster followed by a vowel, or (in most cases) of a consonant vowel and consonant.

\[ \text{a}^{'n}s- \text{to sleep 24.1} \]
\[ \text{anax- to give up 16.8} \]
\[ \text{a}^{'n}q- \text{to go away 52.10} \]
\[ \text{il'}- \text{to break 94.4} \]
\[ \text{wa- to speak 7.1} \]
\[ \text{ta}^{'n}- \text{to sit, to live 16.2} \]
\[ \text{si}^{'n}- \text{to grow 98.10} \]
\[ \text{meq}^{'n}- \text{to dance 19.2} \]
\[ \text{x}^{'n}l'- \text{to do, to make 50.8} \]
\[ \text{ya'x- to see 20.10} \]
\[ \text{winx- to be afraid 17.6} \]
\[ \text{qato}^{'n}n- \text{to go 8.2} \]

As examples of bisyllabic stems, the following may be given:

\[ \text{wasl}^{'n}s- \text{to be angry 36.11, 12} \]
\[ \text{qag}^{'n}n- \text{to listen} \]
\[ \text{sinxi}- \text{to desire 11.7} \]

\[ \text{te}^{'n}m\text{u- to assemble 7.3} \]
\[ \text{k'}\text{alaw}- \text{to be tired 36.21} \]
\[ \text{xil'xci- to work 48.10} \]

\[ \text{ha}^{'n}n\text{nit}- \text{to believe 46.3} \]
Onomatopoetic expressions are exceedingly rare, being confined to three animal names and one verbal stem.

\[ \text{mɪ'tomɪtə grouse (probably called so from its cry mɪt-mɪt)} \]
\[ \text{pɨpɨhɨ'nik! owl} \]
\[ \text{qo'qoq swan (white)} \]
\[ \text{xun- to snore} \]

\[ n̄ wān xūn now he snores 27.9 \]

A few terms appear in a reduplicated form (see § 109).

§ 138. Structure of Sentences

The absence of nominal incorporation and polysynthesis as grammatical devices renders the Siuslaw sentence subject to easy analysis, and prevents the many complications that are met with in many other American languages. Each part of the sentence—such as subject, nominal object, predicate, and attribute—is expressed by means of a phonetically independent word. The successive order in which these parts of a sentence are arranged is arbitrary and exempt from any well-defined rules. The subject may be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, usage favoring its occurrence at the very end, especially in cases where the sentence contains a nominal subject and object.

\[ \text{Ik'aniwəl'ku n̄ meq! a'tx hau'qmas liya'wa Screech-Owl was continuously dancing alongside of the fire 86.2, 3} \]
\[ \text{Ik'aniwəl'ku n̄ xua'ln ants pen'is Screech-Owl fears that Skunk 86.5} \]
\[ \text{ts'k'ya w̄ n̄ xua'ln ants pen'is Ik'aniwəl'ku very much is afraid of that Skunk, Screech-Owl 86.3} \]
\[ \text{p̄ t̄ ci'ta'ya n̄ qatūwiȳ'la's ants qūtō'ni they two go over logs, these women 88.15, 16} \]

Nominal objects may either precede or follow the subject of the sentence.

\[ \text{hina'wūn ants p̄ na'st Ik'aniwəl'ku she intends to take along that sick man, Screech-Owl 88.1, 2} \]
\[ \text{wa'd'ən sq̄ umə' ants l̄ a'la'c'mə said Pelican to that Sea-Gull 44.17} \]

Of a similar free position are those parts of the sentence that express adverbial ideas. They may precede or follow the verb.

\[ n̄ awəx tei'wate hakuwa'ə they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8} \]
\[ w̄ t̄ ni qa' x̄ unto qatūwiȳ'la'stə he climbs up on a tree 12.4} \]
\[ yāk'išk'ina' l̄ aya' ū t̄ tiȳ'wi on a small place they live 38.19} \]
\[ l̄ kuwa'yənax ku' l̄ i' ə' ə seko'ə you may get salmon in the boat 48.18 \]

§ 138
Nominal and adverbal attributive complements may precede or follow the noun or verb, excepting the demonstrative pronouns *ants*, *te* (see § 115), which are usually placed immediately before the noun. Owing to the fact that all adjectives are intransitive verbs, they seldom refer to the noun, and are freely movable.

*yā'

Many people were sorry

*yā'

He saw many people

*ts'k:i ya xau' st'nx'yūn* very much they two wanted him to die

*yúwa'yun* they collected lots of that pitch

*La'a'yaxo'ni* that other skunk

*yikt* that house

*hltc nict* that house

*xa'yun* when something dies in the ocean, he eats it after it has come ashore

§ 139. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Here belongs in first place the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives. The comparative degree is expressed by using the objective form of the pronoun (or noun) for the compared object, which is invariably placed at the end of the sentence. In some cases the idea of comparison is brought out more forcibly by the adverb *peti'tc AHEAD*, *FIRST*, following or preceding the object.

*san' hī's nā'tc he is better than I (am)*

*nā'han hī'sa nī'x'ōtc I am better than you (are)*

*yikt'li'mūn sə'nā'na peti'tc I am taller than he (is)*

*yikt sə'nā peti'tc nā'tc nī he is taller than we (are)*
The superlative is expressed in the same manner, although the augmentative or diminutive suffixes (see §§ 83, 84) or the suffix -ũnĩ (see § 102) are preferably used to indicate the superlative degree.

\[
\text{I'na}^\text{wa}^\text{ni} \text{s}^\text{a} \text{tīc}^\text{na}^\text{x}^\text{n} \text{xa} \text{he} \text{is} \text{(the)} \text{richest} \text{of} \text{us} \text{all}
\]

\[
\text{s}^\text{a} \text{y}^\text{a}^\text{k} \text{'}^\text{i}^\text{k}^\text{e}^\text{i}^\text{n} \text{tx} \text{em}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{ī}^\text{n} \text{ī} \text{he} \text{is} \text{the} \text{smallest} \text{man}
\]

\[
\text{na}^\text{h} \text{an} \text{yīk}^\text{tī}^\text{m}^\text{ā} \text{I} \text{am} \text{the} \text{tallest}
\]

\[
\text{s}^\text{a} \text{yīk}^\text{tū}^\text{nī} \text{That} \text{biggest} \text{one}
\]

\[
\text{tū} \text{yāk} \text{'}^\text{a}^\text{d}^\text{nī} \text{that} \text{smallest} \text{one 88.12}
\]

A very important example of idiomatic phraseology is the (colloquial) use of the singular number for the plural. It will be remembered that Siuslaw has only two suffixes expressing plurality, neither of which is used consistently (see §§ 79, 80). In many cases the adverb \text{yā}^\text{a}^\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{much, many (see § 121), the numeral particle} \text{ha}^\text{i}^\text{mūt} \text{all (see § 124) or the stem} \text{l}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{i}^\text{place, world (see § 133)}, \text{is employed for} \text{the purpose of denoting} \text{plural subjects and objects, and, while these stems are at times used in conjunction with one of} \text{the plural} \text{suffixes, they more frequently express plurality} \text{without} \text{the aid of} \text{these} \text{suffixes; that} \text{is to say, the verb} \text{is more often used in the singular form.}

\[
\text{yā}^\text{a}^\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{l}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{āt} \text{he} \text{he} \text{saw} \text{many} \text{people} \text{70.2}
\]

\[
\text{yā}^\text{a}^\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{āt} \text{ā}^\text{n}^\text{t} \text{tx} \text{ha}^\text{i} \text{many} \text{people} \text{were sorry} \text{15.4}
\]

\[
\text{ha}^\text{i}^\text{mūt} \ldots \text{ī}^\text{k}^\text{o}^\text{w}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{all} \text{get} \text{it} \text{82.6}
\]

\[
\text{la}^\text{i}^\text{q}^\text{a}^\text{t} \text{skwah}^\text{a}^\text{i}^\text{tx} \text{xwāk}^\text{i} \text{ants} \text{l}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{feathers} \text{have} \text{on} \text{their} \text{heads}
\]

\[
\text{those} \text{people} \text{10.9}
\]

Very often, however, the singular number has a plural function, even without the aid of any of these particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

\[
\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{d}^\text{ts}^\text{a} \text{ā}^\text{t} \text{ā}^\text{i} \text{tl} \text{a}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{tx} \text{t} \text{a}^\text{t} \text{yax} \text{thus} \text{eat} \text{those} \text{who} \text{lived} \text{here} \text{82.12}
\]

\[
\text{ā}^\text{i} \text{t}^\text{g}^\text{a}^\text{w}^\text{āt} \text{c}^\text{a}^\text{y}^\text{a}^\text{t} \text{they} \text{lived} \text{up} \text{stream} \text{82.12, 13}
\]

\[
\text{ā}^\text{i} \text{tem}^\text{w}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{sq}^\text{a}^\text{k} \text{they} \text{assemble} \text{there} \text{82.21, 22}
\]

\[
\text{cī}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\text{t}^\text{c}^\text{e} \text{ya}^\text{a}^\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{t} \text{ants} \text{ya}^\text{k}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{s} \text{three} \text{were} \text{the} \text{seals} \text{(literally, three his number, that seal) 62.16, 17}
\]

\[
\text{xō}^\text{t}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{i} \text{āt} \text{c}^\text{a}^\text{y}^\text{a}^\text{t} \text{two} \text{people} \text{dig} \text{84.2}
\]

\[
\text{sī}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\text{y}^\text{ā}^\text{t} \text{qī}^\text{a}^\text{nī} \text{they} \text{wanted} \text{(to buy) hides} \text{100.15}
\]

\[
\text{hā}^\text{a}^\text{h}^\text{ā}^\text{nī} \text{ants} \text{xwē}^\text{a}^\text{nī} \text{ha}^\text{ā}^\text{i} \text{nothing} \text{but} \text{dentalia shells these}
\]

\[
\text{people} \text{bet 73.14}
\]

Another peculiar idiomatic expression is found in the manner of expressing an act performed by two subjects, both of whom are mentioned. This is usually done by adding the subjective pronoun for § 139
the third person dual -wa'x (see § 24) to one of the subjects, using the other in its absolutive form. The noun taking the pronominal suffix occurs invariably in its discriminative form (see § 111). It is not absolutely necessary that these two subjects should follow each other in immediate succession.

$s'atsato nictcima'mu te sqūma' wā'nwits $qal'ōa'ma'x thus was long ago the custom of pelican and sea-gull (literally, thus his custom, [of] this pelican long ago, [of] sea-gull, [of] them two) 48.4, 5
$qwo'txa' tśimūl'a'wa'x $ta' beaver and muskrat lived 48.6
$s'atsi'te'wax halk! mā'q'ul.te uma'livi'wax thus is told the story of Crow and Thunder (literally, thus their two, story, Crow [of] this [and] this Thunder [of them two] 38.18
$qūtči'l'ma'tełk'wosa'nte'wax $ta' til'mua an old woman and her grandchild lived together (literally, old woman, her grandchild, they two, lived together) 96.15
"la'ux stīm qa'txast ants tuxtuncia'nq qayūlte'wax they two there commenced to cry that man and his wife (literally, they two, there, commenced to cry, that man, his wife, they two) 58.17, 18
$la=q'axa'ul'ants penb's teł'k'ya'x xo'w σi'n'xyūn ants plnast (he and) that other skunk very much they two wanted (that) sick man (should) die 86.18, 19

An idiomatic expression of irregular occurrence is the formation of the imperative mode of a verb that is preceded by the stem ha'um to stop. Such a phrase consists of the imperative form of the verb ro stop followed by the demonstrative pronoun s'α', and of the past tense of the verbal stem that expresses the prohibited action.

ha'um s'α'anx qā'txwax quit crying! (literally, stop, this one you [who] has been crying)
ha'um s'α'anx teł'lyax stop shooting!
ha'um s'α'anx qā'lxwax stop counting!

The verb expressing the prohibited action may sometimes occur without the suffix for the past tense.

ha'umatchi s'α'd'teł waana'd'wa stop talking to one another!
ha'um s'α'anx e'xū'yūn te kō'tan stop scaring these horses!

As the last instance of idiomatic phraseology may be mentioned the use of the durative as a negative imperative, a use that has been fully discussed in §§ 40, 60, and 61.

§ 139
TEXTS

The Death of Grizzly Bear

Wà'nwits. 2 Tsì'k'ya 2 mi'k'a wà'nwits 2 l'a' 4 Klexù 7 llaya 6

Very bad long ago. Each on place on

litli'yus. 'lìtla'yùn. 12 Swàl 3 litla'yùn 12 hite là' 4 wà'nwits. 2 Hite
devoured him. Grizzly devoured people many long ago. Person

pà'Ln 14 qatc'na 15 lìtli'yùs. 18
to hunt him, then he would kill him and would devour him.

Yàs'xa 10 hite plna'tx 20 ha l 21 ltemù'tx 22 hiteù 'u 23
to hunt his hearts for that. Then assemble (pl.) people.

Sin 'xyù 24 xàlala'ùtx. 25
Desire (pl.) to be fixed his (disposition).

temù'tx 22 hiteù 'wí 30 waìn'tx 31 mâtìyù 'u 32 te 33 l'as' 4
assembly (pl.) people. Then say continually chiefs (of) this region.

"Phàntxan 34 ha l tsì'k'ya. 3 N'c'tean 35 tex 36 xawa'ùn' 37 u 1

"Sorry our hearts very. How we doubt kill him? For

1 See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. IV, pp. 15 et seq.
2 Temporal adverb (§ 120).
3 Modal adverb (§ 121).
4 See § 132.
5 hit- each, every (§§ 124, 2); -s local suffix of rest (§ 91).
6 L'a'is particle (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8).
7 Conjunctive (§ 125).
8 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
9 hìq! a to start, to commence (§ 105); -aù past tense (§ 74).
10 Discriminative form of mi'k'ta (§ 111).
11 Discriminative form of hite person (§ 111).
12 hit- to eat (§ 12); -aù verbalizing (§ 75); -aù direct object of third person (§ 28, 8).
13 Discriminative form of sual GRIZZLY BEAR (§ 111).
14 Transposed from pàntsa' (§ 14); pàntsa- to hunt; -aù verbalizing (§ 75).
15 qatcn- to go to start; -aù verbalizing (§§ 75, 130).
16 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
17 Llxma't- to kill; -aù verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -aùs durative (§§ 69, 8).
18 hit- to eat; -aù verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -aùs durative (§§ 69, 8).
19 Modal adverb (§ 121).
20 pln- to be sick; -altù suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).
21 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
22 temù't- to assemble; -tx plural (§ 80).
23 hitù person; -aù plural (§ 79).
24 stàsì- to want, to desire; -aùs plural (§§ 79, 8).
25 zùx- to make, to fix; -altù passive (§ 52).
26 Temporal adverb (§ 120).
27 zàwù to die; -aùs future passive (§§ 56, 8).
28 Modal adverb (§ 121); a'teù sù for that reason (§ 123).
29 Temporal particle (§ 120).
30 hitù person; -aù plural (§ 79).
31 wàsù to speak; -altù frequentative (§§ 68, 9).
32 mà'sù chief (§ 98); -aù plural (§§ 79, 8).
33 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
34 Abbreviated: for phàntxan; pln- to be sick (§ 112); -sù suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -aùs exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).
35 a'teùù particle (§ 121); -aù inclusive plural (§ 21).
36 Particle (§ 127).
37 zàwù to die (§ 112); -aù direct object of third person (§ 28).
kumi'nte 33 xa'wil 39 tsi'il'te 40 A'tsan 41 u'n 42 kumi'nte 43
not he die not arrow through. Thus I so I not
s'î'n'xyûn 43 tsi'il'te 40 Lhmayân'â. 74 ul wân 29 waa'tx 45 hitcu'â 23
want it arrow with killed he shall be. Then finally say (pl.) people,
kîn'k'ya'â 46 ni'cta 47 te 43 ta'. 48 S'ata 3 t'î'na'â. 49 ul wân 29
it will be gone and seen how this lives. Thus he will be Then now
invited.
q'a'te'ntx 50 kîn'k't'îw. 51 ul wân 29 li'li'li'li'xam. 52 li'û'n. 53
go (pl.) searchers. Then now he is approached. He got there.

"Klah'yû'naux 54 a'ltwa'wanx 55 hûtcu'âSte 56 Llayântcê 17 57 Kumi'nte 58
"Invited art thou, also about thou fun to place to." Not
a'mhate 58 ha'. ul tca'xa'â 59 ul te'n ants 60 hîte. ul S'ats'i'te 61
willing his mind. So goes back and goes home that man. And thus
Lîwa'n. 62 "Kumi'nte 58 a'mhate 58 ha'. S'ats'i'te 61 Lîwa'n 62 ants 60
relates. "Not willing his mind." Thus relates that
hîte. Ya'a'xa' 19 hûtcu'â 63 lâ'lä 4 ants 60 S'mu'n'âwi 64 ul waa'xam 65
man. Much fun they (of) that assembly. Then is told
ants 60 S'â 66 q'a'te'ntux. 67 "Kumi'nteinl 68 ana'xyûn. 69 A'ts 70
that who go will. "Not we give it up will. When
xa'itéêx 71 uln 72 ana'xyûn. 73 A'ts'i'te 73 li'ô'n'i'lxan'ê. 74
he die will, then we give it up will." Thus it is repeatedly said.

33 Particle of negation (§ 131).
39 zu'n - to die; -il negative (§§ 53, 8).
40 tê'li arrow (§ 98); - tc adverbial (§§ 94, 9, 12).
41 a'tsan thus (§ 121); -a 1st person singular (§ 21).
42 u'l then (§ 125); -a 1st person singular (§ 24); a'tsan in for that reason 1 (§ 125). Singular in-
stead of plural (§ 129). Should have been a'tsanu wanxan.
43 lâ'itä to desire (§ 4); -a 3rd direct object of third person (§§ 24, 28, 8).
44 li'zmal to kill; -aaw future passive (§§ 56, 8).
45 wa'aa to say; -la plural (§ 80).
46 kîn'k' to go and look; -aaw future passive (§§ 56, 8).
47 Particle (§ 131).
48 -l (}) to live, to reside; -a 1 verbalizing (§ 75).
49 tâ'lu to invite; -aaw future passive (§ 56).
50 qalcan to start, to go (§ 4); -le plural (§ 80).
51 kîn'k' to go and look; -lâ'â nominal (§ 90).
52 -tâ' to come, to approach (§§ 107, 112); -aaw present passive (§§ 55).
53 -tî to arrive, to come; -a 3rd direct object of third person (§§ 23, 10).
54 k'aa to invite; -a verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -aaw passive (§§ 55, 8); -nx 3rd person singular (§§ 24, 4).
55 Contrasted; for a'tsanu wanxan (§ 9); a'tdâ likewise (§§ 125, 135); -awawk intentional (§§ 70, 8); -nx
2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
56 hûtcu'â fun (§ 97); -âs locative case (§§ 80, 9); -lc local (§ 90).
57 L'â'â'â'â ground (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 80, 8); -lc local (§ 90).
58 a'mhâ willing; -lc possessive 3d person singular (§ 88).
59 caxa' to turn back; -i present (§§ 72, 2).
60 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
61 S'â'tun thûs (§ 121); -lc modal (§§ 94, 9).
62 li'ôn to relate (§ 112).
63 hûtc to play; -âs nominal (§ 97).
64 Tem'n to assemble; -âw nominal (§§ 97, 9).
65 waaw to speak, to say; -aaw present passive (§ 55).
66 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
67 qalcan to go (§ 4); -ék future (§ 73).
68 kûm'i'ntc not (§ 131); -n inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).
69 anza to give up; -yûn exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 122).
70 Temporal adverb (§ 128).
71 zâ'ta to dir; -lî future (§ 73).
72 u'l then (§ 125); -aîz inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).
73 a'tsa thus (§ 121); -lc modal (§§ 94, 9).
74 li'ôn to tell, to say; -îz frequentative (§ 68); -aaw passive (§ 58).
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Then finally is sent to that man. Very poor that man who is sent. "Well thou shalt tell him. Not thou what-like

"Hi' sanx78 L'wa'nisun78. Kwinx80 nicti'te81

"Si'n'xýut'-shalt tell him badly. Shalt tell him thou thus, "Desire

L'wa'nisun79 mi'k'la'na.82 L'wa'nísunánax83 s'ats'i'te,61

"Si'n'xýut'-shalt tell him badly. Shalt tell him thou thus, "Desire

Sanxan84 L'uutux85 ti'uts.86 Ts'i'k'lyanxan87 sin'xýun43 hütca'a.78

Very we want it fun shall be (bad).

Ats'i'te89 L'wa'nisun79 Kwinx80 L'wa'nisun79 mi'k'la'na.82

Thus thou shalt tell him. Not thou shall tell him badly.

Yà'xa'te90 ha', ts'i'k'lyà.9 tay wà'9 wà'nt71 ants60

Much his mind, very bad." So finally starts
tie. Winx ts'i'k'lyà.9 "L'wa'xan92 t'k'iu93 Lú'.9 "tay wà'79

man. He fears very. "Messenger I this I come." Then now

wilwa'.94 "Nicti'te95 L'wa'xan96 t'k'iu97 L'wà'xan."97—

he assents. "What-like thee told he-thee that (who) came?"—

"Kumi'nte98 nicti'te91 L'wà'xan99 Txûn99 L'lo'á'yutnà100 s'ats'i'te,61

"Not what-like he said. Just I am told
tie. s'loha'yu'n1.101 Ats'i'te102 L'lo'á'yuts,103 "Ts'i'k'lyanx104 sin'xýun43

'invited am I.' Thus me he tells he-me. 'Very they want it

\[8\] L'õ'x- TO SEND; -xam present passive (§§ 55, 4).

\[9\] Modal adverb (§§ 121, 94).

\[10\] be to be poor; - nominal (§ 104).

\[11\] His good; -a modal (§ 95); -áz 2d person singular (§ 24).

\[12\] L'õ'n- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -én direct object of third person (§ 24).

\[13\] kù'ís NOT (§ 131); -áz 2d person singular (§ 24).

\[14\] n'lei'á what (§ 131); -is modal (§§ 94, 9).

\[15\] mi'k'ìá bad (§ 96); -áa modal (§ 94).

\[16\] L'õ'n- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -áå direct object of third person (§ 25); -áz 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

\[17\] sánz- to desire; -átsanx direct object of first and second persons we-thee (§§ 20, 8, and Table, p. 473).

\[18\] L'õ'- TO COME; -tá future (§ 73).

\[19\] Local adverb (§ 119).

\[20\] ts'i'k'lyà very (§ 121); -ñzam exclusive plural (§ 24).

\[21\] há're to play, to have fun; -áz future passive (§ 56).

\[22\] ats'i'té thus (§§ 121, 94); -áz 2nd person singular (§ 24, 4).

\[23\] yá'z'áai much (§ 121); -is possessive 3rd person singular (§ 88).

\[24\] qaca- to start (§ 4); -á present (§ 72).

\[25\] Contracted; for L'õ'waxaxan (§ 24); L'õ'x- TO SEND (§ 112); -áz nominal (§ 161); -á 1st person singular (§ 24, 4).

\[26\] ñzax this (§ 115); -ñ 1st person singular (§ 24, 4).

\[27\] ats'i'té to affirm, to agree, to assert; -át verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

\[28\] n'li'c'ca what (§ 131); -is modal (§§ 94, 9); -áå 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

\[29\] u-wà- TO SAY; -áz past (§ 74); -ás directed object of first and second persons (§ 29).

\[30\] L'õ'- TO COME; -áz past (§ 74).

\[31\] u-wà- TO SAY; -át negative (§§ 55, 9).

\[32\] t'ìl'í just (§ 130); -ñ 1st person singular (§ 24).

\[33\] L'õ'n- TO TELL; -áå verbalizing (§ 75); -áhil passive (§§ 58, 8).

\[34\] k'á'; to invite; -áå verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); -éñanimated passive (§§ 58, 8); -ñ 1st person singular (§ 24).

\[35\] ats'i'té thus (§§ 121, 94); -ñ 1st person singular (§ 24, 4).

\[36\] L'õ'n- TO TELL; -áå verbalizing (§ 75); -áå directed object of first and second persons (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 459).

\[37\] ts'i'k'lyà very (§ 121); -áz 3d person plural (§ 24).
Liw'a'wax. 105 S'atsi'tein. 106 L'wa'x 107 tā'kin 93 liū'. 109 S'atsi'te 61
intend to come. Thus I messenger this I come.'" Thus
waa', 108 'Te'qin 100 waxa'ūnē 110 tā'kin 93 k'laha'yū'ne?" 111—he
he says. "Something I be given this I (who) am invited?" —
"Kumīn'nte 28 nictel'te 61 wa'a'thinē. 112 Txū 113 wān7 hūte'n 114
that is said. Just now have fun
"Not anything
L'â'af. 4 S'a'ę'sa' tanx 115 s'în'xüyūne 110 li'ütūx. 115 — "S'atsi'te 6nx 117
many. Thus this thou art wanted come shall." — "Thus thou
Liw'a'nis, 118 S'înxit 119 tāq'a'na. 120 At'a 70 te'q 128 waxa'yexayi'm, 121 ul
shalt tell, 'He wants something. When something be given to him, then
wān 29 li'ütūx. 85 S'atsi'te 6nx 117 waxa'yūts." 122
finally he come will.' Thus thee tells he-thee.'

ul S'atsi'te 61 waa' ants 80 a'liq 123 hîte. "Txū 113 yā'a'xə'te 90
Thus then says that one man. 'Just much his
hāl. S'atsi'te 61 s'în'xya, 124 n'èc'tim 125 S'as 16 k'la'ya'yūn 126 te' 33
mind. Thus he desires, because he kills these
hîte. A'tsa ul 28 yâ'a'xə'lte 90 hāl. 1. At'si'te 72 waa' ants 60 hîte.
people. That's why much his mind." Thus says that man.

A'tsi'te 73 waa'xam, 65 'Meq'ëna'a. 127 Huya'áltx 128 hāl. Ts'i'k'ya 3
"Thus he is told, 'It will be danced for him. Changed his mind. Very
planya'tl'yūn 129 hâ'te. 130 S'atsi'te 61 waa'. 108 'At's 70 te'q 120
sorry continually for him mind his.' Thus he says. "When something
wā'xyaxa'āmp, 131 ul li'ütūx." 85 S'atsi'tein 106 waxa'č's. 133
be given to him, then he come will.' Thus me tells he-me.'

105 liv'- to come; -wait intentional (§§ 70, 8).
106 S'atsi'te thus (§§ 121, 94); -1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
107 Contracted; for L'wa'xax (§ 24); L'ox- to send (§ 112); -ač nominal (§ 101).
108 wax- to say; -ač verbalizing (§§ 75, 9).
109 x'y nominal particle (§ 123); -1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
110 waa'- to give; -ač passive (§ 28).
111 k'te'- to invite (§ 8); -ač verbalizing (§ 75); -ač passive (§§ 58, 8).
112 wax- to say; -ač passive (§ 58).
113 Restrictive particle (§ 130).
114 hâ'te- to have fun; -ač plural (§ 79).
115 ṭeq this (§ 115); -2d person singular (§§ 24, 16).
116 sinz- to desire; -ač passive (§§ 58, 5).
117 S'atsi'te thus (§§ 121, 94); -2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
118 ṭe'n- to relate; -ač active (§ 69).
119 sinz- to desire; -ač verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -ač present (§ 72).
120 Pronominal particle (§ 123).
121 Mis-heard for wā'xyaxa'āmp; wax- to give; -yâx past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 135); -ač passive (§ 38).
122 wax- to say; -ač verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -ač direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 466, § 8).
123 Numerals (§ 116).
124 sinz- to desire (§§ 112, 8).
125 Particle (§ 128).
126 k'te'- to disappear; -ač verbalizing (§ 75); -ač direct object of third person (§§ 25, 8).
127 ṭeq- to dance; -ač verbal (§§ 81, 2); -ač passive (§ 56).
128 hye-yu- to change; -ač passive (§ 39).
129 Contracted; for planya'tl'yūn; -s'ha- to be sorry (§ 112); -ač verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -ač frequentative (§ 68); -ač direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
130 hāl- mind, heart (§ 95); -ač possessive 3d person singular (§§ 88, 139).
131 wax- to give; -yâx past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 135); -ač passive (§ 38).
132 wax- to say; -ač direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 466).
Then now starts that man again. “Thus thou wā'n'sūn. 124 ‘Waxa’yimanx 133 qan’i’nal.’ A tsāt’cēnx 99 Lōma’yūn. 136 shalt tell him. ‘Is given to thee knife.’ Thus thou tell him. ‘Li’mqanx 137 qa’t’cēntūx, 67 klaha’yū’nānx. 54 Hūtecu’wi14 L’al’al4 Quick thou start shalt, invited art thou. Play many yā’n’xa. 19 Sī’n’xyū’nānx 138 Li’tūtx. 76 A t’sāt’cēnx 99 Lōma’yūn. 136 much. Wanted art thou come shall.” Thus thou tell him.”

Know it I what-like say to him, and right away qa’t’cēntūx. 73’ 67 Ul wan29 qa’t’cēnt91 ants 60 hite. “Qna’han 141 wā’yūn. 142 he start will.” Then now goes that man. “I wāa’yūn, 142 Ul hi’nak! 144 qa’t’cēntūx. 73’ 67 say to him, and right away he start will.”

A t’sāt’cē 73 cī’n’xyat’lya 139 ants 90 hite. Ul xint ul Li’u’. Li’ul’un. 53 Thus thinks continually that man. So he goes and arrives. He comes to him. “L”wā’a’xan 93 tā’k’in 93 Li’u’. Tīs’k’lyanx 145 sī’n’xyū’nē 146 Līwa’wax. 105 “Messenger I this I come. Very thou art wanted intend to come. Kū’ yā’tsac L’al’147 ul smū’t’cēnx 148 ants 60 L’al’al4 hūtecu’u. 83 Pretty soon then end will that big fun.

A t’sāt’cēn 102 wāa’yūn’tē. 149 Nā’mēlīnx 150 te’q. 129 Nīctei’tc’nx 95 Thus I am told. Mine thou relative. What manner thou
tanx 115 kū 151 a’mbha’ti 152 ha1?7 A t’sāt’cē 73 wāa’añ. 153 “Ya.”- this thou not willing (th) mind?” Thus he says to him. “Much xa’lt’xan 154 ha. 15 S’a’tsan 155 te’33 kumi’n’te 38 a’mbha’ti 152 ha. Txūn99 (think in my) mind. Thus I this not willing (my) mind. Just I

131 Temporal particle (§ 136).
132 wāa’-to say; -ats durative (§§ 69, 9); -ān direct object of third person (§ 28).
133 wāa’-to give; -at verbalizing (§ 75); -ānE passive (§§ 58, 8); -nā 2d person singular (§ 24).
134 Lōma’ to relate; -at verbalizing (§ 75); -ān direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
135 L’ama right away (§§ 120, 96); -nā 2d person singular (§ 24).
136 sīn’-to desire; -ānE passive (§§ 58, 8); -nā 2d person singular (§ 24).
137 sīn’-to think (§ 4); -atī frequentative (§§ 68, 8, 7).
138 Lōma’-to send; -nā future passive (§ 56).
139 q- discriminative (§ 21); na’han personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).
140 wāa’-to say; -at verbalizing (§ 75); -ān direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
141 Lōma’-to know; -at verbalizing (§§ 76, 9); -ān direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
142 Temporal adverb (§ 120).
143 Lēk’lya very (§§ 121, 96); -nā 2d person singular (§ 24).
144 sīn’-to desire (§ 4); -ānE passive (§§ 58, 8).
145 Temporal adverb (§ 120).
146 sīn’-to end, to finish; -ānx future (§§ 73, 4).
147 wāa’-to say; -at verbalizing (§ 75); -ānE passive (§§ 58, 8).
148 Contracted; for na’mi’Hun’nx (§ 15); -mā (§ 113); -enl relative (§§ 87, 9); -In possessive 1st singular (§ 88); -nā 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
149 Particle of negation (§ 131).
150 a’mbha willing; -atī possessive (§§ 88, 9).
151 wāa’-to say; -atsī direct object of third person (§ 28).
152 yā’-atī much (§ 121); -te suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
153 sīn’-thus (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).
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Lóx'a'xam. 75 S'atsi'te 61 náts, 182 kú 151 náts, 182 ná 178 ló'xyaxan'e. 183
am sent. Thus if not, not conditional I had been sent.

Qa'te'ntúnx 184 wán? 29 — "Qa'te'ntútxan, 185 Hi'sañx 78 nánisúts 186
Start wilt thou • now?" — "Go will I. Well thou shall watch
quitxés. 187 S'atsi'te 61 waa'a'n, 183 "Ha! 179 Atsí'teín 188 hái.
thou." Thus he tells him. "All right! Thus my mind.

Kumi'nte 38 kú'ná 156 te'q 120 mi'k'a'na 82 te 33 húte'nú 63 La'ai, 14
Not perhaps something bad-ly this fun big." —
"Ha, 179 qa'te'ntútxan 185 wán. 29 Kumi'nte 38 wán 29 te'q. 120 xán-
"Yes, start will I now." Not now something, die
xútxan. 189 S'atsi'te 61 waa' 108 ul hi'q'la't. 190 "Kumi'nte 28 kú'ná 156
if will I." Thus he says and starts. "Not perhaps
wán 29 S'atsi'te. 61 Qa'te'ntúnx? 184 Atsí'te. 73 waa'a'n. 183 "Tsí'k-
man on thinking that then fetcher. Thus he thinks continually.
Qa'te'ntá'x. 195 wán. 29 Liwí'tc'ax 196 wán 29 xint. "la'q*x 167 S'atsí'te 61
Go they two now. "Approach, man now go. So they two thus
waa'xam. 65 "Xumea'cun'x 198 wán. 29 Hína'yún 199 wán 29 te 33 mi'k'a
are told. "Come they two now. He brings him now this bad
hite," Tel'ha'cyc'ya'xam 200 wán. 29 Wán 29 te'n. Ti'ent'ma'xam 201 wán. 29
man." Gladness was felt now. Finally he is assembled about now.
returns.

"Tsí'k'lyanx 145 his tanx 145 Lüü, ts'il min't. Hú'te'túni 202 yú'a'x. 293
Very then good this thou comest, friend. Play will we much."
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Atsi'te73 wa'a' ants60 hitc. Temũ'tx22 hitcn'23 ants60 La'â114 Wa124
Thus says that man. Assemble (pl.) people those many. Although
ya'x119 ants60 hitc. ust ha' mût205 qatent91 sqâk2tën21206 ants60 La'â114
many those people, still all go now there to, manner, that crowd.
La'âsüème207 ants60 hitc. "Tsikly3 hís tanx115 Lû'. Ya'xanxan208
Is called that man. "Very good this thou comest. Much we
temporarily hûtc'.209 Hû'tëtëns.7210 " Ya'x119 S'atsi'te61 wa'a' ants60 hitc.
have fun. Play will we two." — "All right!" Thus says that man.
"Ya'q'bitûnx, 211 kwînx58 u'sis.212 Ya'xanxan208 hûtêc'.209 Atsi'tê73
"Look shalt thou, not thou shalt sleep. Much we play." Thus is
waa'sâ'213 ants60 hitc. Wâ'nwits2 ha'wa.214 S'nîxyu'ne146
repeatedly told that man. Long ago it is ready. It is desired
tsîlna'tê215 xawa'â',27 u'stûxax.216 Atsi'te73 ha'ušâme.217 "Tsîlmût, pitch with
kwînx58 u'sis.212 Hû'tëtëns.7210 Atsi'tê73 wa'a'sû'ne.218 "S'atsi'te162
not thou sleep continually. Play will we two." Thus he is repeatedly told. "Thus thou
Tanx115 kûhâ'yu'ne.218 S'atsi'te61 waa'sû'ne.219 "Ya'x119 La'â4
this thou art invited." Thus he is told continually. "Many they
nîtceama'natû'223 ants59 iûyû'221 wî222 hûtêc'224 Klixt223 tê'129 hûtêc1224
different those inhabitants games. Each something
u' fûnx225 yîxa'yûn.226 S'atsanx162 tanx115 kûhâ'yu'ne.111 Tsikly-
and thou seest it. Thus thou this thou art invited. Very
anxan57 hi'siti227 ha'. Kûmîntc58 tê'120 mu'k'la'âna.782 Atsi'tê73
we good is (our) heart. Not something badly." Thus
wa'a'sû'ne.212 Tê'nta'228 hîwa',229 u' atsi'tê73 waa'yû'se.230
he is repeatedly told. Whatever person comes, so thus he frequently was
told (by him).

223 Particle (§128).
220 Numerical particle (§124).
221 sqâk'żeère (§119); -û local of motion (§90); -tê modal (§94).
219 in- to call by name; -âsinâe durative passive (§59).
216 ya-àx; much; -à modal (§96); -mân exclusive plural (§24).
217 hûté to play, to have fun; -âî verbalizing (§75).
216 Contracted; for hûtê'sûnê (§24); hûtê to play; -âîe future (§73); -âîs inclusive dual (§§24, 4).
215 Contracted; for ya'p'huuthûnê (§24); ya' to look (§3); -â verbalizing (§75, 2); -âê future (§73); -âê 2d person singular (§§24, 4).
214 as- to sleep (§12); -ûâe durative (§69).
213 wa'-to say; -âsânâe durative passive (§§59, 9).
212 hûtè to make, to have ready (§112).
211 tsâîn pitch; -a locative case (§§86, 12); -tê adverbial (§90).
210 as- to sleep (§12); -âê future denoting conditionality (§§73, 136); -âe nominal (§301).
209 âûs yes (§152); -âsê durative (§§69, 9); -ûmê passive (§55).
208 hû'te' to invite; (§8); -âî verbalizing (§75); -ûmê passive (§§58, 8).
207 u's to speak; -âsânâe durative passive (§§59, 9).
206 nîtceama'natû different; -ûî plural (§79).
205 ta'- to live (§2); -ûî nominal (§§97, 8).
204 hûtè to play, to have fun; -âûî nominal (§97).
203 Numerical particle (§124).
202 hûtè to have fun; -âûî nominal (§98).
201 u' then (§125); -û 2d person singular (§§21, 4).
200 ya'z to see (§12); -âî verbalizing (§75); -âû object of third person (§§28, 8).
200 His good; -ûû possessive (§88).
200 Pronoun particle (§123).
200 Analogous to come; -âî verbalizing (§75, 8).
200 wa'- to say; -âî verbalizing (§75); -âmâe durative passive (§§59, 8).
Thus tell come, There that fun xni'^nis.232 man. Alongside house. these Finally good that intend He there that he fire keeps play, "Here I. Much There thus fun he Fire Close looks I invite house, ta'qnis Wan^238 BOAS"] "Tsik'nya 3 his tanx115 Luu', ts'il'mu't. Wal204 ya'tsa231 ants60 "Very good this thou come, friend. Although long time that L'afal4 ut xni'nis.232 Ya'q'hiritux."211 ul satsi'te61 wa'a'si'ne,213 crowd, still does continually. Look shalt thou." Then thus he is told repeatedly. "S'a'tsanxan233 klahay'uts.234 Ya'a'xa119 huitcu11163 W'an20 hina'a225 Thus we invite we-thee. Much fun." Finally he taken will be telk236 ants60 hute'u163 L'afal4 Squal237 hina'a225 Ma'tceu'ne238 where that fun great. There he taken will be. ants60 hitsi'1239 Wal204 yikt240 ants60 hitsi'1239 ul t'a'qnis that house. Although big that house, still full hitu'stc.241 Stim242 ya'q'ha't243 ants60 hite. "T'k'nxan244 these we play, these we invite we-thee man. "Here we ta'nxan245 hute'u1209 ta'nxan245 klahay'uts244 qua.167 Ha'il'qmas246 these we tell we-thee I." Alongside ti'xan247 Liya'wate.248 Q'alti249 ants60 Liya'na249.247 "Yaxa'nti250 ma'tceu'ne238 ants60 hitsi1239 "Kwinx6 a'wis212 ts'il'mu't. Atsi'te73 Fire is built (in) that house. "Not thou always sleep, friend. Thus ta'nxan245 wau'yluts122 qua167 Liya'wanx.12252 Ti'xam477 Ha'il'qmas179 tsik'lyan253 these we tell we-thee I intend to come thou.119 "All right! very I hi'siti227 ha'. Yaq'yu'wanx254 hute'u'stc56 Laya'.255 Atsi'te73 wa'a's256 good (my) mind. Intend to look I fun at greatat." Thus says continually ants60 hite. Ha'il'qmas246 ti'xam247 Liya'wa257 Ya'q'hi'si'ne258 that man. Close by he is seated fire. He is continually watched.

211 Temporal adverb (§120).
212 *ta-nu- to do; -ts durative (§60).
213 *ts'il'en- thus (§§121, 96); -tsa exclusive plural (§24).
214 *ku'- to invite (§3); -at verbalizing (§75); -ats direct object of first and second persons (§29, Table, p.480, §8).
215 A material to take along; -au future passive (§56).
216 Particle (§131).
217 Local adverb (§119).
218 ma'la- to burn: -un passive (§58).
219 See §98.
220 See §104.
221 Hitu's possessive form of hitu (§86); -te adverbial (§90).
222 Local adverb (§119).
223 Ya'a'- to look (§3); -at verbalizing (§§75, 9); -at present (§72).
224 Hii here (§118); -tsa exclusive plural (§§24, 4).
225 Hii this (§115); -tsa exclusive plural (§§24, 16).
226 Local adverb (§119).
227 *ku to sit (§2); -similar present passive (§55).
228 *Liya'am fire (§97); -a locative case (§§86, 8); -te locative (§90).
229 See §97.
230 *pa= many; -awi nominal (§97); -te modal (§§94, 9).
231 Ya'a'- to look (§3); -a'u verbalizing (§75); -a present (§72); -a direct object of third person (§28).
232 Contracted from Liya'amawan (§24); Luu'- to come; -awaz intentional (§§70, 8); -ns 2d person singular (§§24, 4).
233 *tsik'nya very (§121); -n 1st person singular (§24).
234 Ya'a'- to look (§3); -a'u intentional (§§70, 8); -n 1st person singular (§§24, 4).
235 *liya'am participle (§135); -a locative case (§§86, 8).
236 *wa=a- to say; -a's durative (§§69, 9).
237 *Liya'am fire (§97); -a locative case (§§88, 8).
238 Ya'a'- to look (§3); -a'u'se durative passive (§§99, 9).
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

Wusya'a'ist\[259\] ants\[60\] m'kla hite. Llilwi'sütnem\[260\] wän,\[29\] "Kwínx\[80\] Begins to feel that bad man. He is continually now. "Not thou approached

\[a'\]sís,\[212\] ya'q'his\[enx\].\[261\] A'tsanxan\[262\] ta'nxan\[245\] wa'nyüts\[122\] always, always look thou. Thus we these we tell we-thee

Liwa'wanx.\[252\] Kwínx\[80\] a'\[sís,\[212\] ya'q'his\[enx\].\[261\] A'tsi'te\[73\] intend to come thou. Not thou always sleep, watch always thou. Thus
tanx.\[115\] k'la'hayü'ne.\[111\] Hi'kí'sxanxan\[263\] hawa'\[itx\]\[264\] ha'i.\[36\] "Wusya'a'ist\[259\] this thou art invited. Good we make our heart. "Begins to feel sleepy

S'aa'na'te\[267\] xawa'a'\[27\] L'wis'\[enx\]\[268\] ants\[60\] meq'lýu'\[269\] L'la'al.\[4\] That with that bad man. He is constantly watched. Is made ready for him that pitch.

S'a'tsa\[3\] xawa'a'\[27\] Wusya'a'ist\[259\] wän.\[29\] A'tsi'te\[73\] wä'a'sütnem.\[219\] Thus killed he will be. He begins to sleep finally. Thus he is constantly told,

c'i'lxisütnem.\[275\] "Ha'q'alta'ca,\[270\] milte'ximínx.\[271\] Tch'a'císütnem.\[274\] many. He sleeps. "Shore-like from, mayest get burned Gladness is constantly felt.

Wusya'a'ist\[259\] wän.\[29\] A'tsi'te\[73\] wä'a'sütnem.\[219\] Thus killed he will be. He begins to sleep finally. Thus he is constantly told,

c'i'lxisütnem.\[275\] "Ha'q'alta'ca,\[270\] milte'ximínx.\[271\] Kúi\[151\] c'i'lxi.\[276\] he is shaken constantly. "Shore-like from, mayest get burned Not he moves not.

L'wän\[26\] qa'x'am\[277\] ants\[60\] L'liyaxa\[iw\]\[273\] ts'lahn. Meq'lýu'\[269\] So finally is brought in that boiled pitch. Dance (pl).

L'la'al.\[4\] "Ha'q'alta'ca\[270\] ts'íl'mút.'\[24\] Kúi\[151\] kwi'si,\[279\] ts'ík'ya\[3\] many. "Shore-like from friend." Not wakes up not, very

a'\[sís.'\[273\] A'tsi'te\[73\] wa'. "A'nxa'utsateï.\[280\] L'liyaxa'\[waxan\[281\] a'sa'wax."\[232\] he sleeps. Thus he says. "Leave alone you-me. A while intend I sleep intend."

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259 uswil- to feel sleepy; -ai verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66).
260 Lë- to approach (§ 107); -tsëtnë durative passive (§§ 59, 8).
261 yaap- 'to look (§ 3); -sä durative (§ 60); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
262 a'tsä thus (§ 121); -nxz exclusive plural (§ 24).
263 miü is good; -nxz exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).
264 ha'- to make; -ätz suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§§ 33, 8).
265 See § 93.
266 ha'a' ready, done; -ïne passive (§ 38).
267 s'ä'ata'ne ha, that one (§ 115); -de adverbial (§ 90).
268 e'tu- to approach; -tsëtnë durative passive (§§ 59, 8).
269 maq'il- to dance; -ïme nominal (§§ 97, 8).
270 ha'q' shore (§ 119); -sâe modal (§ 94); -ya local (§ 93).
271 malie- to burn (§ 12); -imë intransitive exhortative (§ 63); -t future passive (§§ 56, 9); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).
272 uswil- to feel sleepy; -ai verbalizing (§§ 75), -st inchoative (§ 66); -nx 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
273 uswil- to sleep (§ 12, 105).
274 te'chaw- to be glad (§ 12); -tsëtnë durative passive (§ 58).
275 cil- to shake, to move; -tsëtnë durative passive (§ 58).
276 cil- to move, to shake; -ïl negative (§ 53).
277 qa- to enter; -xam present passive (§ 55).
278 Lë- to boil (§§ 112, 7); -ä'si nominal (§§ 97, 9).
279 kwis- to wake up; -ïl negative (§ 53).
280 anz- to let alone; -sto'teï direct object of first and second persons you-me (§ 29, Table, p. 473, and §§ 24, 4).
281 l'liyaxa- a while (§§ 126, 133); -awaax intentional (§ 70); -nx 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
282 uswil- to sleep (§ 12); -awaax intentional (§ 70).
HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LANGUAGES—SIUSLAWAN

Then now it was thought: "Let now he sleep shall."

Boils continually that pitch boiled. Thus it is said, "Let

now he sleep shall. Shore, manner, from, friend."

Not he moves not. Then

now he snores.

Thus: "Let him will we. He us kills he-us, so

he watched constantly.

thus we kill will him."

Is seized now that boiled (pitch).

"He boiling, Vol. 7, p. 289. u1

Get up will he, then just ax with killed he will be. And now he snores.

Open his mouth he snores. Then finally quit (pl.) people. Very

he is watched

"Kill him will we.

so

those many. He only that

one)

Is changed on him his

"He boiling, Vol. 7, p. 289. u1

Get up will he, then just ax with killed he will be. And now he snores.

Open his mouth he snores. Then finally quit (pl.) people. Very

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Get up will he, then just ax with killed he will be. And now he snores.

Open his mouth he snores. Then finally quit (pl.) people. Very

he is watched constantly.
ha’sa’tsa. S’a’tsa^3 ants^60 meqlyu’u^269 la’d’i. u’t wan^29 skwaha’. mind thus. Thus those dance (pl.) many. Then finally he stands up. Lokw’ixa’m^2 87 ants^60 l’iyaxa^6’wi.^278 u’t stim^242 skwaha’^6’wi. la’i^4 Is seized that boiled (pitch). And there stand (pl.) many ha’mut^205 ants^60 stemit’i’m ya. la204 yua’x^19 te’q,^120 u’t all those axes with (aro). Although much something, still pi’ume.^303 u’t kumi’nte^38 kw’i’sil.^279 “Qwa’nyux^307 tema’^306 noise is made with it. Still not he wakes up not. “Pour it is better.

Lya’te’i.^309 u’t wan^29 q’u’i’xa’amime.^310 L’axi^113 mi’lctistx^311 L’a’. mouth into.” So now it is poured into (his mouth).

Stim^242 l’a’d’i^4 ma’q’li. Mi’lctist^313 ants^60 hitc. Mi’lctistx^311 There many keep on dancing. Begins to burn that man. Begins to burn his hair. Stim^242 h’q’u. wan^29 yak’h’teyaxam^314 xwa’kato^315 all hair. There finally was cut into pieces head his tcimtc’a’myatc.^290 Stim^242 tq’u’n^316 ants^60 mi’k’la hitc. Xa’uwi’y^316 ax with. There diffuses smoke that bad man. Killed

xamyax^317 te’38 mi’k’la hitc. This was bad person.

Sqa’k^237 wan^29 ata’^301 hawa’t. Kui^121 nats^182 s’a’tsa^3 There now only it ends. Not if thus xa’wa’x^319 nats^182 tsi’k’ly^33 mi’k’la Y’a’d’i. S’a’tsa^3 he had been killed, then conditional very bad world. Thus xa’uwi’yxamyax^317 mi’k’la hitc. S’atsi’tx^61 wan^29 ata’^301 was killed bad man. Thus finally only wu’nwi’tsaxa^320 nite’mima’mu. Sqa’k^237 wan^29 smit’u’i. old-timers (of) custom. There finally it ends.

263 skwa’- to stand (§§ 3, 112).
264 skwa’- to stand (§ 3); -a’wet plural (§ 79).
265 stemit’i’mi ax (§ 100); -a locative case (§§ 86, 12, 8).
266 pi’u- to make noise; -ume passive (§§ 38, 9).
267 q’u- to pour (§§ 7, 112); -yu’s imperative with indirect object of third person (§ 43).
268 Exhortative particle (§ 129).
269 Lyaya’ locative form of l’a’ mouth (§ 86); -c local (§ 90).
270 q’u- to pour; -t (a’i) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -am present passive (§ 55); -ine passive (§ 38).
271 Contracted from mi’lctist^16 x (§ 15); mi’lctistx- to burn (§ 5); -st inchoative (§§ 66, 4); -te suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).
272 meqly’s- to dance; -te durative (§§ 60, 9).
273 malte’- to burn (§ 3); -st inchoative (§§ 66, 4).
274 Contracted from yak’h’teyaxam (§ 15); yu’i- small; -lc modal (§ 94); -yaz past (§ 74); -xam present passive (§§ 55, 57).
275 xwa’u head; -lc possessive 3d singular (§ 88).
276 tcimtc’a smoke (§ 95); -te durative (§§ 60, 9).
277 xun’- to die; -at verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 8, 11); -xamyax past passive (§ 57).
278 had- to end, to finish; -a’y verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).
279 Evidently for xu’ayaxan; xun’- to die; -yaz past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 130); -a’ime passive (§ 68).
280 xan’uw’u’is long ago (§ 120); -ex nominal (§§ 101, 108).
281 See § 163.
282 smut’- to end, to finish (§ 12); -st verbalizing (§ 76).
(It happened) long ago. The world was very bad long ago. Everywhere it was so, and this was the cause of it: A bad person was devouring (the people). Grizzly Bear was devouring them long ago. Whenever a man went out hunting, he would kill and devour him. Many people felt sorry because of that. So one day the people came together and tried to devise some remedy. (They all agreed that Grizzly) must be killed. For that reason they came together. Then the chiefs of that region said, "We feel very sorry, but how are we going to kill him? He can not be killed by means of arrows: hence we don't want to kill him with an arrow." Then finally someone suggested to go and see how Grizzly lived, and to invite him (to come to the meeting-place). So one man went in search of him. And (when the messenger) came to Grizzly's residence, (he said,) "You, too, are invited to come to the play-grounds." But Grizzly Bear was not willing to go: hence the messenger went back, and, upon returning, related thus: "He does not want (to come)." (In the mean while) the people who had assembled had lots of fun. (Then after a while another messenger was sent), and the man who was about to go was told thus: "We won't give up. When he is dead, then we will give up." Thus it was repeatedly asserted.

Then finally the man was ordered to go. He was a very poor man. "Speak to him carefully, don't tell him anything bad. Tell him thus: 'We want you to come here. We are going to have lots of fun.' Thus you shall tell him. Don't tell him anything bad. He is shrewd and very bad." Then that man started out, thinking (a great deal) to himself, for he was very much afraid (of Grizzly). (And when he came to Grizzly, he said,) "I come here as a messenger." (He then told him his mission and departed. Not long afterwards Grizzly's friends came to visit him and inquired about the messenger's mission). One of them said, "What did the man tell you who came (here)?"—"He said nothing (of importance). I was simply informed that I am invited (to some games). Thus he told me: 'People want you to come very much. For that purpose I came here as a messenger.'" (After a while another messenger was sent to Grizzly, requesting him to come at once.) Then (Grizzly) said thus (to the messenger): "Will anything be given to me, if I come?"—"Nothing was said (about that). People
are just playing, and that's why you are invited to come." (Then Grizzly said), "You tell them thus: 'He wants something. If something be given to him, then he will come.' Thus he says to you."

(The messenger went back to his people and told them what Grizzly said). And he (furthermore) said, "He is shrewd. He thinks (of not coming), because he has killed (so many) people. That's why he is shrewd." Thus the messenger said. "He was (evidently) told (by some friend) that a dance had been arranged for the purpose of changing his (mean) disposition, and that everybody dislikes him. That's why he replied, 'If something be given to him, then he will come.' That's why he told me (so)."

Then another messenger went to Grizzly. "You tell him thus: 'A knife will be given to you.' Thus tell him. 'You shall start right away, you are invited to come. Many people are playing (there), and it is desirable that you should come.' Thus you tell him." And that messenger kept on thinking, "I will speak to him. I know what to tell him, so that he will start right away." Then the messenger started. "I will speak to him, and he will start right away." Thus he was thinking as he kept on going. Finally he came to (Grizzly, and said), "A messenger I come. You are wanted very much. Pretty soon the games will come to an end, and for that reason I was told (to come here). You are my relative. Why don't you want to go?" And (Grizzly) answered him thus: "I am wise, that's why I don't want to go. It seems to me that I am simply wanted (there) to be killed. That's why I am wise."—"Not so, they want you to see (the fun). For that purpose (only) you are wanted. Their intentions toward you are good. A present will be given to you. For that reason you are invited. You are my relative, hence I (came to) fetch you. That's why I came quickly. A knife will be given to you, because you are invited. I came right away, since you are my relative. The reason why I came to you is because I want you to have some fun. That's why I came to you. I don't think that anything bad will happen to you. That's why I was sent." (And Grizzly answered,) "Yes, you are a bad man. They want to kill me, that's why I don't want (to go)."—"I don't think (it will be) thus. (Not) for that purpose I was sent. If it were as you say, I should not have been sent. Will you go now?"—"I shall go. You will have to take
good care of me.” And (the messenger) said thus to (Grizzly): “All right, I don’t think that anything bad will happen (to you) on the part of those who play (there).”—“All right, I will go. I don’t care, even if I die.” Thus said (Grizzly) as he started. “I don’t think (it will be) as (bad as you imagine). Are you coming?” Thus said (the messenger) to him. “I should very much like to have you, too, at these games.” Finally (Grizzly) said, “I will go.” So he started. And the man who came to fetch him was thinking continually. He was thinking thus.

Now they two kept on going; and when they were almost there, the two (chiefs) were told, “They two are coming. He is bringing that bad man.” So everybody was glad; and when he arrived, people assembled about him. “It’s very good that you came, O friend! We shall have a great deal of fun.” Thus everybody said (to him). Many people assembled (around him). Although there were many of them, still they all went there (to Grizzly), shouting, “It’s very good that you came. We will play a great deal. We two will play.” (Then Grizzly would say,) “All right.”—“You shall watch (us). You sha’n’t sleep. We will play a great deal.” Thus he was constantly told. (Everything) had been made ready long ago. It had been decided to kill him with pitch during his sleep. Thus it had been agreed upon. “Friend, don’t sleep! we two will play.” Thus people kept on telling him. “For that reason you were invited.” Thus he was told. “People who live here know different kinds of games, and you will witness all kinds of fun. For that purpose you have been invited. We are well disposed (towards you). No mishap will befall you.” Thus he was constantly told. Whoever came in would tell him thus. “It’s very good that you came, O friend! You will see, they will play for a long time.” And he would (also) be told, “That’s why we invited you. There is going to be a great deal of fun.”

At last he was taken to the play-grounds. A fire was started in the house, which, although very large, was nevertheless full of people. Grizzly Bear was looking there. “Here we play, those who have invited you.” He was seated near the fire, which consisted of pitch. “It seems to me I see (too) many people.” Thus Grizzly was thinking. And the fire in the house kept burning. “Don’t sleep, O friend! (Not) for that purpose we asked you to come (here).”—“All
right! I am glad. I intend to watch the fun.” Thus Grizzly was saying, seated close to the fire. He was constantly watched.

(After a while) he began to feel sleepy. Then people kept on approaching him, (saying,) “Don’t sleep, look on! For that purpose we invited you. We have abandoned all our hatred.” (Again) he began to feel sleepy, (and again) he was constantly watched. The pitch with which he was going to be killed was made ready; while many dancers went to him, (saying,) “Move away from the fire, you may get burned, friend!” Thus they were telling him. “Don’t sleep, friend!”—“I feel sleepy.” People kept on dancing, while he began to fall asleep. “Move away from the fire, you may get burned!” Everybody was glad, because he was going to be killed. At last he began to sleep. Then people kept on shaking him, saying to him thus: “Move away from the fire, you may get burned!” But he did not move. So the boiling pitch was brought in, while the people kept on dancing (and saying), “Move away from the fire, friend!” But he did not get up. He was very sleepy, and (merely) said, “Leave me alone! I intend to sleep a while.” So the people thought thus: “Let him sleep.” And while the pitch kept on boiling, they said, “Let him sleep. Move away from the fire, O friend!” But he did not move, and (soon) commenced to snore.

Then people took hold of all kinds of things. They seized axes, (because it had been decided that as soon as) he should wake up, they would kill him with an ax. He was snoring, keeping his mouth wide open. Then the people got ready. They watched him closely. “We will kill him, because he has killed (so many of) us.” Then the boiling pitch was seized, (and one man shouted,) “Move away from the fire, friend, you may get burned!” But he did not move. Then they held the boiling pitch over his head, and everybody was glad, for the dance had been arranged with the purpose in view of getting rid of (the consequences of) his mean disposition. For that purpose so many people had been dancing. Finally (one man) stood up and took hold of the boiling pitch. And around Grizzly there were standing many armed with axes. They made noise with all kinds of implements, but he did not wake up. (Then one man said,) “Better pour it into his mouth!” So it was poured into his mouth, which began to burn (right away). And the people kept on dancing,
(as Grizzly Bear) was consumed (gradually) by the fire. His hair got burned, and then his head was cut into pieces with an ax. And while suffering death, he was constantly diffusing smoke.

Here (the story) ends. If (Grizzly Bear) had not been killed, this would have been a very bad place. Thus that man was killed. Such was the custom of people living long ago. Here at last it ends.

**Invocation of Rain**

\[ Klu^wina'tx^2 \quad Lla^ai^3 \quad Yaa'xa^1 \quad u'ti^4 \quad Llayu's.5 \quad Na'qutyax^6 \]

Ice (has on) its (body) world. Much snow ground on. Cold became Lla^ai^3, klu^wina^17 Lla^ai^3. Ku^{6} n'i'cta^9 qa'te'wil^10 ants^11 Lla^ai^3 universe, ice has world. Not how drink not that crowd.

Pål'^12 ata's^13 u^14 qa'te'ü'txa'^5'tné.15 Haya'müt^16 h'ý'ale^17 qa'te'ü'-

Well only then it is drunk from. All people drink txan^6.n.18 Wa^19 yaa'xa^1 híte, u^14 sqak^20 qa'te'ü'tx^21 TeI'wa^22 u^14 (from it). Although many people, still there drink (pl.). Water on then klu^wina^7. Kú^8 n'i'cta^9 teaite'i'te^23 n'i'cteil^24 ants^11 ti'yi^25

Top long drink ice on (pl.) there go those people. Then wán^26 txemíl'ama^27 l'xu'yún^28 ants^11 wá'ni'tsxax^32 nícteima'mú.33

1 See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. IV, pp. 76 et seq.)

2 klu^wina- ICE (§12); -at suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§35).

3 Particle (§130).

4 See §98.

5 Lla'al! GROUND (§133); -ú locative case (§§ 66, 9, 8).

6 naqut- TO BE COLD; -yax past (§74).

7 ku^wina- ICE (§12); -at verbalizing (§75).

8 Particle of negation (§131).

9 Particle (§131).

10 qa'te'- TO DRINK; -tí negative (§§ 52, 6).

11 Demonstrative pronoun (§115).

12 See §97.

13 Restrictive particle (§130).

14 Conjunction (§125).

15 qa'te'- TO DRINK; -at verbalizing (§§ 73, 9); -tx plural (§80); -atx passive (§88).

16 Discriminative form of ha'q'mút all (§§ 111, 124).

17 Discriminative form of híte PERSON (§§ 111, 7).

18 qa'te'- TO DRINK; -at verbalizing (§75); -tx plural (§80); -atn direct object of third person (§28).

19 Particle (§128).

20 Local adverb (§119).

21 qa'te'- TO DRINK; -at verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -tx plural (§80).

22 tx water (§88); -ú locative case (§§ 86, 8).

23 Particle (§§ 131, 94, 106).

24 n'i'cta! MANNER (§§ 131, 135); -ú negative (§§ 55, 9).

25 tak-, ti- TO LIVE (§2); -awí nominal (§§ 97, 8).

26 qawz HIGH, TOP (§119); -atx local (§92).

27 klu^wina! ICE (§§ 98, 122); -ú locative case (§§ 86, 8).

28 qa'ten- TO GO (§4); - present (§§ 72, 4); -atx plural (§79).

29 Temporal particle (§120).

30 Discriminative form of temxíl'má (§111); EXAM STRONG; -t'má augmentative (§64).

31 Lá'- TO KNOW; -at verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -atn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

32 wa'ntx'ata LONG AGO (§119); -atx nominal (§§ 101, 108).

33 See §103.
Then is shouted at that Raccoon, and is shouted at also that constantly

tsu'nl1i. 36 Lānati'yūsne. 37 "Tcixni'ne, teixni'ne, hi'n'k'ltsx 38 Coyote. He is called constantly, "Raccoon, Raccoon, to rain cause thy

world! Tell to this Coyote! To rain cause ye two world!

Nākwa'yatyanxan, 43 neqū'xanxan 44 yā'xa. 45 114 wān 29
Poor we cold our (bodies have) we muchly." Then now

he is called continually: "Raccoon, Raccoon, to rain cause thy world!

Mō'ulsintsin'sla, 41 hi'n'k'ltsxats 42 Lā'āli. 3
Coyote, to rain cause ye two world! Then finally begins to rain

Lā'āli, 3 Haya'müt 16 hi'yāc 17 ha'nīnīlūn. 47 S'ā'tsa 48 u'la'x 49

universe. All people believe it. Thus and they two

are shouted at continually,

tqūli'yūsne. 34 114 wān 29 hin'k'lyā'tx 50 Lā'āli. S'ā'tsa 48 u'la'x 49

world. Thus then

it is shouted, when closes up that river.

Sqa'k 20 wān 29 hawa' 55 Smit'u 56 wān 29 sqa'k. 20 Tā'kin 57
There now it ends. It ends finally there. This I

Lix'ū'yūn. 31 know it.

24 tgu'li- to shout; -a'at (-4) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -nE durative passive (§§ 59, 8).
25 Conjunction (§ 126).
26 See § 98.
27 In- to call; -a'at frequentative (§ 68); -nE durative passive (§§ 59, 8).
28 hin'k'li- to rain; -a'at (-4) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 3); -tx imperative (§ 47).
29 neqū'x- to speak; -a'at transitive imperative (§§ 62, 9).
30 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).
31 Alsea term for COYOTE.
32 hin'k'li- to rain; -a'at (-4) verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -tx imperative (§ 47); -ts 2d person dual (§§ 24, 4)
33 A contracted from neqū'xanxan (§ 15); neqū- to be cold (§ 12); -a'at verbalizing (§ 75); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 23); -nE excl. plural (§§ 24, 4).
34 yā'x- much; -a'at modal (§ 96).
35 Mät'k'li to rain; -a'at verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).
36 hansilt- to believe; -a'at direct object of third person (§ 26).
37 Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).
38 'at then (§ 125); -a'at 3d person dual (§ 24).
39 hin'k'lt- to rain; -a'at verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable, part of subject (§ 33).
40 tgu'li- to shout; -nE passive (§ 58).
41 Particle (§ 131).
42 tkām- to shut, to close (§§ 7, 112); -yāx past denoting conditionality (§§ 71, 136).
43 See § 98.
44 na'tl- to end; -a'at verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).
45 smīt'- to end (§ 12); -a'at verbalizing (§ 75).
46 ta'k this (§§ 115, 12); -a 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
(When in former days the) ground was covered with ice, much snow (lay) on the ground, and it became very cold, then the people had no way of drinking (water freely). From one well only could they drink, and all people drank from it. Although many were the people, still they all drank there. (And when) ice began to appear on the water (of the rivers), then all inhabitants could not go anywhere. They were forced to go along the surface of the ice. Then (at such times there would always be some) old man who knew that (ancient) custom of the people of long ago. (He would then tell it to his people.) And Raccoon would be invoked, and Coyote likewise would be invoked. He would be called by name, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! Speak to Coyote! Cause ye two your rain (to flow)! We are in straits, we are very cold." Then (once more Raccoon) would be invoked, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! (You and) Coyote cause ye your (dual) rain (to flow)!" Then at last it would rain. All people believed in (the efficacy of this formula). For that reason they two would be invoked, (until) it would commence to rain. Thus people were shouting whenever (ice) closed up the rivers.

Now there it ends. It is the finish. (Thus) I know it.
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The following grammatical sketch of the Chukchee group of languages is based on a manuscript by Mr. Bogoras, in which all the main facts presented here are contained. Since the principal object of the series of sketches presented in this Handbook is an elucidation of the grammatical categories found in the present condition of each language treated, I thought it best to re-arrange the material on the basis of an analytical study. I am therefore responsible for the essential form of arrangement and presentation here given. The re-arrangement was, however, made in consultation with Mr. Bogoras, the final form being given to the description of the grammar in accordance with his criticisms and suggestions. The references to the Chukchee and Koryak Texts have also been added by me in order to prove the statements contained in the grammar. These also were revised, supplemented, and corrected by Mr. Bogoras. Finally I have added sample texts with explanatory notes. These have also been revised by Mr. Bogoras.

It seemed important to add the Chukchee to the sketches contained in the Handbook, because it proves conclusively that those features which are most characteristic of many American languages are found also on the Asiatic continent. It seemed essential, furthermore, to present material for determining the position of the Eskimo language in relation to all its neighbors.

The war has delayed the publication of this work beyond expectation, and the final revision had to be made by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, December, 1921.
CHUKCHEE

By Waldemar Bogoras

INTRODUCTION

The material for the following study was collected by me in 1895–97, when I was a member of the Sibiryakov Expedition of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society; and in 1900–01, when I was engaged in anthropological researches for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

The group of languages treated in this sketch includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of these, the first two are closely related, while the Kamchadal shows markedly divergent forms. Its phonetics are more complicated than those of the other two languages, and it seems to have preserved some ancient traits. Its morphology, however, is obscured by the recent process of Russianization, which has had a marked influence upon the language of the people.

Since I spent several years among the Chukchee on the Kolyma and Anadyr, and attained full command of the language in a practical manner, my Chukchee material is much fuller and also more accurate than that collected in the other languages. The work on the Chukchee is also facilitated by the fact that the language has no dialects, the dialect of the maritime Chukchee of the Pacific coast being almost identical with that of the reindeer-breeders of the Kolyma river.

Besides grammatical and lexicographic data, I have collected a large number of texts. I have also collected texts from the Asiatic Eskimo,1 with literal translation into Chukchee, made by natives and carefully revised with their aid, as a means of avoiding inexactness in the translation of the Eskimo material.

1 Some of these have been published in my paper, "The Eskimo of Siberia" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. viii, part iii). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1913.
My work on the Koryak was done during the months from December, 1900, to March, 1901. While Mr. Waldemar Jochelson studied the ethnology of the Koryak on behalf of the Jesup Expedition, the morphological study of the language was assigned to me on account of my familiarity with the Chukchee. I left the Anadyr in November, 1900, joined Mr. Jochelson at Kamenskoye, and spent about a month with him. From there I proceeded to Kamchatka and studied the Kamchatka Koryak and the Kamchadal. On account of the necessity of devoting some time to the Eskimo of Indian Point, I could not devote more time to the study of these dialects.

The Koryak is spoken in a number of dialects, which may be classed in two groups, the western and the eastern. The western group includes the maritime villages on Penshina Bay of the Sea of Okhotsk,¹ some of which are the largest of the Koryak settlements, and the reindeer breeders on the rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Here belong, for instance, the villages of Qa'ylin, Čimí'tqa, and Po'qâč.² The eastern group includes all the maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the villages of the Pacific shore, mainly around Alutor Bay. The Kerek may form a third group, which, although situated farthest to the east, is more closely related to the western branch.

I shall call the western group "Koryak I;" the eastern group "Koryak II." Since the majority of the former group are reindeer breeders who live north from the maritime villages, and, along the northern border of the country, come into contact with the Chukchee, I have elsewhere called the Koryak I the northern group; the Koryak II, the southern group.

The bulk of my Koryak material and all the texts are principally from the village Kamenskoye on Penshina bay, and also from Paren, 50 miles farther to the west. I have marked this material, respectively, "Kor. Kam." and "Kor. Par." All words and forms marked simply "Kor." are common to the various dialects. The chief difference between the dialects of Kamenskoye and Paren—both members of the eastern branch—lies in the rules governing the harmony of vowels. My material on the Koryak of Kamchatka is not extensive.

²Ibid., p. 440. See also map at end of volumes vi and vii of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.
The Kamchadal material that I have been able to collect is not very full. The study of this dialect is at present very difficult on account of its corruption by the introduction of Russian elements.

In Krasheninnikoff's time there were three dialects of the Kamchadal—a southern, an eastern (spoken on the Kamchatka river), and a western. The first two are extinct, the language of the natives having been replaced by Russian. The eastern dialect is spoken in 13 villages on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The largest of these is Kharghiusova (Kamchadal, Plö'xön), where I stayed 20 days. Another dialect is spoken in the village Sedanka, on the upper course of the Tighil river. Apart from phonetic differences, the chief features of this dialect are due to a strong Koryak influence. This, however, is also quite strong in the dialect of the Sea of Okhotsk. During the last 50 years, Koryak reindeer breeders have been living on the tundras of the eastern part of Kamchatka. The Kamchadal visit them, and purchase from them reindeer meat and skins for clothing. These Koryak are not Christianized, and speak only their own language. Thus it happens that the Kamchadal of the eastern shore, as far south as the village Kol, speak more or less the western Koryak dialect (I); and that among the half-Russianized Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak II.1 Besides, there is a strong intrusion of Russian into both dialects. The Kamchadal has lost many of its numerals, several pronouns, and a considerable number of nouns and adjectives, all of which have been replaced by Russian terms. These have not been assimilated so as to conform with the morphology of Kamchadal, but remain unaltered. A Russianization may also be observed in the grammatical structure.

Nevertheless the Russian spoken by the Russianized natives of Kamchatka also bears evidence of the influence of the Kamchadal.

1Sedanka Kamchadal g'arate'kal they perished (-e inchoative in Koryak II, -in in Koryak I)  
agq'ti'ti he will freeze to death (-g- future prefix Koryak II, yg- in Koryak I).
The Russian suffixes for case and gender do not occur, and all nouns and adjectives are used in the nominative singular masculine. All vowels are strongly marked as long, short, or obscure.

In the following study I have confined myself to the main points of the morphology. The description is based mainly on Chukchee and on a comparison of Chukchee and the western Koryak of Kamenskoye. Kamchadal has been utilized only so far as to indicate the peculiar characteristics of this dialect.

Notes on the Koryak are indicated by a single, those on the Kamchadal by a double marginal vertical rule. Examples without reference are taken from field notes.

All references for the Chukchee indicated by page and line (for instance, 21.3) are to my Chukchee texts contained in the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition; those marked R, followed by page and line (for instance, R 23.5) are to my collection of texts published by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. All references to Koryak (marked, for instance, Kor. 27.6) are to my Koryak Texts published by the American Ethnological Society. The following previous publications on this family of languages may be mentioned:

L. Radloff, Uber die Sprache der Tschuktschen (Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1861, Series vii, vol. iii, No. 10).

B. Golovkina, Образцы материалов по изучению чукотского фольклора, собранных в Колымском округе. Оттиск из Известий Императорской Академии Наук, T. X. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

[W. L. Bogoras, Sample Text for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District. Reprint from the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, vol. x, no. 3 (March, 1899).]

Материалы по изучению чукотского языка и фольклора, собранные в Колымском округе. Издание Императорской Академии Наук, B. 1. С.-Петербургъ 1900.


Ignacy Radlinsky, W zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiego. Słowniki Nazzeczy Ludów Kamczackich, 5 parts, Krakow, 1891-94.

С. Крашенинниковъ Описание земли Камчатки. С.-Петербургъ 1819. T. 1. II.

[S. Krasheninnikoff, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. 1 and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

В. Н. Тюшовъ, По западному берегу Камчатки, С. П. Е., 1906.

[W. N. Tushhoff, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka. St. Petersburg, 1906.]
PHONETICS (§§ 1-24)

Chukchee (§§ 1-13)

§ 1. Vowels

The vowels of the Chukchee language may be divided into three classes:

1. Weak vowels: 'i i e ā u
2. Strong vowels: ê a ə o
3. Neutral vowels: i e ə ā

The vowels of the first and second classes are always long.

i, e, u, have their continental values.

ā is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.

ē is a glide from e to ī, with long, accented ī. It is always combined with a glottal stop.

ê is the open e of hell, but long.

a has its continental value.

o like o in nor.

ə a u with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between o and u.

ī, ē, ā, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.

ū an i with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian ū.

Unusual length or shortness of vowels is indicated by the macron and breve respectively (ā, ā).

Diphthongs are formed by the combination of any of the vowels with following ī and u:

ai like ī in hide. au like ow in how.
êi like ei in vein. eu like eu in Italian leucojo.
ōi like oi in choice.

The ī and u of diphthongs belong to the neutral vowels. Combinations of the vowels with the weak vowels ī and u do not form diphthongs.

The ī and u of true diphthongs must be considered as voiced consonants, because, in all intervocalic positions where they are not lost, and in proper position before certain consonants, they have consonantal character; and because they often modify following consonants in the manner of the preceding consonants y and w (see §§ 5, 9).
Generally the accent of diphthongs is on the first vowel, although it is often placed on the second vowel.

*qailo'qim* indeed  
*upa'u'ma* while drinking

When the diphthong is followed by a consonant cluster, the terminal vocalic sound of the diphthong is lengthened. This gives the effect of an accent on the first vowel.

*upa'urkm* thou drinkest

Before vowels, the *u* of the diphthong becomes *w*.

*nipa'w-ê-âm* I am drinking (stem *upa'u*)

Note.—In many cases *i* neutral, which does not form diphthongs, originates from contraction of *y*- (see § 10).

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

*ii* in *tôrkiir* (male pronunciation)  
*ee* in *êck* lamp

*uu* in *intu'ulpam* son-in-law

*êë* in *êthûpû* from the skin intended for clothing

*aa* in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest

*oo* in *ro'olqal* food

*ii* in *taini'trûgin* sinful action

After the loss of *ê, à, or g*, between two vowels (see § 10), clusters of three repetitions of the same vowel may appear.

*miya'aâk* < *miya'aâgaâk* I will use

A comparison with Koryak suggests that whenever two vowels appear in contact, an elision of a consonant has occurred. Examples of this are given in § 16, no. 18, p. 670. It would seem that in all these cases the Chukchee has the tendency to assimilate the vowels (see § 13, p. 665).

### § 2. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surd Sonant</td>
<td>Surd Sonant</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td>— [d]</td>
<td>(ê), ê</td>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized alveolar</td>
<td><em>t'</em></td>
<td>— [d']</td>
<td><em>ê'</em></td>
<td><em>n'</em></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td><em>k, ukm</em></td>
<td><em>ê</em></td>
<td><em>êt</em></td>
<td><em>êt</em></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td><em>q</em></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>h, w, y</th>
<th>See § 13.</th>
<th>1 Written kw before and after u.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

§2.
\( p, m \), as in English.

\( v \) bilabial.

\( t \) as in English.

\( s \) like \( z \) in German \textit{Zeit}, used only in female pronunciation.

\( \check{c} \) like English \textit{ch} in \textit{choice}.

\( j \) like English \( j \) in \textit{joy}.

\( n \) as in English.

\( l \) stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli, back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture.

\( \check{l} \) like \( l \), but sonant.

\( r \) as in German.

\( f \) dental \( r \) with weak trill.

\( t', d', s', j', n' \), the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to \( ty, dy, sy, jy, ny \).

\( \check{e} \) strongly palatalized, intermediate between \( t' \) and \( \check{e} \), but weaker than either.

\( k \) as in English.

\( \check{k} \) labialized \( k \).

\( \check{n} \) like \( n \) in \textit{singing}. Voiceless \( \check{n} \) is always terminal, and appears after terminal \( t,e \).

\( g, g' \) velars corresponding to \( k \) and \( g; g \) in this combination \( g (u, o) \) is often labialized.

\( h, w, y \), consonantic, as in English. Initial \( w \) is sometimes pronounced nasally, as in \textit{wo'tgan} \textit{this one}. In my Russian publications I have indicated this nasalization; but it has not been indicated here, since it is not morphologically significant, and seems to be a characteristic feature of the sound, which appears, however, of varying strength.

\( d \) and \( d' \), which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of \( n' \), as in \textit{ta'nd'an} < \textit{ta'n-yan} a good one.

In only one case is initial \( d \) found,—\textit{di'ndin} \textit{fire} (from stem \textit{ym}; compare \textit{gayi'nla'n} \textit{the one that has fire}). The reduplicated form \textit{yinyym} changes to \textit{yind'm}, from which develops—by assimilation, \( d'md'm \); and by intensification of the obscure vowel, \textit{d'i'ndin}.

Note.—Examples of the importance of the glottal stops are—

\( \check{v}r'rik \) he comes across \( \check{v}rrkim \) he hits

\( r\check{e}t'rik \) he rejoices \( r\check{e}tr'kim \) he brings

\( yo'rik \) thou overtakest \( yo'rkim \) thou puttest in

\( y\check{e}t'rik \) the sky becomes overcast \( y\check{e}tr'kim \) thou comest

\( \check{e}'\check{e} \) cold \( \check{e}'\check{e} \) lengthwise

\( \check{e}\check{e}p\check{u}r'kim \) it shows itself \( \check{e}\check{e}p\check{u}r'kim \) it grows damp

§2.
The consonants \( \ell \) and \( \check{c} \) are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

\( \check{v}e\check{c}a'rk\) and \( \check{v}e\check{d}a'rk \) (from \( \check{v}e-t\check{d}a'rk \), see § 7, no. 17, p. 654), he stands

\( \check{v}i\check{v}e'\check{t}tm \) and \( \check{v}i\check{w}e'\check{t}tm \) (from stem \( \check{v}i\check{l}u-\) ear) ear-bone

\( \check{\v}e\check{v}u\check{r}ukin \) he walks; \( \check{\v}i\check{w}ur\)ukin he wanders about

\( \check{b}\check{u}\check{e}n\) winter; \( \check{b}\check{u}\check{\v}e\check{n} \) cold

Initial \( tr \) is sometimes replaced by \( \check{c}t \).

\( \check{t}i\check{\l}i-t\check{t}o'\check{o}\check{e}a > \check{\v}i\check{\l}i\check{\l}o'\check{o}\check{e}a \) in front of the entrance

**Note.**—In words borrowed from the Russian, the following substitutions occur:

- For Russian \( \check{\delta} (\check{b}) \), Chukchee \( v \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( \check{\phi} (\check{f}) \), Chukchee \( p \) or \( \check{q} \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( x \), Chukchee \( k \) or \( \check{q} \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( c \), \( w \) (\( s, \check{sh} \)). Chukchee \( \check{c} \) is substituted.
- For Russian \( c \) (\( s \)), Chukchee \( t \) is substituted.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \check{b}a\check{\v}\check{\v}a'\check{v} )</td>
<td>( \check{\v}a\check{\v}a'\check{\v}a' ) (storehouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( Ap\check{\l}e'n )</td>
<td>( Ap\check{\l}e'\check{\l}e' ) (Athanasius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \check{G}e\check{\l}e\check{\v}a'\check{\v} )</td>
<td>( \check{\v}e\check{\v}a'\check{\v}a' ) (Teddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \check{a}\check{\l}i'\check{\l}a' )</td>
<td>( \check{\v}a\check{\v}a'\check{\v}a' ) (sugar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \check{\v}o\check{\l} )</td>
<td>( \check{\v}o\check{\v}a'\check{\v}a' ) (salt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \check{\v}\check{\l}e\check{\l}e\check{\l}e\check{\l}e )</td>
<td>( \check{\v}e\check{\v}a'\check{\v}a' ) (middle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 3. **Vocalic Ablaut**

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by \( \check{a} \), the strong ones by \( a \). A word, simple or compound, must contain only strong vowels and neutrals, or only weak vowels and neutrals, or only vowels of one of the three classes. When, in composition, weak vowels and strong vowels come together in the same word, the former are changed by the ablaut into strong vowels.

\[ \check{a} \text{ and } a \text{ into } \check{\v} \]
\[ \check{a} \text{ and } \check{a} \text{ into } \check{\v} \]
\[ \check{\l} \text{ into } \check{\v} \text{ or } \check{\v} \]

The sound \( \check{\v} \) differs in origin, therefore, from \( \check{\v} \), the latter being the ablaut of \( \check{\v} \) or \( \check{\v} \). This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak §3.
vowels. A polysyllabic stem which contains a single strong vowel must have all its vowels strong.

Examples of such compositions are—

**Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:**

- pi'ir-rkm he takes
- ñu'í-tvi'rk in the weather grows
- ñe'ń-teki'chkm good meat
- me'ń-ti'mk itm great
- hummock

**Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:**

- pi'ir-yo (from pi'ir-yo) taken
- pi'ir-yo (from pi'ir-yo) from a snowstorm
- nö'ń-yo (from nö'ń-yo) from the blade of knife
- ñu'í-tvi'rnng (from ñu'í-tvi'mq) while the weather is growing

**Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:**

- ñu'í-tvi'rnng (from ñu'í-tvi'mq) at the beginning of leaving
- ñu'í-tvi'rnng (from ñu'í-tvi'mq) long knives
- ñu'í-tvi'rnng (from ñu'í-tvi'mq) good, big seal
- ñu'í-tvi'rnng (from ñu'í-tvi'mq) greedy

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see §8), which produce the ablaut, as *tm to kill*; and quite a number of suffixes of the same phonetic character that have the same effect. In these cases it is therefore conceivable either that a strong vowel has been lost or that the phonetic effect is primarily due to other reasons. I give here a list of strong stems of this character:

- *im* rising of water
- *rük* glue
- *iprën* first dawn
- *yip* to put on 37.8
- *yit* (-gtr) to get
- *ym* fire
- *yin* steep bank
- *yikrg* mouth 18.12
- *yiqq* bountiful
- *wut* leaf
- *wuh* thin, with short hair
- *wuh* thin, with short hair
- *wuhirp* to fling
- *wur* branching

---


* Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see §12)

---

§3
milił five 107.23
	tim (-nm) to kill 23.5
	timq (-mq) to choke

tml to get near to 44.1

tnp to stab

tl door

tırk testicle
tuv (-tuv) word, promise 49.6

tım to crouch
tıp neck (bone)

tm something kept in reserve, spare material

tırq deadfall (trap)

tuvw to vanquish

-tpin to give
-tpl to drink

ritinl bridge of nose.

ritim tum, antler R 3.31

rinnim gums

rinq shy

rin'ñ to whittle (moving knife toward body)

Prefixes of the same character are—

-um all

-kt- (-gt-) much, strongly

There are also a number of suffixes with neutral vowel, that are strong:

-gt, -gty, -wty, allative (§ 41)

-hip, -hip, -gup, ablative (§ 42)

-ù(m), -ùn(m), substantival suffix (§ 52)

-ù(m), -ùn(m), substantival suffix (§ 53)

-ùn, -ùn, augmentative (§ 98, 1)

-ùla(m) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)

-tkin surface (§ 101, 19)

-s, -sqn over, top of (§ 101, 20)

-nv, -n, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(n)a allative of personal nouns (§ 41)

-nqg ablative, adverbal (§ 43)

-gg augmentative, (§ 98, 3)

-qn, -qn, space of, (see § 101, 20.)
-ling diminutive (§ 98, 7)
-qg—mq comitative (§ 100, 15)
-mab comitative (§ 100, 17)
-qe, -qgl, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
-yanv, -yan, provided with (§ 104, 38)
-qqh, -qqh, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
-yg passive participle (§ 107, 47)
-yg, -yg, inchoative (§ 110, 63)
-chat, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols  and  have been used wherever clearness seemed to require the exact statement of the character of the vowels. Wherever the character of the vowel is irrelevant or the changes due to harmony of vowels are obvious, the symbols have been omitted.

In a few words,  is apparently a neutral vowel; as in

ya’tirgm (stem y’g’t) the act of coming
kanka’èirgm (stem kenkel-) the act of descending

In these cases the  has originated through palatalization of the preceding consonant and the elision of g, which, after t and , has hanged to h (see §§ 7 and 10).

ya’tirgm < ya’-t-hyrgn < y’g-t-qrgn
kanka’èirgm < ka’ka’e’-hyrgn < ka’ka’e-qrgn

In pronunciation,  and  differ very little. The pronunciation of the last two is, of course, identical. The manner in which the ablaut occurs with , while it is absent in , demonstrates, however, their etymological difference.

ëlër’rkmin he feels dull
alara’mg while feeling dull (stem ëlër)
èr’mër tear
èr’gq to a tear (stem èrè)
pi’né’pil snowstorm
pee’x-pù from a snowstorm (stem pi’né)
këtô’rkmin (stem këtô) he remembers

In most cases  precedes or follows q, or is followed by the glottal stop  , which has probably originated through a loss of qe. With few exceptions,  is a weak vowel.

që-pü’-më’mit bad water, brandy
që’qalp quick! hurry!
qëin’ fawn
qëq’p nail
qëm’lin workingman
This ā is probably developed from ė under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes ā appears without connection with q or ē.

\[ \text{vīlū'tī} \] by means of an ear

\[ \text{vā'gā'ta} \] by means of a knife

In a few cases ā belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from ė under the influence of the glottal stop.

\[ \text{ā'gī'pī} \] day

\[ \text{ā'ttwe'gē'nān} \] interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

In several compounds ā appears as connecting vowel instead of ī. This happens also generally before or after q. The sound of ā in these cases is short, and it belongs to the neutral vowels.

In the words \( a^t'tt'm \) dog, \( a^t'ttm \) bone, the ā replaces the weak āē, and is therefore also weak.

\( u \) of diphthongs is generally a nequivalent of w, vocalized when preceding a consonant. Therefore it is neutral, even if the accent is on the first part of the diphthong, which increases the vocalic character of the u.

\[ \text{tēi'kē'urkm} \] he wrestles

\[ \text{tai'kau'lē'pū} \] from the wrestler

\[ \text{upō'urkm} \] he drinks

In other cases \( u \) is by origin vocalic, and therefore changes to o or ē.

\[ \text{ī'vē'urkm} \] it thaws \( \text{ē'o'ma} \) while thawing

but consonantic

\[ \text{ī'urkm} \] he speaks \( \text{ē'u'ma} \) while speaking

This ī\( u \) may be explained as originating from \( i'yu \), where, according to the rule, the intervocalic y dropped out, strengthening at the same time ī to ī.

Consonantic \( w \), especially when initial, requires a \( u \) preceding it. This \( u \), which is simply a strong glottal intonation, is neutral, and drops out after prefixes.

\[ \text{uwē'urkm} \] he cooks \( \text{īwē'ma} \) while cooking

\[ \text{ēwē'urkm} \] he cuts it off \( \text{ēwē'ma} \) while cutting

\[ \text{luwē'urkm} \] he can not \( \text{galvavulén} \) being unable to do something

\( § 3 \)
Russian loan-words also conform to the rules of vocalic harmony. 

vi'l'keν fork (Kor. Kam. vi'l'ka); stem vi'l'ke; Russian вышка
bų'męnx bag (Kor. Kam. bų'ma); stem bųme; Russian сума
kõmg'k paper; stem kõmgak; Russian бумага
mų'le'mul soap (Kor. Kam. mų'la); stem mųle; local Russian мыло, instead of мыло
yeky'tüm Yakut; stem yekyut; Russian Якут

präkg'čik commercial agent (Kor. preka'ssek); Russian прикыщик (Kor. Kam. ĉai'n'ček) teakettle;¹ Russian чайник

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles elo'n and ēnan enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: emilo'n < emielo'n where is he? eũna'n < eun ùn so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative emighty'ẽn where is he then?

43.6.

In prēg'q-tung'rêm thou takest off the boots, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In ēq'q-unmõn in different directions, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms ēq and emmõn would be expected.

The separate words of the sentence are not affected by these rules.

§ 4. Initial and Terminal Consonants

All sounds occur in initial position, except the consonants l, l', ē', ū', which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

l < t+l 
L < l+l or r+l 

All sounds occur as terminals except
l, L, t', [d'], [d'+], ē', ē', ū', ū', wkw, ū, v, h

I presume the absence of the former group is due to the fact that they are by origin double consonants (see § 5).

Voiceless n and ŏ appear only as terminal sounds after l and ē.

No clusters of more than two consonants occur. Terminal consonantic clusters are not admissible, and are broken either by the introduction of an obscure vowel or by being placed in medial position by the addition of a terminal obscure vowel. It is important to note that the glottal stop does not count as a consonant in these clusters. It always follows a long vowel.

¹ Chukchee p'lhikuk throat-kettle.
Terminal \( \ddot{n} \), particularly after \( r \), becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

\( kenu'nen \) staff ends in voiceless \( \ddot{n} \), but in the plural \( kenu'nenit \) the \( \ddot{n} \) is voiced

This may account for the slight nasal character of unaccented terminal \( r \).

§ 5. **Medial Consonantic Clusters**

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

\( L, L, t',^1 [d'], [d'],^2 \ddot{c}, \ddot{j}, \ddot{j}, \ddot{w}, \ddot{k} \)

This proves again that all of these must be considered as double consonants (see § 4).

Besides this, the following do not occur as the first member of a medial cluster:

\( k',^3 q',^4 \ddot{r}, \ddot{h} \)

The medial cluster \( tr \) occurs in some derivations of the loan-word \( tr\ddot{e}n'non \) (Russian \( cpejue \)).

\( gatre'n'nonta'len \) they went to Sredne Kolymsk

The following do not occur as second member of a cluster:

\( s', n', \ddot{e} \)

The consonantic medial clusters that have been found are contained in the following table, in which dashes indicate inadmissible clusters.

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\(^{1}\) Except \( t' h \). \( ^{2}\) Except \( k' k \), and in one case \( kr \), which is probably an affricative \( q \).  
\(^{3}\) Except \( nd' \).  
\(^{4}\) Except \( qq \).
§ 6. Vocalic Contraction

When sounds that form inadmissible combinations come into contact through composition, phonetic changes occur.

1. Of two weak or strong vowels in contact, the first one is elided.
   - qul-ad-bek < qul'-ad-bek lazy boy
   - āq-utituit < āq-utituit bad wood

2. Obscure i, e, ā, ā, q, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.
   - anqa-annan < anqa'-ennan sea-fish
   - qapqulên < qapqulên he drank
   - ēr'el < ēr'-el muddy snow
   - ēu'tin < ēu'-itit female dog

§ 7. Medial Consonantic Processes

When two consonants come into contact, certain changes occur. The consonants given on the left-hand side form, when followed by the consonants at the head of the columns, the following combinations:

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These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

1. Voiceless labial and dental stops before nasals become nasals.
2. k and q before labials become v; with v and w, they form a labialized k.
3. k, g, and y before dentals become q.
(4) $q$ before consonants becomes $^t$; only $qq$ occurs.
(5) $\tilde{n}$ before labials becomes $m$; before dentals, $n$.
(6) $\check{c}$ before labials, palatals, and $n$, becomes $s'$.  When $l$ replaces $\check{c}$, it is treated in the same manner.
(7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.
(8) $\nu$ with following $v$, $w$, and sometimes also with $g$, forms labialized $k$.
(9) $y$ following $v$, $w$, and $g$, becomes $q$.
(10) $t$ ($\check{c}'$), and $r$ with following $y$, form $\check{c}'$.
(11) $l$ with following $y$ forms $\check{j}'$, or $\check{y}$.  
(12) $t$, $\check{c}$, and $r$ with following $r$ form $rr$.
(13) $e$, $\check{c}$, and $r$ with following $t$ form $tt$.
(14) $\tilde{n}$ with following $n$ and $\tilde{n}$ forms $gn$ and $g\tilde{n}$.
(15) $n$ and $\tilde{n}$ with following $y$ form $nd'$.
(16) $n$ and $\tilde{n}$ with following $r$ form often $nr$.
(17) $t$, $\check{c}$, $r$, and $l$ with following $l$ form $L$.  The last two with following $l$ also form $z$.
(18) $l$ with following $r$ forms $rr$.
(19) $l$ with following $\tilde{n}$ forms $lh$.
(20) $r$ with following $n$ forms $nn$.
(21) $r$ with following $\check{c}$ forms $t\check{c}$.
(22) $k$ with following $k$ and $g$ form $kk$ and $gj$.
(23) $k$ and $g$ with following $\tilde{n}$ form $\tilde{n}n$.
(24) $k$ with following $g$ forms $gg$; with following $gu$, $wk\nu$ ($u$).
(25) $g$ with following $q$ forms $qq$.
(26) $l$ and $t$ with following $q$ form $lh$, $ly$, and $th$, $ty$.

Examples:

$pn > mn$  (1)  $\check{g}em\check{m}e'lin$ whetted  $< \check{g}e\check{m}e'lin$
$\text{valam\check{a}'lin} < \text{vala-\check{m}a'lin}$ the knife-whetted
$\text{rim\check{m}e'pu}$ from the inner skin ($r'\text{pim}$ inner skin)

$pn > m\check{n}$  (1)  $gitte'm\check{m}\check{g}w < gitte'p\check{n}\check{g}w$ clever woman
$n\check{m}\check{n}\check{m}\check{a}\check{m}n < n\check{a}\check{p}\check{n}\check{m}\check{o}'\check{a}\check{m}$ they asked him

$tm > nm$  (1)  $mn\check{m}\check{m}mik < mn\check{t}-mik$ let us be!  57.1
$ni\check{l}\check{g}\check{u}-m\check{m}ru < ni-yi\check{l}\check{q}t-m\check{m}ru$ we slept
$na'n\check{m}\check{m}u\check{a}\check{m}n < na-tmu-a\check{m}$ they killed it  8.2
$mn\check{e}'wk\check{e}m\check{m}mik < mn-g\check{e}'wk\check{m}e\check{m}-mik$ let us go away!  17.8

$tn > nn$  (1)  $\check{g}i'm\check{m}in\check{m}n < \check{g}i'm\check{m}it-n\check{m}$ he took it  117.9
$t\tilde{n} > n\tilde{n}$  (1, 7)  $\check{r}e\check{i}'\check{\ell}\check{g}\check{u}-\check{n}it < \check{r}-\check{y}l\check{q}t\check{t}-\check{n}it$ they will sleep
$ge'\tilde{n}\check{u}'\check{\ell}\check{u} < \check{g}e-\tilde{t}u\check{m}-\check{\ell}in$ he sent it  104.10 (cf. 19.1; 104.3)

$kp > wp$  (2)  $m\check{u}e'p\check{n}e\check{v}e\check{d} < m\check{u}kpe'nvel$ many two-year-old
reindeer-bucks
km > wm (2) mawm'goor < muk-mgoor many pack-reindeer

kv > wk (2) piqekwili < piqeka'li boot-grass (i.e., grass insole)

kw > wk (2) mawkwelxw' < muk-welxw (too) many words

gq > wp (2) 6wp-pere'rk < 6wp-pere'rk he looks wolf-like

gm > wm (2) ci'l'm-it'qamt < ci'l'm-it'qamt sweet blubber (honey)

cw'wak < cwg-mak egg-shell

qv > wk (2) qukovka'nu < qav'g-va'nu chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum)

kw > wk (2) alakwe't'hau < alag-we't'hau sweet talk

kt > gt (3) wi'g timo' < wi'k timo' she killed herself 72.27

kn > qn (3) maw-ne'nnet < muk-ne'net many otter (skins)

kr > gr (3) maw-re'w < muk-re'w many whales

kl > gl (3) maw-li'qig < muk-li'qig many eggs

ye > yt (3) iag-ta'i'lid < ga'i'li'd-tea-bag

yn > qn (3) maw'ni < mai'nti property piled up outside of house.

te'qni < te'i'nti mountain

ye > qe (3) ve'g-ju'rim < ve'i-ju'rim grass border

yr > gr (3) va'griu < va'i-ran grass house

yl > gl (3) va'i-giinn < va'i-luin grass

q before consonants > (4) narko'gyp < narkao-gyp from the swan

ge'p < q'gn-epyp from the fish-hook

mq'me'gyp < mawme'gyp from the arrow

gi'kkelig < ge-gi'kel by he has married

A few stems, when preceding consonants, change q to c, and their vowels become subject to ablaut.

tec < tic to cast metal

yc < yiq quick

me < miq small

For instance: t'qirkn he casts metal
tec'ni he has cast it

tap > mp (5) tamp'erale < tan-p'erale he appeared well

gempe'lin < ge-npe'lin they landed 12.9

taw > mv (5) tam-v'irgin < tan-v'irgin good being, good state of things

tw > mw (5) tam-wa'irgin < tan-wa'irgin good work

6t > nt ranpo'c' < ra-no'o'at they went out 56.8

6c > nc tan-6aq < tan-6aq good tea

§7
ny > ny
tele^n-ye''p < tele^n-ye''p long time ago

u'r > n'f
tele^n-remkin < tele^n-re''mkin ancient people
tan-ra'n < tan-ra'n a good house; but tan-
rogogal < tan-ro'gogal good food

u'l > nl
ten-le''ut < ten-le''ut good, clever head

e'p > s'e'p (6)
mas'-pa'a''e' < ma'c'-pa'a''e' he seemed to cease

e'm > s'e'm (6)
mes''-kirpi''s'-mi'c < mes''-kirpi''e-mi'c of about the
size of a cake of brick tea; but also mes''-
kirpi''s'-mi'c

e'n > s'e'n (6)
mes''nimpa'qin < me''-nimpa'qin somewhat slow;
but also menni'nimpa'qin

e'k > s'e'k (6)
kirpi''s'kin < kirpi''e'kin belonging to a cake of
brick-tea: but from va'e'nula'c there is derived
the adjective va'nula'k'en

e'y > s'e'y (6)
kirpi''s'qa'i < kirpi''e-qa'i small piece of brick-tea
(see 29.8)

n'n > n'u'n (7)
qu'n-ule'kik < qu'n-ule'kik single daughter (see,
however, qu'n-ule'kik 29.8)

n'g > n'u'g (7)
qu'n-gita'ta < qu'n-gita'ta one-legged

lo > s'lo when ler re-
wu's'quus < wu'lquul darkness
places a c

vo > wkw (8)
raangokwa'g'p'qin < raangow-vg'p'qin straight act-
ing

tawla'kwakwa'g'q < lawla'-vg'q by mischie-

ous being 117.21

wv > wkv (8)
naawkwakwa'g'q < naaw-wqul'g'q female work

wo > wkw (8)
tumqu'g'kwak'k < tumqu'g'a'k I quarreled

eine'g'kwak' < ein'g-u'q' it approached 9.12

vy > v'g (9)
nung'gte'qenat < nv'-vg'-ntg-qinet their breath
went out 34.6

wy > w'g (9)
aq'g'lika' < a-q'ylol-k'q without assistant 124.5

n'a'wq'el' < naw-yql' female cousin

gy > q'g (9)
aq'g'a'ul'min < e'q-y'a'ul'min wolf's paw

qa'g'qan < q'a'q'an the sweet one

iy > e' (10)
yl'laq'-yan < yil'lag-yan the sleeper

ry > e' (10)
ko'er'o < ko'r-yo the one bought

ly > y' or remains
a'lik'yo < a'lik'yu the one recognized. The unal-

tered form occurs also.

tr > rr (12)
gir-rat'tam < gir-rat'tam thin curried reindeer-
skin

br > rr (12)
marra'e'nki < ma'c-ra'e'nki somewhat back of you

ct > tt (13)
mat-torg'tu-wgil'in < ma'c-torg'tu-wgilinsomewhat
crazy

ma'nengat-tq'e' < ma'nengat-tq'e' in what direc-
tion he moved on

§7
(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by composition, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordinarily i.

Before w, v, the auxiliary vowel is u.

Before or after a p which forms part of a consonant cluster, the auxiliary vowel is ū.

§ 8. Auxiliary Vowels

(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by composition, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordinarily i.

Before w, v, the auxiliary vowel is u.

Before or after a p which forms part of a consonant cluster, the auxiliary vowel is ū.
Before or after q, the auxiliary vowel is ä.

\[ tr'\text{mk}-r-l'e\text{ut} (tr'\text{mk}l\text{gi}-l'e\text{ut} R 278) \text{ hummock-head} \]
\[ vi\text{t}-r-pil\text{'n}t\text{im} \text{ precious metal (i. e., gold)} \]
\[ q\text{el}-r-\text{tk}n-r-k \text{ on the top of the sea-ice 9.1} \]
\[ n\text{a}l\text{ov}l\text{r}-r\text{ch}n \text{ the herd 79.6, see also na'l'ov\text{r}chim 32.11} \]
\[ \text{gel\text{'t}-r-kä} \text{ without head 47.8 (< gel\text{'t}-kä)} \]
\[ vi\text{t}-u\text{-völt precious ware} \]
\[ èul-u-w\text{ä'lat} \text{ long knives 15.2 (< iwl\text{v}ä'lat)} \]
\[ n-r\text{-np}-u\text{-qin} \text{ old one} \]
\[ n-ù\text{-plu\text{'}qin} \text{ small one 10.2} \]
\[ lèl\text{an\text{p}m\text{a\text{'h}q}ai eyes (had) the small old man} \]
\[ n\text{ù\text{t}e\text{-ù\text{-q}in heavy, dear} \]

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like L, ë, wkw, d, d', t', ë', ñ, ñ'—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

\[ n\text{m\text{u\text{'}l\text{m}ul blood 117.12} \]
\[ ti'\text{L}e\text{-r-t}l\text{ the entrance 105.15} \]
\[ m\text{mu\text{'}l\text{m}m\text{ hand 57.10} \]
\[ q\text{a\text{'l}l\text{e}n he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22} \]
\[ ge\text{'w}k\text{u}ln\text{ they have tied him up 20.10 (< ge\text{'w}kut\text{-lin)} \]

(3) When two consonants forming a cluster come to stand in final position, an auxiliary vowel is introduced.

\[ p\text{i\text{'}n\text{il news} \]
\[ p\text{ü'k}l\text{íl big bowl} \]
\[ e\text{v\text{'r}r}l\text{it dresses 7.8} \]

In some cases, however, there is a terminal obscure vowel, which is derived from an older, stronger vowel.

\[ q\text{a\text{'}l}e \text{ bird (stem gæl\text{h}q)} \]
\[ r\text{í\text{'}rk}l \text{ walrus (stem rirk\text{q})} \]
\[ v\text{e\text{'}l}e \text{ raven (stem \text{v}lg\text{q})} \]
\[ k\text{i\text{'}n}l\text{í buck, male (stem \text{k}ir\text{q})} \]

\[ § 9. u, w \]

Short, obscure \( u \) may change to \( w \) or \( v \).

\[ t\text{y}'urk\text{in thou sayest} \]
\[ ty\text{w}t\text{tuw word} \]
\[ q\text{a\text{'}tvil\text{en he has said} \]
\[ r\text{u\text{'}urk\text{in thou splittest} \]
\[ ry\text{w}g\text{g the split one} \]
\[ q\text{a\text{'}rivl\text{en he has split} \]
\[ ry\text{urk\text{in thou scrapest} \]
\[ ry\text{w}g\text{g the scraped one} \]
\[ q\text{a\text{'}no\text{'}l\text{en he has scraped} \]
\[ ry\text{urk\text{in thou displacest} \]
\[ ry\text{w}g\text{g displaced} \]
\[ ge\text{no\text{'}l\text{en he has displaced} \]
\[ r\text{g\text{'}ork\text{in thou pluckest} \]
\[ rg\text{w}g\text{o plucked} \]

\[ q\text{e\text{igo\text{'}l\text{en he has plucked} \]

\[ § 9. u, w \]
§ 10. Intervocalic Elision

(1) Intervocalic w, y, (i), and g are either much weakened or drop out altogether. This happens particularly when the vowels preceding and following these sounds are alike. After an elision, the two vowels are often assimilated.

\[ \text{ne'ekik} < \text{new-ekik} \text{ daughter} \]
\[ \text{gaa'l} \text{len} < \text{gagaa'l} \text{len} \text{ he has passed by} \]
\[ \text{gaa'l} \text{hli} \text{len} < \text{gagaa'l} \text{hli} \text{len} \text{ he has moved away} \]
\[ \text{muwa'qeqk} < \text{muwa'qeqk} \text{ let me sit down!} \]
\[ \text{ya'ilhin} \text{ and ya'qilhin} \text{ foot} \]
\[ \text{mtri'nnuul} < \text{mit-i-tma-gi} \text{ we killed thee} \]
\[ \text{pe'gtu-w'qurqin} < \text{pe'gtu-wu'qurqin} \text{ runner-noise} \]
\[ \text{cime'erkin} < \text{cime'tirkin} \text{ thou crackest} \]

(2) \( i + y \) followed by a vowel, and \( y + i \) preceded by \( e \) and \( i \), form neutral \( i \) (see § 2, p. 644). The preceding \( i \) is assimilated by this neutral \( i \).

\[ \text{ge'izm} < \text{ge'yiLin} \text{ given} \]
\[ \text{tiq'ilhin} < \text{tiyg'lhin} \text{ vein} \]
\[ \text{qiq'ilhin and qyg'lhin} \text{ heel} \]
\[ \text{gev'qar} < \text{ge-yi'qar} \text{ he slept} \]
\[ \text{m'tilhit} < \text{mi'ylhit} \text{ I will give thee} \]

§ 11. Phonetic Influences between Words

The changes described in §§ 6–10 occur not only in word composition, but also between the end and beginning of words that form parts of a syntactic unit.

\[ \text{gumni'ne evkwewkwalla'ce} < \text{gumni'ne ekwew gala'ce} \text{ my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by} \]
\[ \text{ya'ran my'ri} \text{nun n'enhaipu-me'ri} < \text{ya'rat mu'ri} \text{ we grew too angry} (\text{ya'rat too much; mu'ri we; an'enhaipu to become angry)} \]
\[ \text{enn'e'n} \text{ unu ælq'e} \text{m nito'ce} < \text{ælq'e} \text{p nito'ce} \text{ a nail went out (ænne'n one; ælq'e} \text{p nail; nito,-nito to go out; -}^{3d} \text{3d per. sing.)} \]
\[ \text{nu'mnunma'a-d'hityatce} < \text{nu'mnunmit ya'dhityat} \text{ the neighboring camp moved away} \]

Sometimes \( n \) or \( t \) is inserted between two vowels—one terminal, the next initial—that come together in a sentence.

\[ \text{tele g-vi'tä-n-iirk} \text{in gradually dying he is} \]

Such insertions, as well as the assimilation of sounds belonging to different words, are used with a great deal of freedom.

§§ 10, 11
§ 12. Initial Consonantic Clusters

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial sound</th>
<th>Second sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ẽ  m  n  ŋ  r  l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pẽ  pn  pŋ  pr  pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tm  tn  tŋ  tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>km  kr  kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qẽ  qr  ql</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mn  mŋ  mr  ml</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears from this table that the stops and nasals, with following nasal r and l, are the only admissible classes of initial clusters, and not all the combinations of these are found. The combination pẽ seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:
pr interjection 88.17
pré'rem meat pudding
pläği; that is all 107.21
plo'kilihm boot
pçe'kwa'rkim thou takest off the boots
pnë'rkim thou whettest it
pño'rkim thou imbibest
tni'rkim thou sewest
tnäargètu to the dawn 135.16
trayaa'n shall I use it? 93.19
trennike'wkwê'n I shall do to it 99.10
kmë'ñuqâi small son 126.11
kri'tkin upper course of a river
kloka'lhim a kind of berry
qra'qu to the disowning 94.30
qres'qi'wkwê' get enter! 102.35
qla'ulqai little man 9.6
grø'ez she brought forth 104.8
mlë'rkim thou breakest
mũe-eũẽ-nilm sacrificing-shaman 42.5
mnë'wkwênnimk let us go away! 17.8
mra'gla'k I shall go home 99.2
mra'yo'rmim shall we visit him? 108.10

§12
nre'q-i-git what dost thou want? 125.6
Nle'nNlet flame
q̂aunru'd̂q̂atŷe² take wife home 115.8

Since many stems consist of consonantic clusters that are not admissible either medially or initially, a great number of very curious phonetic changes of stems occur, either by consonantic assimilation or dissimilation, or by the insertion of auxiliary vowels. Since these changes are not so frequent in Koryak, the latter dialect often shows the original form of the stem, which can not be recognized from the Chukchee forms alone. I will give here examples of a series of phonetic changes of this type.

(1) Medial modifications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial cluster of stems</th>
<th>Initial form</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pn</td>
<td>*pn</td>
<td>mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tn</td>
<td>*tn</td>
<td>nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tŋ</td>
<td>*tŋ</td>
<td>n'ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>km</td>
<td>*km</td>
<td>wm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ql</td>
<td>*ql</td>
<td>tŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) In the second group the stem, when in initial position, loses the first sound of the consonantic cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial form</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>*rk</td>
<td>rk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>*lp</td>
<td>lp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>*lk</td>
<td>lk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>*lq</td>
<td>lq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>*li</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k and tik</td>
<td>*tk</td>
<td>tki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>*wkw</td>
<td>(wkw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>*tv</td>
<td>(tv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) In a few cases a substitution of sounds occurs, partly due to the phonetic laws described before.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>*r</td>
<td>n¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>*q</td>
<td>h, y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Not in all cases.
(4) In a great many cases an auxiliary vowel is introduced between the members of the cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Probable stem</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pr and *ptr</td>
<td>*pr</td>
<td>pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*påk</td>
<td>*pk</td>
<td>pk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*på</td>
<td>*på</td>
<td>må</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r and tue</td>
<td>*tr</td>
<td>tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tk and *ttk</td>
<td>*tk</td>
<td>tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>*tt</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kt</td>
<td>*kt</td>
<td>gt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yt</td>
<td>*yt</td>
<td>gt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kty</td>
<td>*kty</td>
<td>gg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tm</td>
<td>*tm</td>
<td>nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gå</td>
<td>*gå</td>
<td>gl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*måk</td>
<td>*måk</td>
<td>mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*åp</td>
<td>*åp</td>
<td>mp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ått</td>
<td>*ått</td>
<td>nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*å</td>
<td>*å</td>
<td>mg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*år</td>
<td>*år</td>
<td>rg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gil</td>
<td>*gil</td>
<td>gl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr or rir</td>
<td>*rr</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qåy</td>
<td>*qåy</td>
<td>åy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*vå(i)</td>
<td>*våy</td>
<td>vg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wåy</td>
<td>*wåy</td>
<td>wg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*å</td>
<td>*å</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yå</td>
<td>*yå</td>
<td>å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*åue</td>
<td>*åue</td>
<td>åv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*åu</td>
<td>*åu</td>
<td>uh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stem**

* * * * 

* påne *pnå'rkın thou *ninemng'yin* she whetted it 44.4 whittest it

* tåni *tnå'rkın thou sewed *ge'nnilin* he sewed

* *tåni* *tnå'urkin* thou *gen'åwilin* he sent it sendest it

* *kmåñet* kmåñé'rørkin she *gewmåñæcin* she brought forth brings forth

glå'kkin twenty (lit., that of a man) *ëlïkkå'kælin* nineteen (lit., one lacking to a man)

* * * * 

* *kåle or* kålê'mnin he followed *gørkålêlin* she followed him 37.1

* *kåle* kålê'mnin he followed them 50.8

* *rkåur* kår'rrkåm thoun *gårkålín* he bought buyest it

* *rkåipl* kår'plånån she *gårkipålårn* he had struck 86.7 struck her 86.5

* *lpåñr* pr'ñrårkåm thoun *galpåñrårn* he gave
givest to him *nilpåñrgånt* they gave them 14.3
Stem | Ending | Meaning
---|---|---
*lpinit or | *pin'irkn | thou\hspace{1em} nelpini'tyän they bound him 8.1
*lpinit | | bindest him
*lqät | qä'ty i* | he left \hspace{1em} gelqälin he left 59.1
*lgän | qäineu'nin | he shot \hspace{1em} nilgäineu'nin they shot 78.10
*tku | ku'rkın | thou consumed it\hspace{1em} getkulin he consumed it 7.2
*wkut | wut'lahin | tying \hspace{1em} ge'wkulin they had tied him 20.10
*
*pr | pr'rqän | thou hast \hspace{1em} ge'prilin plucked out
| pr'rkın | he tears out \hspace{1em} ne'priän they tore off 30.7
*prkär | pükir'qät | they \hspace{1em} ge'pkiren he came 8.6
| came 64.2
*phōlo | pinlo'nēn | he asked \hspace{1em} namūlo'ān they asked him 66.24
*tv∗ | ty'rkn | he promised \hspace{1em} qa'tvulin he promised 101.21

gettu'lin | he blewed

minlē'git let me move thee! 89.7

*tlu | tlu'rkın | he stood \hspace{1em} 64.9

meets

*tikär | tikär'kin | thou \hspace{1em} qa'tkelen he smelled

smell of

*lyo | ylo'nēn | he pulls it \hspace{1em} gāgto'lēn he had been pulled out 45.2

out 42.8

*kheu | kheu'wōkvi* | he \hspace{1em} gēge'wulin he awoke 55.3

awoke 55.8

*tmā | timnān | he killed \hspace{1em} na'nmua'n they killed him 8.2

him 43.11

*qtin | qti i'n- lu' lqāl | pretty face \hspace{1em} nīghtin'qin he is pretty

*mk | mukrēn | more numerous 12.7

numeros 12.3

*nīpe | nīpe'ēt | they came \hspace{1em} gempel'lin they landed 12.9

ashore 7.8

*nīto | nīto'ē | he went out \hspace{1em} qanto'lēn he has gone out 8.4

56.4

§12
Stem

*ūt  āiti'rkīn it detaches itself  qē'ntilin it has detached itself

*nvi  ńo'orkīn he begins  gango'lēn he has begun

*rq  rī'gārkīn he digs  qē'rgilin he has dug out

*g'lo  qīlō'lēn the onesorrowing 27.12  nīglō'gēn she sorrowed 27.10

*rr  rū'rig  untying  63.12  nērrī'net they were untied 63.11

*rrl  rirrī'lrkīn he puts down  qērī'zin he has put down

   rirrī'lēnīn he let them go 121.33  nērrī'lhēn they set him free 8.2

*vyri  vāia'arkīn he lets go (an animal)  qārga'lēn he has let go

*wyo  wi'yowīu sling  qāwxo'ta with a sling

*llep  lîlē'pīt he looked  qāxē'pīt look! 79.11 (stem liq eye; -p to put on)

*ygu  yu'urkīn thou bitest it  qē'gūlin he has bitten it

*cvi  čuvi'pit piece cut  ninē'cōqīn they cut it 72.18

   off 72.19

*lū  lī'ńirkīn he has  tī'lhīgīt I have you as 15.8

him as

The change from initial r to medial n occurs only in transitive verbs:

re'urkīn thou piercest it  qēnē'lin he pierced  

ru'rkīn thou eatest it  qēnē'lin he ate it

but

rīnē'rkin he flies  qēri'ņelin he flew

Initial ti is sometimes replaced by tī (see § 2, p. 646).

čī'tī-čo'oča before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of tī'Lī-ttō'oča.

In a number of cases stems seem to be reduplicated when initial, and lose this reduplication in medial position.

mē'rintiq slow  nī'nekīn the slow one (stem nīg)

yārg'ņū house  gargo'lēn having a house (stem rg)

yārg'ņū sleeping-room  gargo'lēn having a sleeping-room (stem rg)

§12
Perhaps the initial \( y \) of the last two examples is derived from \( r \), as in Koryak it replaces \( r \).

Irregular is—

\[ y^\text{rerkin} \text{ he arranges a rein-} \quad g\text{eri'lelin} \text{ he has arranged a rein-} \]
\[ \text{deer driving-match.} \quad \text{deer driving-match} \]

When a stem consisting of a consonantic cluster stands alone, auxiliary vowels are introduced after the initial and before the terminal consonant.

\[ p\text{'nul news (stem } p\text{nul) } \]
\[ k\text{u'kil one-eyed man (stem } k\text{kl) } \]

§ 13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

The pronunciation of the women\(^1\) differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute \( 8 \) for \( c \) and \( r \), particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute \( 88 \) for \( rk \) and \( ch \). The sounds \( c \) and \( r \) are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring \( 8 \), sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce \( c \) and \( r \), and when quoting the words of a man,—as, for instance, in tales,—use these sounds. In ordinary conversation, however, the pronunciation of men is considered as unbecoming a woman.

Examples are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men's pronunciation</th>
<th>Women's pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra'mk\text{s}hin</td>
<td>sa'mki'shin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa'rkala</td>
<td>Pa'\text{s}sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b\text{u}m\text{n}a'ta</td>
<td>b\text{u}m\text{n}a'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čai\text{n}u'urqm</td>
<td>Šai\text{n}u'\text{b}sm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The men, particularly in the Kolyma district, drop intervocalic consonants, principally \( n \) and \( t \). In this case the two adjoining vowels are assimilated.

\[ n\text{itva'qat} < n\text{itva'qenat} \]
\[ g\text{e'mi}z\text{e}t < g\text{e'mi}\text{zinet} \]
\[ t\text{irkiir} < t\text{irkitir} \]

\(^1\) An example of woman's pronunciation is given in my Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, \textit{viii}, pp. 144, 145); and more fully in my Chukchee Materials pp. 121-126, Nos. 26, 27, 28.
It would seem that this process of elimination of intervocalic consonants has been very important in the development of the present form of the Chukchee (see § 10).

Among the maritime Chukchee, the men use both the fuller and shorter forms. Among all the branches of the tribe, women use only the fuller forms.

**Koryak (§§ 14–18)**

§ 14. **Vowels**

The system of vowels of the Koryak is considerably reduced. Corresponding to the Chukchee, we may distinguish three classes of vowels:

1. Weak vowels $i$, $\ddot{u}$, $u$
2. Strong vowels $e$, $\theta$, $o$
3. Neutral vowels $\{I, E, a\}$, $\ddot{u}$

In this series, $\theta$ and $\ddot{u}$ are rare
- $\theta$ is generally replaced by $o$
- $\ddot{u}$ is generally replaced by $i$ or $a$

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide $i$ is missing, $e$ has taken the place of $\dot{e}$, and a neutral that of $e$ weak and $a$ strong (see § 3).

Diphthongs formed with terminal $i$ and $u$ occur, but the $u$ of the Chukchee is often replaced by $w$ or $v$.

Kor. Kam. *apag'evkin* Chukchee *upag'urkin*

In the dialect of the Kerek, $i$ often replaces strong $e$, and is a strong vowel.

Kor. Kam. Kerek Chukchee

| $m\acute{e}m\acute{l}t$ thong-seal | $m\acute{e}m\acute{l}t$ thong-seal | $m\acute{e}m\acute{l}$ spotted seal |
| $t\ddot{a}n\ddot{n}\acute{e}'ti$ | $t\ddot{a}n\ddot{n}\acute{e}'ti$ | $t\ddot{a}n\ddot{n}\acute{e}'ti$ to a $t\ddot{a}n\ddot{n}\acute{in}$ |

I have observed that the Asiatic Eskimo, when speaking Chukchee, also have a tendency to replace $\dot{e}$ by $i$. They say—

$m\acute{e}\acute{m}il$ instead of Chukchee $m\acute{e}m\acute{il}$ spotted seal

$tir\dot{g}a'arkin$ instead of Chukchee $tir\dot{g}a'arkin$ he cries

I do not know whether this peculiarity of the Eskimo is related to that of the Kerek.
§ 15. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th></th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th></th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th></th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th></th>
<th>Trill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>(l, l) l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized alveolar</td>
<td>d’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( h, w, y, \)

§ 16. Comparison with Chukchee

The principal differences between this system and that of the Chukchee are found in the series of affricatives, laterals, and trills. The laterals and trills are absent in the Koryak of Kamenskoye.

1. ě is often replaced by e (in Kor. II, pronounced like English sh).

Koryak II oia’köciK Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee uuwa’qeë’gti Kor. 95.6)
ord’ceK Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I oyo’cek Kor. 101.1)

2. ě: and ğ: are replaced by a strong and long yy.

ko’yyon the one bought (Chukchee ko’j’o)

3. As in Chukchee, ğ is closely related to ě, s’, s, (see § 2).

la’xlañ winter     ěxëcex cold
ɡa’yi’sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8  tynyi’ilgatun I will sleep Kor. 31.8
pi’pi’kalun mouse Kor. 58.7  pi’pi’këa-naw Mouse-Woman Kor.
                                23.3
va’lv’mtlala’nañ to Raven- va’čevi-n’a’ut Raven-Woman Kor.
                               Man Kor. 12.4  18.4

Correspondences of Koryak ğ and Chukchee ě, s’, s, and vice versa, are also not rare.

Koryak yalgi’wikin he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee resqi’wkwit 11.2)
vos’që’ti to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee wu’lqit 126.1)

4. Koryak ğ is pronounced almost like Polish l (Russian л), the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the posterior part of the back of the tongue being depressed at the same time. The tip of the tongue is a little farther back than in the corresponding Polish sound. This sound may be recognized even preceding an i.

guvit’yalin he has died (Chukchee geviv’lin)

§§15, 16
The ordinary post-alveolar l is also found.

ñaw'änpił little woman.
milyä'qpił small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee l and ñ are replaced by a sonant sound produced by contact between the tip of the tongue and the upper teeth and between the back of the tongue and the palate. The sound is continued, and accompanied by a slight trill of the back of the tongue. Although this sound replaces both l and ñ of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, ñ.

(6) The Chukchee r is replaced in Koryak I by y, which, with preceding vowels, forms diphthongs.¹

The y of the Koryak is always pronounced with a raising of the tip of the tongue, which gives it a somewhat sibilant, strongly aspirated effect. In Paren it sounds sometimes almost like č.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koi'ñin</td>
<td>koi'ñin  cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va'ñkin Kor. 13.10</td>
<td>va'ñkin there is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nito'ñkin Kor. 12.5</td>
<td>nito'ñkin he goes out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaq'ñwikin Kor. 13.9</td>
<td>resqi'wñwik 11.2, 19.3 he entered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaq'ñkin Kor. 66.14</td>
<td>re'qñkin 18.6 what has happened to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tryayayilt'n I'll go home</td>
<td>va'qti'ç he goes home 122.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kor. 30.5</td>
<td>Paren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye'l't Kor. 60.1., 64.14</td>
<td>bé'lt there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'l'vi'inin</td>
<td>bé'l'vi'ñin he will vanquish him; but ya'l'vi'ñin Kor. 92.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a number of cases r is replaced by s', s, t, or č.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gøyri'çalin Kor. 17.3</td>
<td>geyrre'ñin 96.21 it was full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ëddalin Kor. 15.10</td>
<td>gel'ñilin 64.4 he had him for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griqolai'ti to a high place</td>
<td>giqo'ñilën 124.1 from above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kor. 20.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naçñin</td>
<td>nañgin 49.7 outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gëpr'qalin Kor. 84.11</td>
<td>gëpr'qalin she fell down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi'ssil Kor. 39.2</td>
<td>ri'rìk to untie something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'ssa Kor. 18.7</td>
<td>gir thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ini'sstiniñ Kor. 24.10</td>
<td>ini'rrini marble spike, awl (instrument to untie with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet'ssin Kor. 30.3</td>
<td>wet'ri on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qñin</td>
<td>-gëri'çin abstract noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palqa'ñitñin</td>
<td>palqa'tirgin old age</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ I have written the i corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with ñ, while for the sound corresponding to r I have retained y.
The sound \( r \) appears in Koryak I folk-lore as characteristic of several monsters and evil spirits. It is also used in Russian loan-words.

- \( ka'rm\)an pocket (from \textit{карманъ})
- \( preka's\)sek commercial agent (from \textit{прикащикъ})
- \( \text{da'qar}' \) sugar (from \textit{сахаръ})

In the last of these the \( r \) is palatalized.

(7) In Koryak II, \( r \) is used in the same way as in Chukchee, and also sometimes replaces the \( l \) of Koryak I.

- \( ka'mak-ru \) (village Reki'nnok)
- \( ka'mak-\ell \) (Kamenskoye)

In other cases \( r \) is replaced by \( t, s', \dot{c} \), as in Koryak I.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Chukchee & Kor. Kam. & Voyampolka, Kamchatka \\
\textit{t\'ork}k\textit{iti}r & \textit{ti'y}k\textit{iti}y Kor. 19.3 & \textit{t\'ork}k\textit{iti} \\
\textit{e\'\ddot{n}er} star & \textit{a'\ddot{n}ay} & \textit{e\'\ddot{n}er} \\
\textit{mu'ri} we & \textit{mu'y}i (dual) & \textit{mu'ri} (dual) \\
\end{tabular}

(8) The Chukchee \( r \) is replaced by \( y \) or by palatalization of the preceding consonant in Koryak I, by \( t \) in Koryak II.

Koryak I, \textit{gap\'e}ny\textit{ilen} he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee \textit{pen}r\textit{in\textsc{n}en} Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, \textit{gap\'e}nt\textit{ilen}, Kor. 96.26)

(9) In the dental series, \( s \) appears chiefly in place of Chukchee \( r \); \( \acute{c} \) sometimes replaces \( y \); \( t \) often replaces \( t\kern-1em k \).

- \textit{missa'}l\textsc{om}i we shall hear (Chukchee \textit{mirra}a'\textsc{om}i)
- \textit{\ddot{e}r'li}l tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee \textit{y'li}l 7.10)
- \textit{gitka'\textsc{t}i} legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee \textit{gitka'} 51.4)
- \textit{qi}lu't\textsc{tu} drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee \textit{qi}lu't\textsc{ki}v\textsc{t})

(10) \( y \) often replaces Chukchee \( g \).

- \textit{yik\textsc{d}a'we}k\textsc{in} he makes haste (Chukchee \textit{qu\textsc{i}ca'}\textsc{w}r\textsc{kin})
- \textit{tayye}n\textsc{e}v\textsc{d}o'\textsc{y}k\textsc{in} he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee \textit{te}g\textsc{g}r 102.35)

(11) \( v \) often replaces Chukchee \( w \). Initial \( v \) is much more frequent than initial \( w \).

- \textit{va}lo'm Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee \textit{walo'm} 32.7) to hear.

(12) \( \ddot{d} \) of the Kamenskoye dialect is analogous to the same sound in Chukchee, and appears after palatalized \( n \).

Kor. Kam. \( \ddot{n}aw-\ddot{r}nd\ddot{u}\ddot{\text{la}}\ddot{n} < \ddot{n}aw-\ddot{r}-nyu-\ddot{\text{la}}\ddot{n} \) the one serving for a wife (stems \( \ddot{n}aw \) woman; \( nyu \) to watch the herd)

Chukchee \( \textit{heun}d\textsc{d}u\textsc{lin} < \textit{heu-nyu-\textsc{lin} \) (stems \( \ddot{\text{nu}}w, -nyu [riv] \))
The Paren n in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word ́newi'nn'ulátn.

In the same way,—

Kamenskoye ́na'nd'en, or even ́na'njen (from ́na'nyen)
Paren ́na'n'en that one

(13) h is almost a velar continuant, and after consonants sounds similar to g.

*pala'the'nin and *pala'tge'nin
qyá'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣...
These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren e'ek lamp
Kor. Kam. a'ak
Chukchee e'ek

The Chukchee cluster lh is replaced by lũ in Kamenskoye.

Kor. Kam. ke'nmilnin root (Chukchee ke'nmilhin)

§17. Vocalic Ablaut

The range of the ablaut is more restricted in the Koryak of Kamenskoye than in Chukchee.

i changes into ī,

u changes into ū;

qũ'wlinat they said Kor. 21.2 ĝewũrc'len he said Kor. 14.4
nu'tanut country, land ya'nya-nota'lo foreigners but a as ablaut of e does not occur, both sounds being represented by a neutral a. The Chukchee ẽ is replaced by ē, the same sound that represents the ablaut of i.

The neutral a is exemplified in the following words of the Kamenskoye dialect:

Kor. Kam. Chukchee
kali'ykin (stem kalĩ)  ke'lmirkin (stem ke'li)
nu'tanut land (stem nũta)  nu'tenut (stem nũte)
d'kkạt sons (stem d'kka) ẽ'kkẽt (stem ūkku)
a'na'wikin thou approachest (stem ēme'urkin (stem ēmeu)
aimaw)

kama'naa dish (stem ka'ma)  kẽme'ni (stem kẽme)

Since a is neutral, these stems are also combined with weak vowels. For instance,

i'tēr-kama'na heavy dish (from i'tēr heavy, dear)

There are, however, cases in which the a represents the type ẽ, which requires the ablaut,

ẽ'vĩl-ta'mtam goitre, long tumor (stems ẽ'vũl long, ta'mtam tumor); Chukchee ta'mtam
qatap-e'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems qatap fish for winter use; īmat load); Chukchee qatap-e'mat

An example of the occurrence of ẽ, corresponding to Chukchee ē, is—

mē'yemegy tear (stem me'ye); Chukchee mē'remēr (stem mērē)
gapēnyilen she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem pẽny); Chukchee pẽ'ńrĩnẽn. Kor. 95.10 (stem pẽnř)

§17
Since the vowel-pair e-a, and the vowels ê and æ of Chukchee, are much more common than the i and u groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of i and u is not as rigidly required as in Chukchee. Particularly in word composition the weak vowels often remain uninfluenced by the strong vowels with which they come into contact. We find, for instance,—

\[ ngele'g'-mu'y\] instead of \( ngele'g'-mo'y \) we are left.

The weak i of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of thi and chi into ti and ci, does not occur, since the consonantic cluster remains unchanged.

\( pala'\theta'h\) or \( pala'\theta'h\) old age (compare Chukchee \( pala'\theta'h\) or \( pala'\theta'h\))

Initial u inserted before w, labialized k (\( wkw \)), and y, occurs here as in Chukchee, and is neutral.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( uwa'tikin )</td>
<td>( ukwe'grin ) (stem ( ukwe' ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyâ'quêhusband</td>
<td>uyâ'quê (stem uyâ'quê)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels e and æ. These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

\( gatai'kilin \) he kisses (stem \( gatai \))

\( gtei'kilin \) (stem \( t\gei \)) he has made

\( pala'ti-rgin \) < \( pala'\theta'h\) sea-fish

\( pala'ti-rgin \) < \( pala'\theta'h\) old age

\( \hat{\eta} \) generally remains unchanged before other consonants.

\( tam-pera'\) he looks well

\( giner\) they take meat out of kettle for me (stem \( mpe' \))

\( \hat{\eta} \) before other consonants occurs.

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

Lack of Vocalic Contraction.—When two vowels come together, contraction rarely occurs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( a)na'-( a)na' &lt; ( a)na'-( e)na' ) sea-fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \hat{\eta}v)ttin &lt; ( \hat{\eta}v)t ) she-dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Medial Consonantic Processes.—The alveolars t and c are not palatalized by following g or h (see § 7, 26).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( pala'ti-rgin ) &lt; ( pala'\theta'h) old age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \hat{\eta} \) generally remains unchanged before other consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( tam-pera') km &lt; ( ta)ni-pera') km he looks well</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( giner)mpe' ) they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( k \) before other consonants occurs.

§18
Chukchee  Koryak
nigtaqen < ni < kt-qen niktä'qen hard

The medial clusters km, pn, pn, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee  Koryak
geymiñel'lin < ge-kmiñel-lin gakmiñalin she brought forth a child
amñilka < a-pn'l-ka apñilka no news
namñila'tnat 78.4 < na-pn'-latnat gampnilaŋvo'[enau they told about Kor. 26.1

Auxiliary Vowels.—The most frequent auxiliary vowel is i; but a, which replaces Chukchee ä, also occurs.

Chukchee  Koryak
yara'ni  yaya'na house
nitiqgin  nis'teqin heavy

The terminal vowel i in Koryak often assumes a more perceptible nasalisation than the corresponding Chukchee sound (see § 2, p. 645).

ee'ti and ee'tin to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.

(Compare Chukchee aŋqa-bormë'ti to the seashore 67.17)

Initial Consonantic Clusters.—I have found the following initial clusters in the Koryak of Kamenskoye:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial sound</th>
<th>Second sound</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pè</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>pń</td>
<td>pń</td>
<td>p!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>ḳ</td>
<td>ḳ</td>
<td>ḳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q̣</td>
<td>q̣</td>
<td>q̣</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>ṃ</td>
<td>ṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that this table agrees well with the corresponding table in Chukchee (r being throughout replaced by y), except that tv occurs, which is impossible in Chukchee.

Kor. Kam.  Chukchee

trv'tixin he stands  vetë'd'æk (stem -tvëtdë)
ëtottai'nik-trv'tekin he stands gatvëtdë'ñen

on the outer part of the house Kor. 43.5

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—43

§18
However, *va’ykin* Kor. 13.10 < *tva-ya’kin* loses its initial *t*.

The changes that occur in consonant stems in medial and initial position are quite analogous to those of the Chukchee, except that *k* appears with following consonant in initial position. Other differences are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pn</em></td>
<td><em>pn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>km</em></td>
<td><em>wm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k</em> or <em>tk</em></td>
<td><em>rk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>q</em></td>
<td><em>tq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>v</em> or <em>tw</em></td>
<td><em>tv</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pih</em></td>
<td><em>pih</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>h</em></td>
<td><em>nv</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rih</em></td>
<td><em>rih</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tv</em></td>
<td><em>tv</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vy</em></td>
<td><em>vy</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>g</em></td>
<td><em>tg</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*pa’rikin* he whets
*tv’ikin* thou sewest it
*tii’rikin* thou sendest it
*kmii’rikin* she brings forth

*ku’yikin* thou buyest it
*pynye’kin* thou givest to him
*ga’i* you left Kor. 18.5
*ku’ikin* thou consumest it
*ki’plik* striking Kor. 62.4

*va’dikin* he is
*va’ivo’yikin* he begins to stay
Kor. 13.6
*tiv’tikin* he stands
*tv’etik* to stretch Kor. 38.8

*pui’ikin* thou tearest it out
*pį’lo’ikin* thou askest him
*tii’wikin* he blows
*ti’alikin* he moves

*tike’ikin* thou smelldest of

§18
**Handbook of Indian Languages—Chukchee**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{gito'len} ) he has pulled out ( 	ext{ga'nmlen} ) he has killed it Kor. 43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{ganto'len} ) he went out Kor. 48.6 ( 	ext{ganvo'len} ) he has begun Kor. 48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{gashi'lin} ) he has dug out ( 	ext{gayy'lin} ) he has untied it ( 	ext{nasi'v'nuqam} ) they are untying me Kor. 39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{gass'lin} ) he has put down ( 	ext{gavya'len} ) he has let go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{gawya'lyolen} ) there was a snowstorm Kor. 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{gaiq'ulin} ) he has bitten ( 	ext{gan'w'lin} ) he has pierced it ( 	ext{ganue'linat} ) they have eaten ( 	ext{qayu'nalin} ) he has put down (transitive) Kor. 57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( 	ext{gany'Ulin} ) he has fled (intransitive) ( 	ext{aqatapnivo'ykin} ) he looks bad Kor. 13.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dropping of Suffixes.—It may be mentioned here that all dialects of the Koryak tend to drop the last syllables or sounds—mostly suffixes—when these are not accented

Kor. Kam. \( 	ext{mi'mlqanmik} \) or \( 	ext{mi'mlqat} \) (Chukchee \( 	ext{mi'mlqanmik} \)) let us go!

Kor. Kam. \( 	ext{qae'lin} \), Kor. II (village Qare'lin) \( 	ext{geye'lin} \) or \( 	ext{geye'li} \) (Chukchee \( 	ext{ge'elin} \)), he has come

Kor. Kam. \( 	ext{vi'tvitpili} \), Kor. II (village Voyampolka) \( 	ext{vi'tvitpi} \), small seal

**Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)**

§ 19. Vowels

(1) Weak vowels \( egin{align*} А & i & e & u & ι & 
\end{align*} \)

(2) Strong vowels \( \begin{align*} 
\bar{a} & e & a & o & 
\bar{o} & \bar{o} & \bar{u} & 
\end{align*} \)

(3) Neutral vowels \( \begin{align*} 
I & E & I & ι & A & 
\bar{a} & \bar{o} & \bar{u} & 
\end{align*} \)
The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

`i` almost like a diphthong `ie`, long; a glide from long `i` to long `o`.

`e` like English `a` in `make`, long; lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

`e` French `eu` in `beurre`.

`ö` German `ö` in `öffnen`.

`ü` French `u` in `lune`, but harder; more like the Yakut `y`.

`o` English short `o` in `not`.

`u` English `u` in `hut`.

`ü` as in Chukchee.

`a`, `o`, `u` indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in `kحوال kōju`i`n`.

Unusual length and shortness are expressed by the macron and breve respectively.

§ 20. **Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Affricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Trill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td><code>p</code></td>
<td><code>p</code></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>m</code></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td><code>t</code></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td><code>s</code></td>
<td><code>z</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatized alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td><code>d</code></td>
<td><code>t</code></td>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td><code>s</code></td>
<td><code>z</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td><code>d</code></td>
<td><code>t</code></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>z</code></td>
<td><code>l</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td><code>k</code></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td><code>s</code></td>
<td><code>z</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td><code>q</code></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td><code>s</code></td>
<td><code>z</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td><code>s</code></td>
<td><code>z</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`w`, `y`, `h`

`f` is rather rare; for instance, in `flič` a fish of the genus `Coregonus`.

`x` German `ch` in `Bach`.

`x` German `ch` in `ich`.

`j` French `j` in `jour`, but with a weak preceding trill, somewhat like Polish `rz` in `rzeka`.

`z` sonant `s`, as in English `rose`.

`l` as in Koryak.

`w`, `y`, `h`, always consonantic.

`i`, `e`, glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in `nəl`nu`l`.

`l`, `e`, `n`, are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

§20
j, c, č, are often pronounced with the tip of the tongue in dental position, so that they attain a lisping character,—

j between z' and z
c between s' and s
č between ď and š

I am inclined to attribute this mannerism, which is affected by many individuals, to the influence of the speech of the Russian creoles and half-bloods, who have this peculiarity in the whole area between the Kolyma and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Krasheninnikoff's records there are only slight indications of this tendency.

It may be, however, that some of the older dialects had this tendency. Thus Krasheninnikoff writes (in my transcription)—

cemt (Western dialect) } earth, ground
semr (Southern dialect) } earth

At present in the western dialect, the only one surviving, the word is pronounced both cimt and simt.

§21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak

(1) Chukchee r, Koryak I 瘠,  сохр, or š, is replaced in most cases by j,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cimt</td>
<td>kr'ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semt</td>
<td>mu'ja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Chukchee and Koryak q is replaced by k or x.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qim</td>
<td>qim</td>
<td>kr'mma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ningi</td>
<td>yig'ning</td>
<td>xil'in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Initial q of the comitative and verbal prefix (see §§ 48, 64, 66) is replaced by kl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gene'wana</td>
<td>gana'wana</td>
<td>k!ne'cim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen'lina</td>
<td>gan'lina</td>
<td>k!nu'kin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Chukchee gw (Koryak gow) is replaced by xw.

xow'val thence

(5) Chukchee and Koryak w and v are replaced by hv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hvvata'p</td>
<td>vata'p</td>
<td>hvvata'pč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvvala</td>
<td>vala</td>
<td>hvvalč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvvut</td>
<td>vut</td>
<td>hvvjet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvvnvi</td>
<td>vnva</td>
<td>hvvnve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§21
(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by x or k preceding the vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'g'lin</td>
<td>e'nnin</td>
<td>xe'tten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'gLni</td>
<td>e'gLri, e'gL'lin</td>
<td>xe'hini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0'lel</td>
<td>0'la'li</td>
<td>ko'lol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'le'l</td>
<td>ala'al</td>
<td>ke'la'l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Chukchee l and z are replaced by tl and tē.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tle'a'k</td>
<td>tēck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) In Kamchadal, l, č, c, and j often replace another (see § 2, p. 646).

čhijč thou art    l'ič thou wert
ťaejčm I strike him  tělejčm I struck him

(9) In the Sedanka dialect, c changes to j; s changes to z; and sometimes k, k! change to q, q!

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čunečči'n</td>
<td>junečči'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōnk</td>
<td>zōnk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'la-tunx</td>
<td>zla-tomx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnčč</td>
<td>qčč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ōlčči'n</td>
<td>q'ččči'n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) In the Sedanka dialect there is also a tendency to drop the last syllables of suffixes. Not as many auxiliary vowels occur as in other dialects, and of double consonants one is always omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ā'tinčč</td>
<td>ā'nom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'osareččk</td>
<td>te'osxis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr'mma</td>
<td>kima'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) Instead of the pure n, we find an n with somewhat lateral pronunciation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okhotsk dialect</th>
<th>Sedanka dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E'nu</td>
<td>E'nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 22. Vocalic Ablaut

In Kamchadal the ablaut affects almost all the vowels, which are much more numerous than those of either Chukchee or Koryak.

\[ i \] changes to ě.  \[ u \] changes to q.
\[ i' \] changes to ě or q.  \[ ū \] changes to q.
\[ ě \] changes to q.  \[ ě \] changes to ě or q.
Examples:

\( k'ist\)ñk at the house \( k'ist\)ñk to the house (stem \( ki\)ñt

\( s'ynk\) in the wood \( s'ynk\) to the wood (stem \( s'yn\)

\( t\)ç'\( ix\)ñk by them \( t\)ç'\( ix\)ñk\( ke\) to them (stem \( t\)\( ix\)

\( k\)ç'\( px'ynk\) in the trough \( k\)ç'\( px'ynk\) to the trough (stem \( k\)\( px\))

\( k\)ç'\( x'ynk\) in the river \( k\)ç'\( x'ynk\) to the river (stem \( k\)\( x\))

\( k\)ç'\( k'\-h\)ümniñ he cooked it \( k\)ç'\( k'\-h\)ümniñ he began to cook it

The obscure vowels \( i, e, a, ù\), are neutral, as are also \( e, a, ò\). In this respect Kamchadal differs from Chukchee, in which dialect vowels that are hard or weak never appear as neutral.

In Kamchadal the initial vowels of suffixes, and auxiliary vowels, are also subject to the ablaut, their form being determined by the vocalic character of the stem, which is generally monosyllabic. Thus a system develops which is somewhat similar to the vocalic harmony of the Ural Altaic languages.

\( k'ist\)ñk at the house \( k'ist\)ñk to the house (stem \( ki\)ñt

\( k\)ç'\( px'ynk\) at the trough \( k\)ç'\( px'ynk\) to the trough (stem \( k\)\( px\))

\( t\)ç'\( px\)ñk I always live in the woods (\( t\) I; \( s'yn\) wood; \( ù\) auxiliary vowel; \( l\)o to live; \( t\) always; \( ùk\) I)

§ 23. Other Phonetic Processes

Consonantic Clusters.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, \( k\)ç'\( t\)ñt, \( t\)ç'\( x\)ñk, \( t\)ç'\( x\)ñk, \( t\)ç'\( x\)ñk, \( k\)ç\( l\)ñkñ.

Sometimes auxiliary vowels are inserted, or some of the consonants have a decided vocalic resonance, but more often the clusters are free from vocalic elements. The peculiar consonantic character of pronunciation may be observed also among the Russianized Kamchadal; and the natives are taunted by the Russian creoles, and even in the intercourse of various villages, on account of this peculiarity of their speech. Nevertheless not all consonantic clusters are admissible.

\( l\) changes to \( n\l\).

\( ko'lo'il\) (absolute form), \( ko'lo'inl\) <\( ko'lo\)-\( l\) (instrumental), snow

\( e'\)lñrñ (absolute form), \( i\)ñl <\( ùk\)-\( l\) (instrumental), ear (pl. \( ùl\))

§ 23
Note, however,

\[\text{lul (absolute form), lul-l' < lul-l' (instrumental), eye}\]

**Auxiliary Vowels.**—Auxiliary vowels are introduced to avoid consonant clusters originating by composition, although the corresponding clusters may be admissible in the stem itself. All neutral vowels perform this function. Although \(i\) is more frequent than all the others, \(\ddot{u}, e, e, (a)\), are also found rather often.

\[\text{lul-l' < lul-l' eye}\]
\[\text{tvetat'jk < tvetat-jk I work}\]

**Initial Clusters.**—The prefix \(k!\) is omitted before \(k\) and \(k!\)

\[\text{k!ö'lënín he has come}\]

The prefix \(k\) before initial \(k\) and \(k!\) changes to \(x\).

\[\text{xe'jwēık accept him}\]

The prefix \(t\) of the first person singular is dropped before verbal stems with initial \(t\).

\[\text{tēlin < tēl'in I struck him}\]

The prefix \(t\) of the first person singular changes to \(č\) before verbal stems with initial \(či\) or \(čr\).

\[\text{kr'rna ččō'niŋjk < t-činįŋ-jk I sew}\]

**Compare also**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ē'tqīn</td>
<td>ā'če'n</td>
<td>ē'čelāx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuvwēlka'lıhin</td>
<td>četčel'nin</td>
<td>či'xčax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems with the initial clusters \(lk\) and \(rk\), when appearing at the beginning of a word, add a preceding vowel.

\[\text{vēlkaruŋc < lk-r-jc (Chukchee qät'rkin < lūqät-rkin) he leaves}\]

In other cases the Chukchee \(l\) or \(r\) of these clusters is replaced by \(č\) and \(c\) respectively.

\[\text{cklā'ujk < cklau-jk (Chukchee kīla'urkin < rkīlau-rkin) he runs}\]

§ 24. **Accent**

In all three languages the accent usually recedes to the beginning of the word, even as far as the fourth or fifth syllable from the end.

Chukchee \(pa'riłınę\) shoulder-blade

Kor. Kam. \(neq'éshiqenat\) those two that have been bought

Kamchadal \(k'itä'tlkajukän\) they began to perform the ceremonial
To give emphasis to the word, the accent may be thrown upon the last syllable, the vowel of which then changes to o.

Chukchee  \textit{trip\'en\'irko'\textquoteright n} < \textit{trip\'en\'irkm}\textsuperscript{2}
Kor. Kam.  \textit{tipenn\'eko'\textquoteright n} < \textit{tripe\'nn\'ekm}\textsuperscript{1}
Kamchadal  \textit{trip\'enc\'ijo'\textquoteright n} < \textit{tripe\'ncijin}\textsuperscript{1}

\textbf{MORPHOLOGY (\S\S\ 25–129.)}

\section*{§25. Morphological Processes}

The Chukchee group of languages uses a great variety of morphological processes for expressing grammatical relations. The unity of the syntactic group which forms a close unit is maintained by a law of vocalic harmony which requires that if one vowel of the unit is strong, all the others, that may be either weak or strong, must also take the strong form. This law does not act in any particular direction; but whenever a strong vowel appears in any part of the word, it strengthens all the other preceding and following vowels. In the present condition of the language, this law is not quite strictly confined to certain vowels; but a few stems and endings that have no vocalic element except auxiliary vowels are always strong. It may be, of course, that here strong vocalic elements have been lost.

Stems appear almost always with morphological affixes. Only particles and a number of nouns occur as independent members of the sentence in the form of the simple stem, their independence being indicated by their failure to modify their weak vowels in conformity with the strong vowels of those words with which they are most closely associated. The general occurrence of nominal affixes, and the restriction of stem forms occurring independently to certain phonetic types of nouns, make it plausible that we are dealing here also with a loss of older affixes. If this view should be correct, there would be no forms of nouns or verbs and related classes of words without affixes. Either the stems consist of consonantic clusters or they are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Only predicative stems consist of consonantic clusters. Denominative stems have fuller phonetic values. In all polysyllabic stems a certain symmetry of form is required by the laws of vocalic harmony; so that in the same stem we find, besides neutral vowels, only strong vowels or only weak vowels.

\section*{§25}
Owing to the inadmissibility of extended consonantic clusters, and to the avoidance of initial consonantic clusters, stems undergo important changes due to the insertion of auxiliary vowels, to elision of consonants, or modification of consonants, according to the position and connections of the stems in the word.

Composition of stems is of extended use; and we find many types of composition of denominative, predicative, and of denominative with predicative stems, which form firm units. Owing to the significance of some of these stems, they never appear outside of such compounds, and therefore take on the aspects of elements that are no longer free, although their phonetic character and general appearance are such that they might appear as independent elements. Certain particles are also incorporated in the word complex. The stems which are united in such synthetic groups influence one another according to the laws of vocalic harmony and by contact phenomena, which often modify the terminal sound of the first member of a compound, and the initial sound of the following member, or cause the introduction of auxiliary vowels. Although ordinarily these compounds originate by a simple juxtaposition of stems, there are cases in which certain formative elements may be recognized.

The function of a simple or compound nominal or verbal unit in the sentence is further determined by reduplication, prefixes, and suffixes.

Reduplication is confined to denominating concepts, and is of peculiar character, the first part of the stem being repeated at the close of the stem as far as the first consonant following the first vowel. This gives the impression of a partially suppressed repetition of the stem: for instance, stem *orgo* sledge, reduplicated *orgo-or*.

Both prefixes and suffixes are numerous. The same phonetic laws that cause a differentiation of the forms of the stem cause differentiation in the manner of joining affixes to the stems or to the compounds. In some cases a distinction between compounds and words with affixes is difficult to draw, neither is it possible to carry through a rigid distinction between nominal and verbal affixes. There is great freedom in the use of stems for either predicative or denominative purposes.

In the Chukchee language nominal concepts are classified as common nouns and proper names. A nominal singular and plural occur, but in Koryak we find besides these a dual. As in many

§25
American languages, the relation between subject and predicate is conceived differently in the case of the transitive and of the intransitive verb.

The relation between noun and verb is expressed by inflection of the noun. A subjective form of the noun expresses the subject of the transitive verb and an absolute form designates the subject of the intransitive and the object of the transitive verb. The subjective form is primarily instrumental. It expresses also the object which is used in the performance of an action as: cooking (with) meat. It would seem that the transitive verb has primarily a passive significance, but this view does not satisfactorily explain many of the forms.

Locative ideas—in, at, towards, from—are expressed by means of nominal postpositions. These are given extended meanings and are applied to express a variety of relations between verb and indirect object. The genitive relation is not ordinarily expressed by postpositions and is not analogous to a case form, but is rather expressed by derivatives which signify, pertaining to, belonging to. These elements are even added to the personal pronoun to express possessive relations. The characteristic American incorporated possessive pronoun is not found. Demonstrative ideas are expressed with great nicety particularly in the Chukchee dialect. The syntactic forms of the personal demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are analogous to the corresponding forms of proper names.

In the predicate are expressed singular and plural, (in Koryak also dual), tense and modality. There is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. Declarative and interrogative have the same forms. Among the tenses only the future is derived from the verb theme in a manner analogous to the formation of modes. A continuative is expressed by a derived form, the verbal theme being expanded by the suffix-\textit{rkm}. Other temporal concepts are expressed by nominal derivatives, and temporal subordination is often expressed by syntactic forms of the verbal noun. Other modes are a subjunctive, expressing conditional and other subordinate clauses—which, however, is very rarely used,—an exhortative and an imperative.

The verb complex consists of pronominal prefixes which enter into combination with temporal and modal prefixes. These are followed
by the verbal theme which takes additional temporal and modal suffixes. The end of the verbal complex is a pronominal suffix. In the transitive verb, the pronominal prefix designates the subject, the pronominal suffix the object. There is a strong tendency to express the predicate in the form of a predicating noun analogous to a relative clause. For instance, instead of I KILL THE REINDEER, the Chukchee will say, THE REINDEER ARE THE ONES WHOM I KILLED. These forms receive a treatment different from that of the true verb.

Stems may be developed by affixing subordinate elements. There are a number of attributive elements of this class such as large, small, numerous. Furthermore, we find locative terms such as, what is on, with, on top of, near, inside of something else and also, what is similar to, what is used for, what is provided with something, a receptacle for something. Nominal forms derived from verbs are abstract nouns, results of actions, instruments. The verb is developed by adverbial suffixes expressing for instance, reciprocity, a desiderative, single action, intensity, beginning, duration, causation, negation and also ideas like, to feel like something or the bad temper of the speaker. Verbs derived from nouns are to bring, take off, look for, consume something. Prefixes are quite numerous and are largely of an attributive or adverbial character as, a little, quite, all, entirely, merely, somewhat, truly, not.

Furthermore, words may be compounded quite freely, adverbs with verbs, verbal stems among themselves, nouns among themselves. Nouns are also incorporated in the verbal complex, both as the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. Such incorporated themes are used both for habitual and single actions.

§ 26. Comparison of Dialects

The chief differences between Chukchee and Koryak lie in the lesser amount of consonantic decay of stems in Koryak, the modification of stems due to phonetic processes being considerably less extended in the latter dialect; in the lesser extent of the occurrence of the ablaut in the Koryak; and in the substitution of other consonants for the Chukchee r, which process is more pronounced in Koryak I than in Koryak II. Besides this, Koryak I is characterized by the restriction of the forms of the Chukchee plural to the dual, while a distinct form
is used by all the Koryak dialects, even those that have no dual for expressing the plural.

Chukchee and Koryak are so much alike, that the languages, are mutually intelligible at least in part. On the northern border of the Koryak territory a considerable amount of lexicographic borrowing may be noticed, which extends even as far as the Anadyr country. Thus we find—

Kolyma Chukchee \textit{teg\'e\'nirkin} he desires
Anadyr Chukchee \textit{teg\'e\'nirkin} or \textit{gaima\'tirkin}
Koryak, Kamenskoye \textit{taj\'ja\'nirkin} or \textit{gaima\'tekin}

Of these words, the first one is common to Chukchee and Koryak, while the second is Koryak and is borrowed from them by the Anadyr Chukchee.

Kolyma Chukchee \textit{w\'etha\'urkin} he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee \textit{w\'etha\'urkin} and \textit{vanava\'tirkin}
Koryak, Kamenskoye \textit{vetha\'e\'ekin} and \textit{vanava\'te\'ekin}

The lexical differences between Koryak and Chukchee are considerable. Still certain Chukchee words that do not occur in the Kamenskoye dialect re-appear in other dialects, some even in remote villages in the valleys of Kamchatka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGAIN</th>
<th>NEGATION (refusal)</th>
<th>WHALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chukchee</td>
<td>\textit{lu'm'na}</td>
<td>\textit{qar'e'm}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak, Kamenskoye</td>
<td>\textit{g'ul'ma}</td>
<td>\textit{gaye'm}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak II Qare''um</td>
<td>\textit{i'nnik}</td>
<td>\textit{i'hut}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka)</td>
<td>\textit{li'g'i'men}</td>
<td>\textit{gat'e'mmi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerek</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamchadal</td>
<td>———</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, however, all branches of the Koryak, even in their most distinct dialects,—like those of the Kerek near Cape Anannon on Bering Sea, and of Voyampiloka on the Sea of Okhotsk,—are much more closely related among themselves than to the Chukchee.

In the pronunciation of men of the Kolyma district many intervocalic consonants are dropped (see § 13). This is not so common among the men of the Anadyr Chukchee, who use both the fuller forms and those with dropped consonants. Among the Kolyma people the difference between the pronunciation of men and that of women is so regular that the use of the fuller forms by the eastern people lays them open to ridicule as using the speech of women.
Nouns (§§ 27-55).

§ 27. General Remarks

The noun appears in a number of forms and with a number of suffixes, the interpretation of which is not easy. A few of these have clearly purely syntactic meaning, while others appear rather as post-positions which are somewhat loosely connected with the noun. Some elements of this group seem to form compound nouns, while I suspect that others may have a verbal character.

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

1) The absolute form, which expresses the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb.

2) The absolute form, plural.

3) The subjective form, which expresses the subject of the transitive verb, and the instrument with which an action is performed. In several cases our indirect object appears as direct object, while our direct object appears as instrument, somewhat as in the two expressions I GIVE IT TO HIM and I BESTOW HIM WITH IT. In Kamchadal this form is not used for the subject of the transitive verb, but the locative-possessive. In Koryak sometimes the one form is used, sometimes the other.

4) The locative possessive expresses the place where an event happens or where an action is performed. With terms designating living beings it expresses possession.

Suffixes which express the allative and ablative form a second group. These are not so distinctively syntactic forms, but give the impression of post-positions, particularly since they appear sometimes in composition with syntactic forms of the first group.

A third class, quite distinct from the first two in form as well as in function, comprises derivations of nouns and verbs which express WHAT BELONGS TO, WHAT PERTAINS TO, THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF SOMETHING, THE POSSESSOR OF, THE MEASURE OF BEING IN A CERTAIN CONDITION. These are frequently used to express the relations between two nouns or between an adjective and a noun.

The fourth class expresses mainly various types of emphatic forms of the noun.

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.

§27
The Absolute Form (§§ 28-32).

§ 28. ABSOLUTE FORM EXPRESSED BY STEM

The absolute form of the noun serves to express the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. It shows a great variety of formations.

The absolute form is expressed by the nominal stem. This form can occur only in those cases in which the terminal sound is a vowel or a single consonant. Since no ending occurs, the stem has no ablaut.

Examples are—

(1) Stems with terminal vowels:

\[ \text{kitve'yu old walrus 8.12, 14} \]
\[ \text{æ's'qé'ku a barren doe 97.17} \]
\[ \text{æ's'qé'ku a barren doe 97.17} \]
\[ \text{qe'li cap 30.6} \]
\[ \text{venke'níu a mother doe 117.9} \]
\[ \text{lo'lo penis 45.1} \]

(2) Stems or compounds with single terminal consonant (including diphthongs in \( i \) and \( u \)). To this class belong words ending in \( y, w, p, m, t, n, k, č, r, q, l \).

\[ \text{elg'qí little mother 35.5} \]
\[ \text{ni'nqál little child 37.14} \]
\[ \text{mi'rgův a suit of armor 116.24} \]
\[ \text{re'w whale 73.4} \]
\[ \text{inprí'ní old woman 19.5} \]
\[ \text{tm'níp blue fox 96.17} \]
\[ \text{re'lo'up quid 117.12} \]
\[ \text{vé'm river 37.3 (Koryak ve'- yum, va'yan Kor. 17.6, according to dialect) 85.23} \]
\[ \text{re't trail 37.1} \]
\[ \text{le'ut head 44.11 (Koryak la'- wut Kor. 82.11) 68.12} \]
\[ \text{n'é'ván wife 36.3 (Koryak na'- wan) 106.18} \]
\[ \text{A'i'wan the Ai'wan 7.1 35.5} \]
\[ \text{na'ingan belly 43.9} \]
\[ \text{wu'vá'qúé husband 105.12 117.9} \]
\[ \text{ke'per wolverene 78.2, qé'per 92.21 (ke'perä 78.11) (Koryak qapay) 117.10} \]
\[ \text{kri'ngór three-year-old doe 92.19} \]
\[ \text{wu'qílka'qíq game 84.28 (Koryak gi'yínik Kor. 61.8) 68.12} \]
\[ \text{ur'qíq white whale 96.9 106.18} \]
\[ \text{o'Laq sea-lion 65.16} \]

\[ \text{rù'lu carcass 65.14} \]

\[ \text{e'lhar polar fox 92.19} \]
\[ \text{m'tvul'tíriv son-in-law 80.6} \]
\[ \text{w'úl thong-seal 70.7} \]
\[ \text{pè'nvel two-year-old buck 61.5} \]
\[ \text{m'nvil seal 96.4 (Koryak me'- mil Kor. 90.6) 85.23} \]
\[ \text{li'nívul story 61.5} \]
\[ \text{pè'kul butcher-knife 85.23} \]
\[ \text{(Kor. pà'qúl Kor. 78.23) 61.6} \]
\[ \text{nélóul herd 49.3} \]
\[ \text{qé'ptíriv backbone 51.3} \]
\[ \text{qá'ul man 43.1 (Kor. qá'wul} \]
\[ \text{Kor. 17.4) 117.9} \]
\[ \text{nu'vík body 35.11 (Kor. 32.5) 117.9} \]
\[ \text{ka'mak evil spirit 61.6 (Kor. 35.5) 117.9} \]
\[ \text{a'i'mak carcass 81.17 35.5} \]
\[ \text{grinník game 84.28 (Koryak gi'yínik Kor. 61.8) 68.12} \]
\[ \text{d'ék lamp 68.12, 106.18 117.10} \]
\[ \text{pu'req white whale 96.9 117.10} \]
(3) Stems ending in two consonants generally insert a vowel in the terminal consonant cluster.

*qé'pil* football (stem *qepil*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pil*; Kor. Par. *qepil*)
*má'qim* arrow 75.23
*lo'nil* walrus-blubber 47.4
*pr'nil* tidings 61.5
*će'nil* trunk 96.3

§ 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

(1) Monosyllabic stems are doubled. When the contact between the last consonant of the repeated word and of the stem form an inadmissible cluster, the usual changes occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nim</em></td>
<td><em>ni'mnim</em> settlement 7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kér</em></td>
<td><em>kē'r'kēr</em> combination-suit 37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yn</em></td>
<td><em>di'ndin</em> fire 39.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>el</em></td>
<td><em>ē'lel</em> excrement 80.11; (<em>ē'lu</em> 81.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>līq</em></td>
<td><em>lī'gliq</em> (Kor. <em>līgig</em>); egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rig</em></td>
<td><em>ri'grig</em> hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>om</em></td>
<td><em>o'mom</em> (Kor. <em>o'mom</em>) heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>līn</em></td>
<td><em>lī'nil</em> heart (see §31, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>poû</em></td>
<td><em>po'mpo</em> fly agaric (see §31, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuv</em></td>
<td><em>tu'wтуw</em> word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oč</em></td>
<td><em>o'čōč</em> chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cot</em></td>
<td><em>bo'tcot</em> bag-pillow 29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wūt</em></td>
<td><em>wu'twūt</em> leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gil</em></td>
<td><em>gilgil</em> sea ice 8.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kič</em></td>
<td><em>ki'lič</em> navel string Kor. 63.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pip</em></td>
<td><em>pi'pip</em> comb Kor. 78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vīl</em></td>
<td><em>vi'tvīl</em> ringed seal Kor. 17.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nai</em></td>
<td><em>nai'nai</em> mountain Kor. 42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vīr</em></td>
<td><em>vī'vīr</em> breath Kor. 33.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Stems ending in a consonant cluster always insert an auxiliary vowel (§ 8), and therefore appear in disyllabic form. The reduplication consists in the repetition of the beginning of the word at the

---

1 Compare §2, p 645.
end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilh</td>
<td>pilhipil famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qèrg</td>
<td>gèrger light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìrk</td>
<td>tèrket sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>térg</td>
<td>tèrgètèr crying 20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìrg</td>
<td>tìrgetir meat 48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumg</td>
<td>tuŋgitun companion 103.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitk</td>
<td>mìtkämìt blubber 47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qèrg</td>
<td>gèrger light (Kor. Kam. gesh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vryèl</td>
<td>vryèlvryèl image (vryèlvryèl Kor. 32.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of words of this group, particularly those beginning with a vowel, repeat the stem vowel before the repeated syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>org</td>
<td>o'rgoor sledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omk</td>
<td>o'mköom 79.5 willow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wus'q (Kor. Kam. wus'q)</td>
<td>wus's'wus (Kor. wus's'wus cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td>e'leel summer (Kor. Kam. a'laal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>i'lìiì rain(Kor.Kam.mù'gambarq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yäg</td>
<td>{yägä'q} nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(yil) yìliil</td>
<td>yìliil language 7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yèr</td>
<td>yì'riir a full one 86.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to this group are—

| enn        | eì'veei part of meat given to neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam. aì'vaaì cf. Kor. 63.12) enné'n fish (Kor. Kam. ennâ'n) |

(3) Some bases which end in inadmissible sound-clusters have initial or terminal reduplication, and insert auxiliary vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìml (Kor. ìml)</td>
<td>mì'mìl water (Kor. mì'mìl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlù (Kor. mlù)</td>
<td>mìl'mìl louse (Kor. mìl'mìl; mìl'mìl Kor. 55.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elv, ilv (see elvètulü 89.32; ge'lvulin 88.1)</td>
<td>ilìhvìlì wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. ìlvì, ìllìhvì)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>më're kërë</td>
<td>më'remë're tears 116.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go'kë 41.5</td>
<td>go'këgo'kë snuff 41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yile (see 90.2)</td>
<td>yilei marmot 89.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yili (Kor. čil)</td>
<td>yililililil tongue 48.8 (Kor. čilil) Kor. 56.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quli</td>
<td>qulique voice 44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nute</td>
<td>nuteanuluit land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilga(t) (Kor. Kam. yilgo[t])</td>
<td>yilgailil sleep (Kor. Kam. yilqayil)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak:

| më'tqa       | më'tqamit oil Kor. 90.17                |
| qanqan       | qanqagan fire Kor. 30.8                |
| ki'kka       | ki'kakil shell-fish Kor. 70.2          |

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

eñe'neñen southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Reduplicated absolute form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o'mlax</td>
<td>o'mom heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'twolax</td>
<td>a'te'atx light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twënlax</td>
<td>twëntëun darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpilhe'tijk</td>
<td>pilhipil and pël'hëpël famine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Kamchadal forms of duplication and reduplication for the absolute forms are:

| kë'wëvwax rain (stem éwx)                  | pël'lapal leaf (stem pal)                |
| kë'mloköm marrow (Chukchee kë'mil; Kor. Kam. kë'mil) | lu'ñulululul heart (Chukchee lu'ñi; Kor. lu'ñi) |

Note 1.—A number of stems which in Koryak form their absolute form by duplication have different forms in Chukchee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go'pki</td>
<td>ve'pka'wep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'rikë</td>
<td>yi'ya'yi'kë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presumably the Koryak has retained here the older forms.

Note 2.—In a few cases the reduplicated or doubled form is used not only in the absolute form, but also with other suffixes and in composition.

§29
Marker combination-suit (stem kër); Kor. I key’key (stem key); kër’gëpë and kër’gëpë from the combination-suit; kër’kërik in the combination-suit
ña’wker woman’s suit
nimnë’ngëpë from the settlement 10.12
gélgél’tkinik on the ice fields 7.3; gél’tkinik on the sea-ice 9.2
mémél’tkinik on top of the water 9.3

Note 3.—It is not impossible that the forms
yara’ñi house
yoro’ñi sleeping-room (see § 30)
yar’rar drum
contain reduplicated stems in which the initial r has changed to y.

§ 30. SUFFIXES -n, -ñi

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffixes, in Chukchee -n, -ñi, in Koryak -ñe, -ńa, according to dialect.

Lumëtun name of a spirit 22.6
kükeñi kettle (ku’kek 75.13); Kor. Kam. kukañi; Kor. Par. kukeñi
yoroñi sleeping-room 107.9
yarañi house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. yayañi Kor. 22.4)
kmënñi dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (kama’gti to a dish 88.24) (Kor. kamañi Kor. 64.3)
qorñi reindeer 51.6
ripëñi stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. yipañi Kor. 43.2)
cëñi wolf 78.2, 96.28
ipañi broth (Kor. ipañi Kor. 28.6)

Stems ending in two consonants, or in consonants that can not form clusters with the terminal n, take the ending -n with a connective vowel, i, e; after q the connective vowel is a (Kor. Kam. a).

po’gin spear 97.27 (po’go 117.29) (Kor. po’gin)
nan’qan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. na’ngan)
rgbolgùn cellar 36.8 (rgbolgë’ti to the cellar 36.10)
re’mkñi people 8.8, 10 (re’mkù 107.20) (Kor. ya’mkñi Kor. 39.7)
tul’mùn companion 38.12 (tul’mât 37.7)
gìthinn lake 37.4 (gìthik in a lake 37.5)
úpa’lhin tallow 87.4 (úpa’lha 86.23)
gìlhìn skin 23.9
gêla’rgìn gray fox 96.14
e’tin fat (Kor. a’êtin Kor. 15.4)
el’gin father 73.10 (stem l)
ke'ńi'kövín boy 11.7
kopá'lhín walrus-blubber 12.6 (kopá'lha 14.11)
yi'lqin month 7.2
a'v'tín dog 135.20 (a'v'ttä'ń Kor. 48.8)
ke'ńin brown bear 78.3 (ke'ńin 136.20) (Kor. Kam. ke'ńin)
re'lói'ńin big old carcass 136.19
kokái'ńin big kettle 33.10
i'rrin fur shirt 83.24 (i'ru 116.26)
wuk'wun stone (stem wuk'w R 3.19) (Kor. vu'gvin)
ni'lı'ńin thong 41.10 (Kor. ni'lı'ńin Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings -lı'ń, -yın, -lı'ń, -gırın, -yırın -lin (see § § 52; 53; 98; 1,99,8; 106, 44)

§ 31. ABSOLUTE FORM WITH LOSS OF PHONETIC ELEMENTS

(1) Stems ending in a vowel weaken their terminal vowel or lose it entirely. Those ending in ħ often change it to i slightly nasalized.

va'le knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem va'la)
ri'rki walrus 8.5
ke'le an evil spirit 61.6
ci'mänı'ı'ı'ı buck (stem ci'männä)
krim'i'ńtı three-year-old buck 117.11
u'mkäbear 110.11
wi'ür scraping board (stem wi'urı)
e'wič small bag (stem ewiču)

In case the loss of terminal vowel results in an inadmissible terminal cluster, auxiliary vowels are introduced:

e'kik son (stem ekke)
e'rim, e'rem chief (stem erme)
külkül one-eyed (stem kuwle <*kukle)
luk'kül driving-reindeer, not properly broken in; (stem luwle <*lukle?)

(2) Stems ending in -nv lose their terminal v.

e'wgan incantation 129.18 (stem e'wganv)
e'tın master 122.38 (stem e'tınv)

(3) Stems ending in n with preceding vowel drop the terminal n or at least reduce its pronunciation to a voiceless n. This occurs particularly in Chukchee.

§31
A number of stems with consonant ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in a, e, or i, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

(4) A number of stems with consonant ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in a, e, or i, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

§32 SPECIAL FORMS

A number of pronouns form the absolute form in a special manner.

(1) Personal pronouns.

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§32 SPECIAL FORMS

A number of pronouns form the absolute form in a special manner.
mu'ri (Kor. dual mu'yi, pl. mu'yu; Kamch. mu'ja) we (stem murg- [Kor. mu'ch-, Kamch. m'jg-])

tu'ri (Kor. dual tu'yi, pl. tu'yu; Kamch. tu'ja) ye (stem turg- [Kor. tu'ch-, Kamch. t'jg-])

E'rri (Kor. dual a'čči, pl. a'čču; Kamch. iti) they (stem erg- [Kor. a'čč-, Kamch. t'č-])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

me'ñin who (stem mik-) (Kor. ma'ki [stem mik])

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

rā'nut what (stem req) (Kor. yi'nya [stem yaq])

ni'rkīnut a certain one (stem nīrk̡) (Kor. nī'yka, nī'ykhīnut [stem nīyk̡a])

ni'kīnut a certain thing (stem nīk̡)

**Dual and Plural (§§ 33-35).**

§ 33. GENERAL REMARKS

Chukchee, Koryak II, and Kamchadal have only two numbers; while Koryak I has also a dual, which corresponds in form to the plural of the Chukchee. The plural of the Koryak, both I and II, presents a set of distinct forms.

§ 34. PLURAL OF COMMON NOUNS

The plural of common nouns occurs only in the absolute form. In Chukchee it is formed by the suffix -t. Stems ending in l, r, n, č, y, t, take -t̠ instead.

* bileťt eyes*  
* e'kket sons*  
* qu'tti the others 115.17*  
* qla'ult̠e̱ men 121.9*  
* yičemre't̠ti brothers 64.3*  
* ňe'wânt̠i women 50.4, 6*  
* ňeus'qâ't̠ti women 112.5*  

* pe'kulti butcher-knives 84.21*  
* ňe'ngâiti children 112.10, 15; 113.12*  
* ňe'ngâgti 51.10*  
* a̱t̠t'qâgti pups 122.18*  
* ymp̠̊e'wâgâti little old women 45.1*  
* le'utti heads 86.8*  

Words which have a double stem form (see § 31, 4), have also double forms in the plural.

* Ai'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems aiwan, aiwana); plural ai'wanë, ai'wanat*  
* uvoś'quč husband (stems uvoś'quč, uvoś'quč̠); plural uvoś'qutti, uvoś'quč̠*  
* i'li̱r island (stems ili̱r, ili̱r̠); plural ili̱t̠t̠i, ili̱r̠t̠*  

§§33-34
Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

\[ \text{lila't} \] two eyes
\[ \text{qo'yat} \] two reindeer (Chukchee qa'at reindeer)
\[ \text{vai'amit} \] two rivers (Chukchee ve'emit rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by \(-u\) after terminal consonants, \(-wgi\), \(-vvi\) (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

\[ \text{gla'wulu} \] men Kor. 44.3
\[ \text{na'witqatu} \] women Kor. 44.2
\[ \text{gai-pi'kalnu} \] little mice Kor. 25.6
\[ \text{na'aka'ku} \] daughters Kor. 27.1
\[ \text{a'gimu} \] bags Kor. 28.5
\[ \text{kmvi'n} \] children Kor. 44.7
\[ \text{vai'amui} \] rivers (stem vaiam)
\[ \text{lila'wgi} \] eyes
\[ \text{mimlu'wgi} \] lice Kor. 25.4
\[ \text{im'adanlu'wge} \] ermines Kor. 66.18
\[ \text{qoya'wgi} \] reindeer (stem qoya; qoya'we Kor. 22.4)
\[ \text{qa'pay'u} \] wolverines (\(<\text{qapay-u}\) Kor. 12.7
\[ \text{u'kkama'u} \] vessels Kor. 28.5
\[ \text{ki'plau} \] mortars Kor. 51.5 (kipla'wi Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is -(t)\(\text{n}\).

\[ \text{u'h} \] tree \[ u'h\(\text{t}\)n trees \]
\[ \text{koes} \] dog \[ koes\(\text{t}\)n dogs \]
\[ \text{kist} \] house \[ kist\(\text{t}\)n houses \]

Stems ending in \(n\) or \(l\) take the glottal stop before the terminal consonant, and take no ending, but may modify the last vowel of the stem.

\[ \text{lal} \] eye \[ lal\(\text{t}\) eyes \]
\[ \text{kElil'an} \] spotted seal \[ kElil'\(\text{t}\)n spotted seals \]
\[ \text{me'mil} \] ground-seal \[ me'mil\(\text{t}\) ground-seals \]

In the material collected by Dybowsky\(^1\) in southern Kamchatka, \(t\) and \(d\) occur as plural endings.

\[ \text{ianin} \] ear \[ ivut \] ears
\[ \text{kosch} \] dog \[ kosgut \] dogs
\[ \text{van} \] stone \[ uad \] stones

\(^1\) Słownik Narzęczy Ludow Kamczackich Rozprawe Widzialu filologicznego Akademii Ume Jętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.
The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending -t.

\[\text{vet'a'til}a\text{ workman} \quad \text{vet'a'til}a\text{ workmen} \]
\[\text{sui'nik}il\text{ the one who flies} \quad \text{sui'nik}il\text{ those who fly} \]

This can not be due to the influence of the neighboring Koryak II, which has no dual, and uses only the y ending of the plural.

\section*{§ 35. Plural of Personal Nouns.}

\((\text{t})\text{nti}\) (Kor. Kam. the same) \([-\text{(t)}n + \text{ti}\); for \(-\text{(t)}n\) see § 39], expresses a group of people belonging to and including a person of the name to which the suffix is added. In Koryak Kamenskoye the ending designates two persons only. This form is also used with the interrogative pronoun.

\[\text{Ye'til}i\text{nti Ye'til}i\text{ and his family} \]
\[(\text{Kor. } \text{A}e'\text{e'pni}nti) \text{A}e'\text{e'pni and his wife} \]
\[\text{ne'w}nti\text{ their wives} \]
\[\text{mi'k}i\text{nti (Kor. Kam. ma'k}i\text{nti) who?} \text{ (see p. 726)} \]

Koryak Kamenskoye:

\[\text{Va'wnti}la'\text{'n}nti \text{Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1} \]
\[\text{Yini'a-\text{na'wgut}nti} \quad \text{Yini'a-\text{na'wgut} and her husband Kor. 19.5} \]

A group of more than two is expressed in Koryak Kamenskoye by the plural ending -\text{w}gi, but also by -\text{in}u.

\[\text{A}e'\text{e'pni}d'\text{w}g\text{e} \text{A}e'\text{e'pni and his family.} \]
\[\text{Quyqm}n'\text{aq}i^w\text{gi} \text{Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10} \]
\[\text{Amamq}u'\text{tin}u \text{Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7} \]
\[\text{pi}p\text{i'k}e'\text{a-\text{na'wgut}inu} \text{mouse-women Kor. 23.3} \]

\section*{§ 36. Exclamatory Form of Nouns}

Nouns may be given an exclamatory form by transferring the accent to the end of the stem, especially with the last word of the sentence.

\[\text{kimili}i^w\text{ worms 39.3} \]

When the accentuation is stronger, the last vowel is changed to o. In this case, proper names lose their suffixes, and have the accent on the last vowel of the stem.

\[\text{Ye'tol'} \quad \text{O Ye'tol'}! \quad \text{remkilo'n a guest! 111.19} \]
\[\text{Qutu'w} \quad \text{O Qutu'wgi}! \]

Koryak:

\[\text{mi'ko'v vannilo'n}! \text{ whose tooth Kor. 34.4} \]
\[\text{na'wako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7} \]
\[\text{ti'lagdo'n! I found! Kor. 24.1} \]

\section*{§§35-36}
In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an -ि is added, and the accent thrown upon the end of the word.

Arooi’ O Ara’ro!
Upenkei’ R 72.15 O Upe’nke!
Mitei’ 83.12 Kor. 37. 2 O Miti!
Kor. Que’! Kor. 74.29 O Quyqinn’a’qu
Kor. Yiinei’ Kor. 88.1 O Yini’aña’wgut
also glei O man! (from qlik, which otherwise is used only in compounds)

§ 37. Subjective Form

-e, -tä, å (Chukchee). Instrumental; used in place of object when the verb is intransitive (e. g., she cooked with meat = she cooked meat); subject of transitive verb.¹

(a) After terminal vowel -tä:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eke’tä by the son 18.9</th>
<th>valda’ with knives 16.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temnitä with shell-fish 9.8</td>
<td>rirkata by walrus 9.9; 10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuü’quütitä i’unin the husband told her</td>
<td>tar-qa’ata ge’rkuzin bought with how many reindeer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lile’tä with an eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) After terminal consonant -ä:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eüni’ila by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9</th>
<th>evirä clothing (obj.) 13.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wu’lqä by darkness 18.12</td>
<td>üttä with wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eul’gä by the father 18.4</td>
<td>el’gä re’nnin the father brought it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruüyipä with a drill 8.1; 11.2</td>
<td>pol’ga with a spear 12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel’qä by sleep 10.6, 7</td>
<td>kopä’la with walrus-blubber 14.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ël’tinlätä by the boat’s crew</td>
<td>Aiwuhyanpind’ëcha by an old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9; 12.4</td>
<td>St. Lawrence man 13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re’rilä by the bow-man 10.10</td>
<td>Eiwhuël’lä by the St. Lawrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eüni’nä with the spirits 16.3</td>
<td>people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) After terminal consonant -e. This e may be part of the stem that drops out on the absolute form.

e’be u-nil’i with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

(d) After terminal n often, after r sometimes, -tä. Words of this group are those with double-stem forms § 31.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qel’kma’ta along the ice-top 13.7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rimnetä and rr’mnä with the inner skin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For proper names, see § 39. Compare nominal forms of verbs, No. 3, § 64.
aiwana'ta the Aiwan 46.6; 49.2
mtnulpirtä by the son-in-law 80.22 and mtnulpirä

-tä, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs
(as in Chukchee).

lila'la with an eye
y'tta with the wood
əl'la'la with excrement Kor. 12.5
cake'ta by the sister Kor. 18.10
nii'tńa with a line Kor. 41.3
yiča'nyi-t'un'mga by the brother Kor. 20.6
ńa'wtqata by the woman Kor. 21.5
ya'ın'ka by the people Kor. 39.7
yir'pna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

With these endings are also found, formed from locatives (see
§§ 38, 58) —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minki'tä</td>
<td>minka'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutke'tä</td>
<td>wutca'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enke'tä</td>
<td>enka'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vā'aŋkata</td>
<td>vaieŋa'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niki'tä 12.9; 14.10</td>
<td>niki'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grin'č-t'al'lo'</td>
<td>grino't-a'lo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunqe'tä there, by itself</td>
<td>by which place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'tingqata there, behind the speaker</td>
<td>by this place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'onqanata there, farther on</td>
<td>by that place (midway)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋenke'tä there, far off</td>
<td>at night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

nunqe'tä there, by itself
no'tingqata there, behind speaker
no'onqanata there, farther on
ŋenke'tä there, far off

-K Kamchadal. Instrumental.

y'č with wood (from y'čh wood)
łūlēl' with the eye (stem łūl)

**Locative Form (§§ 38-39)**

**§ 38. COMMON NOUNS**

-(i)k, -kI, -qi (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.¹

ve'énik nivog'qen he lives on the river
el'qi nivog'qen he lives with the mother
nu'ček (Kor. nu'čak) on the land

¹ See also Nominal Forms of Verb, §§ 64, 65.
The forms -kɨ and -qɨ, also -e$kɨ and -e$qɨ are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

- $gu'mwik and $gu'mwik in my possession
- yo'o$qɨ in the wind (from yo'o wind)
- el$at at the mother's (from el$ mother)
- ne$wil$kɨ at the herd (from ne$wil$ herd)
- vel$ikt-oneu$ki at the merchant's (from vel$ikt-one$ul merchant)

Stems with the terminal clusters lh, eh, th, rg, ng may drop the terminal sound in the locative:

- pi'lhin throat
- pi'lik in the throat
- gi'thm lake
- gi'tik at the lake
- mi'ngil$in$in hand
- mi'nik at the hand

The forms pi'lik, gi'tik, mi'nik, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix -girg{in) (§ 106.44) have in the locative -ink{or -rik:

- kan$ka'$irgin descent
- kan$ka'$irinkɨ and kan$ka'$irik
- tit$i'irgin climbing up
- tit$i'irinkɨ and tit$i'irik

Note.—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of $git'o$lhin side:

- $git'o$lik on the side of the mountain
- $git'o$lik on the side of a person

This suffix is often weakened to -q, or even disappears entirely.

Thus we find nu'tek, nu'teq, and nu'te in the country; ya'ra at home; the $k may also be replaced by $i. The $leu'ti on the

HEAD 44.5; a$'nqo$-bo'rmɨ on the seashore 12.4

- walqalrik in the jawbone house, 44.14
- nute's$qak on the ground, 15.5
- rag$-bo$rmɨk on the house border, 12.12
- a$'nqak on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7
- gi'lgilik on the sea ice, 13.3
- tu'wikɨk on the ice-floc, 13.3
- tit$mkɨk on a hummock, 62.7
- q$'ek$ril$ik on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8
- li$le'lc (Kor. li$la'k) in the eye

Koryak:

- $wol'amik in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2
- $e$'chɨ$nɨk in the armpits Kor. 18.9
- ya'ya$k in the house Kor. 19.9
- ul$q$e$nɨk in the cache Kor. 80.10
- ya$q$e$lik in the porch Kor. 80.13
- i$ya$qɨ in the sky Kor. 19.3
- q$a$'u$q$e$nɨk at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

§38
With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix -I expresses the possessor.

e’kkev va’rkin (Kor. Kam., a’kkak va’ykin) it is the son’s
ma’lik va’rkin in the neighbor’s (house) he is 19.2
ge’mge-n’kek whosoever 20.7
Kor. d’al tu’yik va’ykin have you an axe?  Kor. 63.5
Kor. Tike’nviyik va’ykin With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

Personal pronouns also have this ending, while proper names and personal demonstrative pronouns have the ending -(t)nū (see § 41).

The personal pronoun is used with the ending -k, particularly when the noun to which it is attached with possessive significance has a suffix (-tū, -kti, etc.), while in the absolute form the suffix -in BELONGING TO or MADE OF is used (see § 46 and also § 47). In similar cases nouns designating animate beings are often used with the ending -k.

gūmū’k e’tkeg nalvūl’ē pu gīv’mithin take from my son’s herd
čūmū’k akhā’ippu from my son (gūm 1; -k possessive; ekke son;
-ippu from [§ 42])
en’g-muu’tek ne’ermiqin ke’le in his own country the kele is strong
123.25
mo’rēg-rak in our houses 84.16
Kor. mamā’nak te’it’sn on mamma’s needle Kor. 25.2
Kor. Mit’nak tā’u thu into Miti’s work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu’lku (Kor. wu’tēuk) here
e’n’ki (Kor. ē’νki, Kamchadal e’n’ki) there
va’ānki (Kor. va’ēn) there (midway to)
no’onki there (farther on)
ra’ānki there (behind the person addressed)
no’tii’ki, no’tiīqi, there (behind the speaker)
no’un’ki (Kamchadal no’onke) (aside by itself)
mū’n’ki (Kor. mī’n’ki) where
nō’n’ku there (far off)

All these form allative, ablative, and instrumental, see § 58.

"-nk" (Kamchadal); after terminal n, -k, also in some other cases. 
Locative, and subject of transitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bu’lenk on the eye</th>
<th>txu’nitxunk in the darkness (from txu’nitxun)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ci’mtenk on the land.</td>
<td>a’tmān’k and a’tmān in the village (from a’tmām)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§38
With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix -nk designates the possessor.

\[ p't'\text{\text{\'e}}l\text{\text{\'i}nk } \text{ch}^\text{\text{\'i}z}k\text{i}n\text{in} \text{it is the son's} \]

The suffixes expressing directions to and from of the Kamchadal also contain the ending -nk, while in Chukchee and Koryak they are formed by the endings -gti, and -q\text{\text{\'y}}p\text{\text{\'y}} (see §§ 40–43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for toward always, that for from generally, causes ablaut, while the -nk of the locative is neutral. For direction from we find, for instance—

\[
\begin{align*}
k'\text{ist} \text{house} & \quad k\text{\text{\'i}stenk} \text{in or from the house} \\
k'\text{x}r' \text{river} & \quad k\text{\text{\'x}renk} \text{in or on the river} \\
t\text{ox'ntxun} \text{darkness} & \quad t\text{ox'ntxunk} \text{in the darkness} \\
a\text{tink}n\text{m village} & \quad a\text{tink}n\text{\text{\'u}nk} \text{or a\text{tink}n\text{\text{\'u}k} in, to, or from the village}
\end{align*}
\]

These forms may be related to the possessive form of the Koryak proper names (see § 39).

§ 39. PERSONAL NOUNS

-(I)nä. Subjective and possessive of proper names of persons and of a few appellative nouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ye'\text{\text{\'i}tilinä} Yetilin's} & \quad \text{\text{\'i}t\text{\text{\'e}na} } \text{father's (\text{\text{\'a}te} \text{father, in the language of children})} \\
\text{ap\text{\text{\'a}y'\text{\'i}nä} grandfather's (ap\text{\text{\'a}y'\text{\text{\'i}n}<\text{pe'qyi}n } \text{GRANDFATHER, in the language of children})} & \quad \text{pe'qyi}\text{\text{\'i}nä } \text{grandfather's (pe'qyi<pe'qyi } \text{GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children})} \\
\text{tum\text{\text{\'i}tinä} friend's (tum\text{\text{\'i}tinmä, in the pronunciation of women})} & \quad \text{Telpi\text{\text{\'u}ne'\text{\text{\'e}nä } lôt'o things seen by Telpi\text{\text{\'u}ne R 379, no. 142 title}}}
\end{align*}
\]

Ti'o'\text{\text{\'i}r\text{\text{\'i}mä ti'\text{\text{\'u}g\text{\text{\'i}t\text{\text{\'y}r\text{\text{\'e}k I go to Ti'o'\text{\text{\'i}r\text{\text{\'i}mä T33.36}}}}}}}

-(I)nak (Kor. Kam.). Probably formed from the suffix -(t)na and the possessive -k.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Miti'nak Miti's Kor. 15.11} & \quad \text{Pi\text{\text{\'e}l'qala'nak Bird-Man Kor. 16.4} } \\
\text{A\text{\text{\'e}l'p'\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}n\text{\text{\'u}}} }}\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}n\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} }}\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} & \quad \text{\text{\'u}l'\text{\text{\'i}l'\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} }}\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} \text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} \\
\text{mi'k'\text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} } & \quad \text{\text{\'i}n\text{\text{\'a}}} \text{who Kor. 12.7}
\end{align*}
\]
Note.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in -nan may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in -n (see § 56)

Allative and Ablative (§§ 40-43.)

§ 40. Allative of Common Nouns, Chukchee and Koryak

-gti, -e'ti, -wlti (Chukchee); -iti (n), -eti (n) (Koryak), expresses the direction to, also the indirect object, on account of, for the benefit of.

In Chukchee -gti is used after vowels, except o;
-eti after consonants;
-wlti, after o.

Examples of -gti after vowels:
qaa'gti ti'loqat'yak I went to the reindeer
anqa'gti ein'e'utkut' he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5
gqøaqagqgti to the seaside 49.6
not'ti to the country 51.2
can÷nwa'gti to the reindeer-breeder 48.9
yarg'ti to the house 105.27
lelé'gti to the eye
æ'la-goplæ'gti on an excrement-pile 45.5
kæla'gti to a kele 97.12
girgola'gti upward 16.5
girgogæ'gti upward 47.4
gønø'na'gti to an unbroken one 50.12 (ä—kä not)
tal'oa-pal'ko-æ'gti to one merely dying of old age 21.7
akæ'gti tre'iyän I brought it for the son
qaa'gti on account of the reindeer 48.12
wawaqo'gti on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of -e'ti after consonants:
kælt'æ to the bottom 9.7
naramønt'kö'ñø'nøni notas'qæ'ti it shall be thrown on the ground 25.3; also 16.7
mømlø'ti to the water 48.5
ra'udlø'ti to the whaler 46.5
æ'qæ'ka'maanøvæ'ti to the owners of bad dishes 96.7
rinnø'ti to the inner skin
ñoø'æ'ti to the poor ones 96.26
el'qæ'ti gæt'i he went to the father 109.3
yø'camø'to'mgæ'ti gæt'i he went to the brothers 110.1
tønørgæ'ti to the dawn 41.7
yø'thæ'ti to the moon 41.11
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penyolhëti on to the hearth 32.7
gim’sëti to the middle 10.7; 16.8
erqip-ya’llhëti on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of -wti, -ult, after o
qaaračikou’lti under the sledge-cover 110.8
yorou’lti to the sleeping-room 39.10
memlëčikou’lti into the water 17.4

-itti, -etì (Koryak)

-itti used after all vowels.

yaya’itti to the house (yait’e’ti verbal, from yait’e’kin Kor. 17.3)
yoyo’itti to the sleeping-room
lela’itti to the eye
gégo’laiti to the upper part Kor. 20.1
ynoi’itti to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-eti after consonants.
yinèn’itti to the inner skin
lehvë’tiin to the cache Kor. 36.3
ynootën’itti into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

Here belong the allatives of the locative demonstratives and interrogatives, which take -ri in Chukchee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whither</td>
<td>më’ünkri</td>
<td>menke’itti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wotčai’ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>eënkri</td>
<td>[ánkai’ti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither (midway)</td>
<td>va’änë</td>
<td>vaienai’ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>ne’nët</td>
<td>nankai’ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 41. Allative of personal nouns

-(I)na(to, towards. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

Ya’tilinaa to Yetil in
q’iëna to father (a’te father, in the language of children)
apaj’iëng to grandfather (apaj’iin [<epa-yiin], grandfather in the language of children)
apaq’iëng to grandmother (epa’q’i [<epa-q’i] grandmother in the language of children)
tomqë-enina to the friend (tomqimina, in the pronunciation of women)
wo’tqanëna (Kor. Kam. wot’tenena) to this one
më’këna (Kor. Kam. me’kena) to whom

-(I)n(a) (Kor. Kam.) towards, to. Used only with proper names. Pronouns belonging to this group have na like the corresponding Chukchee form.

§41
\[\Delta \check{c}epina(\tilde{n})\] to \(\Delta \check{c}epina\)

\[\text{Mete'na} \text{ to Miti Kor. } 43.2\]

The related suffix, -(i)\(\tilde{n}\) or -na(\(\tilde{n}\)), may be used with a few appellative nouns; -\(\check{t}\)\(\check{r}\) (see § 40) occurs as well.

\(\text{t}a^\prime\text{t}a^n\) or \(\text{t}a^\prime\text{t}a^n\)\(\tilde{n}\) to father; \(\text{t}a^\prime\text{t}a^n\)\(\text{a}\) Kor. 74.15 (\(\text{t}a^\prime\text{t}a^\prime\) father, in the language of children); but \(\text{i}\(\check{r}\)\(\check{a}i^\prime\text{t}\)\(\check{r}\) to the mother

\[\text{§ 42. ABLATIVE IN } -\text{g}a^\prime\text{p}u\]

\(-\text{g}p\text{u}, -\text{g}^\prime\text{p}u, -\text{g}a^\prime\text{p}u\) (Chukchee) from, out of, across, along.

\(-\text{g}p\text{u}\) with stems ending in a vowel.

le\(\text{a}^\prime\text{i}^\prime\text{p}u\) from the eye

Rotto'n\(\tilde{n}\)\(\text{nai}^\prime\text{p}u\) from Rulte'n-nin 124.8 (see § 31, 4)

\(\text{gai}^\prime\text{p}u\) le\(\text{i}^\prime\text{wul}i^\prime\text{n}\) along the reindeer (herd) the walking one

\(\text{nargin}n\text{a}^\prime\text{p}u\) from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of \(\text{nargin}^\prime\text{n}\text{a}^\prime\text{l}^\prime\text{m}\) that staying in the outer tent)

qot\(\text{e}^\prime\text{notai}^\prime\text{p}u\) from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21

notai\(\text{p}u\) nile\(\text{i}^\prime\text{v}u^\prime\text{qinet}\) they walked along the (open) land 17.9

\(-\text{g}a^\prime\text{p}u\) mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va'\text{m}g\(\text{g}a^\prime\text{p}u\) from the river

nimni'\text{m}g\(\text{p}u\) \(\text{n}i^\prime\text{p}k\text{i}^\prime\text{r}^\prime\text{mu}^\prime\text{ri}\) we came from the settlement 10.12

pe\(\text{p}e'\text{g}a^\prime\text{p}u\) by the ankle 50.11

\(-\text{p}u\) mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

or\(\text{g}e'\text{p}u\) from the sledge

lau\(\text{t}e'\text{p}u\) kr\(\prime\text{pli}^\prime\text{n}\text{en}\) he struck him across the head (see 8.1)

ron\(\text{m}e'\text{p}u\) from under the outer tent-cover 12.9

yikr\(\text{g}e'\text{p}u\) across its mouth 115.1

\(\text{bot-tagn}e'\text{p}u\) from the outer tent

\(\text{ga}^\prime\text{m}a'\text{v}a'\text{rg}e'\text{p}u\) among all beings 22.2

\(\text{ran}m\text{e'p}u\) from the border of the house 130.16

\(\text{epr}'''\text{m}e'\text{p}u\) from under the wall 130.16

\(-e'\text{p}u\) (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of \(\text{K}i'\text{chin}\) in Kamchatka).

nute'\text{p}u galai'\text{vul}i^\prime\text{n}\) he walked along the open land

\[\text{§42}\]
§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN -nk, -nq, -ńq, -(n)go, -ńgor

-ńgo (Koryak I) from, out of (not with the meaning across, along).

lelańgo from the eye
egańko from heaven Kor. 33.4
kipla'qiqińko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3
menkańgo (mańeńko Kor. 33.7) whence
wotcańgo from here
ńankańgo thence
nā'nakańgo Kor. 42.3
ánkańgo from there
vańeńgo from there (not very far)

-ńgo, -ńgori (Chukchee) from, not free; only in the following adverbs:

mekńgo and męńgori whence (męńko 113.19)
ńo'ongo and ńo'öngori from there (far off) (ńo'onko 76.5; 131.8)
va'ęngo va'änńgo and va'ängori from there (not very far)
ńotęńgo and ńo'tińgori from behind the speaker
va'ęngo from behind the person addressed
ńuńqu and ńuńquori from there
ęńgo, 86.18 enqoro 65.18 and enqori from there 125.3;
wotęgo, wotgoro 124.10 and wotgori from here
(ńa'ńgo means, however, simply here)
ńa'ńko 12.7 From this is formed the ablative ńan'kovi'pa.
ną'nko there Kor. 32.1

goro' come here! (Kor. qoyo is probably the exclamatory form for ńa'ngori hither. The latter form is rarely used. Kor.
Kam. qo'yin hither is perhaps the ablative of the same form.
goro' na'ńko then come here! R 73.76 qo'ro 101.3

-ńk (Kamchadal). Used in most oblique cases. Since all Kamchadal stems end in consonants, this suffix requires a connecting vowel which corresponds in character to the vowel of the stem.

i, ı, e, u, û, y, are found in this position.
The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.
The suffix often takes the termination -e.

sün the wood
sünk from the wood
sö'ńke to the wood
kix the sea
kivexek from the sea
kivexanke to the sea

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§ 43
§ 44. Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns

The plurals of personal nouns form their locative, allative, ablative (§§ 39, 41), and possessives (p. 709) by adding the stem of the pronoun (i)rg THEY (Kor. Kam. [ri]y) to the stem. The allative and ablative forms differ, however, somewhat, from the forms of the independent pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem (i)rg THEY</th>
<th>Independent pronoun</th>
<th>Suffix of plural of personal noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolute</td>
<td>e'rri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>erika'qti</td>
<td>—erik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>erikai'pũ</td>
<td>—i'rgũpũ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

qla'ul man
orawëtu person
Tiña'p (a name)

qlaui'i'rgũpũ from the people
orawëla'rgēn belonging to men
Tiña'p'evrik with Tiña'p and his family (locative and ablative)
Tiña'p'irγēn belonging to Tiña'p's family, belonging to Tiña'p

Kor. Kam.:

Pipik'ka-na'woqul Mouse-Woman  Pipik'ka-na'wqutiyik by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
Annimaya't Frost-Man  Annimaya'iyik by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
A'qinwu With-Odor-Pushing-Away  A'qinwu'iyik to the people of
Qovyqin'n'auq Big-Raven  Qovyqin'n'aqoykai'ti to the Big-Raven's people Kor. 19.9; 35.6

The k in the suffixes of these forms is evidently related to the k which appears in the allative and ablative of the independent pronoun derived from the stem (i)rg (Chukchee), as given in § 56.

Mit'i's'hin belonging to Mit'i Kor. 28.7
Qovyqin'n'auq'ch'in belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28.7

Here Koryak s'h and ćh are analogous to Chukchee rg.

1 In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.
§§ 45-50. Form in -in

§ 45. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of forms ending in -in occur, which are seminominal in character. I have found—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k'ín</td>
<td>-k'ín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lín</td>
<td>-lán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

possessive
pertaining to
measure of a
quality
quality of
possessor of

All of these form their plural and post-positional forms by adding the vowel ə before the affix added to -in. For example:

- Absolute ..... nime'λqín
- Subjective ... nime'λqinė'tā
- Locative ..... nime'λqinė'k
- Plural-Dual ... nime'λqinet\(^1\)
- Plural ..... nime'λqinaw

On the whole, forms of this type with post-positions are rare.

mő'nkri-vali't ple'kít teqge'nu nne'lqiqit? Nime'qinėqinet me'nmitinet. How do you want your boots? I want large ones (mő'nkri how; vali't being, pl. (§ 54); ple'kít boots pl.; teqge'nu desire; -u serving for; nii prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; -nelq to have; -gít thou; niqinet nominalized form of verb, pl.; me'in large, m- 1st per. exhortative; eimit to take; -net [I]— them, exhortative)

To the question röff-nė'lhā gerkulīn? With what kind of skins has it been bought? (rōf what; nė'lhā skin; -ā instrumental; ge-lyn nominalized verb [§ 73]; -rkur to buy) one may answer—

niteqinė'tā with good ones (niqinet nominalized verb; niiqinė'tā instrumental of this form; tēn good);

but it is better to avoid the nominalized form with suffix, and to say, ten-nė'lhā with a good skin

em-te'n'ūla nikē'v the sportful people teased him (em mere; te'n'ūla subjective form of te'n'ūlin sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix -ju is ten'ne'urkin to laugh]; nikē'v indefinite pronominal verb, nikē'rkīn to do something)

\(^1\) Men's pronunciation nime'qinēt.
These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

_tën_ good  
_nite'nqin_ definite form _nitangê-na'chin_ (see § 53)

_tê'nuchin_ (see § 55)  
_augmentative form_ _tanîch'tî'ynin_ (see § 98, no. 1)

_ta'ñum-va'lin_ (see § 76)  
_augmentative form_ _ta'ñum-valî'ynin_

_tand'ya'n_ (see § 104.38)  
_diminutive form_ _tand'ya'nvuqai_

In Koryak these forms are not found, as a rule.

§ 46. SUFFIX -_in_.

_-in_ (Kor. _-in_; Kamchadal _-in_) expresses material of which an object is made, and possession.

(a) Material.

_y'ütin_ wooden (Kor. _y'ttin_)

_qg'lgên üm _cî'u'nît_ bird dresses 7.8

_qg'lhên _ôrin_ bird clothes 14.3

_qg'rę'n _ôre'hin_ reindeer-skins 14.4

_qî'ulgîn qg'yu'ul_ man of excrement 39.6

_ya'gô'în_ wî'kwên house of stone 92.5

_kg'ô'nên_ made of horse (hair) (stem _kg'nê_ from Russian _kohl_)

_rî'gri'gên_ made of hair

Koryak:

| kuka'kin gatai'kilin it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1 |
| mi'mêin (made) of a louse Kor. 78.1 |

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

| qa'lgâ-na'lhîn bird-skin |
| _u'ttî-yu'unî_ wooden whale Kor. 40.9 |

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

_kkkîn_ the son's (Kor. Kam. _a'kkîn_)

(Kamchadal _a'cxîn_ the father's)

_qg'ô'rên_ the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. _qo'yên_; Kamchadal _k'lo'jan_)

_çq'î'wên _nê'wôn_ the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6

_ekkîn yorô'în_ the son's sleeping-room 53.8

_inping'êchîn elî'qinen yorô'în_ the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9

_tu'mqin_ stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9

_yorô'wî'tên_ _aimakî'ynin_ a man's big body 90.14
nay'sqa'tcininen Eza' the woman's father 85.22
ne'eJclcin ya'nfa ygrg'ni daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3
nU'ekkin to'tcot the daughter's bag pillow 29.4
garya'tcin qa'mga-te'ergin man's every source of illness 24.3
ke'-ke'us'qatin ke'rk' the combination-suit of the kele-woman 85.33
qla'ilqaien i'rn the man's suit 85.35
ninga'yin ev'i'rn the child's clothes 25.8
Ku'urkilin e'kik Ku'urkil's son 79.23
Tño'tirginen Tño'tirgin's 120.16
Umqâqai'in U'mqâqai's 62.12

Koryak:

tami'në-qla'wulen nawa'Tcak an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10
awa'në-na'vin nawa'Tcak the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2
tu'mginau kawa'ssoöchu other people's wallets Kor. 46.1
go'yen gitèa'lëen Reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

Proper names form their possessives of this type also with the suffix -(i)n, especially when the terminal sound of the stem is a vowel.

\[ A'nnna \text{ (a name)} \quad A'nnan \text{ belonging to } A'nnna \]

\[ Qutu'wgi \text{ (a name)} \quad Qutu'wgin \text{ belonging to } Qutu'wgi \]

\[ Ai'nanwa't \text{ (a name)} \quad Ai'nanwa'tin \text{ and } Ai'nanwa'tëen \text{ belonging to } Ai'nanwat. \]

\[ Üpe'nken \text{ belonging to } Üpenke R72.13 \]

\[ Niro'nën \text{ belonging to } Niro'n R377, 141 \text{ title.} \]

In Koryak the suffix -m, characteristic for the postpositional forms of proper names, is sometimes inserted before the possessive suffix -(i)n.

\[ Amamqu'trinë na'witgat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1. \]
\[ Quyqinn'aqu'nin flawa'lcak Brig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14 \]

The plural takes the regular plural ending -(i)t (Kor. Kam. -at dual, -au plural, Kamchadal -(i)n instead of -(i)n)

\[ ë'kkinët \text{ those of the son (Kor. Kam. a'kkina} \text{ dual, a'kkinau pl.) (Kamchadal } 'ëxe^n \text{ those of the father) } \]

Often, however, the singular is used instead of the plural.

The possessive forms of proper names have no plural.

The possessive pronoun is evidently based on this suffix. It has, however, somewhat irregular forms.
The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

Plural and dual are formed in the same way as in all attributive terms in -in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my . . .</td>
<td>gùmninet (pl.)</td>
<td>gùmninat (dual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gùmninau (pl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gùmninėtä (Kor. Kam. gùmninäta) with mine.

It is, however, more customary to use the personal pronoun with the suffix instead.

gomokapi'pu qä' mityin TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (gomokapi'pu see § 56; q—gin imperative; eimiit to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

wo'tgan| wo'tganen and wo'tganenėn{| belonging
this {(men's pronunciation wo'tgān and wo'tgānėn)} to this
enqa'n| enqu'nėn and e'nganenėn{| belonging
that {(men's pronunciation enqā'en and enqā'enėn) to that

The forms in —enin may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun eni'n, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p. 729: wo'tganergėn (man's pronunciation wo'tgānergėn) and e'nganergėn (man's pronunciation e'ngānergėn).

The possessives of proper names in Koryak are formed in the same manner; as

Quyqinnauq' nin havad' kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.
Amamqu'tinin na'w'itqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

kimač' inl' with my ears (kiman my; -l' instrumental; in ear)
mēnenl' x'va'nln' with which knife?

§46
-kin (Kor. Kam. -kin; Kamchadal -in, -n) pertaining to. This suffix is added to all kinds of stems,—nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.

-ko'ken of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. ko'qen Kor. 76.17)

tele'kin pertaining to the remote past (tele'n-yep long ago); Kor.

Kam. ankrye'pkin (stem anki-yep)

erqa'kin pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. miti'wkin)

pilhikin pertaining to the throat 9.3

a'ttwile'kin pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1

a'ttwuwkin pertaining to the boat 14.6

qe'ptikin pertaining to the back 16.10

tele'kin pertaining to motion 16.10

më'nikikin pertaining to water 25.6

kèle'kin pertaining to spirits 104.26

g'o'gukën pertaining to a sledge 62.11

g'o'ma-gë'kën pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8

nute's'gäkin t'mnikilhin a ground hummock 62.5

telenyé'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5

mënkë'kën whence belonging? 113.20

wa'ë'kën working, referring to work (from wa'ë)

yilgätê'kên referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

girgolê'ntg by the one belonging above 126.6

The possessive of the personal and of some demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, with the suffix -kin (Kor. Kam. -kin) expresses THAT PERTAINING TO—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murike'kin</td>
<td>mujka'kin (dual)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mujka'kin (pl)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tite'kin</td>
<td>tita'kin</td>
<td>ite'an, ite'nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mïnke'kin</td>
<td>mïnkakin</td>
<td>66.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mënko'kên</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutke'kin</td>
<td>wutçä'kin</td>
<td>ta'nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minka'kinau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yu'qkinau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñanka'kenat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

- **en'ke'kin** belonging there
- **ten'ku'kin** belonging there (farther on)
- **vaengqa'kên** belonging there (not very far, midway to)
- **vaengqa'kên** belonging there (behind the person addressed)
- **notinguo'kên** belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as **minka'kìlâ'n** belonging to what country (Kor. 40.7), **ganka'kìlâ'n** belonging to that country (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes, -kin and -la'n, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i'gıtikin</td>
<td>a'chikin</td>
<td>what belongs to the present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tite'kin</td>
<td>tital'kin</td>
<td>belonging to which time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numeral predicates with the ending -kin express ordinal numbers. **milinkau'kên** or **milinkau'ulîn** the fifth

§ 48. **SUFFIX -lin**

- **-lin** (Kor. Kam. -lau'n) (oblique cases formed from -l, Kor. -l) expresses the measure of a quality.

  - **minke'mil qe'tvulîn** what likeness strong? (i.e., how strong?); Kor. Kam. **menke'miç qa'tvula'n**; Kor. Par. **menke'mis' qe'tvula'n**
  - **en'ke'mil gîte'pîliâm** that likeness I am sensible (i.e., I am so sensible) (en'ke that; -îâm [§73])

With the prefix **qe-** it indicates the possessor of an object.

- **qe-** **-lin** (Chukchee), **qa—lin** (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in §73. It expresses possession.

  - **qa-qa'a-lên** (Kor. Kam. **qa-qyya-lên**) he who has reindeer
  - **qakk'e-lîn** (Kor. Kam. **q-akk'a-lîn**) he who has sons
  - **garai'gît** thou who hast a home 89.7 (see §73).
  - **qa-pêla'i-gûm** I have left
  - **qa-qaa'i-gûm** I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

- **gavaqinña'len** with nails Kor. 24.2
- **gazal'lin** with eyes Kor. 24.2

§48
§ 49. **Suffix -qin**

\( n(i) - qin \) and \(-l\!n\) (Chukchee), \( n(i) - qin \) (Kor. Kam.), are added to stems, most of which express a quality. Many of these are also bases of intransitive and transitive verbs which are formed with the suffixes \(-eu\) or \(-et\) (see p. 810). Some verbs, however, are formed without these suffixes.

The attributive terms in \( n(i) - qin \) are identical in form with the verbal mode in \( n(i) - q\!n \), discussed in § 73. When the verb has no verbifying suffix \(-eu\) or \(-et\), the verbal form and the attributive term are the same, and the verbal form seems to assume nominal functions. It may even take post-positions.

Examples of stems that are verbified by means of the suffixes \(-eu\) or \(-et\):

- **Stems t'erg-; t'ergat** to weep:
  - \( n\!-t'erg-r-\!u-q\!n \) or \( t'erg-r-l\!n \) tearful

- **Stem k\!im-; k\!im\!g\!'u** (Kor. Kam.):
  - \( n\!-k\!im-r-\!q\!n \) or \( k\!im-r-l\!m \) slow
  - \( n\!-k\!im-r-a-q\!n \) or \( k\!im-r-a-l\!m \) slow-going

- **Stem ay\!ih-; ay\!ih\!hu\!y** (Kor. Kam. ay\!ih\!hu\!y):
  - \( n\!-ay\!ih-r-\!u-q\!n \) or \( ay\!ih-r-a-q\!n \) fear

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

- **Stem no-; ni-n\!o\!-q\!n** poor, needy
- **Stem tam-p\!era; ni-tam-p\!era-q\!n** pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in \( ni-\!q\!n \).

- \( u\!pl\!l\!i\!l \) (Kor. Kam. \( i\!pl\!l\!i\!l \) [stem \( i\!pl\!l\!i\!l \)], yellowish
- \( \epsilon^tq\!i\!n \) (Kor. Kam. \( \epsilon^t\!li\!n \) [stem \( \epsilon^t\!li\!n \)])
- \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l \) (Kor. Kam. \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l \) [stem \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l \)])
- \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l\!i\!m \) [stem \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l \)], my reindeer are bad
- \( u\!w\!e\!l\!i\!l \) (Kor. Kam. \( u\!w\!e\!l\!i\!l \) [stem \( u\!w\!e\!l\!i\!l \)], black

When used in nominal form, such adjectives take the usual suffixes.

- \( \epsilon^tq\!i\!n \) a bad one
- \( \epsilon^tq\!i\!n\!i\!m \) or \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l\!i\!m \) a worse one
- \( \epsilon^tq\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l\!i\!m \) or \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l\!i\!m \) a bad or worse one
- \( \epsilon^tq\!e\!\!d\!\!\!s\!u\!l\!i\!m \) or \( q\!a\!m\!a\!s\!u\!l\!i\!m \) one who is bad

Examples of forms in \(-l\!n\) are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see § 76.

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1 This stem consists of two consonants \( uu < uu \) which form a vocalic unit.
§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-\(l\)ax, -\(l\)äx, is added to stems expressing qualities:
  -\(l\)äm-lax (from \(l\)äm) deep (cf. Chukchee num-qin broad)
  -\(l\)ul-lax (from \(l\)ul) long (cf. Chukchee n-\(l\)ul-lä-qin
  o\(l\)o-lax (from o\(l\)o) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix -\(r\)n
ololax-\(r\)n ki\('\)st\(r\)nČ small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the
noun:
o\(l\)olax-k\(e\)'st\(č\)anje to the small houses.

Several adjectival forms borrowed from Russian and Koryak
π are also used.
  -\(l\)ov\(s\)troi'' xvalč, ni\(r\)'ruqin xvalč a sharp knife.
  nvc\(e\)'thag\(e\)n v\(h\) a straight tree.

Here \(l\)ov\(s\)troi is Russian, ni\(r\)'ruqin and nvc\(e\)'thag\(e\)n are Koryak \π.
The last forms the Kamchadal plural nvc\(e\)'tha\(l\)a\(n\) v\(h\)'n.

\(k!\)—\(i\)n (-\(f\)\(a\)n) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in
n(\(\ddot{\iota}\))—qin (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing
qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.
  -\(l\)k\(i\)-\(n\)a-ta\(n\) (Chukchee ni\'-ge\(t\)'p—qin) clever
  -\(l\)k\(i\)-\(n\)u\(l\) (from nu to eat) voracious
  -\(l\)k\(i\)-\(v\)e\(t\)'\(a\)l\(d\)'-\(n\) (from \(v\)\(e\)\(t\)\(a\)t to work) laborious

\(k!\)\(k\)\(b\)\(i\)\(n\) seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms
in ge—\(l\)n (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.
  -\(l\)k\(i\)-\(k\)\(b\)\(i\)\(n\) (from nu to eat) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, \(k!\)—\(i\)n
with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), \(k!\)\(k\)\(b\)\(i\)\(n\) with verbs of
Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-\(k\)\(b\)\(i\), pl. -\(k\)\(b\)\(i\)'\(l\)\(a\)\(n\), forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.
  nu\(k\)\(b\)\(i\), pl. nu\(k\)\(b\)\(i\)'\(l\)\(a\)\(n\), the one who is eating
  \(v\)\(e\)\(t\)\(a\)'\(l\)k\(a\)l\(d\)' , pl. \(v\)\(e\)\(t\)\(a\)'\(l\)k\(a\)l\(d\)'\(a\)\(n\), the one who busies himself
  colk\(\ddot{\iota}\)' , pl. colk\(\ddot{\iota}\)'\(l\)\(a\)\(n\), the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.
  \(t\)\(o\)'k\(b\)\(i\)' the one who beats
  ke\(j\)'k\(b\)\(i\)' the one who keeps

Suffixes in -\(l\)(n) §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of nominal suffixes have the termination -\(n\)
in the absolute form. Some of these occur only in the absolute form.

-\(l\)\(b\)\(i\)\(n\) (Kor. -\(l\)\(b\)\(i\)\(n\))
-\(l\)\(r\)\(i\)\(n\), - \(l\)\(\ddot{\iota}\)\(r\)\(i\)\(n\) (Kor. -\(l\)\(r\)\(i\)\(n\))
-\(l\)\(l\)\(i\)\(n\) (Kor. -\(l\)\(l\)\(i\)\(n\))

§§ 50, 51
-čālin (Kor. -čālin)
-čālin augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)
-čugin (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -čugin, -čigin -čugin) abstract noun
-čin
-čin
-čin (Kor. Kam.-čin) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -lh- and -lūn-

-čūn (in) (Kor. -čūn [in]), the absolute form of a suffix -lh-, which occurs with great frequency as the absolute form of certain words. In most cases it is not retained with other suffixes, although cases of its retention are also numerous.

lēlālūn eye (stem līle)
tī'mkļūn (and tī'mkičtrim) hummock 79.2 (stem tīmkičtrim 62.7; but tīmkičtrim 62.5)
mēlōta'lūn hare 78.24 (stem mēlōta'lūn 78.15)
rēqōqā'lūn fox 78.3 (stem rēqōqā'lūn 78.12)
wu'kwu'kūn stone 35.11 (stem wu'kwu'kūn 35.11)
krimičlūn1 worm 37.3 (stem krimičlūn 36.11)
tamōnā'lūn a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem temune 9.8)

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lelā'lin eye</th>
<th>Kor. 49.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qitčā'lin leg</td>
<td>Kor. 53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pîpē'kalūn mouse</td>
<td>Kor. 58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va'nīlūn tooth</td>
<td>Kor. 34.3,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-čūn (in) (Kor. -čūn [in]), sometimes -llīn[ln] is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

vog'čālin (stem vog) (Kor. Kam. vog'y-čālin [stem vog'y]) grass

It is not always easy to determine whether the -lh belongs to the stem or not.

ūpa'lūn tallow 86.23 (ūpa'la 87.4)
kopa'lūn walrus-blubber 12.6 (kopa'la 14.11)
rēpalūn walrus-hide 13.13
pēnyo'lıhn hearth 31.13
fiawgo'lūn old woman 39.5; 40.1
vamiqā'lūn lip 14.5
pēnakalūn tassel 16.10
autalūn obsidian scraper 39.12
pērkalūn bowlder 129.6
vēlīr'lıhn and rēli'lıhn wing (stem vēlī, rēli) 15.2

Of these, the first five stems retain the suffix lh with post-positions. The primary stem, however, is without this suffix: for instance,

1 The text has krimičlūn because emphasis is laid on the word which is the last in the sentence. If there had been more stress this form would have been krimičlo'na (see § 36).
pényo’lhin hearth (stem pin, absolute form p'mpi powder, ashes)
The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the lh
belongs to the stem.
pilhin throat (stem pilh); (Kor. Kam. pilhin [stem pilh]). Local-
tive: pilhik', pil’lik; (Kor. Kam. pilhk)
nilhin thong 48.4
nelhin skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES -ǐh- and -ćiů-
-čō(Inu), -ćiů(Inu) (Kor. -čū[Inu], ᆣćiů [Inu]; -tū [Inu]; -s’ū [Inu], —
according to dialect). This suffix seems to express an em-
phatic form. Sometimes it corresponds to the definite article
or designates an object as referred to before. In other cases it
might be translated as a PARTICULAR ONE, in contradistinction to
other objects of the same or other classes. Some words seem
to have the suffix throughout.

Etymologically it may be related to the suffix -l̤h-, since ē and l
(Kor. ē and l) replace each other frequently (see § 122).
vala’čin knife (stem vala, absolute val’ē); Kor. Kam. vala-čin
(stem val, absolute va’la)
re’mkčin people (stem remk, absolute re’mkin); Kor. ya’mkčin
(stem yamk, absolute ya’mkin)
e’re’gčin the aforesaid father 19.11
ora’wčin the aforesaid man 18.11
pényo’l’čin the aforesaid hearth 32.9
ye’lčin the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12
lēla’l’čin the aforesaid eye 106.19
qolo-a’ttčin a particular kind of dog 121.11
kal’a’čin a particular kele 105.14
va’amčin a particular river 40.12
lolo’čin a particular penis 26.8
ña’avučin a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:
| qoqlo’wčin hole Kor. 15.8 |
| lowtik’lēčin head-band Kor. 17.12 |

-ćiů (Inu).

ña’wqčin a particular wife 38.4
ña’qčin the aforesaid woman 39.7
pako’lčin a particular kind of woman’s knife 44.3, 5

Note 1.—A number of stems end in čh, and are not related to this
class.
tai’oččin the bag mentioned before (stem teiuch, absolute te’
uchin); Kor. Kam. čai’oččin (stem čaiuch, absolute čai’uchin)
Note 2.—In words which have the absolute form in -lē-, -liē-, the suffix -cē-, -ciē-, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes -lē-, -liē-.

| lēla'elhēin | 106.19, or lēla'elhēin eye (stem lēlē, absolute lēla'elhēin); Kor. Kam. lēlālhē'ēin or lēla'elhēin, (stem lēlā, absolute lēla'elhēin) |

§ 54. SUFFIXES -li- (-lēn, -cēn)

-11-, -lec'n, (Kor. Kam. -la^z^n, -[a]la^z'n, -[i]la^z'n are similar to the participle of the intransitive verb. As suffixes of substantives, they indicate a person related in some more or less direct way to the object.

After stems with terminal vowel -lin is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except l, r, n, and t) the auxiliary vowel r is inserted before -lin. After terminal l, r, n, and t, the suffix -le^n is used, which forms with terminal l or r the ending -le^n, with terminal t the ending -le^n. With names this ending expresses a person acting(?).

Chukchee

| yil 'ēlin (<rīl + -le^n; base rīl) | tēl lē^n (base winged) |
| yil | yil lē'nin | wing |
| nāw-kēla^n (<kēr-le^n) | yil lē'nin |
| yā'a'la^n (<ya'al-la^n) | yā'a'la^n |
| vē'elmilin | vayā'milā^n |
| a'ūqālin | a'ūqāla^n |
| na'čhila genpe'elqu'wilin | | Maritime man |

Numerical terms with the ending -lin express ordinal numbers.

milinka'ulin or milinkau'kēn the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression the one who —.

ūpa'ulin the one who drinks (stem āpau to drink) (Kor. apa'ulā^n [stem āpau])

Here belong also
e'elmin the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. gaca'lin)
g'ai'milin the rich one

Plural, dual, and oblique cases are formed like those of the adjective in -lin (§ 49).

Verbal stems terminating in l and r are contracted with this suffix, and form -le^n.

| wūdotle^n < wūel-lin | wood-carrier 27.5 |
| tel'le^n < tel-lin | the suffering one 34.7 |
| rīlētla^n one who is lying there 28.6 |

1 See §§ 48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in n(t) - qin.
the one who crosses over.

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

tē'la'n the suffering one
e'gla'n the one crossing over

In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.

pe'la'la'n the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix i-ne- or the suffix -tky.

énapéla'lin { the one who leaves
pēla'kalin

In some cases both forms in -lin and in -kīn (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

ńa'chūlin (Kor. Kam. ńa'chala'n) or ńa'chēn'kēn that to the left
mīda'lin (Kor. Kam. mīda'lā'n) or mīda'kēn that to the right

Similar forms in -la'n occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

ki'stīla'n and ki'sti'rin that of the house
atino'la'n and atino'ran that of the village

§ 55. SUFFIX -čin- (-čēn)

-čin (-čēn) (Kor. Kam. -ča'n, Kor. Par. -sā'n) is used principally to express the comparative. The form -čēn is used after the single terminal consonants n, r, l. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

me'ččēn the better one (Kor. Kam. ma'lča'n)
mei'nîčin the larger one (Kor. Kam. mai'nîča'n; Kor. Par. me'i'nîsa'n)

ia'm mi'kīrān inē'dirkin ta'aq, mai'nîčin ùm qine'ilīhī why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (ia'm why; mk large; inē-yard give you me [§ 67]; ta'aq tobacco; mērī large; ùm particle expressing slight emphasis; q-ine-yil q̱ī give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. mēnqanqat iplu'ečā'n inē'yil ta'waq, mai'nîča'n qine'yil; Kor. a'e'čēîńča'n the worst Kor. 30.7)

g̱an'ga-qul'ulik qetvūčīām I am stronger than all others (g̱emge-every; qula'd man; -k locative; qetvou strong; -iām [§ 73]);
Kor. Kam. g̱an'ga-qul'ulak inā'n qetvūčágām)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to -čin the particular one. We find, for instance,
e'rmecin the strong man (stem e'rme)
ño'cin the poor man (stem nø)

This ending has oblique cases:
yä'c'epü qä'c'evi'gin čimq'ük cut off some rawer part (ya raw; -epu from; qä'c'evi'gin [stem evi] to cut [§ 67]; čimq'ük some)
amacæ'li to the strong man
amacæ'pü from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

i'npri-äkkapü from the elder son (np old; ekke son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix -cin or va'lin (Kor. Kam. -ca'n or iva'la'n) expresses our superlative.

ena'n ma'ni'cin (Kor. Kam. inan-ma'ni'c'ad'n)
enan-ma'yinku-wa'lin (Kor. Kam. inan-ma'yinki'n- the largest one iva'la'n)

-če (Kamchadal) expresses the emphatic comparative form of the adjective, and replaces the ending -laa. As in Chukchee and Koryak, the object of comparison is expressed in the locative form.

ki'mma ki'm'ñk čini'čeçi I am prettier than you (kimma'I; ki'm'ñk on thee; čini'čaləx pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>giim</td>
<td>gi'mma, gi'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>git</td>
<td>gi'ssa,* gi'</td>
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<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ena'n 2</td>
<td>d'nnu</td>
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<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>mu'ri</td>
<td>[mu'y'i (dual)</td>
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<td>[mu'y'yu (plural)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>tur'i</td>
<td>[tu'y'i (dual)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[tu'y'yu (plural)</td>
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<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>e'rrri</td>
<td>[a'č'ei (dual)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>[a'č'eu (plural)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

From these absolute forms, forms analogous to those of the noun are derived. The locative, subjective, and possessive are derived from the stems; while the forms in -gti, -ipu, of Chukchee, require the suffix ka after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

\*The Koryak of Paren has gtica, although ordinarily tɛ is characteristic of Kamenskoye, ss of Paren.
\*The particle eļo'n is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German doch.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHUKCHEE</th>
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<td>Absolute</td>
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<td>Locative</td>
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<td>ḡum'k, ḡum'g</td>
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<td>Subjective</td>
<td>ḡumna'n</td>
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<td>Possessive</td>
<td>ḡumni'n</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ḡumka'qti</td>
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<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ḡumka'pā</td>
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<td>2nd person</td>
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<td>ḡit'k, ḡit'g</td>
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<td>ḡit'k'ki</td>
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<td>ṭuq'k'ki</td>
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<td>ṭuq'i'n</td>
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<td>ṭuq'ka'qti</td>
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<td>ṭuq'ka'pā</td>
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<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td>Absolute</td>
<td>mu'ri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
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<td>mu'rik, mu'rig</td>
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<td>Subjective</td>
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<td>Ablative</td>
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<td>2nd person</td>
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<td><strong>KORYAK</strong></td>
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<td>Absolute</td>
<td>ḡamma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
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<td>ḡam'k</td>
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<td>Subjective</td>
<td>ḡamna'n</td>
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<td>Possessive</td>
<td>ḡamni'n</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ḡamk'a'tt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ḡamka'ngo</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ḡans, ḡ</td>
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<td>ḡat'k</td>
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<td>ḡat'a'kh</td>
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<td>ḡinta'qo</td>
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<td>3rd person</td>
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<td>ṭi'yu</td>
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<td>ṭi'k'</td>
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<td>ṭi'ka'qti</td>
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<td>ṭi'ka'kh</td>
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<td>ṭi'k'a'gho</td>
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<td>1st person</td>
<td>2d person</td>
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<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>k'ima'na</td>
<td>k'i'ja</td>
<td>e'nā'</td>
<td></td>
<td>mu'ja</td>
<td>tu'ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>kima'na'nk</td>
<td>kini'nk</td>
<td>e'na'nk</td>
<td></td>
<td>ni'gq'nk</td>
<td>ti'gq'nk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>kima'nu'n</td>
<td>kili'n</td>
<td>zuna'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>mi'lu'n</td>
<td>ti'lu'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>kima'n</td>
<td>kini'n</td>
<td>e'na'n</td>
<td></td>
<td>mi'ygi'n</td>
<td>ti'ygi'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>kima'ne</td>
<td>kina'ne</td>
<td>e'na'ne</td>
<td></td>
<td>mi'ja'ne</td>
<td>ti'ja'ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>kima'nak</td>
<td>kini'nk</td>
<td>e'na'ni</td>
<td></td>
<td>mi'ja'nak</td>
<td>ti'ja'nak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the aequalis i.e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.—They are generally used with this suffix—$\text{mi}^c, -\text{m}^{il}$ ($\S$ 102, 30).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>similar to me</td>
<td>$\text{gu}^m\text{nuw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to thee</td>
<td>$\text{gi}^n\text{nw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to him</td>
<td>$\text{e}^n\text{nw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to us</td>
<td>$\text{mu}^\text{ruw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to you</td>
<td>$\text{tu}^\text{ruw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to them</td>
<td>$\text{e}^\text{riw}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both Chukchee and Koryak the plural forms of the first and second persons are often used in place of the singular, without, however, conveying the idea of respect.

$\text{am}^\text{to}', \text{ge}^\text{yi}'\text{li}^\text{qt-tu'ri}$ well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

In Koryak the dual and plural forms are not sharply distinguished. In Chukchee the plural subjective forms are, in the pronunciation of men, as follows:

$\text{merg}^\text{a'nu}, \text{terg}^\text{a'nu}, \text{erg}^\text{a'nu}$

In several dialects of Koryak II the following forms of the third person plural occur:

Absolute $\text{ethu}$

Locative $\text{ethik}$

Subjective $\text{ethina'nu}$

The Kamchadal forms in $\text{it}^\text{x}$, and the Chuckchee forms derived from $\text{erg.}$, are evidently related to this series.

In both Chukchee and Koryak of Kamenskoye the subjective form is used in some compounds.

$\text{g}\text{am}^\text{n}^\text{a'nu} \text{ci}^\text{n}^\text{i'\text{t}}$ myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

$\text{g}^\text{un}^\text{m}^\text{in} \text{ci}^\text{n}^\text{i'\text{t}^\text{k}^\text{i}^\text{n}}$ (Kor. $\text{g}^\text{un}^\text{m}^\text{in}^\text{n}^\text{e}^\text{n}$) my own.

The idea of self, however, is expressed differently in oblique cases.

$\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{ta'\text{m}}^\text{-}\text{go}^\text{n}^\text{go} \text{ka}^\text{q}^\text{t}^\text{i}$ (Chukchee) just to me (i.e., to myself)

$\text{ci}^\text{n}^\text{i'\text{t}} \text{w}^\text{wi}^\text{\text{'k}}^\text{\text{'k}}$ he killed himself, (lit. his own body; $\text{w}^\text{wi}^\text{\text{'k}}^\text{\text{'k}}$ body)

Kor. $\text{w}^\text{wi}^\text{\text{'k}}$ he consumed himself (literally, his body)

Kor. $\text{q}^\text{u}^\text{n}^\text{n}^\text{e}^\text{\text{'\text{v}n}}^\text{\text{'o}n}$

The term $\text{w}^\text{wi}^\text{\text{'k}}^\text{\text{'n}}$ belonging to the body is thus used to express own.

§ 56
We find, however, in Koryak, the pronoun also used in oblique cases to express own:

\[ \text{gū'mkin čin'ṅkina} \] with my own.

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix -onaiolh following the possessive form of the pronoun.

\[ \text{gūnāk-onaiolh-īch-ē-ūm} \] big I

These forms are used in jesting, in children's play, etc.

**Demonstrative and Interrogative (Indefinite) Pronouns (§§ 57-58)**

### § 57. PARTICLES AND ABSOLUTE FORMS

The idea of position is expressed with great nicety, and in Chukchee there are nine terms expressing the position of an object in relation to the speaker. In Koryak there are only five, and in Kamchadal I have found only two. The exact relation to the speaker is not quite clear in all of these. In Chukchee the independent form of all of these is formed by the suffix -qan (with \( n \) belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending -qin. In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings -kin, -gen, -qala'ken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Independent form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>wu'ı'-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wu'qan, 65.22; 137.1; 133.4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>han</td>
<td>wa'ı'-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Enq'ın 115.21; 71.13; 29; 63.7, 10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that yonder</td>
<td>noon</td>
<td>ŋa'q'-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋa'qanqan 70.22; also as adverb</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that yonder</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋa'q-', less frequently ŋa'q'-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that there (not very far)</td>
<td>han</td>
<td>ŋa'qan 133.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>there (quite far)</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>gu'qan 63.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that there (midway to some other object)</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>va'qanqan 121.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>that behind the person addressed</td>
<td>rai</td>
<td>ra'qan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that behind the person speaking</td>
<td>qo'ti</td>
<td>qo'tin 70.21</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that apart from the speaker</td>
<td>qun</td>
<td>mč'ìn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who, somebody</td>
<td></td>
<td>me'qin 137.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{wu'qan (Paren)} \]

\[ \text{hč'nún} \]

\[ \text{Enka'kin} \]

\[ \text{wu'qin} \]

\[ \text{me'qin 11.4} \]

\[ \text{min-} \]
It may be noted that all demonstratives, except wut-, en'ii-, and ṃii'ii, end in -n which remains in all forms.

The demonstrative stems have strong vowels, except wut-, en'ii-, and ṃii. The last of these is treated more frequently as an unchangeable stem; for instance,—

\[ \text{wut'ii-nota'p}'u \]

although the two vowels u and i belong to the weak, changeable group.

When the demonstratives enter into composition, they take the ending -\( i'n \), except ṃii'ii. The same ending is found in the interrogative me'ni'n, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem mi'k- (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

\[ \text{wot'ii-nota'q'ken} \]
\[ \text{that one belonging to this country 7.1} \]
\[ \text{wo't'm-rgro'k} \text{ that (morning) dawn 10.3} \]
\[ \text{wu'tin-nu'tek} \text{ (Kor. Kam. wu'tin-nu'tak) in that country} \]
\[ \text{ma'n'ii-nota'p}'u \text{ (Kor. Kam. ma'n'm-nota'\( \nu' \))} \text{from what country.} \]
\[ \text{Kor. ma'n'in-mi'kli-ye'lkiye'l which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor. 34.2} \]

Kor. ma'n'in-gai-nii'wis'qatik to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

For greater emphasis the independent, absolute forms of the demonstrative may be used with the corresponding particle, as given on p. 723, or with repetition of independent form, connected by the particle um (see also p. 726).

\[ \text{no'onqan um nii} \]
\[ \text{enqa'n um enqa'n 130.9, etc.} \]

The particles are, however, used also independently or combined with various other forms.

\[ \text{rai 61.8} \]
\[ \text{vai 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35;} \]
\[ 71.15; 76.25, 30 \]
\[ \text{\( \text{nii} \) 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32} \]
\[ \text{\( \text{nii'an} \) 65.13} \]
\[ \text{\( \text{nii'on} \) 64.1} \]
\[ \text{wot 81.12} \]
\[ \text{\( \text{wot'qanm} \) um vai 45.12} \]
\[ \text{vai \( \text{\( \text{nii'an} \) 62.9} \]
\[ \text{wu'tku-m vai 120.11} \]

Note.—The Koryak form in -qala'ken given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position -gal-, -gač (Chukchee -gal-, -gač) close to, by the side of. The Koryak suffix -qala'ken cor-
responds to the Chukchee form -quiken, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form va'enqač (Kor. Kam. va'yeŋqal) by the side, halfway
Independent form vaenqa'tkën (Kor. Kam. vayenqala'ken)
Adverbial form wo' tenqač (Kor. Kam. vo'teŋqal) here
Independent form wo'tmqa'tkën 14.2 (Kor. Kam. votenqala'ken)
wo'qanir'qupu (pronunciation of men wo'tqae'rgupu) from those

§ 53. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in -qan adding the -e (Kor. Kam. -a) to the terminal n that is found in all words with terminal n of the stem (§§ 31, 4; 34). For personal forms the connective vowel is i.

As examples may serve,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>wo'tqa'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Dual Kor.)</td>
<td>wo'tqa'g1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Koryak)</td>
<td>wo'tqa'g2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqanéná2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective, personal</td>
<td>wo'tqana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqaná'íê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, personal.</td>
<td>wo'tqana'íê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqana'íê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative, personal.</td>
<td>wo'tqana'íê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative, not personal</td>
<td>wo'tqana'íê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative, personal.</td>
<td>wo'tqana'íê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1 Pronunciation of men wo'tqa'gat. | 2 Pronunciation of men wo'tqana. |

Also enqa'nat 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; enqa'at those 62.10; enqa'nêna by that one 44.8; wo'tqana this time 76.18

Koryak:

ña'nyen that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5
ña'nyeu (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; ña'nyeu 25.6, 9; 42.4
ña'nyenata (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5
ña'nemenak (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; ña'nyenena Kor. 76.16

The plural of the demonstrative is used in nominal, adjectival, and predicative expressions.

enqa'nat qánu'ntíñinet throw away those! 49.5
wo'qaat qánu'utki eat these! 33.12
enqa'at qa'at those reindeer
Kor. Kam. ña'nyenu nu a'ítu those dogs

§ 58
In some cases the singular form is used when we should expect the plural:

enqa'n gittile'ti nine'l-i-äm there I give to those who are hungry 96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).
enqa'n orawêlat these men 63.5
enqa'n Umqáqáqi'iní these people of Umqáqáqi 63.10
enqa'n ni'râq orawêlat these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative who, somebody, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>me'ñin</td>
<td>ma'ki Kor.17.5</td>
<td>këe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Dual Koryak)</td>
<td>mi'kinti</td>
<td>ma'kinti</td>
<td>kën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (Koryak)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>mak'ùgi</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>mi'kinä</td>
<td>mi'kinak Kor. 76.16</td>
<td>k'link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>me'këna</td>
<td>me'kena</td>
<td>k'ü'nke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>me'kënal'pä</td>
<td>mekena'ñgo</td>
<td>k'link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

me'ñin üm ela' who is (your) mother? 113.14
mi'kin yaa'kinë'tki kanë'irgin whose lullaby are you singing? 120.14
mi'kinä ganto'ñen by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem mi'- signifies the inanimate interrogative.

Nominal forms of the plural, when appearing with suffixes, have, instead of the regular plural, forms compounded with the third person plural personal pronoun (see p. 706).

In Chukchee we find also ma'kîrgin, pl. ma'kîrginté, whose house's, whose family's; related to the Koryak stem mak-, and formed with the stem -erg of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by üm, are also used as exclamations.

ñan üm ñan! you there! ña'an üm ñan 95.35 yonder
va' üm vai! halfway there!
ñoon üm ñoon! far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

me'ñin ñan ye'tirkin? who comes there?
râ'ñun ñot wurrërkin? what is visible behind there?
mî'ñkri rai nel'he? how then became he? 29.7
mî'ñkri ñot ñé-ga-ras'qé'um-va'lit? why! those are bad ones to

§ 58 pass! 130.3
Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings. From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>wu'tku 7.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>E'nu'ki 119.31</td>
<td>wu'tku, ā'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (midway to some object)</td>
<td>va'ānkti</td>
<td>ā'ni'ko, ā'na'ko, ā'e'ntko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (behind the person addressed)</td>
<td>ra'ānkti</td>
<td>va'ī'kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (behind the speaker)</td>
<td>āo'trākti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there (away from the speaker)</td>
<td>āw'nti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>mi'ānkti, mē'ntki 12.2</td>
<td>mē'āni, Kor. 20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Chukchee two forms in -gan are also used as adverbs.

there (some distance away) . . .  āo'ongan
there (far away) . . .  gāl'ngan

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thus</td>
<td>en'nu'n 63.13;</td>
<td>en'nā'an Kor.13.1,  āo'ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>en'nu'n 63.13;</td>
<td>en'nā'an 65.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adverbs with suffixes derived from the locative forms are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERE</th>
<th>CHUKCHEE</th>
<th>KOR. KAM.</th>
<th>KAMCHADAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem ..</td>
<td>wu't</td>
<td>wu't</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wu'tk'āt</td>
<td>wu'tk'āt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>wō'tqort</td>
<td>wō'tqo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>wō'tqort</td>
<td>wō'tqo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in the same way Chukchee va'ānkata, va'ānē, va'ānqo or va'ānqor; Koryak vaiē'nta, vaiē'n'ti, vaiē'nto from stem vai.

Examples:

wō'tko from here 43.1; wō'tqo en'qo'tro thence 49.2; 65.18, 24
121.20; 131.14; wu'tk'āt here en'kē'q'gi thither 71.23
73.14
en'kē'ōkku in there 73.20
en'nu't 64.7; 66.3; 72.6
en'q'ē'kin one from there 67.3

§ 58
Koryak:

wu'tcu this time Kor. 41.2  
e'nke here (vocative form) Kor. 13.7; 58.7  
na'nko there Kor. 41.6  
no'nakO there Kor. 19.11  
na'niko there Kor. 32.1; see Kor. 62.7  
nanikai'ti'n thither Kor. 36.5  
nan'akango from that one Kor. 42.3

The forms mi'nkri (Chukchee), me'nkañ (Kor. Kam.), ma'nke (Kamchadal), also signify how.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mëno'ko'kënat where are you from 65.10

mi'nké-mil 66.34
menke'mič, maši'mn'vač (Kor. 66.1)
men'ke'ml', also lact (Kamchadal) to what degree, in what manner

Demonstrative elements with the verbal noun va'lin (Kor. Kam. i'tala'n) THE ONE WHO IS—, are also used to express demonstrative terms.

en'ni'n-va'lin 128.24 (Chukchee), ennat'an i'tala'n (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i.e., such a one
enno'lt-va'lin (Chukchee) being near here thus; i.e., such a one
en'nu-va'lin such a one (expressing reproach)
en'nu'-wa'le-git such a one art thou 21.11
mi'nkri-va'lin (Chukchee 14.4), me'nkañ itala'n (Kor. Kam.) what kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THIS</th>
<th>THIS HERE</th>
<th>WHICH, WHAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>ny'</td>
<td>ti'n&lt;ti'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nyhe'nk</td>
<td>ti'nhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>nyhe'nk</td>
<td>ti'nhenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>nyhe'l</td>
<td>ti'nhe'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>ng'hu'enk</td>
<td>ti'nho'enk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ng'he'nk</td>
<td>ti'nhe'enk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ng'he'nk</td>
<td>ti'nhe'enk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as e'koi (экоз), edakoi (эдакой).

§ 58
As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in synthetic form mi'nen, which corresponds to Chukchee me'nin (see p. 726.)

mi'nun-ktsoj-gol which road along?
but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

mi'nenl' hvaml' ekan with which knife have you made it?

From the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns verbal forms are derived in the same manner as from nouns. I give here a number of examples. The verbal forms will be found discussed in § 82.

engkanai'-git this art thou 20.7.
wotqanai'-gum this am I 43.5, 121.14
wotqanad'-mo're here we are 69.5
mi'k-i-um who am I
mi'k-i-git who art thou; mi'k-i-or 127.11
mi'w-muri who are we
mi'q-tu'ri who are ye 120.9

| Kor. Kam. wutinnalai-gum this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

enil'n his 17.13
enqa'nen of this one 50.10
mi'kin whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.); Kor. Kam. mi'kin, dual mi'kinat, pl. mikiina'wgi (possessor sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative mik'o'n (§ 36) Kor. 34.4

mi'k'irgin (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), mi'k'irginet (object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. mi'kichin, dual mi'kichinat, pl. mikiichinat (§ 34); Kamchadal k'len, pl. k'el'en

§ 59. Indefinite Pronoun râq

The non-personal interrogative and indefinite pronoun is, Chukchee râq; Kor. Kam. ya(q), yax; Kor. II ta(q); Kamchadal seq.

The following are the forms with post-positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absol.</td>
<td>raq</td>
<td>yaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Kor.)</td>
<td>ra'nut</td>
<td>ya'nna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Kor</td>
<td>ra'nuti</td>
<td>ya'gat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>re'qâ</td>
<td>yaqw'wgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>re'qâk</td>
<td>ya'qa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ra'no'ta'gii</td>
<td>ya'qak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative (see § 94)</td>
<td>ra'no'pâ</td>
<td>yaq'âqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td>râ'nai'pâ</td>
<td>ya'qu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>[ra'gâpâ]</td>
<td>pâya'qu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The set of forms derived from ṛa'nut, except the plural, are not often used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṛa'nut</td>
<td>what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛa'nut ūm</td>
<td>what was it then? 34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛa'nut ūm qine'llī'ę</td>
<td>give me something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛa'nutet</td>
<td>whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reqā</td>
<td>by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reqā what?</td>
<td>34.8, 9; whatever 32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'qa-Čot</td>
<td>with what there 139.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qāk at what?</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qūm why</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qu how</td>
<td>17.5, 7; why 23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. Kam. ya'qa with what Kor. 46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. Kam. ya'gkin-ki what for Kor. 26.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. Kam. ya'qin-yaq what then? Kor. 45.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are also used in composition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra'-qa'at</td>
<td>(Chukchee), yax-goya'we (Kor. Kam.), seq-kol'je'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāq-ā'ttā gē'čin</td>
<td>(Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāq-ni'mnim</td>
<td>what settlement, obj. 33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā'pr'ūl</td>
<td>what tidings? 11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā'notačhit</td>
<td>what kind are 14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak I:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya'qlau</td>
<td>what are they doing Kor. 24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaqlaikme'tik</td>
<td>what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Koryak II has the same forms as Koryak Kamenskoye, derived from the stem tag.

Verbs derived from these stems are used with great frequency (see § 82); for instance,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>re'qarkin</td>
<td>(Chukchee), ya'qykin Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), ta'qatkn (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'q'ī</td>
<td>what is the matter 19.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qārkūm</td>
<td>what is the matter with thee 18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'q-i-git</td>
<td>what do you want? 18.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrra'qunvo</td>
<td>what for? 19.1, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qālit</td>
<td>which ones 139.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qāl-i-git</td>
<td>what do you want? 22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nre'q-i-git</td>
<td>what are you doing? 33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. Kam. nrya'qi-qi what are you doing? Kor. 39.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§59
Kamchadal has another form for what, something, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in enk-

| Absolute     | e'ńka | Kamchadal has another form for what, something, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in enk-.
| Instrumental | e'ńkal' |
| Locative     | enka'ńk |
| Allative     | enka'ńk |
| Ablative     | enka'ńk |

Verbs derived from this stem are formed as in Chukchee and Koryak.

enka'nejč what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

enka'ńke k'öjč why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. Other Indefinite Pronouns

1. The stem nírk- (Kor. Kam. niyk-) expresses a certain well-known person, the one we think of, the one referred to; ník- a certain well-known thing or act we think of, or referred to.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

### PERSONAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>nírkänt</td>
<td>ni'ỷka, ni'ỷktńrńt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Koryak)</td>
<td>nírkänti</td>
<td>ni'ỷkanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Koryak</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>niyka'wek, niykaunu Kor. 50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>nírkänä</td>
<td>ni'ỷkanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>nē'kına</td>
<td>ne'kıykan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>nērka'ńpu</td>
<td>neyka'ńgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td>nirke'ńu</td>
<td>niyka'ńu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NON-PERSONAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ní'kıńt</th>
<th>ni'kt</th>
<th>ni'ke'tä</th>
<th>ní'ke'k</th>
<th>nēka'ńt</th>
<th>nēka'ńpu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>ní'kıńt</td>
<td>ni'kt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ni'ke'tä</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>ní'ke'k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>nēka'ńt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>nēka'ńpu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>pančka'ńma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative (see § 100)</td>
<td>ānike'tä</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative (see § 94)</td>
<td>níke'ńu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§60
Examples:

ni'rkenut a certain one 90.20; 119.12
ni'kek somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

ni'rken (Kor. Kam. n'izka'nen) belonging to the one referred to or thought of
ni'kin belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8

ai've n'erkaip 'gorda'ni te'mityā'n yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—

ni'kerkin (Kor. Kam. nika'ykin) he does the thing referred to or thought of

rinike'urkin whatsoever shall be 21.10

Kor. Kam. mn'ikak I'll do something Kor. 42.1
Kor. Kam. nekañvo'ykin he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, sxu'zijē YOU DO A CERTAIN THING is used in the same way.

2. qol (Chukchee), qolla' (Kor. Kam.), kl'ola' (Kamchadal) OTHER.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem quli' is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

quli'-nikek afterwards (= at another certain one)
qole't-a'lo' some future day (= in the other day)
qol yara'chën a house 86.17
qol yi'lgin another month 7.2

Post-positional forms occur only with personal nouns, while in Koryak these are used for all kinds of nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee—Personal</th>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Non-personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute . . . .</td>
<td>qol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (dual Koryak).</td>
<td>qu'itta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Koryak . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective . . .</td>
<td>quli'(n)inā</td>
<td>qu'iniñak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive (locative)</td>
<td>quli'(n)inā</td>
<td>qu'iniñak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative . . . .</td>
<td>quli'(n)itu'na</td>
<td>qu'iniñak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative . . . .</td>
<td>quli'(n)itu'pā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designative . . .</td>
<td>quli'(n)itu'nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Without n in men's pronunciation.

qol eli'gin another father, a certain father 107.22
qol um na'd'mirkin they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)
qutti others (subj. intr.) 12.5
qutti' inā by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13
Kor. Kam. qo'lla another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:
qotē-notai' pu from another land 14.12
qotē-ra' gti to another house 12.11
qotē- tkē' unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. əlve (Chukchee), alva (Kor. Kam.), əknēn (Kamchadal), other, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—
elvelin (Chukchee), 117.7, elvelinet 113.3, alvalin (Kor. Kam.)
Kor. 76.19.
ček-a'lvam-va'lin how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).
a'jva titva' nvak I was in a different way Kor. 18.6

4. A number of prefixed particles express also ideas related to the
indefinite pronoun (see § 113, nos. 6, 7, 14, 24):
rm- all
em- mere
gemge- every
ter- how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite,
augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of
these are used with great frequency.
mañēna' chin that one, who is he (from me'nin who)
räν' nutqāi (from räν' nut what) or
rā'ggāi
ya' xpl (Kor. Kam.)
qo'talā' nān another big one
qy' teqāi another little one
are used quite often

The Predicate (§§ 61-82)

§ 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the charac-
ter of the word forming the predicate. The first class is formed
by verbs; the latter, by nominal terms which are used as predicate.
While all verbs may appear in nominalized forms, and therefore may
take the form of the noun as predicate, nouns can not readily be trans-
formed into verbs—except by the use of verbalizing suffixes, which give
the compound stem a verbal character. Thus we find that true verbal
forms are confined to verbal stems, to the numerals (except one), and
§61
to the indefinite (or interrogative) pronouns, which may be used as nouns as well as verbs.

The structure of the first class of predicative forms is quite complex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We have—

I. Intransitive verbs:  
1. Pronominal prefix.  
2. Temporal or modal prefix.  
3. Verbal theme.  
4. Temporal or modal suffix.  
5. Pronominal suffix.  

II. Transitive verbs:  
1. Pronominal subjective prefix.  
2. Temporal or modal prefix.  
3. Verbal theme.  
4. Temporal or modal suffix.  
5. Pronominal objective suffix.

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative . . . . without prefix, no suffix  
Subjunctive:  
(a) Exhortative . . with the prefix n(t) the suffix gi  
(b) Subjunctive . . with the prefix e the suffix gi  
Imperative . . . . with the prefix q the suffix gi  
Future . . . . with the prefix r the suffix gi

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in -irkin (Koryak I -iykin, -i'kin; Koryak II -itkin, Kamchadal -jk), the nominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal -in, as is done in all forms in Kamchadal.

The second class, predicative nominal terms, consists either of nouns or of verbal stems, which are nominalized by certain prefixes, and which take suffixes expressing the terminal relations. The simple nominalized forms are used as predicative terms of the third person. These have been discussed before. They are the nominalized forms in -in, -kin, -lin, n(t)-qin (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix -i', which may be derived from the verb -it 1 TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns mgi we, and tgi you; so that the whole complex represents in the same way a nominal form with predicative function, as in the third persons. The nominalized form has no true tenses.

11 I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the t should be preserved, although in Chukchee it might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras points out that the f can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be t. — F. Boas.

§61
§ 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: \( t \)- for the singular, \( mt \)- for the plural. The \( m \) of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in \( m\gamma^2 \) \( \text{we} \), while the \( t \) of singular and plural may be the same. The element \( mt \)- conveys the idea of plurality of the first person with such energy, that, in Koryak at least, the suffix \(-mi^k \), which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

\[
\begin{align*}
t + r & \rightarrow trg-
mt + r & \rightarrow mrrg-
t + \epsilon & \rightarrow mn(i)\epsilon-
\end{align*}
\]

The last of these is not quite regular, since \( mt(i)\epsilon \) would also seem to be possible. The forms of the exhortative can not be explained by phonetic laws. Here we find that the expected

\[
\begin{align*}
t + n & \rightarrow n
mt + n & \rightarrow m\epsilon
\end{align*}
\]

In the subjunctive \( (b) \), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

\[tu^\epsilon w^i\epsilon^\epsilon k \text{ (stem } uwi) \text{ I should cook}\]

3. The verbal themes may be simple or compound. The former undergo peculiar phonetic changes according to their position, the forms in initial position differing from those found in medial position. This subject has been discussed in § 7 and § 12. A number of formations, however, are irregular, and not due to the action of phonetic laws.

\[qami-plitku \text{ eating finishing (stem } qami, \text{ from } qamitva)\]
\[tara'\tilde{n}go\tilde{t} \text{ they built a house (from } i\epsilon^k\epsilon r \text{ to make, } yara \text{ house) }\]
\[kimni'\epsilon^rkin \text{ he kills children (} kmi^\epsilon ni^rkin\text{) }\]
\[kwo\epsilon^rkin \text{ he has dead children (} km\epsilon ni^rkin, vi^rkin\text{) }\]

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).
4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix -gi- which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

**INTRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-?</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mk</td>
<td>-tk</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be that the m and t of the first and second persons plural are related to murji and burji, which may contain the same endings as erri (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in -gi related to the pronoun qit. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element t,¹ which is not the same as the t of the second person plural.

§ 63. Structure of the Transitive Verb

The structure of the transitive verb is, on the whole, analogous to that of the intransitive.

1. For the first persons singular and plural, the same pronominal prefixes as in the intransitive appear, as subjects. The transitive forms of the third person, singular and plural, have the prefix ng-. The clearness of the picture is obscured by the fact that the transitive forms

THOU—US; YE—ME, US and

THOU, YE, HE—ME

do not exist, and generalized intransitive forms are used in their place. These are formed with the prefix ing- or with the suffix -tkw (see p. 819, no. 28; p. 808, no. 67). It is possible that the peculiar form YE—HIM, THEM has the same origin (see p. 809). I presume this

¹ See plural of nouns, p. 694.
form has originated from -tku-tik and is parallel to -tkui\^2 thou—us. The g of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms thou—us because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-\(tku-gi^2\) becomes -\(tkui^2\)

2. The temporal and modal prefixes are the same as those of the intransitive.

3. The stems are treated like those of the intransitive verb.

4. The temporal and modal suffixes enter into compound forms with the pronominal suffixes. The intransitive g is apparently absent, owing to its frequent intervocalic position.

5. The analogy between the transitive pronominal suffixes and the intransitive suffixes is fairly clear, if we consider only those forms which have true pronominal suffixes. We find then the object

\(-git\) thee \(-mik\) us \(-tik\) you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: -\(git\) may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun -\(gi^2\) (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in -\(n\) which recall the nominal forms in -\(in\) (§§ 45-49), and, like these forms, form their plurals in -\(et\). In a way these forms seem related to the nominal predicate. To the same group belongs the form in -\(um\) they—me, which contains the pronoun \(gum\), like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

\(qa'at\ \(trip\^2lanat\) (Kor. Kam. \(qo\(ya'wge\ \(trip\^2lanau\)) I left the reindeer

For the first person object the intransitive form with \(\(inge\) is used.

\(r¿\(nut\(q\(äi\ \(gine'üñ\) give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural -\(la\)- of the Koryak is always placed immediately following the stem. It indicates plurality of subject or object, but occurs once only in each form, even if both subject and object are plural.

Certain verbal stems may be used both as transitive and as intransitive, generally with a slight change in meaning.
tuvalo’mürkin I know, hear, obey (intransitive)
tuvalo’mürkinugit I know thee (transitive)
tuvalomgä’k I heard
tuvalomga’n I knew him

The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64-66)

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prefixes</td>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—tk</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n (r’, u’, âr’)</td>
<td>—tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—ğı’č’</td>
<td>n (r, u, ā)</td>
<td>n (r’, u’, âr’)</td>
<td>—nč’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d, 3d sing.</td>
<td>—ğı’č’</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n (r’, u’, âr’)</td>
<td>—ği’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>ğč’</td>
<td>n (r, u, ā)</td>
<td>—ği’n</td>
<td>q(r, a, a)**—pč’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>ml—mtk</td>
<td>ml</td>
<td>ml (r’, u’, âr’)</td>
<td>—mtk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No 2d person. **No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN -rkin (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>—ntik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—t*</td>
<td>—t*</td>
<td>—ntt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* t takes the place of final n: trk’nt.

The prefix t- of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel when it forms an admissible cluster with the initial sound of the verbal theme.

The derived form -rkin is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary i is inserted between stem and suffix:

qami’tva-rkin he eats
walo’m-i-rkin he knows

Nominal forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>—č’ti</td>
<td>—č’ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—tk, i</td>
<td>—tk, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—(t)č’</td>
<td>—(t)č’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—ma</td>
<td>—ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—mač’i</td>
<td>—mač’i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past I</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d dual</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>* na†</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>q-(q)tik</td>
<td>ya-ñittik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—t'atik</td>
<td>* na†</td>
<td>—t'atik</td>
<td>q-t'atik</td>
<td>ya-ñantik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual</td>
<td>—pi</td>
<td>n(i) na†</td>
<td>—nat</td>
<td>ya-ñl†</td>
<td>ky-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—ta or</td>
<td>n(i) na†</td>
<td>—nau</td>
<td>ya-ñane</td>
<td>ky-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d, 3d sing.</td>
<td>—i</td>
<td>*n na†</td>
<td>—in</td>
<td>q**(q)tik</td>
<td>ya-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>ti-tik</td>
<td>mt ta†</td>
<td>—tik</td>
<td>tya-i</td>
<td>tiki*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st dual</td>
<td>mit-mik</td>
<td>mtn mina†</td>
<td>—mik</td>
<td>missa-mik</td>
<td>mitki*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>—t'amik</td>
<td>mtn mina†</td>
<td>—t'a(mik)</td>
<td>missa-t'a(mik)</td>
<td>mitki*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

() May be omitted. *No 2d person. **No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN -tek(a) (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Prefixes.</th>
<th>Suffixes.</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d dual</td>
<td>—ikntik</td>
<td>—ikntik</td>
<td>—ikntik</td>
<td>—intik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>—taiknetik</td>
<td>—taiknetik*</td>
<td>—taiknetik</td>
<td>—taiknetik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual</td>
<td>—ikti</td>
<td>—iknat</td>
<td>—ikntau**</td>
<td>—ikteni</td>
<td>—taiktenhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>—ate</td>
<td>—iktnau**</td>
<td>—iktnau**</td>
<td>—ikteni</td>
<td>—taiktenhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st, 2d, 3d</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing.; 1st dual</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>—iktn</td>
<td>—iktnemik*</td>
<td>—iktnemik*</td>
<td>—iktnemik</td>
<td>—iktnemik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Subjunctive (b) has ta-i instead of ta. **Subjunctive (b) has au instead of nau.

The prefix ti- of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending -iktn (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as wal'o'm-iktn he knows. After terminal vowel the i changes to a neutral i, as va-iktn he is. In many cases, however, the i is also weakened to i or y after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary i is inserted preceding it, as in ya'qiykin what art thou? Kor. 29.1; i'tiykin art thou? Kor. 29.2

§ 65
The subjunctive \( (b) \) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle -\\( h \), which is the Russian conjunction бы.

\textit{tk\\!/nuk} if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb \( \ddot{o}l \), \( (\ddot{o}) \) to desire, which may form modes and tenses like the others; the present, with the terminal verb (or suffix) \( j \). The third person plural of this form is \(-\ddot{c}tn \) or \( j\ddot{r}n \).

The numerous Kamchadal verbs ending in -\\( l \) change this to -\\( c \) in the derived present. This occurs both in intransitive and transitive verbs (see § 122).

\( \text{tilk} \) I left
\( \text{tnukl}k \) I slept
\( \text{tocolk} \) I lay
\( \text{tr}ocyk \) I leave
\( \text{tnu}kecyk \) I sleep
\( \text{tco}lojcyk \) I lie

\( \text{tujuk nuk}j \) I began eat-beginning; i.e., I began to eat (\(-T \); \( \text{u}j \)u to begin; \( -k \) I; \( n \)y to eat)

\( ^1 \) This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 308, no. 63). The verbal noun never appears without it.

\( ^{§66} \)
The Forms of the Transitive Verb (§§ 67–71)

§ 67. CHUKCHEE

Transitive Suffixes

**TRANSITIVE FORMS**

**FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) thee</td>
<td></td>
<td>-qit</td>
<td></td>
<td>-qit</td>
<td>-lyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) you</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tit</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ntik</td>
<td>-itik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) us (except thou, ye—us)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>-mik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THIRD PERSON FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) him (except he, ye—him)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-qin</td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>-qin</td>
<td>-qin (no ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) them (except he, ye—them)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nikt</td>
<td>-sink</td>
<td>-sink</td>
<td>-sink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) he—him</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>-niht</td>
<td>-niht</td>
<td>-niht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6') he—them</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nia</td>
<td>-nia</td>
<td>-nia</td>
<td>-nia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) he—me</td>
<td></td>
<td>-qin</td>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>-qin</td>
<td>-qin (no ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thou—me, us</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tit</td>
<td>-nikt</td>
<td>-nikt</td>
<td>-nikt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) ye—me, us</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tik</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-iti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ye—him, them</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tit</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-iti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With -tku preceding pronominal suffix.

**NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -irkin IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(11) they—me 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 See § 73. This form takes the prefix ne-

**Transitive Prefixes**

**TRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia (a)</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia (b)</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mt</td>
<td>tmt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>mnt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INTRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia (a)</th>
<th>Subjunctive Ia (b)</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>(q)-</th>
<th>(r)-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>(ng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[§67\]
The form -gi² (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to -i.  
qênapêlæq and qênapêlai leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).

### NOMINAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 —gɨq̊</td>
<td>—q̊-ɨq̊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 —k</td>
<td>—q̊-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 —lă</td>
<td>—q̊-lă</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 —mă</td>
<td>—q̊-mă</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 —nq̊t</td>
<td>—q̊nt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

| Future     | —q̊-ɨn |
| Exhortative, sing. | —q̊-a nast \(nt\) |
| pl.         | —q̊-nat |
| Exhortative, derived sing. | —q̊-rktn \(nt\) |
| pl.         | —q̊-rktnat |

§68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOEYE

**Transitive Suffixes**

**TRANSITIVE FORMS**

**FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive la</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -ȳktn IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) thee</td>
<td>—gə̆¹</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>—q̊</td>
<td>—q̊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) you</td>
<td>—(lə) tik</td>
<td>—(lə) tik</td>
<td>—(lə) mtk</td>
<td>—(lə) mtk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) us</td>
<td>—(lə) mtk</td>
<td>—(lə) mtk</td>
<td>—(lə) mtk</td>
<td>—(lə) mtk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THIRD PERSON FORMS.**

| (4) him (except he, ye—him) | —qə̆n² | —qtn | —ñ̊n | no ending |
| (5) them dual (except he, ye—them) | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n |
| (5') them pl.(except he, ye—them) | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n |
| (6) he, they—him, them        | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n | —ñ̊n |

**INTRANSITIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative I: Subjunctive la</th>
<th>Imperative II</th>
<th>Future III</th>
<th>Derived Modes in -ȳktn IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7) he—me</td>
<td>—l̃</td>
<td>—qə̆n</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thou—me</td>
<td>—g̊l̃</td>
<td>—g̊q̊n</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>no ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) ye—me</td>
<td>—(lə)tik</td>
<td>—(lə)tik</td>
<td>—(lə)mik</td>
<td>—(lə)mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9') ye—us</td>
<td>—(lə)mik</td>
<td>—(lə)mik</td>
<td>—(lə)mik</td>
<td>—(lə)mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ye—him, them</td>
<td>—(lə)tèa</td>
<td>—(lə)tèa</td>
<td>—(lə)tèa</td>
<td>—(lə)tèa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§68
In the derived modes, la occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding -i%in.

The suffixes -gi and -ga^ (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to -t and -n. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

$qenapel' e$ and $qenapelvi$ leave me!

In Chukchee these forms are quite rare (see p. 741)

**PREFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative I</th>
<th>Subjunctive I (a)Exhort.</th>
<th>I (b) Subj.</th>
<th>Imperative I</th>
<th>Future III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I . . . . . .</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>mt-</td>
<td>tat-</td>
<td>tya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we . . . . . .</td>
<td>mt-</td>
<td>min-</td>
<td>mina-</td>
<td>missa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye, he—me . . .</td>
<td>ina-</td>
<td>n%na-</td>
<td>n%na-</td>
<td>y%na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they, he—thee, you, us</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>a%n-</td>
<td>nana-</td>
<td>naya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye—us</td>
<td>no prefix</td>
<td>nt-</td>
<td>n%t-</td>
<td>qa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he—him, them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye—him, them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix q%-, ku- (k- before vowels) and the future endings, except that

he, thou—me has the ending -%n
I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending -%n%k

**NOMINAL FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>missing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-mat</td>
<td>pa—la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>ya—n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exhortation, sing</td>
<td>ni—a'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ni—nat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhortation, period, pl.</td>
<td>ni—nou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>ni—likin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ni—likinat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni—likinau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KAMCHADAL (§§ 69-71)

§ 69. Types of Transitive Verb

The Kamchadal transitive verb shows peculiarities of structure similar to those of the Chukchee and Koryak. Only the forms with the objects thee, you, us, are formed with the pronominal forms corresponding to the intransitive suffixes. The combination ye—us is here also excepted, although no indication of a change of the verb into an intransitive form by means of a special suffix is found. Instead of that, the forms thou, ye—me have the ending -miŋk, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to -mik we of Chukchee-Koryak. It may be mentioned here again that in Koryak this ending tends to be dropped. In the Kamchadal forms here discussed it may express the intransitive first person plural, as though we had, for instance, instead of thou leavest me, we part. When used for the singular thou—me, the ending is often pronounced -miŋ, which may be an older form. The form ye—me, us takes, in addition to -miŋk, the ending -ce ye, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has -n. The nominal-predicative form is used here for both singular and plural of the third person with the object me.

The forms of a second type of conjugation are not quite so clear.

§ 70. Type I

Transitive Suffixes

Transitive forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-hın</td>
<td>-hin</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-hın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>-ceñ</td>
<td>-ceñ</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-ceñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us (except ye—us)</td>
<td>-miŋk</td>
<td>-miŋk</td>
<td>-miŋk</td>
<td>-miŋk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§69, 70
### Third Person Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him (except he, they, ye—him)</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-x</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them (except he, they, ye—them)</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-zn</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, they—him</td>
<td>-nîn</td>
<td>-nîn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, they—them</td>
<td>-nîn</td>
<td>-nîn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nîn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Intransitive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>-mînk</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mînk</td>
<td>-mînk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—me, us</td>
<td>-mînkek</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mînkek</td>
<td>-mînkek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—him</td>
<td>-cxn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-cx</td>
<td>-cxn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—them</td>
<td>-cxn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-cxn</td>
<td>-cxn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nominal Predicative Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he—me</td>
<td>-humnîn</td>
<td>humnîn</td>
<td></td>
<td>humnîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they—me</td>
<td>-humnîn</td>
<td>humnîn</td>
<td></td>
<td>humnîn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td></td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>loin xan-</td>
<td></td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td>xan</td>
<td></td>
<td>an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>dâ-</td>
<td>xan</td>
<td></td>
<td>dâ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou, ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except an- of the third person plural, are the same as those of the intransitive verbs.

An example of this type of verb is the stem tae (present tach) to beat. In verbs beginning with t, the prefix t of the first person singular is dropped.

Indicative forms have the theme teli-.

Subjunctive forms have the theme teli-.

Present forms have the theme tae(j)i- with auxiliary vowel i before terminal n and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

- teli'hin I beat thee
- teli'n he beat thee
- teli'humni'n he beat me
- teli'mînk you beat me, us; he beat us
- ânteli'cin they beat you
- ntelin we beat him
- ânteli'ni'n they beat him

§70
Subjunctive:

\[ \text{ntxi}'\text{lin} \] let me beat thee  
\[ \text{x'antxi}'\text{nin} \] let him beat him  
\[ \text{x'antxi}'\text{mik} \] let him, them, beat us  
\[ \text{x'antxi}'\text{hmik}\text{'in} \] let him, them, beat me  
\[ \text{muntxi}'\text{cin} \] let us beat you

Imperative:

\[ \text{ktxi}'\text{mik} \] beat thou me, us  
\[ \text{ktxi}'\text{mik}\text{'ex} \] beat ye me, us  
\[ \text{ktxi}'\text{ix} \] beat him  
\[ \text{ktxi}'\text{ex} \] beat ye him

Present:

\[ \text{tcxi}'\text{hin} \] I am beating thee  
\[ \text{ntxcj}'\text{hin} \] we are beating thee  
\[ \text{txcji}'\text{nin} \] thou art beating them  
\[ \text{txcjin} \] he is beating him  
\[ \text{ntxcjex'}\text{in} \] they are beating you  
\[ \text{ntxcj}'\text{in} \] we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

Transitive Su fixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us (except ye-us)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third-Person Forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I—him</th>
<th>-\text{'in}</th>
<th>-\text{'in}</th>
<th></th>
<th>-\text{'in}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we—him</td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou—them</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we—them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he—him</td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they—he</td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he—they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they—they</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
<td></td>
<td>-\text{'in}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INTRANSITIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>-zkmäńk</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-zkmäńk</td>
<td>-zkmäńk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—me, us</td>
<td>-zkmäńkeč</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-zkmäńkeč</td>
<td>-zkmäńkeč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—him</td>
<td>-čexińn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-čexińn</td>
<td>-čexińn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye—them</td>
<td>-Čexińn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-Čexińn</td>
<td>-Čexińn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

| he, they—me | -zkwunni'n | -zkwunni'n | — | -zkwunni'n |

Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Type I, but the symmetry is disturbed by a number of peculiar contractions, some of which seem to be due to misunderstandings. The prefixes are the same as those of Type I.

As an example may be given forms of the stem *kej* to accept. Indicative and subjunctive have the theme *kej*.

Present has the theme *kejį*.

**Indicative:**

- *tkę'jįkιn* I accepted thee
- *kę́jįńn* he accepted thee
- *änke'jįkümíńk* they accepted us
- *nke'jįńn* we accepted him
- *tkę'jįńn* or *tkę'jįkįrń* I accepted them
- *kę́jįćeźińn* ye accepted them

**Subjunctive:**

- *mkę'jįkιń* let me accept thee
- *wänderkejįkümíń* let him accept me
- *mınke'jįńn* or *mınke'jįkįrń* let us accept them
- *wänderkejįkιn* let him, them, accept thee

**Imperative:**

- *xkejįćeńk* accept him
- *xkejįćeńń* or *xkejįćeńń* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *č*)
- *xkejįkmt'ńk* accept me, us
- *xkejįkmt'ńkeč* accept ye me, us
- *xkejįćeźińn* accept ye him
- *xkejįćeźińn* accept ye them

**Present:**

- *tkę́jįjįkį'sęń* I am accepting you
- *nke'jįńn* we are accepting him
- *änke'jįjįńn* they are accepting him
- *kę́jįńn* he is accepting them
- *kę́jįńn* thou art accepting him, them

§71
The nominal forms of these two types are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) ( \cdot \cdot \cdot -ic, -il )</td>
<td>(-ččč)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) ( \cdot \cdot \cdot -ččč)</td>
<td>(-čččšč)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) ( \cdot \cdot \cdot -ččč) (rare)</td>
<td>(-čččšč) (rare)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the intransitive verb, the future is expressed by the present of the desiderative.

- \( \text{talaxin} \) I shall beat thee
- \( \text{talalın} \) I shall beat him
- \( \text{txlačina} \) I shall accept thee
- \( \text{txlačina} \) or \( \text{txlačina} \) I shall accept him

The two types of conjugation depend upon suffixes which precede the pronominal elements. Some verbal stems are used with and without these suffixes, with a modification of meaning.

- \( \text{txlejìn} \) (Type I) I take away my boots
- \( \text{txlejìn} \) (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{jiljìn} )</td>
<td>( \text{yl'irkin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ji'lijhäm} )</td>
<td>( \text{ny'ilkham} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{(ä)ny'ljimik} )</td>
<td>( \text{ny'ilmik} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 72. Examples of Verbal Suffixes

CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1–23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial \( q \) of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly.

- \( \text{telere}^q\text{ččč} | < \text{t-elerė}-\text{ččč} \) I felt lonesome
- \( \text{njo}^q\text{ččč} \text{ččč} | < \text{njo}-\text{ččč} \text{ččč} \text{ččč} \) he began to be overtaken 10.7

In stems ending in a double vowel this may lead to trivocalic clusters, which are never contracted.

- \( \text{tipa'aaččč} | < \text{ti-pa'a}-\text{ččč} \) I ceased 21.1
- \( \text{trya'aaččč} | < \text{ti-ya'a}-\text{ččč} \) I used

§72
2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonantic clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{pę'nınén}<pę'n-r-nǐn \text{ he attacks him} \\
& \text{tev'kinin}<\text{teik-nin} \text{ he made it} \\
& \text{qéna'nmǔ̞z}<qéna'-\text{ty-gi̯} \text{ kill me!}
\end{align*}
\]

3. In a few cases auxiliary vowels are also introduced when two consonants come into contact that would form inadmissible clusters.

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{pegmenti’tilin}<\text{pegti-met-lin} \text{ hauling a sledge} 15.3
\end{align*}
\]

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal \( u \) diphthong transform the combination \( uq \) into \( wkv \). The following auxiliary vowel is \( u \).

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{trma’rawkwa̞k}<\text{tr-mg’rau-gāk} \text{ I quarreled.} \\
& \text{trmara’wku}<\text{tr-mg’rau-git} \text{ I blamed thee} \\
& i’wkwi<iu-gi^z \text{ he spoke} 8.14 \\
& res’qi’wki<res’qin-gi̯z \text{ he entered} 11.2
\end{align*}
\]

When the diphthong is accented, and followed by a consonant with which \( w \) would form an admissible cluster, the \( u \) has a vocalic character.

\[
\text{mara’urkin} \text{ he quarrels}
\]

With those stems in which \( u \) is by origin a weak vowel or an unchangeable vowel, the \( g \) of the suffix, being an intervocalic sound, drops out.

\[
\begin{align*}
& i’yurkin \text{ he rows (perhaps from iyyu)} \\
& tē’urkin \text{ he shakes} \\
& tī’tu’an \text{ I shook}
\end{align*}
\]

5. Stems ending in \( t \) change the initial \( q \) of suffixes into \( y \).

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{ewkwě’ty̞i<ewkwet-gi̯} \text{ he left} 8.7 \\
& \text{tiye’ty̞ek<tiyet-ga̞k} \text{ I came} 124.11 \\
& \text{tewkwě’ty̞ek<t-ewkwet-ga̞k} \text{ I left}
\end{align*}
\]

6. Stems ending in \( l \) change the initial \( q \) of suffixes into \( y \) or \( h \).

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{uñe’ly̞a̞t<uñel-ga̞t} \text{ they gathered fuel} 30.6 \\
& \text{ne’ly̞at}<\text{net-ga̞t} \text{ it became} 12.2 \\
& \text{quné’lhi<uñel-gi̯} \text{ gather fuel!} 27.1 \\
& \text{mi’ilhit<mi-yil-gi̯} \text{ let me give thee} 121.24
\end{align*}
\]

7. Stems ending in \( l, r, ĉ, t \, \text{with following} \, l, \text{form} \, l \, \text{or} \, ĉ. \)

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{q̞iz’lin<q-żr-lin} \text{ he has gone across} \\
& \text{géni’lin<ge-nel-lin} \text{ he became} 10.8
\end{align*}
\]
ge'lıqän < ge'-ləqät-lin he left 59.1
Gaki'timalən < qa'-kə'timət-lən he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal ŋ of the stem before l changes to n.
gataqaronlən < qa-təaron-lən he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, t and n between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to aa, ee, ii, and after preceding q to ëë.

evkwę'ec rkin < ewkwę-ë-r-kin he leaves
gənatova'laat < ge'-ine-tevä-t-lınę they promised 71.4 (see § 73)
ninenlıpętqät < n-ine-r-lıp-ët-qët he broke them 20.11

I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:

2d pl. puñtrąättik you appeared 74.21
3d pl. pu̢ki'̡rgät they came 64.2
tara'ngä̡t they pitched a tent 56.9
nipe'ą̡t < nipe-gä̡t they came ashore 7.8
tile'ą̡t < tile-gä̡t they walked 64.9
qum'.getMap < qu'mi-tevä-gä̡t they ate 87.32
yilqät' tüa̢t < yilqät-gä̡t they slept 8.4

2d sing. ye'tyë̡t < yë̡-që̡ t thou hast come 37.6
qät'ı̡ thou art going 82.23
gıtæwkwë̢t < gui̢-te-gi̢t thou art hungry 9.13

3d sing. e'grip grou̢t she felt pain 63.8
ty̢ qü̢ t she crossed over 13.13
pu̢ki're̡ they came 90.26
nog'wı̢ntı̢ they married 58.8
pu̢ki'rho̢t they arrived 57.8; 58.1
ile'pqę̡ t he looked 7.6
k̢̢g̢'gu̢pqu̢t she dressed up 52.9
ei̢ne'-u̢tku̢t < ei̢ne'-u̢tuku̢-qı̢t he called 8.5
wa'q yö̢̢t < wang-qı̢t he sat down 15.7
ei̢nō̢̢t < i̢n-u̢ng-gı̢t he began to say 117.23
ra'qi̢t < raq'ı̢t-gı̢t he came home 122.7

1st sing. te'gripq de̡k I felt pain 101.17
tryetiyë̢t < t-yet-gä̡k I came 124.11
teu'd̢k < te'-iu-gä̡k I revived 83.14
	ılı̢awkwé̢k < t-ı̢wuq-ga̢k I could not 16.9

§72
1st pl. mityr'greunik we are thirsty 71.14
mitvi'mik we died 64.15

Subjunctive (a):

3d pl. nyiylqät'tinet <n-yiylqät-it-net> let them sleep
3d sing. n'lqät'yän <n-lqät-gän> let him go! 13.12
niča'ataan' <n-čaa-tupa-gän> let her be a castaway 39.3
nyiylqät'yän <n-yiylqät-gän> let him sleep 9.1

1st sing. milimala'nnaak <mi-limala-a-ŋg-gän> let me obey 21.10
m'lqät'yän <m-lqät-gän> let me go 125.5
muanla'ak <mi-ŋnal-a-ŋg-gän> I may ask (for help) 135.19
mne'etyän <m-neet-gän> let me turn black 23.6

1st pl. mnewkwen ik <mn-ewkwet-mik> let us go away 17.8
minwëel'mik let us gather fuel 30.6
mira'qtimük let us go home 126.4
mra'qtiuk let me go home 99.2
mut'aqoaik let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (b):

ni’tva'nat if they had stayed 68.27
nuv'vi'än <n-vi'-gän> she would die 37.12

Imperative:

qunu'ttik die ye! 64.16
qölettik walk ye! 65.29
qämũi'ŋ <q-mũi-gi'ŋ> celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5
qanto' <q-ntu-gi'ŋ> come out! 26.3
qaŋq'qgi'ŋ sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl. revi'ntik ye will die 64.20
3d pl. rë'pektägz they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)
2d sing. rëči'petäg <re-čip-et-gäz> thou wilt dive 114.22
revi'iz <rë-vi-gi'z> thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 revi'äz 37.8)
ratova <rë-typ-gäz> thou wilt live 108.25
3d sing. remũi'ŋ <rë-mũi-gäz> he will celebrate a thanksgiving ceremonial 118.12
ratopa'wka <rë-topau-gäz> she will be pregnant 104.5
rura'lečtyä <rë-rale-čit-gäz> he will slide down 114.15
rewre'tyä <re-wrret-gi'z> it will appear 119.10

1st sing. trara'qtiu <t-ra-ragti-gäz> I shall go home 99.14
trevi'äz <t-re-ri-gi'z> I shall die 108.1
tren'lehä <t-re-neel-gi'z> I shall turn to 24.12

1st pl. mirreylqät'yän <mirre-yiylqät-gän> we shall sleep 9.3

§72
Derived Modes in -irkim.

Past I:

*inenregeurkiniْ*’itik < *ine-r-*req-*eu-irkim-*itik* what are you doing with me 10.10
*ewkwé*’erkit < *ewkwet-irkit* they leave 13.6
*mü*’irkit they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29
*pilq*’*é*’erkîn he dived 9.7
*va’*rkin he is 19.2
*nqanmitva’urkinён* he was made to eat
*kime’urkin* thou causest delay 18.6
*re’qärkin* how art thou? 18.9
*tinqa’é*’rkin I refuse 19.7
*mittegniْ’èirkin* we suffer 32.2
*mitteñicé*’èrkîn we feel merry 69.8
*mingami’tvarkîn* let us eat 65.4
*galva’*’rkîn stay! 57.3; 67.23
*remeiné*’èrkîn he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

3d pl. *is’himlavai’*ñalai they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6
2d sing. *i’yi* thou hittest Kor. 26.1
*i’tr* thou wert Kor. 16.3
*ya’*ti thou camest Kor. 68.12
*qati’* you went away Kor. 18.5
3d sing. *vanninta’*tr she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1
*a’wyeñvoi* he begins to eat Kor. 20.7
*vë’gï* he is dead Kor. 22.1
1st sing. *tvi’*yak I died Kor. 84.14
*titva’*ñvok I began to be Kor. 18.6
*twa’muntatik* I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1
*tapka’*vik I could not Kor. 35.2
*tì’yak* I hit Kor. 26.2
*tna’*lik I remained Kor. 16.2

1st dual. *mitqugita’*t we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (a):

2d sing. *nina’*’lin may it become Kor. 20.2
3d sing. *néwñivon* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6
1st sing. *mila’*’tkik let me go! Kor. 33.10
*mas’hi’nitzik* I’ll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19
*minan’aco’*’mik let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20

1st dual *mini’qat* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62.1)
*minda’wyi* let us eat! Kor. 28.9

§72
1st pl. minilqala'mík let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6
min'ý élvala let us play! Kor. 32.7
minikya'vla let us get up! Kor. 39.4.
minä'wyela let us eat! Kor. 27.7
minno'tanta'la let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (b):

ni'v'ëa'an it should be Kor. 34.12
nani'w'n one could say Kor. 24.10
ti'v'wik I should say 45.9

Imperative:

sing. qvar'yas'qi'wgi die! Kor. 35.1
qi'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3
qimla'we dance! Kor. 37.6
qamla'we dance! Kor. 45.9
qita'pañ cook soup! Kor. 42.10
qawas'vi'gi look in! Kor. 27.3

dual qamal'tved'hitik make it better! Kor. 13.2
qantó'tik go out! Kor. 74.15
qiyai'titik go ye two home Kor. 21.1
qi'thitik be ye two! Kor. 21.2

pl. qawas'vi'la'tik look ye in! Kor. 27.1
qi'kyawla'tik awake ye! Kor. 39.3
qavivala'tik carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12
qalqala'tik go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:

3d pl. yeuñivola'tñe they shall tell Kor. 22.5
1st sing. tyavi'yañ I shall die Kor. 33.1
tiyaya'tiñ I will go home Kor. 30.5
1st pl. missav'wyala we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in -lykin:

2d pl. yaqlaikine'ñitik what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
3d dual vai'ke they two are Kor. 48.7
3d pl. kiya'wlaike they awoke Kor. 12.6
vañvolai'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.
kokaivila'ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4
enkañalai'ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4

3d sing. lelapitboño'v ykin he looks up Kor. 42.8
kañd'iykin he is fishing Kor. 45.1
va'v ykin he lives Kor. 18.4
1st sing. trícta't iykin I am hungry Kor. 35.5
triyánlan añív ykin I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10
1st pl. mítitvañvolal'kin we remain Kor. 17.11
Subjunctive:
1st sing. manîmmîla'ttykin I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

Imperative:
2d sing. giwtykin-i'-gi say! Kor. 25.4

**TRANSITIVE VERB**

**Transitive Forms**

**FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS**

Past I and subjunctive:

\[ \text{trîlhi-git I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*),} \]
\[ \text{ne'nî-git they bid thee 19.5 (I 1),} \]
\[ \text{mnîletetî tik let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2),} \]
\[ \text{ne'nîtitik he bid you 74.24 (I 2),} \]
\[ \text{nayo'mîk they visit us 34.6 (I 3),} \]
\[ \text{nantîmla'nmîk they press on us 63.9 (I 3),} \]

Future:

\[ \text{nara'nmîgit they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1),} \]
\[ \text{nara'nmîntik it will kill you 70.12 (III 2),} \]

Derived modes:

\[ \text{nayo'erkin-i'-git they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1),} \]
\[ \text{nannîrmînîmîk let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3),} \]

**THIRD-PERSON FORMS**

Past I and subjunctive:

\[ \text{tre'ttyän I brought it 20.1 (I 4),} \]
\[ \text{trîlhi'ân if I should do for it 38.12 (I a 4),} \]
\[ \text{mîlu'ân let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (I a 4),} \]
\[ \text{mîpê'nîrân let me catch him 66.16 (I a 4),} \]
\[ \text{mîlu'ân we saw it 33.7 (I 4),} \]
\[ \text{napêla'ân they left it 30.12 (I 4),} \]
\[ \text{minpê'ladân let us leave him 29.11 (I 4),} \]
\[ \text{qînân lî'ngân thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4),} \]
\[ \text{bulê'inet thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5),} \]
\[ \text{nenu'net they ate it 14.8 (I 5),} \]
\[ \text{âlnîlu'nît they might see it 62.1 (I a 5),} \]
\[ \text{yopa'nnên he visited him 7.4 (I 6),} \]
\[ \text{lu'nin he saw it 18.11 (I 6),} \]
\[ \text{nî'yînîn ê they would visit it 53.1 (I a 6),} \]
\[ \text{tîmû'net he killed them 34.1 (I 6'),} \]
\[ \text{pînîbô'nênêt he asked them 13.9 (I 6'),} \]
\[ \text{iü'ninet he said to them 8.10 (I 6').} \]

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* Numbers in parentheses refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.
Imperative:

\[ qägtì'gin \] fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
\[ qäärë'sëhìn \] put it down 40.6 (II 4)
\[ qai'pùgùn \] put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
\[ qätëv'kìgìnet \] make them! 49.4 (II 5)
\[ qre'tìnet \] fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

\[ tře'ntïnìn \] I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
\[ mirraï'vetìnìn \] we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
\[ mirri'wku't-hit \] we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
\[ replë'tìrìkìnet \] thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
\[ ra'nmughèn \] he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

\[ qoi'pitkoi'verùkìn \] thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
\[ tìlhìrìkìnet \] I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
\[ nata'rìkìnat \] they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
\[ tìmrì'kìnèn \] he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
\[ tì'grìrìkìnet \] he threw them 10.10 (IV 6)
\[ tìmrì'kìnènìt \] they kill them 44.8 (IV 6)
\[ nelù'wìrìkìn \] they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:

\[ inëlìhìë \] thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
\[ gìna'n ineluë'ë \] thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
\[ ènàpèlìrìkìnè'tìk \] ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
\[ inenrepuerìkìnlìtìk \] what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
\[ inentë'ë'wìrìkìn \] thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
\[ mùttëwku'tìrìkìn-i-gìt \] we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

\[ qìne'ilìhìë \] give me! 15.12 (II 8)
\[ gënàtë'gëë \] move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
\[ qënànkàrpìpatìgëë \] dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
\[ qìgitë'tkùë \] look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
\[ qëiënë'tkùëtìk \] carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
\[ qìnërë'rìlìttìk \] (qìnërrë'ltìk 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
\[ qënàqa'tìrìtìk \] haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
\[ qìnlëwìtìk \] look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
\[ qàívalponarìkìnë'ëtìk \] hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
\[ qànù'ùtìkì \] eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
\[ qàtë'gìtìkì \] pass it! 70.10 (II 10)
\[ qàta'lu'nìëtìkì \] answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
\[ qànìnlëwu'kùëtìkì \] light ye them 68.13 (II 10)
Future:
raala'ńitki ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)
rela'ńitki ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms
napēla'-ūm they left me 31.9 (I 11)
nančaatwadůłkūm they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)
nanlimalawat-ē-ūm they make me obey 21.3 (I 11)
For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

KORYAK

1. Stems with terminal vowel form a diphthong with the ending -ykin of the derived forms.
   ti-tva'ńkin < ti-tva'-ykin I am
ti-čvǐ'-ńkin < ti-čvǐ'-ykin I cut
va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4
2. The g of the suffix is never dropped.
ti-čvǐ'-gān I cut off
3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in -ykin the form -i̱kin, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.
tiwalg'meńkin (Chukchee twaloamirkin) < ti-valom-ykin I hear
ṭapāteńkin (Chukchee ṭapatirkin) < ṭ-āpat-ykin I cook
ṭi'vi̱kin (Chukchee tiurkin) < t-i̱v-ykin I say
4. Terminal v of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee u) is not regularly assimilated by the initial g of the suffix.
ti'végi̱k I said
In other cases vg is changed to wg, which corresponds to the Chukchee wkw.
ti'wgi̱ (Chukchee tri'wku) < t-yi̱v-qi (Chukchee < t-r-i̱u-qi) I shall say to you
qi̱vet'yas'qi̱wgi̱ die! Kor. 25.1
5. Terminal t does not influence the g of the suffix.
pełqa'tgi̱ he grew old
6. Stems in terminal t of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in r of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in -rirkin (Chukchee -rirkin).

Kamenskoye        Chukchee
ti̱r'yikin         ti̱r'irkin I cross over
7. Terminal t before l either forms the Koryak analogue of ɬ or drops out.

\[gapə'nən < ga-pat-lən\] he has cooked
\[gapə'lqəlin < ga-pe'ltqat-lin\] he has grown old

Examples:

*tiyanu'wgi* I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)
*miti'mtingi* I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)
*minnya'vi'tala-ge* let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)
*a'nta'vki-gi* one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)
*naln’laikine'zik* they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)
*minya'ilatik* I’ll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63' (Ia 2)

*nemenel'mik* he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)
*nana'yvinvə'wmik* he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)
*naln’laikine’mik* they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)

*lu'nwa'n* thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)
*miyo'ogon* let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)
*miltə'wa'n* we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)
*qiya'thún* bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

*min'mkawm* I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)
*tiyai'qin* I’ll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)
*tiyanñoawtiño'nm* I’ll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)
*ya'nmn* you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)
*natalaikine’mik* it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)
*ti'nmin* I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)
*lu'nin* she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)

tai'kinin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)
*nayo'və'wgi* ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)
*qutek’niünau* you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)
*qupo'duünenaau* it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6')
*nayo'nuvo'ykinenaau* they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')
*yile'nuvo'ykenen* she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)
*yawu'ykenen* she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)
*ind'ni* he swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)
*tena'kyı'o'nüw* he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)

*ninanuwa'ton* let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)
*yenad'nm* she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)
*qina'n* swallow me! Kor 84.22 (II 8)
*qina'nwo'vi* swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)
*qenanyaikin'q*i* cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)
*qinamli'la'тик* ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)
*qinatunul'datik* prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)
*qwuteq'git*ea tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

qi'wgutca tell ye him! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)
qiyodol'gitèca visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)
nyanîrânuvîngûm they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)
nayânuv-gûm they will eat me Kor. 78.21 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

§§ 73-74. Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea to be _______. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. ni—qìn
   pl. ni—qìngët
   [one who is in a condition or performs an action]

2. sing. ge—lin
   pl. ge—linet
   [one who has attained a condition or who has performed an action]

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses one who has _______. In the singular a connective i occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective i forms a syllable and the initial g of the suffix gûm drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the i forms a diphthong with it and the g of gûm is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Nominalized Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
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<td>2d sing.</td>
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<td>1st pl.</td>
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<td>2d pl.</td>
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§73
### Koryak

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noun</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nominalized Verb</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
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<td>3d dual</td>
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**Prefix**

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<tbody>
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**Suffix**

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</table>

1 The contracted forms *nu* and *tu* do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

#### Examples:

**Nouns:**

1st sing. *o'rgukäl-ê-ûm* I am one who has no sledge 78.6.

*ke'lei-(g)ûm < kele-i-ûm* I am a kele 78.32

2d sing. *ne'us'qät-i-gr* thou art a woman 136.18.

*ke'lei-qit* thou art a kele 15.11

1st pl. *ili'tä-nu'ri* we are islanders 11.11.

**Nominalized verbs (a):**

3d sing. *n'ignopitva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.

*nine'lqin* he is one who becomes a — 8.7.

3d pl. *nimitwa'qênat* they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. *ni'lqät-i-ûm* I am one who was there 66.30.

*nag'laio'qûm < n-g'laio-i-(g)ûm* I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nitvai'-qr* you are one who stays here 7.5.

*nine'l-i-gr* you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

1st pl. *ni'pkir-muri* we are those who came 11.1.

2d pl. *me'ñki ni't-turi* where are you? 12.2.

**Nominalized verbs (b):**

3d sing. *ganto'lên* he was one who had gone out 8.4.

*ge'tkulin* he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'vinet* they were those who had said 11.11.

*gene'zinet* they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l-i-ûm* I am the one who has become a — 17.6.

*gelerei'-gûm < g-elere-i-(g)ûm* I was feeling dull 65.11.

1st pl. *ge'lu'-muri* we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.
Koryak:
Nouns:
1st sing. qla'wul-e-güm I am a man Kor. 22.1.
1st pl. km'i-ni-mu'yi we are children Kor. 70.20.
Nominalized verbs (a):
3d sing. na'chanoqen he was the one who was urinating Kor. 14.2.
niqahaianqoqen he was the one who began to cry aloud Kor. 78.10.
3d du. nal'iga'tvuqinet they were the ones who were quite successful Kor. 88.21.
3d pl. nanyamča'čagenau they are those that taste of fat Kor. 25.5.
1st sing. nančičevma'w-güm I am one who is getting angry Kor. 31.2.
2d sing. nita'witkini-gi you are one who is doing mis-chief Kor. 82.9.
Nominalized verbs (b):
3d sing. gaya'qwilin he was the one who had entered Kor. 14.1.
3d du. gata'vañlenat they were the ones who had moved on Kor. 19.9.
3d pl. gaqi'tilinau they were the ones who were frozen Kor. 14.2.
1st sing. gatyikmiña't-i-güm I am the one who has given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.
1st pl. gános'tl-mu'yu we are the ones who have become — Kor. 37.4.
2d sing. galu'tai-gi you are the one who has urinated Kor. 66.6.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the n(i)- form throughout the prefix ŋ-, which makes the verbal theme passive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td>(ŋø)-qin</td>
<td>(ŋø)-løn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>(ŋø)-qim</td>
<td>(ŋø)-løm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>(ŋø)-i-güm</td>
<td>-i-(g)um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>(ŋø)-ŋip</td>
<td>(ŋø)-ŋip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>(ŋø)-mũr</td>
<td>(ŋø)-mũr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>(ŋø)-tũr</td>
<td>(ŋø)-tũr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§74
### Koryak

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d sing.</td>
<td>ina—qin</td>
<td>-tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d dual.</td>
<td>ina—qinat</td>
<td>-tinat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl.</td>
<td>ina—qinau</td>
<td>-tinau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>ina—qam</td>
<td>-qam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing.</td>
<td>ina—qgq</td>
<td>-qgq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st dual.</td>
<td>ina—qyu</td>
<td>-qyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>ina—qyi</td>
<td>-qyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d dual.</td>
<td>ina—qyu</td>
<td>-qyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl.</td>
<td>ina—qyi</td>
<td>-qyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated **the one whom I —, etc.**

 elo'n nénëpëlä'qgum he is the one whom I leave
 gït nénëpëløa'qgum you are the one whom I leave
 qa'at nine'ëmîlìëm the reindeer are the ones whom I take
 nêna'nmë-qit they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without ñng- and has active sense.

 qa'at nîpëkëqënät the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).
 qa'at ninecë'wëctqënet the reindeer are the ones whom he takes
 nînëmâqëm ordëwëtan Eëwhëlië the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11
 prpe'kikin nêna'nmëqëm a mouse was killed by him 89.24
 nînëquinet gu'tti several were the ones who said to them 89.2
 nînëquinet they were told by him 73.13
 tr'lik neimë'nqënet they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1
 nîneîme'dqin we'lqar he was one who approached the house 57.6
 tay'ëht ñnëqimë'qënät he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in ñg- has two forms—one the passive, meaning **I, THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN—, etc.;** the other active, derived from those forms of the transitive verb which are replaced by intransitive forms (see p. 741), except -têk.

The third person, with or without ñng- may be used in an active or passive sense.
Examples, Koryak:

(a) nenaaɪɨnawu'none'gen she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29
nenanu'nu'genau she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9
ninataiknu'genau she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5
nassii'nu'o-g̃um they are the ones who are untwisting me Kor. 39.3
nenemeye'ye-ge art thou the one who is seeking it? Kor. 49.9
nenavo'nu'o-mu'yuu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9

(b) géu'nuru'lenat they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2
g'a'nu'nlenau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8
ganta'witki'nau-mu'yii we are the ones whom they have defiled Kor. 29.6

"§§ 75-81. Notes on Certain Verbs"

§ 75. To be, —ót

The Chukchee verbal stem -ót, Kor. Kam. -ót, expresses the idea to be. In the pronunciation of men the t is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of v̄'rkii of the men i'tii'sii'n. In other words with terminal t of stem they may drop it, as in ȳilgai'sii'n he sleeps.

v̄'rkii, Kor. Kam. i'tii'ykin he is
me'ńkii nit-turi? where are you?
mii'ńkii nii'tgi'n? how was he? 17.12

It is used with the verbal noun in -tá, and with the noun in -nu (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

čanu'naw'-va'rat či'mqag v̄ir'tā-ń v̄irki the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying
Tu'n̄ičht ā̄m ev-ič'tā nii'tgi'n the Russians are just dying
loń-gami'tvata i'tyii he could not eat 80.7
aqamitvaka ńȳit̄t̄ik don't ye eat (of it) 64.19
e'rmu i'tyii'k I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)
gai'miitlo tr̄i'tyii I am going to be rich
garun̄e'n̄o r̄i'tyii thou shalt not be it 23.6
lr̄e'-n̄aaw'tiloo mmi'n̄nm (〈mni-it-mik) let us really try to get wives 57.1

§75

ënd'n̄mku i'tkàl-i-ûm I am not a murderer 24.8
It seems possible that the element \( i \) in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

\[
\begin{align*}
nu-\text{wa'lo}m\text{-}t\text{-}\text{um} & \text{ I am hearing} \\
ni\text{-}y\text{ilq}\text{at}\text{-}i\text{-}\text{um} & \text{ I am sleeping}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE -t\( v \)

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than \( i \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agali}n\text{e}t\text{a} & \text{ I was in fear} \\
\text{em-}\text{agali}n\text{e}t\text{a} & \text{ I was continually just in fear} \\
va'\text{r}k\text{in} & \text{ (Chukchee), va'y}k\text{in} \text{ (Kor. Kam.) he lives} \\
awgo'\text{lik}a & \text{ remain without an assistant} 124.5 \\
ni'm\text{in}\text{im} & \text{ a settlement then quite near is} 7.7 \\
\text{v'lu}k\text{a} & \text{ remain without motion!} 57.3 \\
m\text{i'nikr}i & \text{ how shall I be?} 124.3 \\
\text{em-mu'ni}k\text{in} & \text{ how are those from the mainland?} 13.9 \\
\text{wu't}k\text{u} & \text{ you stay here} 7.5
\end{align*}
\]

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rat}v\text{a'rk} & \text{in} (<\text{ra-tva}) \text{ he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)} \\
\text{ora}t\text{a'rk} & \text{in} (<\text{ora-tva}) \text{ he stays long} \\
\text{wa}g\text{ota'}l\text{ik} & \text{ he (remained) seated} 102.24 \\
\text{a'ny} & \text{a nmitv} & \text{a'q} & \text{en} (<\text{nim-tva} \text{ settlement remains) they lived} \\
on\text{the sea} & \text{13.3} \\
\text{nukot}t\text{v}a'q & \text{en} (<\text{wkot-tva}) \text{ he was tied} \\
\text{gawko}t\text{t}v\text{a'ta} & \text{ being tied} 122.24 \\
\text{qan}t\text{t}v & \text{ to eat} \\
\text{butil} & \text{t'v} & \text{a'lin} & \text{ being of elongated form} 91.15
\end{align*}
\]

In Koryak the stem \( i \) occurs much more frequently than \( tv \) in independent form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{en'n} & \text{'n va'lin} \text{ (Chukchee), enn} & \text{a'tan i'tal} & \text{a'n} \text{ (Kor. Kam.) one being} \\
\text{thus}
\end{align*}
\]

Still in compounds the stem \( tv \) occurs with great frequency.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vaha'le-tva'y} & \text{kin} \text{ (Kor. Kam.) he is seated} \\
\text{Some stems when combined with} & \text{v} & \text{g'lin do not take the ablaut:} \\
\text{m} & \text{'nikr}i- & \text{v} & \text{g'lin} \text{ of what kind} \\
\text{m'} & \text{e'kn} & \text{ku-v} & \text{g'le-} & \text{um} \text{ I am a fairly good one}
\end{align*}
\]

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with \( -tva- \) (\( i- \) Koryak), in the form \( va'\text{lin} \) (\( i'tala'\text{n} \) Koryak) (see p. 814).
koulo'qu-w'lin (stem koulo'qi) round
wr'čhín-v'lin (stem wr'čhín) flat

Koryak:

qo'lo'ni-tal'v'n (stem qo'lon) round
vrčhiryn'-i'tač'n (stem vrčhiryn) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(i)n, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as ta'nun-va'lin a good one, from ta'lin-va'lin.

The stem in composition with va'lin may also take postpositions.
em'pum-va'lin or empa'qu-wa'lin (stem imp) the one who is downcast
vrčha'qu-wa'lin flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:
qat'vum-va'lin (stem qetv) the stronger one
Kor. qa'tv'n-i'tač'n (stem qatev) the stronger one
qa'mja-qla'ulir: qa'tvum-va'll-e-um I am stronger than all (the other) men
qům qni'm'k mai'enku-wa'll-e-um I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with va'lin signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.
četet'u-wa'lin (stem čiut) somewhat low
tačet'u-wa'lin (stem teń) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME neř

The stem Chukchee neř, Kor. Kam. nař is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in -nu (see § 103, no. 34).

- qa'mak čmūnō-to'mogo qine'lıhi become ye what serves as my spleen companions1 (i. e., became ye my friends)
rirka'no nine'lıgüt you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
gnūńku nelyił they became the quarry 12.2
ne'us'qatı̂ gine'tin he became a woman 116.21
mëmlu gine'tin it became water 101.27
a'qal-rkı̂la gine'tiın I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
em-ginu'n-nikč'ta nelyił it came to be just midnight 9.11
giro'lı̂ gine'tinet they came to be high 9.4
o'tto'oca nine'lıqin he came to be in front 8.7
ne'lı̂rkin (Chuckee), na'likın (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.


§77
§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS  

The Chukchee stem li (medial lh), Kor. Kam. lu, signifies to take or have some one as something. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in -nu (see § 103, no. 34).

li'nirkin (Chukchee), lit'i'nykin (Kor. Kam.) you take him for gitta'p-gla'ul o m'llhig'gi'let let me take you for a clever man gi'u n'lhëqinet n'lhæt as unknown ones they had their skins (i.e., they did not know them) pu'relu nalhi'nö'd'n they began to have him for a slave 8.2 va'lat ri'lho nin'lhëqin he has knives as wings 15.2 wi'yolu qine'lhî'rk'lin have me as a servant 95.7 leule'wu in'elhi'i he has me as something to be wronged 25.1

With nouns expressing emotions this verb is used throughout as indirect object, to express emotional conditions.

ye'i'vecu li'nirkin (Chukchee), ya'ira'cu li't'i'nykin (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him te'ninu li'nirkin (Chukchee), ta'nînu lit'i'nykin (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as laughing-stock you have him re'qû leule'wu qe'lhi'in what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19 peg'ë'nu te'llhig'gi'let I have thee as an object of interest 15.8 peg'ë'nu in'elhi'i' he has me with meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING rté

The stem, Chukchee rté (medial tè), Kor. Kam. yté (medial tè), Kor. Par. yss (medial ss), signifies to make something into something. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in -nu (see § 103, no. 34).

ritë'rk'lin (Chukchee), yitë't'ykin (Kor. Kam.), yissi'ykin (Kor. Par.) you make him into enga'n vai rauku't'îcinin moo-qa'ane mitë't'rk'lin that here doe, one serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her elqu'êkâ ritë'cinin he made him not standing 115.4 ehi'nû'qâkâ nerë'tîcmûk they will make us childless 39.4 pai'wake rtî'cinin he rejects it 136.28

§ 80. TO HAVE SOME ONE FOR SOMETHING rt

The stem, Chukchee rt (medial nt), Kor. Kam. yt (medial nt) takes the direct object in the absolute case, the indirect object with the ending -nu.

ekke'nu tir'ntiä'n Rî'nto I have Rî'nto as what serves as a son 

§§ 78, 79, 80
It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in -tā to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression. The verb rt is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb, to the nominal form of which it is joined.

\[ \text{gūmna'ñ čini't luेंtā } \text{trenti'ānet qa'at myself as something to look on} \]
\[ \text{I shall have the reindeer (i.e. I myself shall look on the reindeer)} \]
\[ \text{luē-} \text{luेंtā } \text{ni'ntāqinet not having seen they had them (i.e., they had not seen them)} \]
\[ \text{11.9} \]
\[ \text{riti'rkin (Chukchee), yiti'ykìn (Kor. Kam.) you have him for} \]
\[ \text{en'ñe' gina'ñ enne'kā qūnti'qinet do not you carry them out 88.3} \]
\[ \text{imgē'tā ta niñe'nti-ūm I have them to look after 92.36} \]
\[ \text{tulē'tā niñe'nti-ūm oɾu'wēlat I also treat the people as something to steal (i.e., I can steal people) 93.14} \]
\[ \text{gina'ñ tulē'tā niñe'nti-git you steal them 93.15} \]
\[ \text{em-} \text{qūnti'tā niñe'nti-git you lay in ambush for them 93.21} \]

§ 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are represented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a number of evidently related stems: čh, čk, for the present or derived forms; l', lh, łk, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms with k correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the paradigm on pp. 744–745, although not all the forms can be interpreted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form is defective, only the second person singular and the third person plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals (i.e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms. Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem tva.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki filmeq čhi'jin</td>
<td>gūmik ca'rkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki filmeq l'in</td>
<td>gūmmi'n va'ḗ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor’s and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

tek'i'ni'n p'el'ki I am to him (as) a son

§81
Verbal Stem չ, չk, 1', 1h, 1k

PRESENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive TO BE</th>
<th>Non-personal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TO ME</td>
<td>IT IS, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sing. . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kima'n(k) չhi'jin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sing. . . . .</td>
<td>չi'c</td>
<td>kni'n(k) չhi'jin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sing. . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ena'n(k) չhi'kinen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl. . . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>mi'jhi'n(k) չhi'kinen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d pl. . . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ù'jin(k) չhi'kinen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d pl. . . . . .</td>
<td>չi'cin</td>
<td>tzi'in(k) չhi'kipnin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PAST

| 1st sing. . . . .  | չi'c | kima'n(k) չ'in | տոկ'i'nin | տոկ'i'pınin |
| 2d sing. . . . .  | չi'c | kni'n(k) չ'in | չեկ'i'nin | չեկ'i'pınin |
| 3d sing. . . . .  | չi'c | ena'n(k) չ'in | չ'i'n | չ'i'pınin |
| 1st pl. . . . . . | չi'c | mi'jhi'n(k) չ'in | նեկ'i'nin | նեկ'i'pınin |
| 2d pl. . . . . .  | չi'ez | ù'jin(k) չ'izx | չ'i'ez | չ'i'ez |
| 3d pl. . . . . .  | չi'ez | tzi'in(k) չ'ipnin | չ'i'n | չ'i'pınin |

EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

| 1st sing. . . . .  | չi'c | kima'n(k) չanl'hi'n | մեկ'i'nin | մեկ'i'pınin |
| 2d sing. . . . .  | չi'c | kni'n(k) չanl'hi'n | չեկ'i'nin | չեկ'i'pınin |
| 3d sing. . . . .  | չi'c | ena'n(k) չanl'hi'n | չ'i'n | չ'i'pınin |
| 1st pl. . . . . . | չi'c | mi'jhi'n(k) չanl'hi'n | նեկ'i'nin | նեկ'i'pınin |
| 2d pl. . . . . .  | չi'ez | ù'jin(k) չ'ezx | չ'i'ez | չ'i'ez |
| 3d pl. . . . . .  | չi'ez | tzi'in(k) չ'kipnin | չ'i'n | չ'i'pınin |

Verbal Stem դե

The auxiliary verb դե TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

*tlejk I become something
*tlejkipnin I become something for them

Verbal Stem ս

The stem ս TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

*սիչ you were

Verbal Stem ի, է

The stem է, է corresponds to the Chukchee է-, and ր-.. It is used often with the nominalized verb 2, 3 (see p. 748). With the intransitive verb it has intransitive forms, while the corresponding Chukchee verbs are always transitive. §81
xē k'olki milk not coming I will be
äktalka tisjhin I like thee (äktalka modalis of liking; t - I; is stem; -j present; -hin thee); compare Chukchee ählultilh'kimm*git (ählul as object of liking; t - I; hh - to have for--; -rkn present; -git thee)
l'äm al mïl'lin I will kill him (l'äm al to killing; m - let me; ìl stem; -in him); compare Chukchee am-t'ma'm'ntiä'n (am-merely; tm - to kill; -a modalis; m - let me; -nt medial stem; -ä'n him)

**Verbal Stem issi**

This stem corresponds to Chukchee tê-, Kor. Kam. ssi-, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

qam ke'jkek t'ssUhîn I do not accept you (qam not; kej to accept; -kek negative ending; t - I; issi stem; -hin thee)
compare Chukchee ehn-e'm'ëëikä t'ëërgit (ehn -kä negation; e'm'ëë to take; t - I; ië stem; -git thee)

**Verbal Stem tel**

The stem tel has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

xtel tite'lijnin I came to fear him (xtel fear; t - I; tel stem; -j present; -nin [I] - him)

**The Personal Transitive Forms.**

A number of intransitive verbs have forms analogous to the personal transitive of the auxiliary verb (p. 767), which are used to express relations to a personal object.

tvetatkou'j'kîpînén I am busying myself on their behalf (t - I; vetat to be busy; -kou' inchoative; -j present; -kîpînén see p. 767.

i'ëx txi'în no'nul intîlêkou'j'kîpînén they always bring food to their father (i'ëx father; txi'în their; no'nul modalis, with food; intîl to bring; -t durative; -kou' inchoative; -j present; kîpîn as before)

The Chukchee sentence
tu'ngitum e'ëe muwi'ä'n I will cook fat for my companion (tu'ngitum absolute form, companion; e'ëe modalis; with fat; m - let me; uwi to cook; -ä'n him) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).
§ 82. Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoye</th>
<th>WHAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>req</td>
<td>yaq¹</td>
<td>what do you do, want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'qärkin (req + rkin)</td>
<td>ya'qikin (yaq + ikin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vireq'urgin (ri - eu</td>
<td>yiyaga'wikin</td>
<td>what do you make him do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raqínq'arkin (-uŋg to begin)</td>
<td>yaqúvo'ikin</td>
<td>what do you begin to want? (expressive of annoyance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raqíńa'tirkin (-ðuŋt</td>
<td>yaqíńa'tekin</td>
<td>what do you want? (expression of strong annoyance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nike</th>
<th>Nika Kor. 80.9</th>
<th>SOMETHING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nikerkin</td>
<td>nika'ikin</td>
<td>you do a certain thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rminerkin</td>
<td>nika'ikin</td>
<td>you make him do a certain thing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Niireq</th>
<th>Niieq</th>
<th>TWO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vireq'urkin</td>
<td>niyegq'iwikin</td>
<td>you are the second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'linen</td>
<td>m'linen</td>
<td>FIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milinakaw'kin</td>
<td>milinka'wekin</td>
<td>you are the fifth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belongs also

| Terkerkin       | Tá'ika'wikin         | what number in the series are you?        |

Koryak:

ya'qlanu what are they doing? Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikzerik what are you doing Kor. 24.8
gayaqlinat what happened to them Kor. 30.9
niya'qi-gi what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs. guamn'ı e'kik kiv'am' mergitka'wkoz² (Chukchee) my son last year ten reached (guamn'ı my; e'kik son; kiv'am' last year; mergit ten -kew verbal suffix of numerals; gi² 3d sing.)
kiw'ki tminilka'avkoz³ I staved there five nights (kiw'ki passing nights; t-I; milin five; -kew verbal suffix of numerals; -gak 1st sing.)

¹ Koryak II taq what; taq'ikin what do you do, want?

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—49 §82
KAMCHADAL

The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

enka'nejč what are you (sing.) doing?
enka'nejoč what are you (pl.) doing?
lajč how are you (sing.)?
lal'jčt'n how are they?
seuzič you (sing.) do a certain thing
nu'n seu'sižč Ćija'1-kutx live (nu'n there; seu'sižč they do a certain thing; -ač plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

enka'nke kl'ojč for what do you come?
luct cunljoč how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

enka'j kima te'nižin what now have I done to him?
e'nkaj e'nin what now has he done to him?
e'nkaj enk:i'ōlčižin why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

enkank:i'ōlčižin = enka'nke k:ōlčižin (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

tea here
tē'a-sijk here I am
he'i look here!
he'yisijk here I am (close to the person addressed)

Both contain the auxiliary verb si (see p. 767).

§§ 83-90. Syntactic Use of Tenses and Modes

§ 83. Declarative Mode

Declarative forms of the simple, derived, and nominalized forms are used to express the predicate in declarative and interrogative sentences.

Simple forms:

ňawan'čči'wkič he said to his wife 83.23
gi'thin lu'čin he saw a lake 37.4
fii'nqdi ra'nmug ne she will kill the child 37.14
ralaulawa'trnoa' thou wilt do wrong 21.5
kuwu' tin re't tyat'n I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:
mic'mungunga' erkin we are terrified 63.4
tinqa' erkin I refuse 19.7
ti'muq pêla'arkin some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:
nâs'âlile'tqin re'mkin the people were at war 97.23
nre's'si'wâqin nêus'qâl the woman entered 63.3
cêq-al'vam-val'-to' râ ye are quite strange 63.4
evÎrâ getu'le'sat they have stolen clothing 13.6
celere'i' dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:
evenitvi'i' hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
me'nko pr'ntroâttik whence did ye appear? 74.21
me'ni'kî-ru'râvâ' where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:
re'qârkin what are you? 18.9
re'qâ tmî'râkinên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:
mîn'kri qewkwe't-i-git where have you gone?
mîn'kri ni'vagên how is he? 13.10
re'y-i-git what do you want? 18.12
gel'êmit-tu'mqit-gr hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:
ñava'kak naya'tin they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vik ol'aga'dîik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
tiyayî'lqati'n I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tîq'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Miti'nak ena'nne, enapa'te Miti has killed me and cooked me Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:
trîtta'ttyûkîn I am hungry Kor. 35.5
eînâ'în Amamqu'tinu vânvolâ'ke thus Eino'mquat and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penye'kînêna talai'vi'k he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
miî'kîminau she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
peîhanînvolâ'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17
Nominalized forms:
va'yuk gayo'olen vai'amn'agu then they found a large river Kor. 21.3
gala'vkal'lin w'ilka they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9
gaggaika'makata gana'li-mu'yu we came to be with (to have) a small kamak Kor. 37.4
ña'ëtn nenanyopanënuqenau outside they were hung up Kor. 60.9
atai' ña'no enña'an nitva'nvoen that one was living thus Kor. 61.3
ña'no nitiinma'tgen that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may be repeated to emphasize the question.

geet-tu'ri tu'ri have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive verbs.

ile'erkin (Kor. Kam. muqat'kin; Kamchadal éwu'jin or éwu'è) it is raining
ile'tyi's (Kor. Kam. muqat'hî's; Kamchadal éwu'n) it has been raining
lë'leuru't's winter came 14.9
célhîro't's it becomes red 23.9

§ 84. Tenses

Tenses are not clearly distinguished. The declarative form of the verb, unless modified by the future prefix, is used to express a past action, although cases occur in which only a present can be meant.

tiqewgaño'a'sk I begin to be called 94.31

In Koryak the declarative form is rarely used in narrative, while it is in common use in direct discourse.

mai, ya'ti halloo, have you come? Kor. 68.12
Valvi'ntila'n tin'min I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmin niki'rui's then night came 36.12
lu'ur wethau'noè then he began to speak 31.11

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more frequent in Koryak than in Chukchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (a) expresses a continuative regardless of time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-
rarity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (b) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix re- and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

§ 85. The Subjunctive

The subjunctive (a) and (b) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

**Subjunctive (a):**

\[ \text{nuva'lomga}^n \text{ let him know} \]

\[ \text{va'n'van nuva'lomga}^n \text{ he would not hear anything} \]

\[ \text{meeke'vetyä}^k \text{ let me depart} \]

\[ \text{milimala'ñoöa}^k \text{ let me begin to obey} \]

\[ \text{mmranto'mik} \text{ let us leave the town} \]

\[ \text{niy'ilqütyä}^n \text{ let him sleep} \]

\[ \text{niæ'd'atca'w}^n \text{ let her be cast away} \]

\[ \text{mi'ählhr} \text{ let me give thee} \]

\[ \text{mmata'qir} \text{ let me marry thee} \]

\[ \text{mniïete'litk} \text{ let us carry you away} \]

\[ \text{ñiro'q ya'rat va'n'van ã'nlu'net} \text{ three houses, not at all they could see them} \]

\[ \text{ñiwe'il'rít ã'ne'i'mityä}^n \text{ she would take the soul of the woman} \]

**Koryak:**

\[ \text{mrnyaitila'mik} \text{ let us go home!} \]

\[ \text{nayanva'ñi'nin} \text{ let them skin it!} \]

\[ \text{mrnñoqala'mik} \text{ let us go!} \]

\[ \text{mirk'îq'qewlqatik} \text{ I will stun them with blows} \]

\[ \text{ya'qu-yak guwai'matin ã'uta'ik-qi} \text{ into what desirlest thou one should make thee?} \]

**Subjunctive (b) does not appear very often in the texts.**

\[ \text{e'ur en'ñi'n' ni'tyä}^n, \text{ gorv'ûr mini'tyilhit} \text{ if you were like this, we should give you reindeer} \]

\[ \text{enq'ä'n' ni'gi'tenin, nu'wöö'ë'n} \text{ if she should look upon that one, she would die} \]

\[ \text{id'm leule'wu ti'líi'ñi'n why should I harm her?} \]

\[ \text{va'n'van nute's'qun ni'yo'ñën} \text{ he would not at all reach the ground} \]

§85
Enqa'n ora'weLat ë'ëa nr'tva'nat, nr'ëvitku'vunet viu'ta if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (Enqa'n that; ora'weLat man; -tva to remain; nr'-for full form nani'-; ëvi- to cut; -iku suffix all; -iv suffix great quantity; viu' whalebone; -a a subjective)

ëtí'un im gümna'n wu'tiku ti'nri'gâ'n if only I could keep it R 45.21
ëtí'un ki'mta'irga memilqa'a ne'na'lpinřre' if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42
ëtí'un ve'wqenťo'ě in order that he should give up his breath R 49.15
ekeña'ngümna'n trpi'reă'n I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

| neniŋgaŋ nr'tva'at | how could she be? Kor. 34.12 |
| nani'win | one might say Kor. 25.2 |

§ 86. The Imperative

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

notas'qëti qâčipeti'ě into the ground plunge! 17.2
qineto'ni'vi haul me up! 131.22
ne'lvü'l qagti'qitki bring ye the herd! 129.19
qinithe'ytik lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

| appa', qakya'woj | grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9 |
| quwa'nilat | open your mouth! Kor. 34.7 |
| qalqathë | go away! Kor. 35.3 |
| ne'nako qiyosp'oe čača'že then you will find an old woman Kor 51.1 |
| Quyqinn'auq'anak qiyapičitik live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2 |
| qantöťik | go ye outside! Kor. 74.12 |
| q'i'wqutča | tell ye him! 74.20 |

§ 87. Derived Forms

The derived forms express continued action. For this reason they are found most frequently in direct discourse when a continuous condition is described.

id'αm tėrga'darkm why art thou weeping? 48.12
qīm ne'uk tel'arkm I am walking about to get a wife 57.2
mthite'tarkm we are hungry 70.24
kele'tâ nayo'rkm-ě-git the kele are visiting thee 52.4

§§86, 87
In Chukchee the derived forms are not often used in narrative as an historical present, while in Koryak this use is quite common.

temyu’'nirkin ela' she was deceiving her mother 29.2
pükirgi'. Aiwanana'chin üm ničvi’tkurkin re’w. He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

giłê–tke' unvak ewkwē’erkit, eviırō getule'leet. E’nmen evkwē’tyä’ during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (qulu ANOTHER; tkiu TO PASS THE NIGHT; -nv PLACE OF §§109, 50), –k locative; evkwet TO LEAVE; evirit CLOTHES; –ä subjective §§37; tuilet TO STEAL; getule’leet <ge-tulet-linet) 13.5

Koryak—

gaimanñivo’ykin he had a desire Kor. 12.2
ľümēneua’ykin she was following Kor. 23.3
vanvolai’ke they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

ča’man emqi’nēna ginnig–gilii’lgä’gīti trmi’rkinënät also by this one are the little game-procurers killed (i.e. he is in the habit of killing the hunters) 44.8

With the imperative the derived forms express a continued condition, or a repeated action.

ilu’kä qa-val’rkin stay without motion! 57.3
qaivalponaurkin’elkti you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32
qvwalo’mirkin listen! 32.1

§87
Koryak—

*aqa*thai'aka qiti'yi'm-i'-gi do not cry! (not be without crying)

Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

miqami'tvaa'k I shall eat now

miqami'tvarkin I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)

*ienenregurkini'tik* what are you going to do with me? 10.10

ti'gitarkin I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

*tryanto*ykin* I shall go out Kor. 14.5

*tryanlan*nuvvo’ykin I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

*trervative*ku’'irkim I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

*mingami’tvarkin* let us continue to eat! 65.4

*miwikurkini’git* let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 Nominalized Verb (a)

The nominalized form (a) of the verb, *ne—gin* expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction *while*. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

*u’nel va’rkin nime’yinqin* (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7

*nibu’uin* ke’rgaqaq a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

*nezplu’gin* a small one Kor. 15.2

*gatai’kilin nima’yinqin* he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4

*nima’yinqin nai’*nai the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (a) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

*qaba’ken lo’e*qad nu’uqin, *qol um nibe’loqen lo’e*qad one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

§88
niu'läqin it was long 91.24
yara'ni nite'ngin the house is good 92.9
mi'nkri nî'twaqên how (of what kind) are they 13.10
wu'tku nitvai'-gîr you are staying here 7.5
niggi'ngin morêqa'gîr they are eager for us 8.9
rînračît'gîrin neîne'tgîn the old man was the one who called out 86.13
nineî'mitgîn u'neltî he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:
nîlhîkyu'qîn it is watchful Kor. 39.9
nîma'lqîn it is good Kor. 64.24
nandî'cîna'w-qûm I am angry Kor. 31.2
nîrînwuwaqatqên she is one who is striding and pecking Kor. 47.11
Tanño nigala'qênau the Chukchee were the ones who passed by Kor. 66.12.

Examples of relative clauses:
inpînawqa'gərin ... pakol'tênin nine'nraqîn it was an old woman ... who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21
qît kele'tâ naiyo'tîkin-ê-qît you are one who is being visited by the kelet 52.4
yara'qai ... kele'tâ nêna'yøqên it was a small house ... which was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:
velî'lînu nenataikînvo'qênau (those are) thimbles that had been made Kor. 60.8,9
Miti'nak nenaaïnawînvo'qên; e'wañ it was Miti who called him she said Kor. 74.29
nigalhaî'agen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1
ninrînînvo'qên they were the ones who began to keep it Kor. 41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:
tî'ttil nênarkrîpeuqên, e'nk'i ne'wân ure'wkwi² (at the time) when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6
gän'ver ni'nqâïî nitê'rgilatqên, qän've'r i'wkwi² uwaś'quç when the child cried, the husband said 38.3
qoa'qañ e'ur neimeu'qîn, êwkurqâ nînînte'qîn whenever he was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14
rînpyîtë'tqênât ... en'qa'm ... qolë-ra'qît qû'tyûst while they were stabbing them ... then ... to another house he went 12.9, 10

§§8.
Koryak:

nenavo^nvo-mu'yu e'\emph{en} ganu'\emph{lin}au when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10
\emph{mi'mla nnu'\emph{gen}, galne-key gate'\emph{w}lalen} when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in \emph{ne—qin} are used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak, in which dialect the progress of the narrative is more prominent.

§ 89. \textbf{Nominalized Verb (b)}

The nominalized verb (b) \emph{ga—lin} expresses a completed transition and may often be translated by \textbf{TO HAVE BECOME}.

\emph{yar\emph{at ga}n\emph{ao'twe}len} she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
\emph{\textit{\^no'\&-e-um ge}ne'\textit{l-i-um}} poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

\emph{gama'\emph{la}lin} it had grown better, Kor. 14.11
\emph{gaqi'ti\emph{lin}au} they had became frozen Kor. 14.3

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

\emph{\textit{\textit{g\&ut\emph{ai'n pe'nin-\&e\textit{w \&e}wisi\textit{lin}} my former wife died R. 45.29.\textit{yicemre'tti ge}tt\textit{w}lile'\textit{lin}et a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3\textit{e'ur gir\emph{g}ronto'z\emph{en a'\&t\textit{tw}r}il\emph{\&i}} then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

\textbf{Koryak:}

\emph{va\textit{\textit{st\emph{yak ga}ya'lq\textit{r}w\emph{\&i}lin} afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1\textit{ga'lq\textit{a}rin he went Kor. 16.3}

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

\emph{\textit{\textit{e'\textit{n}m\emph{en gequ'\&p\textit{g\&a\textit{nt}\emph{e}lin i'\textit{w}kw\emph{\&i}}} after she was quite starved she said 39.1\textit{Ai'\textit{wan-a'\&k\textit{\textit{\textit{a'\textit{\textit{n}i'\textit{h}in get\textit{h}eiu\textit{\&i}wil\textit{u}lin a'\textit{\textit{\&n}a-\textit{co'}\&rmi, en\textit{\textit{\textit{\&r\textit{\&a'\textit{q um ni'\textit{h}in get\textit{\textit{\&i}nus g\&i\textit{c}e\textit{\&i}rin e'ur um n\&e\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{ch}e\textit{\textit{\&e}t\textit{\&a}u\textit{\textit{\&g}en m\&e\textit{ml\emph{\&e}ti the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3-5\textit{\&g\textit{t\textit{e}'\textit{\&\&ut\emph{\&i}rt um \&n\textit{an, ki'pu-\&n\textit{\&i}ru nelu\textit{\&e}w\&a\textit{\&\&e}n after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1\textit{\&g\textit{\&a\textit{\&o\textit{l\textit{\&i}m\&\&e}t\emph{\&a}n, i'\textit{w}kw\emph{\&i}} after he had heard it he said 56.12\textit{\&g\textit{\&a\textit{\&i\textit{s'\&\&e}u\textit{l\textit{\&\&e}n e'ur enga'\textit{n . . . n\&i\textit{\&e}rk\textit{\&i}le'\textit{\&q}in after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

§ 89
Koryak:

mit'w gečha'len enka'ta tilai'vikin ňe'ľa next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form ga—lin expresses possession (see p. 712.)

§ 0. Negative Forms

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in ę—kë, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va'nevan not at all (see p. 882)

ga'vëm always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)

e'd'amam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also e'le, e'n'e, u'i'ńä (p. 883).

The forms in ę—kë and in egn- will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in xe—ki for intransitive verbs, xe—kic (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

xe'ńuki mëlik I will not eat
xe'ńuki ke'xë do not eat!

§§ 91-94. Syntactic Use of Nominal Forms

§ 91. The Absolute Form

The absolute form of the noun and pronoun is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb. Independent pronouns may be added to the verb in this form for the purpose of emphasis.

Subject of intransitive verb:

yaai'pü ye'tyi'i rërki from afar a walrus came 8.5
kritöy¥i ve'kovi the old walrus spoke 8.14
mu'ri . . . mëreyu'łqütyüë we shall sleep 9.3
rëkkanpina'čhin pilgäe'rkin the old walrus dived 9.6
rëmkin u'łqütyu̇n the people shall go 13.12
i'rogi rëmkin the people crossed over 13.13
rërki ge'pki'cin a walrus arrived 8.6
ni'te'rneči'qin ramki'yën the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

§§ 90, 91
Koryak:

Distributed 

Bureau of American Ethnology [bull. 40] 

Koryak: 

...galav'l'rinvolen people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1 

Ama'mqut e'wan Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7 

\( \text{I'np} \text{-qla'wul} \) gewu'nvolen the old man said Kor. 47.1 

\( \text{nab} \text{rila'n'agu} \ldots \text{gal} \text{a'wo'ykin} \) a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9 

\( \text{nawis'qat va'ykin} \) a woman was there Kor. 52.1 

Object of transitive verb: 

\( \text{v'ttitut travi'z}n \) I cut wood 

yo'n'en lautu'yin she pushed the big head into it 28.6 

\\( \text{uw'lk} \text{kan qatei'k} \text{gim} \) make a woodpile! 31.12 

\\( \text{w'a'tgim} \text{valo'mi'z} \) she heard a noise 32.10 

\\( \text{koiq} \text{yin yire'nnin} \) she filled the kettle 33.10 

\\( \text{newi'rit a'ne'i'mityz} \) she would take the woman's soul 37.11 

mak-e'wga'n titu'rvkin I tell it as an incantation 39.13 

\\( \text{v'ttitut n'epu'z}n \) they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9 

Koryak: 

\( \text{tio'x} \text{an \text{I'np} \text{-qla'wul} \) I found an old man Kor. 52.4 

gaqal yine'lin lo'zqal' he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6 

\\( \text{qai-mi'mi'c gayo'olen} \) she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1 

\\( \text{bi} \ldots \text{bi} \text{v'tu'rykinin} \) he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4 

\\( \text{en'i'n kmi'i} \text{ripil gaqu'umti'lin} \) he carries his son Kor. 57.9 

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object. 

tu'mqitum miro'zan let me cook for (my) friend 

\\( \text{gumni'n e'te} \text{k buli'ulu} \text{mti'pin} \text{ra'z}n \) I will give money to my son 

\( \text{§ 92. The Subjective} \) 

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs. 

\( \text{wo'tqan n} \) \( \text{nan} \) \( \text{a'acek eni'k} \text{-el} \text{i'g} \text{a} \text{ki'plin} \) the father struck this young man \( \text{wo'tqan} \) this; \( \text{nan} \) here; \( \text{a'acek} \) youth; \( \text{eni'k} \) subjective third person singular pronoun; \( \text{el} \text{i'g} \text{a} \) father; \( \text{ki'pl} \) to strike; -nin he—him) 

\\( \text{ni'mi} \text{la} \text{re'mk} \text{a} \text{n} \text{nap'laa} \text{z} \text{ni'm} \text{min} \) the whole people left the camp 

\\( \text{ki'rve'y} \text{uta} \text{v} \text{unin} \) the old walrus said to him 8.7 

\\( \text{Aiwhuanpin} \text{a'eha pi'nlo'n} \text{enat} \) a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9 

\\( \text{Ta'n} \text{'a gaio'laa} \text{z} \text{Ta'ni} \text{nt} \) attacked them 97.25 

\\( \text{morgina'ni mo'reg-ra'k ne'wanti gi'v} \text{a} \) we in our houses to our wives say 84.16 

\( \text{§ 92.} \)
Koryak:

\[\text{atte}^\text{yeol-yes'mka gava'nomlen} \text{ the people down the coast heard it}
\]

Kor. 39.7

\[\text{Amamqu'tinak u'tti-yul'ni gatai'kilin} \text{ Emem'quqt made a wooden}
\]

whale Kor. 40.8

\[\text{i'le^'ga in'i'wi mother told me Kor. 46.1}
\]

\[\text{am'a nak in'i'wi grandmother}^1 \text{ told me Kor. 46.2}
\]

\[\text{i'np-i'la'wula gai'liliin ki'plau} \text{ the old man gave him mortars}
\]

Kor. 51.5

\[\text{km'i na gama'talen} \text{ the son married her Kor. 80.1}
\]

\[\text{mi'mla nnuqin} \text{ the louse ate her Kor. 76.4}
\]

\[\text{gümna'n ñawa'dak tryai'lilin} \text{ I will give (him) the daughter}
\]

Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with -ine, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

\[\text{Ta'n'na nin'inuqin she was told by the Ta'n'nit 98.8}
\]

The subjective is used with some transitive verbs to express the object with which something is done to some one. In these cases the person to which something is done is given the absolute form. Such verbs are -(l)pin' to give, o'nts TO REFUSE.

\[\text{gümna'n e'kik kelitulâ mi'lpinripa^n} \text{ I presented my son with}
\]

money

\[\text{teki'châ gêna'lpinripa^n} \text{ I present thee with meat}
\]

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

\[\text{tu'mgitum e'ce muwilä^n} \text{ I shall cook for (my) companion (with)}
\]

fat

\[\text{glu'alqai rigumite'urkinên temm'netâ} \text{ he made the little man eat}
\]

(with) a shellfish 9.8

In Kamchadal also the subjective form is used with transitive verbs to express the object that is used in the performance of the action expressed by the verb.

\[\text{he'ulil' xoka-ju'jcx (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee}
\]

\[\text{e'ni-teu'tâ quov'tik}
\]

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

\[\text{aŋqata leud'wu gle'lsi-mu'ri by the sea we were badly treated 65.27}
\]

\[\text{genitule'nu'tin ke'unu'ne'tâ} \text{ he moved it with the staff 101.8}
\]

\[\text{e'tin yiki'qga pô'rinin} \text{ it took its master with the mouth 104.33}
\]

\[\text{grilu'tkui val'dta move about with the knives! 16.4}
\]

\[\text{mu'tâ gaka'noi'pälen with blood he is besmeared 19.3}
\]

\[\text{§ 92.}
\]

\[^1\text{Treated here like a personal name.}
\]
Koryak:

va‘ga tyanëma’wirkiniin I shall tear him with (my) nails Kor. 84.16
tui-ni’lina gata’kyi lin they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor. 41.3
ma’qmita tuva’nintatiik I lost a tooth by means of an arrow Kor. 33.1
al’la’ta awyeño’vyrkti he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5
al’kripa gapr’wyalini she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2
va’lita gaqa’yiruTlin he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6
va’lita gathda’ai they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. Locative, Allative, and Ablative.

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

donna’gnik in the outer tent 52.7
ro’èni’k’it niva’qèn it stays on the other shore 52.11
ènno’tkimik tara’nga’èt they pitched their tent on the slope of a hill 56.9
Telqü’pik . . . geke’nilit in the Telqü’p country they were driving reindeer 61.8
em-ni’lhin nuwotvi’qèn t’mkik only the thong remained tied to the hummock 62.7
né’wünkí poldànèn he left him with the wife 105.7
re’mkik orata’è he stayed long with the people 54.2
gni’k éanuG ge’èlin a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

i’ya’q ga’plin to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3
gúnnëni’ya’yak vala’ke my things are in the house Kor. 19.9
gü’mma a’ngaq t’iyak I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2
na’niko va’amik yiwigè’la there in the river have a drink! Kor. 32.1
gala’lin va’amik he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2
gawa’a’lèn en’atik he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

a’qa’-kamaanwe’ti nine’il-il-i-üm I give them to the possessors of bad dishes 96.7
kala’g’ti qai’ènlaikurkìn call to your kele 102.5
kala’g’ti nípeñiré’tqèn it rushed at the kele 104.25
èel’vi’kuri’ nímnimè’ti he went to a camp 105.5
notas’qeiksjon’ti niTpe’tqlin he dives into the interior of the surface of the ground 131.7
Tnárrgè’t, giroga’q’ti nuwethad’qèn he talks to the Dawn, the One on High 135.16

§ 93
Koryak:

**ga'liqalin e'ti** he went to the sky Kor. 14.9

**e'tin gani'rilalin** he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7

**ga'le'nin ganqu'lin yayaćiko'tiri** the stopper was thrust out into the house-interior Kor. 15.2

**pa'nenai'tiri gani'rilalin** to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5

**yaite'ti ga'liqalin** he went to the house Kor. 17.3

**gata'wali'nen Qoyqinn'uyoyikai'ti** they moved to Big-Raven's Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

**qad'qti qilo'lên** sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12

**uwagóe'qti qilo'rkin** do you sorrow on account of the husband 48.12

**nîvau'qèn ergip-yâ'lhéti** he was tired on account of the bright moon 14.11

The allative is often used to express the indirect object, corresponding to our dative, even if in the incorporated pronoun the direct object is used.

**gül'muk-akka'qti kel'tultî mi'ilinet** I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

**qet'to'notas'qè'pû nipi'riqin** from the frozen ground he emerged 102.18

**qolé-notâ'pû nu'wolomqà'n** I heard it far and wide 104.14

**tákra'irgè'pû nîye'tqin** he came from sunset 105.14

**yoró'kó'pû nuwa'wolomqên** he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13

**ëu'caw'pû mi'ño'a'n** let us begin from below 131.5

**pëpekqipû neć'mityân** they took him by the ankle 35.3

**potti'ñai'pû eimë'nnin** he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

**ega'ñko nalqaine'w-gûm** from the sky have I been shot Kor. 33.4

**krala'giqë'ñko gach'pi'to'lên** out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3

**mañë'ñgo yatha'ñan? nuta'ñgo.** Whence did you bring her? from the country Kor. 60.10

§§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element -nu (see § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

§ 94
Tuaro'n-Va’rgu um qan-ve’r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Va’rgu ne’le’én (destined) to (be) a “Being” he became 41.10
yara’no ne’lyi” it became a house 43.5
"iva’nnén . . . taikaus’gi’lvu he spread it for a place to wrestle 47.4
w’yole m’li’hiqit let me have thee as assistant 124.2
guqanqa’dane’ niya’danat let him use them for driving reindeer 124.8

Koryak:

- mal’-e’yu nina’em a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
- ya’qu muntaikal’a-gi’ into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
- kmöna’tinuv notan nilai’-gum for delivery in the country I went away Kor. 60.6
- i’ssu ganad’ilinau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
- a’nu nala’lai kemé’nik we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

§ 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the series of forms observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kamenskoye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-(t)k, -(t)</td>
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<td>-laj, -a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comitative I</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative II</td>
<td>-ma’i</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix, which, however, has the prefix ga-, which is absent in the verbal noun.

ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs expressing attempt, desire, preparation.

- awkwate’ti tigaiad’urkin I make haste to depart (ewkwet to leave; t- I; gaiad’ to hasten; -urkin present)
- le^y’ti lile’p’gi’ he looked to see; (ly’ to see; lile eyes; -p to put on; -gi’ he)
- nen’ni’uän’ takèchë’ti they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| penye’kimen talav’vik he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3 |

§ 95.
It expresses temporal coordination:

\[ \text{kile'nin } e\'ur \text{ vai } t\text{ergat\text{ê}t}i \text{ he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9} \]
\[ e\'ur \text{ enqa'\text{n} t\text{ergat\text{ê}t}i} \text{ ni'nerkile'\text{g}in while he was crying he pursued him 57.11} \]
\[ \text{gevin'vutena'ne'ul} \text{ in} \text{tou'ti he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30} \]
\[ \text{untou'tu kit'kit} \text{ niten'new-i-\text{\-um} as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13} \]
\[ a'\text{un-tr painou't}i \text{ ni'eu'\text{g}in k\text{\-ergaqai wurre'tyi\text{\-i} giro'\text{l} while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2} \]
\[ \text{le'utti untou'ti rin\text{'riminet he carried the heads going out 86.8} \]
\[ a'\text{un-wethawet}tir \ldots \text{while they were talking, he \ldots 100.9} \]

**LOCATIVE**

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify at the place, at the time.

\[ \text{qai\text{'i}i yil'qa\text{\-n}hok roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6} \]
\[ \text{geri'nelin pukhe'ri\text{n}ok he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4} \]
\[ \text{pukh'erri\text{n}ok ri\text{\-t}epeu'\text{n}in when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12} \]
\[ \text{awkwa'ti\text{n}ok nimeienu qa'tvul'en a'ttin when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21} \]
\[ \text{a'mkin-wolqate'ri\text{n}ok every time when it began to be evening 104.12} \]
\[ \text{qa'qti ga'ttik qa'la'ku i'tyi' he had no knife while going to the} \]
\[ \text{reindeer (qa'\text{\-q} reindeer; } -\text{g}i\text{\-t} to; qat to go; a-ka without; va'la} \]
\[ \text{knife; it- to be; } -\text{g}i\text{\-t} he) \]
\[ \text{e'mkin-kiyu'k1 nenaio'\text{\-g}en whenever she awoke, she shoved it} \]
\[ \text{in 29.2} \]
\[ \text{qemi'-plit'tkuk at the time of having finished eating 33.11} \]

**Koryak.**

\[ \text{gas's\text{\-al}r\text{\-ye'lin v\text{\-t}y\text{\-a}t\text{\-v}ik she remained all day, being dead Kor.} \]
\[ 64.9 \]

The stems l\text{\-vau} not to be able, nk\text{\-u} to refuse, always govern the verbal locative:

\[ \text{lu'k nile\text{\-vaw-\-\-\-um I could not be seen 22.9} \]
\[ \text{nenaaiwau'\text{g}en lu'k he could not find her 38.7} \]
\[ \text{\text{\-u}pau'ki til\text{\-w}\text{\-r}\text{\-m} I can not drink (\text{\-u}pau' to drink; t- I; l\text{\-vau} to} \]
\[ \text{be unable; -r\text{\-m} present) \]
\[ \text{\text{\-v}i\text{\-r}\text{\-ik til\text{\-w}\text{\-r}\text{\-m} I can not seek for her 38.8} \]
\[ \text{vele'rkilek lu'va'\text{\-wkw\text{\-t} he could not pursue him 15.6} \]

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12—50
taq-aim‘etik pini‘tektu mitiwea‘urkin we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13
pintiq‘etik nilvaud‘gen he could not disengage himself 101.34
qike‘etik n‘inkügin she refused to marry 26.1
ninkü‘tqinet pũkũ‘rik they refused to come 106.3
qike‘etik aa‘lomkel‘en not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs ņvo to begin, pli to finish, nkau to cease, pkan not to be able, always govern the verbal locative.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gano‘olen} & \text{ gijia‘pčak} \quad \text{she began to sing} \quad \text{Kor. 16.10} \\
\text{gano‘olen} & \text{ bilala‘titk} \quad \text{it began to bubble} \quad \text{Kor. 17.2} \\
\text{gano‘olen} & \text{ nawa‘kak kitai‘nak} \quad \text{they began to scold the daughter} \quad \text{Kor. 17.8} \\
\text{gano‘olen} & \text{ tenma‘witčuk} \quad \text{she began to prepare} \quad \text{Kor. 18.3} \\
\text{ganda‘nakulën} & \text{ trnila‘titk} \quad \text{they ceased to carry it out} \quad \text{Kor. 41.8} \\
\text{ganka‘wlinau} & \text{ tula‘titk} \quad \text{they stopped to steal} \quad \text{Kor. 41.9} \\
\text{quqka‘wunenau} & \text{ yanikya‘wňak} \quad \text{it could not awaken them} \quad \text{Kor. 40.2} \\
\text{tampka‘vük} & \text{ olšaqatik} \quad \text{I could not strangle myself} \quad \text{Kor. 35.2} \\
\text{nampkawňivo‘ykin} & \text{ tula‘titk} \quad \text{they could not steal it} \quad \text{Kor. 39.8} \\
\text{tawitkenik} & \text{ gavo‘nintałen} \quad \text{when pilfering she lost a tooth} \quad \text{Kor. 34.3} \\
\text{gandala‘linau} & \text{ pa’yittok} \quad \text{they came to be eating blackberries} \quad \text{Kor. 41.6} \\
\text{gaplitčul’in} & \text{ kuka‘vük} \quad \text{she finished cooking} \quad \text{Kor. 51.2} \\
\text{gano‘olenau} & \text{ yu‘kka} \quad \text{he began to eat them} \quad \text{Kor. 57.1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It serves also as iterative of numeral verbs.

Chukchee

ńireqeq‘ikr the second time
ńireqeq‘ikr the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{valo’mir} & \text{ tigaimat‘ekin} \quad \text{I want to know} \quad \text{(valo’m to know; t- I; gaimat to want; -ekin present)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vaq’go‘ta} & \text{ tawañe‘urkin} \quad \text{I work sitting} \quad \text{(vaq’go to sit; t- I; wáñe to work; -urkin present)} \\
\text{am- upau} & \text{ nitva‘güm} \quad \text{I was just drinking} \quad \text{(am- merely; upau to drink; nu- indefinite tense; teva to live, be; -güm l)} \\
\text{luñ} & \text{ i‘vukučít‘a i‘tyi}^{\varepsilon} \quad \text{not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink)} \quad \text{37.3} \\
\text{luñ-i’rō i‘tyi}^{\varepsilon} \quad \text{not crossing it was 41.5} \\
\end{align*}
\]
lun-le'tä n'ntäginet not seen they had them 11.9
wëtha'wa qënt'gin speaking do to her (i. e. speak to her!) 29.12
li'en' äq-eiñe'wa quli'tä only badly crying (and) sounding 57.6

The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

tačä'i'véwa laufri'ynin nineninmuteu'gin by means of striking made the big head swollen 48.10
ottr-kipče'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in qš—tä is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

gánto'ta, qě'wä go out and say!
qě'wä say! 21.11
qud'nota he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

mérqina'n qě'wä we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

gayr's'qata sleep! Kor. 31.8
qal'xtata wu'tčau, qas'nnvota take these along, haul them away!
Kor. 51.6

The corresponding forms of the transitive verb occur in the past, future, exhortative, and in the derived present and exhortative (see § 68, p. 741). They are also used impersonally.

amto', mën'kri re'ntin, ra'nmun well, how will it be done? will there be killing?
gamna killed
räm'nut gelu'tä whatever seen
tu'ngilun ra'nutqää ga'lyņa give something to (your) companion

COMITATIVE I AND II

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:
tërga'nmä ninjegpe'ygi'ugin weeping she kicked it 31.8
wëv'ma takrmla'gnеньat when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

§95
gi’nmil yi’lkama garétela’güm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (gi’nmil recently; yi’lqa to sleep; ga—Igüm I; rétela to dream)
kiye’wkwę’i aamya’ma he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:
upau’mači equlikä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (upau to drink; e—kä negative; gulı noise)

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, when used in verbal forms, may have the Comitative II, which is used when the subject is the same as well as when two distinct subjects are concerned.

miňke’kın lu’të’n naus’gatima’ći when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23
equ’likä rolma’ći be silent, since you are weak (e—kä negation; gulı noise; rol weak)
miňke’kın poi’qın lu’të’n naus’gatima’ći where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nikémači at night 56.8
Kamchadal has only two forms.
-köj (intransitive); -c, -ł (transitive) and k!—enk

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.
gel’čel’ nu’köj enough to eat
tu’tun tələl I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending -köj is not used.
xe nu’ki it is impossible to eat (xe—ki negative, p. 826)
xe telë’kic it is impossible to beat him (xe—kic negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)
xe nu’ölki it is impossible to eat (-öl to desire, p. 808, no. 64.)

The second form expresses an action done at the same time with the one expressed by the predicate of the sentence. It is derived from the k!- prefix of the corresponding form of the noun, and the suffix of the possessive.
k!-nu’enk qam qelkek while eating I do not talk (nu to eat; qam not)

§§ 96-129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they § 96.
serve to express a great many modifications or amplifications of the meaning of the stem. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the grammatical endings and those that add new significance to the word. From a purely morphological point of view the two classes merge into each other; and neither can a sharp line be drawn between the nominal post-positions treated before, and others of similar meaning, like -nu (p. 798, no. 34), -mil (p. 798, no. 30), -in (see below); nor can the nominalizing endings in -in and -n be sharply separated from other, analogous forms. For this reason I repeat the nominal endings here in their proper places with reference to the sections in which they are more fully treated.

Neither is the line of demarcation clear between affixes and compounds of independent elements. This appears most clearly in those cases in which the same element may appear either as a prefix or as a suffix, like qǝq and mil; and also in those cases in which an element appears rarely alone. The line of demarcation between particle and incorporated adnominal or adverbial element is indicated through the occurrence or non-occurrence of vocalic harmony in the group.

The use of affixes is very extended, and a series of prefixes as well as of suffixes may appear combined.

qamitva-chat-i-nor-kin he begins to gobble down
ru-wake-s'qǝ-chat-a'u-kin he makes him sit down once with great force.

§§ 97-112. Suffixes

§§ 97-109. Nominal Suffixes

§§ 97-105. Derived from Nouns

§ 97. Nouns in -in and -n

These have been discussed in §§ 45-49, pp. 707-713, and in §§ 51-55, pp. 714-719. Here belong also the nominalized verbs (a) and (b), which have been discussed in §§ 73, 74, pp. 758-762.

§ 98. Augmentative and Diminutive

1. -qun-, subjective -qun, augmentative. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.¹

- qun knife
- qitun dog
- q'mkin people 13.10
- valayin large knife
- attin large dog
- attiyin from the large dog
- ronkhyin big people 11.3
- Aiwhuyanpinachf'yin old big St. Lawrence man 13.11

¹ Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to mgiin. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel e of this word is weak.—F.B.
Some words do not take the suffix -ruri-, but use the definite form in its place.

\[\text{ne'vain woman} \quad \text{na'vay'ngeinm the woman, the} \]

Kor. Kam. \text{vunui'nin large woman}

\[\text{big nose Kor. 72.12}\]

2. -wawu, -wau Augmentative (Kor. Kam.).

\[\text{va'la knife} \quad \text{vala'naku large knife}\]
\[\text{a'tton dog} \quad \text{atta'naku large dog}\]
\[\text{glawul man} \quad \text{glawuln'a'quuqo from the}\]
\[\text{vai'amni'agu big river Kor. 21.3 thick man}\]
\[\text{Quyqnn'a'qu Big Raven Kor. 24.5}\]
\[\text{kuka'-yitun'a'qu a big kettleful Kor. 48.1}\]

3. -go Augmentative.

\[\text{na'wogo'lin the big wife 39.5; 40.1}\]
\[\text{piti'-wagéqéghé'it to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8}\]

4. -gäi Diminutive. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem qa'iu small. It may also precede the noun, and be used in both positions at the same time. When preceding the noun it means the young of an animal; compare also qa'in fawn; ge'yi'igi fledgeling.

\[\text{kuke'-gäi a little kettle}\]
\[\text{gt'gäi-gäi a small skin 45.6}\]
\[\text{qa'ul-gäi a small man}\]
\[\text{wa'qa'qua-gäi small jaw-bone house 44.13}\]
\[\text{mip'i ne'v'iqyik to the little old woman 45.2}\]
\[\text{ni'nga'i child 42.8}\]
\[\text{nm'axtle'ki to those with children 20.7}\]
\[\text{mipa'naqua'gëqinm the small woman}\]
\[\text{qäi-u'nel young thong-seal 70.26}\]
\[\text{qa'i-itt'gäi pup}\]
\[\text{gäi-i-li'qäi cub of wolf}\]

qäi (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

\[\text{qäi-glə'wul-pel a very small man}\]
\[\text{qa'i-na'viss'qa't little woman Kor. 33.10}\]
\[\text{qäi-kə'mak little kamak Kor. 38.9}\]
\[\text{qäi-pipi'ka'nu little mice Kor. 25.6}\]
\[\text{qäi-kə'mak-pel little kamak Kor. 37.2}\]
-\textit{ai} small and miserable (Kamchadal).

\textit{ki'stai} a miserable little house (kisti house)

\textit{kco'vai} a miserable little dog (kocex dog)

5. \textit{-\textit{pi}l} dear little.

\textit{ekke'pi{l}l} sonny

\textit{tu'mgi'pi{l}l} dear little friend

Koryak:

\textit{-\textit{pi}l} (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. \textit{-\textit{pi}lak} (with the endings -\textit{t} and -\textit{u}); \textit{-\textit{pi}} (Kor. II),—express the\textit{ diminutive}.

\textit{\textit{nawa'n-pi}l} small woman (Kor. Kam.)

\textit{\textit{nawan-pi}lakqt} two small women (Kor. Kam.)

\textit{\textit{nawan-pi}lak'qu} small women (Kor. Kam.)

\textit{q\textit{la'vul-pel} small man}

\textit{\textit{milay}q\textit{pi}l} a little shell Kor. 23.8

\textit{\textit{va'gip}i\textit{nipel} a small nail Kor. 23.7}

\textit{\textit{vi'tnimipil} a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4}

\textit{-\textit{pi}lin} (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix \textit{-\textit{pi}l} with the additional suffix \textit{-in}—conveys the sense of\textit{ endearment}.

\textit{\textit{atta'pi}lin} doggy

\textit{\textit{va'impi}lin} a little river Kor. 17.2

\textit{\textit{il'upi}lin} little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7

\textit{\textit{nili'ripilin} little thong Kor. 39.4}

6. \textit{-\textit{ca}, -\textit{ce}, -\textit{cex} diminutive} (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix -\textit{c} added to the plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>kocz</td>
<td>ko'cex\textit{cz}</td>
<td>kco'\textit{v}n</td>
<td>kco'\textit{v}n\textit{e}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>game</td>
<td>hu'rnik</td>
<td>hu'rnik\textit{e}</td>
<td>hu'rnik\textit{en}</td>
<td>hu'rnik\textit{en}\textit{e}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>a'tn\textit{um}</td>
<td>a'tn\textit{ocz}</td>
<td>a'tno'\textit{v}n</td>
<td>a'tno'\textit{v}n\textit{e}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

\textit{a'tno'ce'cex\textit{cz}} a very small village

\textit{a'tno'ce'cex\textit{en}} very small villages

7. \textit{-\textit{li}no} tiny. It always precedes the diminutive -\textit{q\textit{e}} (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

\textit{qaa-li\textit{no}'-q\textit{e}i} tiny reindeer

\textit{\textit{nu}wan-li\textit{no}'-\textit{q\textit{e}i} tiny woman}

§ 98
§ 99. Collectives

8. -yîrîn or -yîrîn a company; (Kor. Kam. -yîssan) the stem of the noun yi'riir or yi'riir fullness, contents,

ñâwâ'nyîrîn a company of women
ra'yîrîn a houseful 45.13
Kor. Kam. nîmyî'ssa'n people of a village 70.9
Compare wâlqâ'éîrîîr a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. -gi'nîw GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. -gi'nîu).

vâ'ë'nêu (Kor. Kam. vâ-ge'nêw) group of houses (i. e., village)
yârë'-ge'nêw a group of houses 111.15
v'mqâ-qi'nîw a set of polar bears 113.29
yi'cêmî-tu'mgr-gî'nîw a set of brother-companions 113.28
wâlritqâ'ti-qi'nîw a lot of little souls 122.31
Kor. Kam. qa'nâ'tîla-qi'nîw a lot fishing with drag-nets 70.10

10. -ril (Kor. Kam. -yîl) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

ô'rgûrel a caravan of sledges
a's'mril (Kor. a's'm-yîl) a set of bones, i. e. a skeleton
Koryak mu'u-yîl a line of sledges, a caravan 78.5

11. -rët set, LITTER (Kor. Kam. -yat).

vâ'rât (Kor. Kam. va'yat) a group of beings (i. e., family group)
yi'këmne'ttti a set of brothers 64.3
ple'gerät a pair of boots
li'liret a pair of mittens

12. -îku INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

ne'lihtkun all kinds of skins
qi'nnîkitkun various kinds of game
orawèla'tken men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:
mainiya'niiken everything big
rû's'nutetkun (rû't-neetkun) all kinds of things
eîne'vaq panîra'tkeqaia tê'mîtyâ'zn somehow with all kinds of small leg-skins I bought it (i. e. I succeeded in buying it with a small number of leg-skins, i. e., cheaply).

13. -mîk NUMEROUS (Kor. Kam. -mîk) is used to express plurality.

yara'mîkin (Kor. Kam. yaya'mîkin) a cluster of houses (collective)
riîka'mîkîchîn several walrus 102.17.
â'tiwîl'mîkîchîn the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

§ 99.
Compare the stem *mk* in the independent forms

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mūkīt'yūn} & \text{ the more numerous ones} \hspace{1em} 11.7 \\
\text{mū'kīr'm} & \text{ more numerous} \hspace{1em} 12.3 \\
\text{nū'mkāqin} & \text{ numerous} \hspace{1em} 12.7
\end{align*}
\]

and in the compound form

\[
\text{mūg-glīka'k} \text{ with many legs} \hspace{1em} 119.9
\]

14. -\text{frg}, the stem of the third person plural pronoun *e'run*, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes -\text{gūpə} and -k and with the particle re'en together (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qlaul't'ṛgūpə} & < \text{qlaul'ṛg-gūpə} \text{ from the men} \\
\text{qla'ul'trik} & < \text{qla'ul'ṛg-k} \text{ by the men, with the men} \\
\text{qla'ul'ṛg-re'en} & < \text{qla'ul'ṛg-k-re'en} \text{ with the men}
\end{align*}
\]

The possessive form *e'rgin* is used in the same manner.

*orawela'argən* that belonging to the (human) people

§ 100. Comitatives

15. *ga-*\text{ma} comitative (Kor. Kam. *awun-*\text{ma}) not used with names of persons, for which re'en is used.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gālēla'na} & \text{ (Kor. Kam. a'wunlēla'na) with the eye} \\
\text{gō'rgumq} & \text{ with the sledge} \hspace{1em} 15.4 \\
\text{gata'irtrwalma} & \text{ with the splinters of thigh-bone} \hspace{1em} 33.11 \\
\text{gama'limq} & \text{ with blood} \hspace{1em} 43.8 \\
\text{gānēngaq'ma} & \text{ with children} \hspace{1em} 50.6 \\
\text{gāpprog'rmq} & \text{ with the aorta} \hspace{1em} 2.2 \\
\text{gō't'vuma} & \text{ with the boat} \hspace{1em} 71.4 \\
\text{gualuit'ma} & \text{ with the head; i. e., the whole body} \hspace{1em} 137.8 \\
\text{Kor. Kam. awun-gama'ma} & \text{ with the dish} \hspace{1em} 64.7 \\
\text{Kor. Kam. a'wun-e'ņvelma} & \text{ with the nostrils}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in -\text{ma} (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

16. *gē-*\text{ta} comitative (Kor. Kam. *ga-*[t]a); not used with names of persons, for which re'en (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gēlēlē'ta} & \text{ (Kor. Kam. gālēla'ta) with the eye} \\
\text{imnād'hin geņe'wānā} & \text{ an old man with his wife} \hspace{1em} 28.1 \text{ (subject)} \\
\text{el'qit geņe'wānā} & \text{ the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents} \hspace{1em} 28.4 \text{ (subject); 39.11; 33.9}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 100.
Kor. Kam. qaggaika'makata with a small spirit Kor. 37.3  
Kor. Kam. ga'ttata with a hatchet Kor. 56.3  
Kor. Kam. gaqla'wu'la with her husband Kor. 68.7

Verbal:
\[\text{ne'us'qät genutegbi'tä, notai'pù gelei'vä the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she — 28.5}
\[
\text{notai'pù gelei'vä ne'usqät, vai ela'—while the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4}
\]
\[\text{en'qam el'hin gette'tä gi'wä—then the father with sudden doing, with saying—29.11}
\]

17. -mačı verbal noun expressing meanwhile (Kor. Kam. -mačı) (see pp. 738, 788.)

18. -re'en added to the locative, together. It is used principally with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative. Its vowel does not form an ablaut.
\[\text{gùmu'q re'en together with me}
\]
\[\text{Omru'wgèna-re'en together with Omru'wgè}
\]
\[\text{tu'mug-re'en with the strangers 59.1}
\]
\[\text{ni'lhi-re'en together with the thong 44.12}
\]

§ 101. Locatives

19. -tkın surface (Kor. Kam. -tkın, -tēìn); used chiefly in oblique cases.
\[\text{grgu'tkınik on the sledge}
\]
\[\text{grgút'kınata along the surface of the sledge}
\]
\[\text{uvékê'tkınik on the body 8.11}
\]
\[\text{gêli'tkınik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2}
\]
\[\text{gêgêli'tkınik on the sea-ice 7.3, 5}
\]
\[\text{kano'tkınigüpu on the crown of the head 8.2}
\]
\[\text{mêmli'tkınik on the water 9.3}
\]
\[\text{bo'titkınik on the top of the pillow 44.2}
\]

In the absolute form the suffix designates the point of.
\[\text{yäqa'tkın point of nose}
\]
\[\text{richi'tkın finger-tip (stem rîh)}
\]
\[\text{yëdt'kîchın tip of tongue 40.4 (stem yîl)}
\]

Koryak:
\[\text{va'gitènu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1}
\]
\[\text{o'pitènik on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13}
\]

20. -s'q- absolute form -s'qän; -čaq absolute form—čqan top of; over, on top of (Kor. Kam. -ļq, absolute form -ļqan)

§ 101
otti's qa'n tree-top
otti's qa'k on the top of the tree
til's qa'k over the door
qi'this qa-nota's'nyu lake-top-big-land, i.e., the land over (near) the lake 144.3
the's qa-re'mkin people of top of dawn R 2.11
nute's qa'k on top of ground, i.e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:
na'nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15
vai'yamilqak on top of river Kor. 25.8
wu'gwulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8
yas'qalkai'tiñ (ya-s'qa-lya-êti) to the house top Kor. 36.1
ya's'qalyak on the house top Kor. 84.12
wapis'qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. -gi, -gin the base of; in oblique cases, under
utt'i'gin base of the tree
tti'gê nga'pê from under the tree
tti'gê'ñkî under the tree
cotê'ñkî under the pillow (<cot-gin-ki)
nute's'gâ'gi'ñkî underground
nota's'qayê'nga'pê from underground 143.6

Koryak:
ê'n'migenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6
qa's'wûge'ñkî at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7
plakgene'tiñ into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6
gânsqene'êtiñ into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9
gânsqene'êtiñ into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. -qgit toward; not in oblique cases
ângâ'qgit toward the sea
tti'qgit toward the wood
yâki'qgit noseward 45.2
trê'qgit toward the entrance 62.9
e'ekeqgit toward the lamp R 2.6

23. -yi'wkwi (absolute form -yi'wkwi'n) the space along —
ângi'yê'wkwi'n the space along the sea
d'êngu-corniyê'wkwi along the seashore 66.12
ângi'yu'wkwi'ta along the sea, on the sea
nota's'aciyê'ñkî along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—
recâ'wkwi <rel-yê'wkwi' along the tracks
(See rec'ê'ñkî 106.24.)
24. -čiku (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) inside of; also with neutral u.

u'tčiku in the wood
uttičiku within the tree
yaročiku or račiku within the house
kegričiku inside of palm 20.3
kon'rgičiku inside of leg of breeches 28.6
wus'qömčiku in the dark 34.5
yilhičiku in the moon 41.8
plekčiku in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

o'nmčikou'ti (Kor. Kam. annkačiko'iti from annku-čiku)
    inward, into the inside
o'nmčiko'ipu from within
čnčikou'ti into the clothes 32.4
dinčikou'ti into the fire 31.13
yoročikou'ti into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3
yikirgičikou'ti into the mouth 50.3
quačıkou'pū from the reindeer-herd 51.2
mɛnličikou'ti into the water 17.4
notas'gačıkou'ti into the ground 18.7
notas'gačiko'pū from underground 44.12

Koryak:

wus'qömčiku in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5
yayačiko'iti into the house Kor. 15.2
qayačiku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1
aidčiku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal čćk inside corresponds to Chukchee čiku. It is
    used as an independent adverb.

ei'mtenk čćk in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal ɛo'xeć inward.

25. -liku among the multitude, one of the suffixes of plurality.

qua'liku among the reindeer
utti'-liku among the trees
muri'g-liku among us

26. -gač, -qal by the side of (Kor. Kam. -qal)
-qač near, close to (Kor. Kam. -qača)

qua'pemqac by the side of the back 11.8
yad'alingac by the rear side 12.3
ti'tingac by the side of the entrance 53.3
qtka'nqac (Kor. Kam. qtka'nqal) at the feet
mo'rixqac (Kor. Kam. mo'rixqal) by our side
qinikqac by thy side 9.3

§ 101.
gitkaqa'ći near the foot
mərinyaqa'ći near us
Nota'rmengqaça near Notarmen 121.10
ra-gro'łmenqaal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.
wo'triŋqać (Kor. Kam. wo'teņqać) on this side
va'ęičqać (Kor. Kam. vaięičqać) halfway on this side

All forms with -qać (Kor. Kam. -qal) may also form oblique cases.
mərinyaqačai'pü (Ch.) from our side
Kor. Kam. wołęņqałai'śi to this side
aŋqaŋqačađi'gTi to the seaside 49.6
aŋqaŋqačai'pü from the seaside 49.8
ya'dalęńqačol'pü from the rear side 12.4
yarav'-liha'ndęńqać-val'lin being from the other side of the houses 11.7
qača'kën the other one of a pair
qača'kënata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix -kën they form adjectives which are in frequent use.
mərinyaqačtkën being at my side
wo'trińqačtkën being from this side 14.2
Kor. Kam. wo'teņqała'ken being at this side

Kamchadal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qo'liņ</th>
<th>NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee qa'či, Kor.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kam. qa'ča. It is also treated as an independent adverb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr'manq qo'liņ (Chukchee qümńš-qa'či) near me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. -tyl PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. -tyl).

məniği'tyl (Kor. Kam. maniği'tol) a piece of calico
qə'ğıtol (Kor. Kam. qọya'tol) a piece of reindeer (meat)
mi'nlitulqdi a little particle of water 134.17
tekš'čitulqdi a little piece of meat 134.31
Kor. Kam. pel'linolši'tola piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

a'nčax tədə'lxalın a small piece of meat (a'nc- piece; -čax small;
tədə'lxalın [adjective] of meat)

28. -kįt (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

vi'le-kįt in place of payment

§ 101.
29. -x̂ōl (Kamchadal) along.

| cêmt-x̂ōl along the ground (stem cêmt ground) |
| ñ-x̂ōl along the water (stem ñ water) |
| ktxq̂̂j-x̂ōl along the road |

§ 102. Similarity

30. -mil in the size of, at the distance of (Kor. Kam. -mič -mis). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 -mič which is a variant of this stem.)

ñēŷmil as far as the mountain
mīnke'mil (Kor. Kam. menke'mis) of what size? how much? 94.32
er'wmil like them 14.9
mur̂̂wmil like us 10.6; 16.7
gumũwmil like me 16.13
utte'mil size of a tree 20.2
rọq̂̂mėl size of reindeer-ily 23.3
gw̏̂̂lg̏̂̂-mėl like men 64.11
rirk̂̂g̏̂̂-mėl like a walrus 10.8; 12.1
q̏̂̂lg̏̂̂-mėl size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—k̏̂̂n added to the suffix—mil are

g̏̂̂n̏̂̂uw̏̂̂mil'tkin according to my wants
mur̂̂uw̏̂̂mil'tkin according to our wants

31. -wurrin similar to, like.

pin-wurrin flour (literally cinder-like)
See enu'n ēn̏̂̂t wu'rrri nilqin thus she was 26.9

32. -wgī similar to.

33. -či̍ç̄a similar to (Kor. Kam. -čhina).

q̏̂̂yg̏̂̂k̏̂̂ȑ̂̂č̏̂̂g̏̂̂ (Kor. Kam. q̏̂̂ylw̏̂̂lč̏̂̂'na) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman')

§ 103. Purpose

34. -nu, -u material for; what serves as something; serving a purpose; serving as something.

ple'ku q̏̂̂nu'il-k̏̂̂n take it for boots (i. e., to make boots of it)

This suffix is used with various verbs to express the idea to make something out of, to consider as something, to become something.

ćkke'nu m̏̂̂lhiq̏̂̂t let me have thee as a son

§§ 102, 103

1 q̏̂̂l̏̂̂tk or q̏̂̂l̏̂̂k is an obsolete form for q̏̂̂la'ul man.
-nu after stems ending in a vowel.

lile'nu serving as an eye
rrka'no as a walrus 10.8
qagæ'a'ang for a driving reindeer 124.8
qagremæ'ng ri'tyak you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6
ko'nikon-va'nø serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22
ke'ni'nu that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9
æ'gæ'-ge'læ'neø that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10
ter-trga't-palo'ta'neø what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-u after stems ending in a consonant.

ne'wænu for a wife
taikaus'qu'levu for a place to wrestle 47.4
Iumetun'Iru'tyak you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7
ke'ni'nu what represents a bear 136.20
gorante'tile to be used as herdsmen 50.9
le'nuø for looking on 19.2; 23.3
rraga'øøø what for? 19.1
enayad'qo'ōho va'trgo what serves as life-giving being 21.6
wir'olyo for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-nya, -ya. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

lile'nu as an eye
akka'nyø as a son
na'wanu as a wife
gid'no as a reindeer
tomnena'nu as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9
kulpînæ'a'nu as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1
gangekplena'nu as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7
ya'qo into what Kor. 38.4
cai'uchu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. -ki (ku) (Kamchadal) corresponds to -nya, -ya (No. 34) of Chukchee.

pli'ki as a son
ni'ki as a wife
ol'nak as a reindeer (ol'en from Russian omen; the old Kamchadal word koj is also still in use)
lule'ki as an eye

36. -xe (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

plexe as a son
nexe as a wife

§ 103
37. -lqāl destined for —, material for —, (Kor. Kam. -lqal). This suffix implies the future.

ple'kilqāl (Kor. Kam. pla'kilqal) material for boots wuo'i'qwelqāl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband eia'lqāl stepmother, serving as a mother Kor. Kam. nawa'nilqal bride to be, destined to be a wife luqāl (Kor. Kam. lo'qal Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14 rēpa'bhilqāl destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle -(y)o:

tai'knyolqāl material (for work)
rrre'lyolqāl destined to be put down R 2.5
yimē'yolqāl destined to be hung R 2.6
ro'olqāl food R 44.11
ma'c'hilqal means of getting well 135.10
timyo'lqal (Kor. Kam. timyo'lqal) destined to be killed (epithet used like scoundrel)

§ 104. Possession

38. -yanv-, absolute form yān provided with (Kor. Kam. yanv-, absolute form yana)

(a) As a nominal suffix, yanv means provided with.

ē'a'g-gan (Kor. Kam. ēai-ya'na) one who has tea, rich in tea qa'a-yan (Kor. Kam. qoya-ya'na) one who has reindeer tan-kamvanwë'ti to those provided with good dishes (teh good; keme dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

ũpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. apaw-ya'na) the one who drinks gani'twa-yan (Kor. Kam. awye-ya'na) the one who eats

(c) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and has a passive meaning.

yi'l-yan (Kor. Kam. yil-ya'na) what has been given ro'mkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. yomkaw-ya'na) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qatvu-ya'n the one who has strength maini-ya'n that which is big a'tqend'an (Kor. Kam. a'tčen-ya'na) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

mainiya'nvevk at the big one (Koryak the same)
tmtya'nvi the older ones 108.12

§ 104.
39. -lq(än) abounding in (Kor. Kam. -lq[än])
   mi’/m[ilqän (Kor. Kam. mi’/milqän) place abounding in water
   wata’/pilqän (Kor. Kam. wata’/pilqan) place abounding in
reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. -yöch, -ööch receptacle (Kor. Kam. -yöch); perhaps from
the verbal stem yo- to put into, yo’/k’in (Kor. Kam. yo’y’in)
he puts into.
mitgo’õch’ (Kor. Kam. mitg’yõch’) blubber-bag (stem mitg
blubber)
tai’/õch’-poka’tkinik in bottom of bag 29.3
Kor. Kam. kawa’ssõch’ for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. -õit a space of time (Kor. Kam. -õit).
   ælo’õit the whole day 21.1 (stem ælo day)
   (Kor. Kam. qi’/wilõit) the whole length of the year (from qiwik
   [only in the locative] in the year)

42. -mi’ç A CERTAIN AMOUNT, with nominal and pronominal stems
   indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare §102, 30
to which the suffix is clearly related).
   qāined’mi’ç at the distance of a shot
   qūnu’mi’ç as much as I need
   qūnuwmì’/k’in it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to
   spare)

43. -kwu, -wkw- PROTECTOR, AVERTOR
muçu’kwun shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the
Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from
the body).
tainikwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune averter)

§§ 106-109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. -qyrqyn. If the base contains an l, it is often changed to č.
   ABSTRACT NOUN; CAUSE, SOURCE, OBJECT OF AN ACTION (Kor.
   Kam. -gë’/n, -gì’tì’n; Kor. Par. -gë’/n, -gìč’ì’n).
   Note that the initial q follows the phonetic rules § 7.
   t + qi > ti; č + qi > či; u + qi > wkw; u, o + qi > ou
   qalhilo’/wrqò/ you are source of sorrow 20.7
   palqat’irqyn (from pelqat) old age (Kor. Kam. palqathë’/n or
   palqathëtì’n [from palqat])

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§ 105, 106
père'irgin the place which he had taken 23.9  
tel'hirgin or te'cirgin 24.3 (from tel) illness, pain, cause of pain  
yaiv'cirgin (from yaiv'e) (Kor. Kam. yaiva'chit'in [from  
'yaiv'caë]) compassion, cause or object of compassion  
limitte'irgin object of pity 11.3  
wü'irgin noise 32.10  
vö'irgin death 22.1  
vö'irgin git thou art source of death 22.7  
ginta'wky'irgin git (from ginta'w) (Kor. Kam. ginta'whit'nge) thou  
art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)  
tel'cirgin-te're (from tel) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you  
have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. te'chit'në-to'o)  
ye'mgun'irgin object of fear 29.8  
and'irgin git thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11  

Koryak:  

| vantirgin | dawn Kor. 18.1  
| velki'irgin | annoyance Kor. 20.9  

This suffix may be added either to the simple verbal stem or to the  
verbal stem with added suffixes. The latter form expresses more  
particularly the process of an action. The former is sometimes used  
to express the object or the source of the action.  

nrki'cirgin the feeling of shame  
.nrki'cirgin the object of shame  
wü'irgin git noise 15.1  
am-yr'irgin only by breathing 24.4  

With the stem tva to be, this suffix expresses the idea of quality.  
Yai'vač-va'irgin quality, substance of compassion; Merciful  
Being (Kor. Kam. vage'nin or va'git'nin) being, mode of life, sub- 
stance, deity  

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.  

ač'yr'irgin (from ač'tq'in) (Kor. Kam. ač'tge'ngit'nin [from  
ač'tge'ngit'nin]) badness, spite  
ěuč'y'irgin (from ĕu'č) length  
inp'y'irgin (from inp[ũ]) old age  

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.  

ač'mgirgin (from ač'ttm bone) condition of the bones (i. e.,  
of the body)  
otti'irgin (from ottuwt wood) degree of woodiness  

§ 106
The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

\(\text{va'irgin} \) (Kor. Kam. \(\text{vage'nnin} \)) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity

\(\text{yai'vač-va'irgin} \) (Kor. Kam. \(\text{yai'vač-vage'nnin} \)) compassion-being, merciful deity

\(\text{a'naž-vag'irgin} \) (Kor. Kam. \(\text{a'naž-vage'nnin} \)) shaman’s spirit deity

\(\text{tam-va'irgin} \) goodness, condition of goodness

\(\text{taińt'irgin} \) (Kor. Kam. \(\text{taińge'nnin} \)) sin

\(\text{gas'mu'irgin} \) (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

\(\text{yikr'irgin} \) (Kor. Kam. \(\text{čikr'tän} \) Kor. 56.8) mouth

Kor. Kam. \(\text{pča'gqthn} \) (plak boot) boot-string Kor. 59.3

45. \(-j, -l\) (Kamchadal) form abstract nouns of simpler and more limited sense than those of Chukchee and Koryak. This suffix is probably identical with the \(c, l\), of the transitive verbal noun I (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

\(\text{co'nlaj} \) life \(\text{teuncjk} \) I live

\(\text{čd'kałej} \) song \(\text{tōkacejk} \) I sing

\(\text{o'jralaj} \) blow \(\text{tujilijn} \) I strike him

\(\text{noj}^1 \) food \(\text{tnujjk} \) I eat

\(\text{pilhetel} \) hunger \(\text{tpilhē'тик} \) I suffer from hunger

\(\text{pē'lhpetel} \) and \(\text{famine} \)

\(\text{pē'lhhpil} \)

46. \(-nų\), absolute form \(-nųm\) (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

\(\text{nožnųm} \) (stem \(\text{nų} \)) food

\(\text{he'lnųm} \) (stem \(\text{hũ} \)) drink

\(\text{cunlnųm} \) (stem \(\text{cũnc, cũnl} \)) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. \(-yğ\) (Kor. \(-yğ\), absolute form \(-yğn\)) expresses the passive participle; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

\(\text{pēlā'yğ} \) the one who is left (Kor. Kam. \(\text{pēlayon} \) the one to be left)

In Chukchee the suffix is contracted with terminal consonants, and elided after vowels, according to the phonetic rules given in §§ 6–10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{tai'kįg} &lt; \text{tai'kį-yğ} ) the one made</td>
<td>(\text{tai'kįg̣n} ) that to be made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{yį'ľg} &lt; \text{yį'ľ-yğ} ) the one given</td>
<td>(\text{yį'ľg̣n} ) that to be given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food par excellence.
Chukchee

ipa'wgo <ipa'w-yg that which  
apg'rygn that which is to be drunk
ko'j'o <kor-yg that which has  
ko'rygn that to be bought

yito'ot born ones 42.7
oraio'd'cinat born ones 21.2
a'n'ñêno li'nyo made to be the
object of anger 42.3
temyo' one killed 43.8
ripaliq'wgo one drowned 49.9

Note.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix ½m- mere, entire, and the suffix -1in, express the passive participle, the same as -yo.

½m-rg'ulun (stem ret to buy) what has been brought; or ra'dy-o or ½m-ra'dy-o all that has been brought

(-yanv, see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. -ĩneñ', suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. -înañ).

tewe'nan (stem teg) (Kor. Kam. tewe'nañ [stem teg]) paddle, oar 73.11

geli'neñ (stem geli to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. galiçi'neñ [stem galiçi]) pen
tei'kinen (K. K. inataik'inan) instrument (for work)
wagñé'nan instrument for work
lé'ê-te'wênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4
(Kor. Kam. tonõned'nu as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix ½ne- (Kor. Kam. ½na-)
See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

ënd'nvênañ (stem nv [initial ruv]; trnv'r'kin I scrape); (Kor. Kam. gn'd'nvênañ [stem nv; trnv'k'in I scrape]) scraper

49. -ičh instrument (Kor. Kam. -îtñ).

gittë'wichin (stem gittëu to wipe, -rn absolute form); (Kor. Kam. gitta'wilñin [stem gittaw]) wiping-cloth
uneći'chìn thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from unel thong seal)
memìcë'chin thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from memîl seal)
Kor. Kam. ynoote'ño from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7

§ 108
§ 109. Place

50. -nv place of (absolute form -n) (Kor. Kam. -nv [absolute form -nu]).

van (stem tvä-); (Kor. Kam. va’na [dual, plural, va’nvi]). place of being
wakotva’n (stems wake and tvä); (Kor. Kam. vagalitva’na [stems vagarti and tvä]) place of sitting
notaqčënvëpu while walking in the wilderness 29.4
ralqa’ninvúk on the house-site 31.6
ralëya’n sliding-place 114.16
tila’n (Kor. Kam. tila’n) place of moving, trail
tila’nvun place of trail 36.12
tila’nvuk on place of traveling 43.1
taikaus’qio’kou for a place to wrestle 47.4
ooëvënvi’spë (better ooëv’invi’spë) from the playground 74.17
ooëv’invi’k on the playground 74.18
ooëv’invë’ti to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—y.

étina’tinvo trye’tyä’k I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.
yaggai’ úm yagta’linvë trye’tyä’k did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.
rraqa’unvo for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

kmënä’tinvo nilái’-güm I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6
kiplo’nvu for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110-111. Verbal Suffixes

§ 110. Adverbial Suffixes

51. -wułhI expresses reciprocity (Kor. Kam. -vi[ŋi]).
pënru’lhirkit (stem pënri to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam. penn’r’vlirkit [stem penn’], dual) they close for wrestling
lu’e’lhirkit (stem lu’e to see) (Kor. Kam. lu’e’vlirkit [stem lu’e]) they see each other, they meet
galo’lohiočina’-me’rë we have seen each other 121.15

52. -s’qiu expresses an action performed once only (Kor. Kam. -s’qiw).

yêtis’qi’urkin (Kor. Kam. yatis’qi’wikin) he comes once
tmis’që’urkin (Kor. Kam. tmis’që’wikin) he kills once

§§ 109, 110
taikaus'qio'ltvu for a place to wrestle once 47.4
gäniggeus'giwktidi make them wake up all at once 56.3
ganō's'qāwlın rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minčičati's'qiwana</th>
<th>I'll look at them once 33.10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quvī'yas'qi'vugii</td>
<td>go and die! Kor. 35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawyis'qi'wa</td>
<td>eat! Kor. 36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmnul'as'gewlan</td>
<td>let us steal it! Kor. 39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myalitēus'qi'wak</td>
<td>I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in the form—lgiu
gatomnālgi'wilinat they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. -lęt expresses a frequentative, durative, or more generally intensity of action (Kor. Kam. -lät, less frequently -čät).
niţolă'tirkin (Kor. Kam. niţo-lā'tekm) he goes out often
tumila'tirkin (Kor. Kam. tumila'tekm) he kills many
ninle'letqin it flashed out always 32.8
gulilētye gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
nigulilētqin they are noisy 60.9
niţērqlatqēn he cries aloud 38.3
ntëpleñqilētqin she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem plek-

Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gαñvolean čilača'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yiykula' ti you were soft Kor. 26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galālanēnno'yetkım she passed by often Kor. 84.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nιqulila'tqin he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54. -yw(u), -yu(u) expresses a frequentative (Kor. Kam. -yvi),
tala'iwurkin (Kor. Kam. tala'ivekin) he strikes many times
ninemikī'yawunin let it bite him! 104.29
Kor. Kam gaitoi'vilenau she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. -t (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

| ti'ntilē'tijin I bring it always (t- I; intili to bring; -t always; |-r auxiliary vowel; -jın I it) |

56. -čęt weakens the intensity of the action, a little, rarely.

niţoča'tirkin or nītōča'arkin he goes out rarely
ten'ňqeč'tirkin or ten'ńqêč'erkin he laughs on the sly
marauča'arkin he fights rarely
pēnřēča'arkin he wrestles rarely
minpo'ntočēta let us eat liver! 43.7
maraučētino'z he began to chide 56.1

§ 110
57 -čir expresses a frequentative or intensive.

ten'neveč'rirkin he laughs all the time
walomčė'rirkin he gathers news continually
marauđe'erkin he fights always
pënriče'erkin he rushes at him

Kor. Kam. qulumtičtalat they carry something large on their shoulders (qulu large; inti to carry) Kor. 57.9

58 -ntet indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. -ntat).

duvič'rikin (Kor. Kam. čvi'-
kin) thou cuttest it
cwinteg'trakin (Kor. Kam. čvinta-
trakin it is cut through in several places); it is divided into several parts
rg'orokin (Kor. Kam. čhgo'-
kin) he tears out hair
rgriro'k at dawn 10.4
grrgronta'len dawn came 10.9
qu'pqälin lean 80.5

59. -s'qi-čet—a compound suffix formed of -s'qi SINGLE ACTION, -čet homologous to -čet INTENSIVE ACTION—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

qu'ttrkin he stands up
qutis'qič'tirkin he jumps up
ničto'rikin he goes out
nütos'qič'tirkin he rushes out
ganto's'qaćalën he rushed out 57.11 ¹
gapen'nis'qičalën he rushed on 44.4
getinu's'qič'exin he gave a sudden tug 48.4
gereč'qičexin she suddenly pushed it in 89.4

60. -ala (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

tnu'la'jak I eat but little (t I; nu to eat; -jak I)

61. -qät, with verbs, expresses ENDEARMMENT and DIMINUTION; evidently related to -qäi (§ 98.4).

ma'ñën-notaq'pü yetqäeti from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. -kev, with transitive verbs, gives them a PASSIVE MEANING, and conveys the idea of DERISION of the subject.

këma'wkurgëwum re'tkeviśum I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here
valq'omkaute'vë, equlikä they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

¹ Evidently better, ganto's'qaćatën.

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63. -ńųę, -ńo expresses the inchoative (Kor. Kam. -ńųę; Kamchadal -kojų, -koj, -kųę, -ųę). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is ńoo, in medial position -mgo, (Kor. Kam. ńvo-, Kamchadal ńų-) ńō'orkin (Kor. Kam. ńvo'ikin, Kamchadal ńųųjįk) he begins

In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is expressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are therefore very common.

yilqanńųę'orkin (Kor. Kam. yilqanńvo'ikin, Kamchadal ńųker-kjųjįk) he goes to sleep
tipąńdańųęęę he begins to sing 59.9
nimńęęńųęę he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3
gapličkońųęęłęnąęt they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:
gewnńvo'lenau they began to say Kor. 22.7
gą'a'nńvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6
gepńvousál'i'ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. -ōł, -ō (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs -al, -a, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

tńųkcrōśłk (stem ńųkę) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep

tćełajjk (stem tćej; I leave tćejįk) I wish to leave

65. -vątö (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

tńléękgatójįn (stem ńlék) I am going to have a look at him

tńōvątöjįk (stem ńu to eat) I am going to eat

66. -čhat expresses anger of the speaker. (Kor. Kam. -čńat) gamitvačha'tėrückin or gamitvačha'arkin confound him! he eats

prńńqąačha'tęąn the bad one appeared 27.3
gąąqęčhaťięęń what has the bad one done 31.9
vęńčha'tęęę the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

tńmęčhąänden he killed the bad one 44.5
am-ravęčha'ńa naličha'tęęę you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. ńńọćńđńęłęń he lumbers forth

67. -tkų. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. -tęų).
pēla'ıkölt those who had left her 33.8

This suffix also transforms transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. The subject is then placed in the absolute form; the object, in the possessive form. These forms, however, are used only with personal pronouns.
gümū'kı ńįt pēla'ıkök the you leave me

§ 110
The suffix -tku (Kor. Kam. -tby) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vil'urkin (Kor. Kam. vil'twikin) he makes peace with) he buys
vil'tkurkin (Kor. Kam. vil'twikin) he trades
geitko'vul in 'kkam they distributed vessels 14.1
tmirko'vuk slaughtering 49.3
tmir'tkonem'at he killed all 61.4; 112.3
mimranmáitko'ñinat let us slay them all 101.19
vo'tkota'at they all died 112.2
tmir'tko'rrkin (Kor. Kam. tmir'to'kin) he kills many

Koryak:

gacvi'tbulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7
gaplitcoño'ykin they finished it Kor. 50.1
lélapitcoño'yet they looked around Kor. 44.9
yenotcoño'ykin he is eating Kor. 13.6
gahanitcoño'yet she was jealous Kor. 96.1
Paren qigitetkin'gın look at it! Kor. 101.11
tógilinu-ci'-cu-naw-üm snow-shoe-strings-verily-eating-woman
am I (tigi'lnin snowshoe-string; -u to consume -cu'cu [<tku- tku] verily; naw women) Kor. 59.7

The suffix -tku is always used in the transitive verb to indicate the forms THOU—US; YE—ME, US (see § 63). It gives the verb a generalized form. For instance:

pêlo'tkoez thou leavest a number (meaning US)
pêlo'tkoeik ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)
The element íne' has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. -tvį TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. -tvį).

umitvį'rkin (stem y'm) (Kor. Kam. umitvį'kin [stem ym]) he becomes broad.

qitvį'rkin (stem q) (Kor. Kam. qitvį'kin) he becomes thin
ënh'netví' he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4
ënh'netví-turi you acquired shamanistic power 18.3
numqitvį'gün it diminished 20.2, 4
nupluqitvį'gün it becomes small 20.3
wulqitvį'z it grew dark 54.9
Kor. Kam. qamalitva'ňitik cause it to become better Kor. 13.2
Kor. Kam. vr'ya'tvik to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. -čet with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. -čet).

mitteč'erkin we feel good 69.8
tenč'ţrkin (ten good) (Kor. Kam. tańča'tikin) he feels good
tąńčë'tingz' he began to feel well 33.5
gmič'e'trkin (Kor. Kam. gmič'e'tkin) he feels warm
70. -eu, -et, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

- eim'eu to approach  
- eîneu to call  
- ur'eu to appear

omau to get warm
ulog'eu to remain motionless
 yi'greu thirsty
weî'tau to talk
puul'greu to float
pî'keu to hit
marau to quarrel
mete'eu to be unable
tgî'keu to wrestle
ten'neu to laugh
 tumgeu to become friendly
numekeu to gather
notas'gu land approaches
limala'u to obey
loau unable
loâineu to shoot
kriyeu to be awake
kin'eu to cause delay
korqau to be glad
yîl'hau fear
 terkeu to be a certain number on a series

Possibly related to the preceding is nî (Kor. Kam.-au) adverbia l suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

- nîme'leu qatva'f; be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer
- nîte'leu tirkîpl'a'n I struck him painfully (tel to suffer, to have pain)
- nîgî'leu qatw'îrkin be sorrowful! (glo sorrowful, here contracted with au; tva to be)
- nîme'leu well (mel good); (Kor. Kam. nimaleu [mal good])
- nî'tâeun heavily (itc heavy); (Kor. Kam. nî'tçau)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

- a'tqæ'uma (from e'tqi'n bad; stem ëqâ' R 62.72)
- Kor. Kam. a'tcînau (from a'tcîn bad; stem badly aqa)
- Kamchadal hâ'qâ' (from c'ç'kelax bad)

§110
mečen’ki (Chukchee meč < mel good; en’ki thus) well
v’naž (Koryak v’naqin quick) quickly

71. -ry forms the inchoative of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. -yu).

ile’erkin it is raining
yog’arkin(Kor. Kam. yoyo- tekin) the wind is blowing

lälenru’iž winter came
aivi’erok in the evening
irgiro’nůok (stem irg 27.13) at the beginning of dawn
laťla’nrona at the beginning of dawn
qitharo’k in the beginning of the autumn
irgiro’ka not dawning
iliru’iž it begins to rain
galgiygyiro’lən the snow began to drift

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.
čelhivo’če it becomes red
nitęrgiro’qen he began to cry

Koryak:

gawyalyo’len a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1
laqlaňyo’ykin winter came Kor. 72.5
piľa’šikin it is snowing peňayo’čkin it is beginning to snow

72. -ruu is used also to express great number. This suffix is different from the preceding.
qarru’ät they came in great numbers
wagoro’ät they were sitting in great numbers

Kor. Kam. gawyalyo’len a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1
laqlaňyo’ykin winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

§ 111. Derived from Nouns

73. -nita to fetch (Kor. Kam. the same).
ran-nita’rkin what are you going to fetch? why do you come?
aňanaliňita’lît shaman fetchers

Koryak:
yax-nita’ykin what are you going to fetch?
74. -tivu, -tv to take off (clothing) (Kor. Kam. -tiva).

kë'ttuwa'č'ë he took off his clothes 109.15
kë'ttuwa'nën' he undressed her 50.11
ničituwe'qin he took off his outer coat 57.3
wutl'čhtoviv he took off his overcoat 35.5
mërgituwa'ç' he brushed away the tears 49.9
ničetwwe'qin (n-ine-činke-tuwé-qin, činke saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

| nimeyeitiva'qen he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10
| gatantiva'len he spit out bones Kor. 56.8
| pōai-trvai' he took off his boots

75. -np (-ep, -qπ) to put on clothing; -np after vowels; -np after consonants; -qπ after diphthongs ending in i and in a few other cases (compare the ablative -ipu § 42, p. 704)
tiqalëi'pūak'ë't(1) -qël'i -np -(ã) -q'k I put on my cap
tërëpâ'k'ë't(1) -qël'i -np -(ã) -q'k I put on my fur-shirt
nikonai'qupgâ'k'ë't(1) -kønai-qπ-gq'k I put on my breeches
kërengùpge'ç'ët(1) -kq-r-qπ-gç'ë she put on her dress 52.9

76. -qili- to search for (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).
kulte'-ili'rktt they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide
qinni'q-gili'litigátî little game-procurers 44.8
pëilqili'lit food-procurers 44.9
qinni'q-gili'lit game-procurers 44.9

77. -q to consume, to eat (Kor. Kam. -u) (perhaps related to the verb ny [initial ŋv], Kor. Kam. yu [initial ŋv]).

ennyrkîn (Kor. Kam. enny'čkm) he eats fish
pqnto'rkîn (Kor. Kam. pqnto'čkn) he eats liver
kìmlu'ët they ate marrow 33.12
mînop'ntočëta let us eat a little liver 43.7
nîp'ntoqèn he ate liver 43.9
qaponto'tik eat liver! 64.21

also
gamëmëlo'len he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

| mta'ttayi'pnuâ we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9
| tyya'yilku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2
| also
| tqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

1 ru'rkin (Kor. Kam. yu'čkm) he eats it.
§ 112. Adjective and Adverb

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. -lax (sometimes -lax)

-mlax deep (cf. Ch. um broad)
iulax long (cf. Ch. iul long)
o’lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix -(i)l’n.
o’lolaxl’n kî’stî’nê small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.
qai-yaraqa’gtê (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in -lax is placed before the noun.
o’lolax-kê’st cânke to the small house (diminutive allative)

It seems not unlikely that the synthetic use of attributive stems has disappeared under Russian influence. Russian and Koryak adjectives are often used by the Kamchadal, in their foreign form, almost without change.
niru’qin xvalc a sharp knife (niru’qin is Koryak)
n’mi’tqin k’ca’mnanj a wary man (n’mi’tqin is Koryak)
nev’thagen v’h a straight tree (nev’thagen is Koryak)
nev’thala’n v’ hî’n straight trees (nev’thala’n is a Koryak form)
vo’stroi xvalc a sharp knife (vo’stroi is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in ni—qin.
k’ni’taîn the clever one (from ni’ta sense, wit); cf. ni-gitte’p-qin (Chukchee) the clever one.

79. -q, -aq, are sometimes found with attributive stems. These forms are generally compounded with verbs. This form is probably identical with the locative form of the stem.

wîch’áqu-wa’lîn the flat one
koulo’qu-wa’lîn the round one
emp’á’qu-wa’lîn the downcast one
koulo’qi qatêi’kîgin (Kor. Kam. qo’lo’n qata’kîgin) make it round
em elvul’d’q ve’mkîn radal’vûnno’é only in a different manner
people shall begin to walk about 86.14
80. -yut distributive numbers (K. K. -yut dual, -yuyug pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enne'n'yut</td>
<td>Ena'n'yut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hire'yut</td>
<td>Hiyey'ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hira'yot</td>
<td>Hiyoy'ot</td>
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<td>Hira'yuot</td>
<td>Hiyoyu'ot</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mili'n'yot</td>
<td>Miti'n'yot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mingi't'ot</td>
<td>Mingi't'ot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix ėm- (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

Em-hire'yuta qanpitvaarketki just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

Ennanyou'iti to one each
Ennanyou'ipu from one each

81. -ćę, -ćă numeral adverbs (Kor. Kam. -ća).

Chukchee | Kor. Kam.
----------|----------
quneććă¹ | ennad'nća, qu'n'văč¹ Kor. once
           | 53.2     
Hireććă   | Hiyey'ća  | twice
Hiroćća    | Hiyoy'ća  | three times
Hiraćća 12.8 | Hiyoyu'ća | four times
Mili'nća   | Miti'nća  | five times
Minki'tća   | Minki'tća | ten times

Kor. Kam. exunećče all the time Kor. 92.19

82. -(I)ņ (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form vailin (<tvailin) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with ć'talan (ć + ĭtalan) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the ēn before v generally changes to m. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to u before the v, which in turn changes to w.

qatvunuqulin (Kor. Kam. qatvün-ć'talan) being strong
ta'num-vaqulin or ta'nu-wqulin (Kor. Kam. ta'nën-ć'talan) being good

¹ Derived from qun single.
² The corresponding Chukchee form i'ulun the one who is not used in compounds of this type.

§112
A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in -lin (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in -(i)n compounded with vəlin.

wr'čhm-və'lın (Kor. Kam. wr'čhı̃rən-vi'talən) the flat one
zməpum-və'lın the one downcast
Kor. Kam. go'lo̞n-itəla'n the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending -q or -aq (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with və'lın, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

qa'mŋə-gqə'ulu̞k qa'tvum-və'lе̞əm I am stronger than everybody (gəmega- every; gqə'u̞ man; -k possessive; qa'tv strong; -əm I [§ 73, p. 758])

§113. Prefixes

1. eto- a little.
   eto'-qaia'qaı̑n a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (eto' 51.4)
   mab-eto'pəl a little better 135.7

2. q'mkın- every.
   q'mkın-aivɛɛhɛ̇tə every evening 28.9
   e'mkın-kı̄yeu'kə at every awaking 29.2

3. tilv- quite.
   tilv-am-gınə'n quite you only 30.4
   tilv-a'mınən quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9
   tilv-ui'na quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. tĮnk:- just is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.
   trnk-am-gəmna'n just I only
   trnk-ui'na just nothing
   trnk-ui'na rənət he has nothing at all R 63.88
   trnk-a'tqēuma quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. p će- only, merely.

6. im- (Kor. Kam. İmən-, Kamchadal mən'lı) all.
   i'me-rə'nut all kinds 111.28
   i'mu-gı̃nnı'kə all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

| rən-pla'ku all boots |
| rən noo'vəqe all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6 |
| rən qa'-va'amtı all little rivers Kor. 17.1 |

The form rənlo' 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; rən'lın takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in -lin (see p. 717).
The Kamchadal form \textit{mni'\textl} forms—

\begin{itemize}
\item Allative \textit{m\textl}e\textl\textl\textl ne\textl
\item Allative, possessive, instrumental \textit{mni'\textl link}, less often \textit{m\textl l}.
\end{itemize}

7. \textit{em-} mere (Kor. Kam. \textit{am-}, Kamchadal \textit{em-}). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{em-n\textl e's\textl y\textl g\textl t\textl l} (Kor. Kam. \textit{a\textl m-n\textl a'w\textl is'\textl q\textl at\textl u}, Kamchadal \textit{em-n\textl \textl i'm c\textl er\textl n}) mere women
\item \textit{em-a\textl tt\textl m} mere bones 35.5
\item \textit{em-m\textl a'\textl lit\textl a} all with blood 40.10
\item \textit{em-n\textl e'n\textl ri} all these 41.10
\item \textit{em-n\textl u'n\textl n\textl c\textl t} those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26
\item \textit{\textl g\textl uq-em-n\textl u'n\textl q\textl i} far inland 114.25
\item \textit{em gn\textl u'n-n\textl k\textl v\textl t\textl a} midnight 9.11
\item \textit{am-no\textl n\textl e'\textl t\textl i} just inland 67.19; 114.24
\item \textit{am-gn\textl d\textl a'n} only thou 30.3
\item \textit{am-\textl ta\textl a\textl r\textl o'\textl na} with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9
\item \textit{am-ra\textl v\textl e\textl '\textl h\textl a'n'\textl n\textl a} merely to die 65.23
\item \textit{am-ya\textl d\textl a'ta} only by using it 143.3
\end{itemize}

Koryak:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{am-\textl ce\textl re\textl p\textl ro'\textl nau} entirely silver Kor. 22.10
\item \textit{am-ma'\textl k\textl i'\textl l-n\textl e\textl t\textl a\textl a} only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5
\item \textit{am-ma'n\textl a\textl na} just in different directions Kor. 25.6
\end{itemize}

8. \textit{pll-} (with nouns) every.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{gap\textl lik\textl o'\textl n\textl l\textl e'n} every one has a tea-cup
\item \textit{n\textl i\textl p\textl it\textl a\textl t\textl a\textl n\textl e'n\textl u\textl g\textl e'n} they were applying everything 41.3
\end{itemize}

9. \textit{mg\textl e\textl -}, \textit{miq\textl} small.

10. \textit{m\textl e\textl \textl c\textl -} somewhat.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{m\textl et\textl -\textl ki'\textl it} somehow 40.7
\item \textit{m\textl e\textl c\textl -te\textl le\textl n\textl e\textl n\textl y\textl e'\textl p\textl k\textl i\textl n} somewhat of old 61.5
\item \textit{m\textl a\textl c\textl -ya'a} far enough 62.12
\item \textit{m\textl a\textl c\textl -\textl e\textl v\textl g\textl a'n} as an incantation 39.13
\item \textit{m\textl e\textl c\textl -\textl ü\textl t\textl '\textl q\textl ü\textl l\textl p\textl e} somewhat quick 45.10
\end{itemize}

11. \textit{m\textl e\textl l\textl -} like (Kor. Kam. \textit{m\textl a\textl f\textl -}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{m\textl e\textl l\textl -u\textl w\textl ü\textl c\textl '\textl qu\textl c} it seems like a husband 49.9
\end{itemize}

12. \textit{mite\textl-} actually.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{mite\textl -v\textl i\textl l\textl i\textl n} actually dead
\item \textit{mite\textl -g\textl in\textl n\textl i\textl k} actually game 84.28
\end{itemize}

13. \textit{tim\textl n\textl e\textl -} any (Kor. \textit{pa\textl l\textl a\textl '}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tim\textl n\textl e\textl -m\textl e\textl n\textl i\textl n} whatsoever
\item \textit{tim\textl n\textl e\textl -r\textl a'\textl r\textl u\textl t} whatsoever
\end{itemize}
14. tεγ- how many (Kor. Kam. tαʔy-).

tar-qa'ata ekwew'tyi with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. ċiq- excessively.

cëq-γa' too far
cëq-αlvan-va'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4
čiq-em-μiʔi far inland 114.25
čiq-αlvan va'lin being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27
čiq-εcvw'k all at once 43.10

16. ċhi- hardly, always used with the negative (probably from γiči, as in nigi'čhiştin rare).

qëhëqamkvaka almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. LI- (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) every.

li-Me'nki everywhere
li-Me'nko from everywhere

18. LI-, LI-, LI-, LI- truly (Kor. Kam. LI, LI, LI-).

li'-teŋ-evi'rulin really well closed 33.3
li'-tančetinoeq she began to feel truly well 33.5
nëhënămkäqin really quite numerous 111.16
li'-ćevënaštata with a genuine paddle 31.4
li'-nara'tile really wife seeking 57.1
li'-e'ppe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. niTheni'ktaqen a very hard one

19. pI()- (Kamchadal) quickly.

|| xpił-nwi'eq you eat quickly

20. x'i- (Kamchadal) quite, very.

|| x'i-plgwx very large

x'i-čini'ńlax very pretty, very good

21. LI-, LI (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

|| t-li-i-ti'ljk I really shake myself (i.e., I can shake myself properly)

22. kIt- (after prefixes -gt]-) very (Kor. Kam. kIt- [after prefixes -kt]-).

ngitilaulug'en he mocked much 143.1; 144.4
qaqtan'ținai'pülen she was very angry 89.3
qaqt-palkata'n very decrepit 111.26
qaqtqamitvaki eat ye enough! 65.16
When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in ni—qin, ḵt either precedes the prefix ni-, or the ni- may be repeated initially ḵm-nimai' engên or nuiti-nimai' engên it is quite large

23. **qun**- single (Kor. Kam. **qun**-).

- qon-mi'nga with a single hand 67.19
- qon-ga'a with a single reindeer
- qon-ra'lm with a single house 34.1
- qona'èrknîna with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. **gengge**- every (Kor. Kam. **ga'mga**-).

- ge'mgge-ginnêk every kind of game 41.11
- ge'mge-nê'kîn everybody 66.28
- ga'mga-ni'mgûpû from every settlement 36.1
- ge'mge-nute'qin from every land 11.5

Koryak:

- ga'mga-gai-rûd'wis'qat every little woman Kor. 34.9
- ga'mga-ol'gwe'tîn to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. **pala**- (Koryak) any (Chukchee **tImñ'e**- (see No. 13, p. 816)).

- pala'-ma'ki whosoever
- pala'-yi'nna whatever

26. **luñ**- negative particle, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

- luñ-i'rû not crossing 41.5
- luñ-Iwkuči'tû not drinking 37.3
- luñ-res'qûl'tyût they did not want to enter 115.19
- luñ-lûtû not seen 11.9
- tegge'nu luñ-i'l'hîln has no desire 93.32
- luñ-ee'vû without walking
- loñ-ena'tvoata without promises 101.23
- loñ-ipa'ulîn not drinking
- loñ-wa'lloma not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb -nt- (initial rît-), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

- luñ-lûtû tûntîgit I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. **egn**- sometimes replaces the negative particles wî'nû, ëlte, and en'ne'.

- agn-agamî'tvâka do not eat!
- agn-a'nîmûka without killing R 44.11

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28. *ine*- transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance to do on behalf of one's self. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

\[ \text{tinenle'te'kerkm } k'imirk \] I take the load away for myself (*i- I; nlete to take away; -rkrm present; k'imir- load) 

The use of *ine*- in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

\[ \text{e}napele'te' \] thou leavest some one (namely, me)  
\[ \text{e}napele'tik \] ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. *ine*- TRANSITIVE (see *te*- *he* (*i), § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. *lalk*- (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

\[ \text{lalkirn } kaxon' \] how many dogs?  
\[ \text{lalkin kloxol } oxta'tockepnin \] he passed there a few days

§ 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( r(i) - u )</td>
<td>( y(i) - v )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r(i) - eu )</td>
<td>( y(i) - aw, av )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| \( r(i) - et \)   | \( y(i) - at \)  
| \( iu, eu, av) \) |

After verbal prefixes, the \( r(i), y(i), \) changes to \( n(i) \).\(^1\)

\( ri\text{-qamitva'-u-rkrm-en} \) he was made to eat 9.8 (from qamitva)  
\( ri\text{-tel-e'urkrm} \) you cause to be unwell (from tel)  
\( ri\text{-nelkiwe'-n-nin} \) he was made to sit on it 8.11  
\( ri\text{-gg-ev'-nin} \) he awakened him 7.5  
\( ni\text{-nto-w'-n'en} \) he made him go out 60.3  
\( ri\text{-puntik-ev'-nin} \) he made it appear 9.8  
\( ga\text{-ne'he't-aw'-len} \) he made it jump off 47.7  
\( riimmran'nemat \) they caused them to be anointed 74.33  
\( ine'gali'kemiki \) (we) induced her to marry 26.5  
\( ganto'mgaulen \) has been created 42.1  
\( animto'na'kele'len \) she does not make it go out 54.6  
\( qaninto'na'ty'e \) cause him to go out! 54.7

\(^1\)See also p. 735.
Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-awyi-a't-ikin  you cause to eat (from awyi)</th>
<th>y-la-tal-a'w-ikin* you cause to be unwell (from tal; ta'1'-ikin you are unwell)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yiyigicha'wik  tickling (him) Kor. 18.9</td>
<td>yi-tal-a'w-tkm'' you cause to be unwell (from tail; taH-i'-ikin you are unwell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qinathileu' make it warm! Kor. 29.3</td>
<td>qanva'kyinat  tear him up Kor. 30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qanva'qyila'wlen  she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20</td>
<td>qanva'qyila'wlen  she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee         Kor. Kam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>r(i) — ṃt</th>
<th>y(i) — ṃ, v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ri-keto-ŋə't-ɪrkin you remind him (from keto)</td>
<td>yi-keto-v'e'kin you remind him (from keto)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix r(i)-Kor.

Kam. y [r]-)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>r-ere'erkin you cause it to fall down (from ere'e)</th>
<th>rα'tvunen she carried it in 28.7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reineu'ninet it approached them 41.4</td>
<td>rintininet she threw them out 87.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kor. Kam. yi-kima'w-ikin you detain him (from kimaw to be)

(d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

| ru-wethaw-a't-ɪrkin you speak to him (from wethaw to speak) | ru-wet'hawau'nen it talked to her 32.3 |

In Kamchadal two prefixes are found, n- and lin-. Of these, the former corresponds to the Chukchee-Koryak forms—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t-i-n-ki'e-j-in I surround him (from kile; t-ki'le-jk I turn around)</th>
<th>t-lu'-nu-j-in I feed him (from nu to eat; t-nu-jk I eat)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-lin-hil'l-ɪ-j-in I give him to drink (from hil; t-hil'l-ɪ-jk I drink)</td>
<td>t-0-n-cl-ɪ-j-in I cause him to lie down (from cl; t-col-o-ɪk I lie down)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—Certain verbs may be used both intransitive and transitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tăpa'urkin I drink</th>
<th>ṃi'ɾąq  ça'qte napa'unea they have drunk two pieces of bark tea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṉe'us'qăt gi'ulín the woman</td>
<td>Ta'n'na gi'ulín the Ta'n'hit told him 98.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2. **te—n(1)** to make something (Kor. Kam. *ta—n(1)*). This may be related to the verb *te'iki* (Kor. Kam. *taiki*) to make.

*tirve'nirkin* he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *'irv*);

Kor. Kam. *tisv'ënikin*

ntleplenënil'tgin she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek*-boots; -let frequentative [§ 110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix *ëneg-* (Kor. Kam. *ënan-*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive. The meaning of the compound is causative.

*tënegnyë'nirkin* (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'ënikin*) you make him come

tënegntomgr'ënikin you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tënantomgr'ëni* (Kor. Kam. *Tënantomnvën*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

tënegnyë'ën-ora'wëtan a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. **re—n(1)** expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. *ya—n(1)*). The prefix and suffix of these forms are identical with those of the future, but the suffix is placed immediately following the stem and is itself followed by the suffixes belonging to the tenses.

*rapa'wënikin* (Kor. Kam. *yapa'wënekin*) he desires to drink
(stem: Ch. *'upau*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

*verku'ënikin* (stem *r'kur*) (Kor. Kam. *yalku'yënikin* [stem *ikuy*]) he desires to buy

*rantot'ënoji* he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *nto* to come out; *-ëno* to begin)

*ravë'ëha'në* do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *vë* to die; *-ëhat* [§ 110.66])

*nire'ëvënikin* he wants to die 99.27

*nerele'ënikin-i-qit* they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

| tryayit'qatën I want to sleep Kor. 30.3 |
| tryayait'ëi I want to go home Kor. 30.5 |
| ganka'wilinau ya's'qanënëk they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2 |

4. **e—ki, e—kä** (Kor. Kam. *a—kë*, *a—ka*; Kor. Par., *e—kë*, *a—ke*; Kamchadal —*kë* —*k*; *(ë)këni, ëkan*) negation, expressing without —.

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1 This form is different from the form for he creates them. The "Creator" is therefore, even in grammatical form, only a "Weltgestalter."
The compounds formed with 𒐪—𒐢 are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

**anvenauka'gṭi geqvuk'lín** he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer) [§74]; 𒐢—𒐢 ge—lin [§74]; 𒐣wku't to tie)

**édile'ki eyeless**

**a'xtakē a person without knife**

ent'nniki nameless one (=fourth finger)

**Koryak:**

| a'xgike kuma'tti the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8 |

The compounds formed with 𒐪—kā are used as complements of the verb.

**eqqụlikū qānelhitik** make yourselves voiceless 60.10

**eqmlikū titvaa'ak** I was without water

**akēricka nēlyi’ē** it became lightless 94.11

**ēni’ngūlikū nertčimūk** we shall be made childless 39.4

**res’qiv’ukwkit’ a’kērka** he entered without clothing 35.10

**a’kērka ānan ra’gṭi’ē** he came home without clothing 35.10

**gīvog’nkā mitinēl** we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

**aqam’tvaka titvaa’ak** not eating I was

**awqētkinka not saying anything 26.6**

**ē’le e’ljātā not going 46.8**

**uurrike’gṭi not appearing 66.10**

**aat’onka heedless 67.9**

**ē’le eu’rretkā not appearing 62.1**

**akērkītorv’at** they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5

**ē’grip’ē awqēntoqdac’muka** she felt pain the breathless one 63.8

**e’grip to feel pain; -gī’ē [§64]; wgi’— breath; ānto to go out; -yanv verbal noun [§104.38])**

**egūnētkā genēlín** he had become without moaning (i.e., he had ceased moaning) 34.7

**e’grip’ē ninelqin** he came to be without suffering 25.11

**Koryak:**

| akmn’uka q’īìnāt childless they were Kor. 43.8 |

**agahal’aka qītr’ykrin’-gī** not crying be! Kor. 37.1

**akel’voka trnā’tílik** without bread I remained Kor. 16.2

**ava’leika yana’la’ntik** you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13

**gūnna’n u’nr’ya’n evl’īka tr’ntigaw’n (Chukchee gūmnā’n e’le rū’n’ut e’lkā tr’nti’ān)** I not anything (not) given I had to him

In some cases, particularly with u’nrā NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in -ka appear apparently predicative, presumably with §114
omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in -kālin are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

ui'na a'draka nothing; houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7
ui'na elet'ikä nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8
ui'na ep'i'nikä (Kor. Par. e'le epi'nik) there is no powder

Koryak:

ui'na a'ma'wirnka he had no wife Kor. 50.5
ui'na a'ma'wikra he did not stop Kor. 51.8
ui'na ava'leika? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12
ui'na kama'kanu ana'ka (I) did not become a kanak Kor. 88.10
ui'na an'el'tyispnuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding e—kä to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix ine- placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

anintona'tka rir'in you make him one who is not caused to go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10
evegi'ikukä tēl'anēn he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2
en'i'ukā mīn'intinet let us have them not sent over (i. e. I wish we had not sent them) 58.2
e'le eni'ka not being eaten 48.8
alo'ka'grti va'le-ūm I am not seen 22.10
elū'kä not seen ones 62.1
e'le a'lothka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

ui'na i'wka ga'ntilen he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

ēnānmūka rinēnti' thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9
ìnenvent'kāl-i-grt thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27
inenv'kāl-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1
ginna'n enalwau'kēl-ē-ūm I am not unable to do it 92.30
inielū'kālinet he has not seen them 70.33
inegītē'kālin, e'le she does not look at me 88.31

The form e—kā is always used for the negative imperative, with the particle en'ne'.

en'ne' e'le'pkä do not look 32.6
en'ne' inege'tē'kä do not look at her 37.9
en'ne' a'j/päka do not put it on 37.8
en'ne' aa'goka do not sit down 37.13
en'ne' a'tor'ëtkoka do not tell 66.29
en'ne' aqam'i'tvaka qi'tyitik do not be without eating 64.19
(without verb 65.30)
en'ne' rirowa'lt ata'ka qami'giti do not pass it at a distance 70.9
en'ne' gî'ínu e'lëükà do not attack it 70.14
en'ne' èna'nmëka don't kill me! 103.30
en'ne' inege'plukà do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form without en'ne')

Koryak:

| kitta' atawañila'ka do not look back! Kor. 51.6 |
| kit-t'atyika qi'thi' do not eat! |

Kamchadal:

|| jak-nu'kek (ksixc) do not eating (be)! |
Without en'ne', we find—

atë'rgatka do not cry! 7.6
inege'plukà do not kick me! 31.11

Koryak:

| annuwä'ka do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2 |

Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—

na'gam ùm e'un agora'inretka Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan, careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6
qora'ñi envineukä yilhe'nnin he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix -kä are -këlîn, -käliñ (Kor. Kam. -kälñ), formed with the suffix -lin (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This form, in accordance with the character of -lin, is more markedly predicative.

imli'kêlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| wotta'kin ake'ylâñ that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14 |

Kamchadal:

| ilç'ilkin without tongue |
| qaq'e'kan without nose |
| kë'mma gam nî'kin I am not wifeless |

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first and second person.

antë'kël-ë-git you do not go out 54.10
agë'lomkël-ë-git you do not hear 54.11

§114
alima'lle-gl-e-git you do not obey 54.11
e'Le èna'nmri'cu ü'kāl-i-um I do not become a murderer 24.8
e'Le enpi'kul'ü'kāl-i-um I am not vanquished 15.9
inenvente'kāl-i-git thou art one who has not caused it to be
open 88.27
gümna'n ènaluav'kēl-i-um I am not unable 92.30
eiwlüte'keli-nu'ri we do not know it 34.8
inenü'kāli-mu'ri we do not eat 35.1
e'Le agami'tvākāl-i-um I did not eat

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| u'i'na āwyikal'ai'gūm I did not eat, but u'i'na a'wyika ti'tik not
eating I was
| u'i'na api'ñkālaigūm I am without powder

Kamchadal:

| qam nü'kek tsi'k not eating I was
| qam nu'ke'ñkin (kr'mma) I did not eat

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

e'Le alima'lau'kēlēn he is one who does not heed 15.12
gāl'āu'kēlēn she was without a man 28.2
amata'kēlēn she was unmarried 28.2
ad'lonkēlēn she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2
eñit eñi's'kālin re'ñkin formerly people were death-less 42.2
ená'd'q 'ān ēla' eñi's'kālin now the mother was immortal 41.12
e'Le anto'kēlēn she did not go out 54.9 (without e'le 54.5)
va'ñevan anto'kēlēn not at all she went out 54.8
emite't-ūm ataq'ñkēlēn tērgūlin since she did not touch the cry-
ing one 56.6
va'ñevan eñi'rrēkēlin it does not appear at all 62.2
eres'qiu'kālin ena'n čin'ū he himself did not want to enter
103.17
emitkātvu'kēlin the blubber was not scraped off 47.1
nenē'neqāi anirto'ñat{kēlēn she did not cause the child to go
out 54.6
a'لونkēlenat they did not listen 13.5
eyi'qakēlēnet they were not sleeping 34.3
inenü'kālinet he has not seen them 70.33
inegite'kālin he did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of -kālin with u'i'na seem quite analogous to
forms in -kā with this particle (see p. 823).

u'i'na a'ålomkēlēn they do not listen 56.2
u'i'na akē'rikēlēn there was nothing, without light 40.9

§114
Enga'n u'i'ñä bit ene'ñkälin that one was nothing, before not with guardian spirits 60.1
Kor. u'i'ñä ama'ñikäle-i-gäm I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

ebile'keläqägti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix -lax (§112, 78) before the negative changes to -lix.

ki'mma gäm udul'i'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal xë—ki with intransitive verbs, xë—kic with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

xënul'ki impossible to eat
xëtelekic impossible to beat him

xë is presumably of the same origin as the particle xënc.

§§ 115–121. Word-composition

§ 115. Introductory Remarks

Stems may be compounded in such a manner that one stem which qualifies another is placed before it. The two stems together form a unit which takes morphological affixes as a whole—prefixes preceding the first stem, suffixes following the second stem. The first stem, therefore, always terminates without morphological suffixes, the second one begins without morphological prefixes. If in the complex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex takes the ablaut.

maĩ-n-a'čri-kal'le'li-čë'miŋ (Kor. Kam. maĩ-n-a'čri-kal'le'li-čũ'miŋa) a big fat speckled buck

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumerated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attribute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the object of the latter.

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§ 116. Attributive Composition

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with post-positions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

- qa'lganalshan bird-skin 7.9
- r'rkaku'la walrus spirit 8.4
- p'anvar-r'rkat two-year-old walrus 8.10
- r'rknapinachin walrus old man 9.6
- qiwhuan'npinachhâqâi Eiwhue old man 11.10
- qiwhue'ora'wêlan Eiwhue person 12.4
- qiwhue'nê'ut Eiwhue woman 12.5
- wo'lqivairgê'ti to the Darkness-Being 18.11
- ora'wêr-ya'mkâ by human people 21.8
- â'nya-vâ'irgina sea-being 25.4
- ke'le'nê'wânekelewife 38.11
- ulq'la'ul excrement man 39.9
- poig-o'ttoet (Kor. Kam. poiq-o'ttoet) spear wood
- pilvi'ntipnâ'kún iron file
- ra' anthropile 11.2
- lile'êunmitâ on the sight border (= just out of sight) 11.8
- ra'q-s'orâmk on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

- nova'kak daughter Kor. 12.4
- pilvi'nti-yi'nnalaw with iron antlers Kor. 21.8
- yî'lîlîn finger-gloves Kor. 22.2
- lawtikil'renin head-band Kor. 17.12
- vai-kil'lipilîn little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words qalâ' (Kor. Kam. qalâ'ul) man, ngw (Kor. Kam. ngaw) woman, are used to express the idea of the nomen actoris, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

- tu'li-ngw (Kor. Kam. tu'li-ngaw) stealing-woman (= female thief)
- v'r'nu-ngaw (Kor. Kam. v'r'nu-ngaw) secretly-acting woman (= female lover)

Kor. Kam. tałâ'-qalâ'ul striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

- pilvi'nti-qla'ul iron-man (= blacksmith)
The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlik*) in first position express also male.

*qla'ul-kei'nin* (Kor. Kam. *qlik-kai'nin*) male bear

For most animals the word *či'm'na* (Kor. Kam. *či'm'nu*) is used to express the male.

*či'nma-ri'rk* male walrus

Kor. Kam. či'nma'-me'mil male thong-seal

For females the stem *n'aw* (Kor. Kam. *n'aw*) is used.

*n'ew-kei'nin* (Kor. Kam. *n'aw-kai'nin*) she-bear

*n'ewwi'rit* female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala'n* (Kamchadal *mtilx*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavila'n* PERSON (*qla'wul* in Koryak designates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.¹ The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'we'a'n*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtala'n* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

*enni'-mtala'n* Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

*Val'i'-mtala'n* Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qlalyl*.

*enni-qlalyl* Fish-Man

*enni-n'ew* Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mtilx* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

*el'i-he-mtilx* (Koryak *ul'e'-mtala'n*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

*tōpa'-mtilx* (Koryak *kitepa'-mtala'n*) Wild-Sheep-Man

2. In nouns with suffixes, composition is used to express a number of relations.

(a) The material of which an object is made.

*rāq'-kupre'tā* *tī'mnēn* what kind of a net did he kill it? *(rāq what; kupre net; tīn to kill)*

*ko'ng-e-kupre'tā* *tī'mnēn* he killed it with a net of horse-hair *(ko'ng horse [from Russian *kōnъ]*)

(b) The idea PERTAINING TO.

*tala'n-ramke'py* *tuwag'lamga'n* I heard it from people of past times *(tēlenygp long ago; rānke people; wālom to hear)*

¹The Koryak have also the term *oya'my̱a* for PERSON, which is supposed to be used by the hostile spirits only, and designates man as the game pursued by the spirits. In Chukchee myths the term *ora'we'r-v'terat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (*=MANKIND*) is used.

§116
(c) Parts of a whole.

\[ \text{ya’al-gitka’ta geggil-ge’ptilin} \] he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (\text{ya’al} hind; \text{gitka} foot; \text{-ggil} heel)

(d) Possession.

\[ \text{gumü’k e’kke-ñálvül’pǔ qūmū’tyn} \] take it from my son’s herd (\text{gumük} my [possessive]; \text{e’kke} son; \text{ñálvul} herd; \text{-pǔ} from \[ \text{§ 42, p. 704} \])

Note.—In Koryak the possessor may take the same suffixes as belong to the possessed object. This seems to be always the case in the locative.

\[ \text{gumü’k kme’ñjąqo nälvi’änqo qakmu’tin} \] take it from my son’s herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

\[ \text{iul-u’ttä (Kor. Kam. iul-u’tta)} \] with a long stick
\[ \text{mgiini-lile’t (Kor. Kam. maini-li’l’a’t)} \] big eyes
Kamchadal \[ \text{pl’ex-k’i’-stenk} \] in the large house
\[ \text{tan-glaul, pl. tan-gla’ulû (Kor. Kam. malgla’wul, dual mal-gl’a’-wulû)} \] good man
\[ \text{ta’n-úm-va’lin} \] good one
\[ \text{mañnu-wal’} \] a large knife 16.1
\[ \text{pu’gl’-lauti’yăm} \] big bare head 27.13
\[ \text{a’qă’-kel’-ne’us’qăt} \] bad kele woman 37.11
\[ \text{ăqă’-gre’pqăi} \] bad little song 59.5
\[ \text{teg-ne’us’qăt} \] a nice woman 62.13
\[ \text{niłd’-čd’mă} \] a shy buck 49.5
\[ \text{korga’-čd’ut} \] a lively man 40.3
\[ \text{lii-teñ-evi’vălin} \] really good cloths having 33.3
\[ \text{rig-a’t’tin} \] a shaggy dog 72.28
\[ \text{člh’-u’kwut} \] a flat stone (= anvil) 77.12
\[ \text{yitko’mk-u’kwun} \] divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

\[ \text{e’nну mał-ńa’wistkata} \] this is a good woman Kor. 19.1
\[ \text{mał-gla’wul} \] a good man Kor. 19.10
\[ \text{tañ-i’yă} \] to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2
\[ \text{ka’li-qa’nyan} \] ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2
\[ \text{qai-ńa’wis’qat} \] little woman Kor. 25.1
\[ \text{qai-ka’mak} \] little kamak Kor. 35.5
\[ \text{mał-kał-yekoi’gu-wal’} \] knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

\[ \text{§116} \]
4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

\[
\text{teik-evℓ'rm (ready) made clothing 86.22}
\]

\[
\text{aℓ-tti-yơo-kamaavel'lti to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10}
\]

\[
\text{tot-tai'ka-kamaavel'lti to newly made dishes 96.18}
\]

\[
\text{tor-qito'-qaie'ne to a newly born fawn 129.13}
\]

§ 117. Incorporation of Noun

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(a) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

\[
\text{uω'k phi'tkurkin the body becomes ready}
\]

\[
\text{but twauwi'k-û-pel'tkurkin I become body-ready (i.e., I am grown up)}
\]

\[
\text{val'ı nito'rkın (Kor. Kam. va'la nito'ykin) the knife comes out but vala-nito'rkın (Kor. Kam. vala-nito'ykin) he is knife-coming-out (i.e., he draws his knife)}
\]

\[
\text{nawgə̱ntiŋoŋən he is one whose breath goes out 126.9}
\]

\[
\text{awgə̱nto'yə̱nuka he is without breath going out 63.8}
\]

\[
\text{nisgə̱nto'a'n his voice goes out 127.8}
\]

(b) Verbs with incorporated nominal object. It is hardly feasible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between verbs with incorporated object and the verbal suffixes which form derivatives of nouns (§ 111, Nos. 73–77). These are -nita to fetch, -tuwe to take off, -q to put on, -qili to search for, -u to consume, to eat. Owing to their meaning, these would hardly be expected to occur without object, and they are always suffixed to it—or the object is always incorporated with them. In the texts the incorporated object is used most frequently in phrases in which the action is performed habitually on a certain object, although incorporated forms that express single actions that are not performed habitually are not absent. On the whole, this process does not appear very frequently in the texts.

\[
\text{tiqaanma'tirkin (Kor. Kam. tiqoyanma'tekın) or I slaughter rein-}
\]

\[
\text{tiqoyanma'tekın qa'at (Kor. Kam. tinme'kin qoyə̱wge) deer}
\]

\[
\text{qə̱na-take'ə̱nti-lpı̱'nɨ̱qə̱ me meat give!}
\]

\[
\text{gə̱ni'nə̱n ə̱kik qə̱ka-lpa̱l-lpı̱'nɨ̱r-gin my son money-give him!}
\]

\[
\text{u'tti-mə̱l'rkın (Kor. Kam. u-mila'ykin) he breaks a stick}
\]
ri'lhi-cvi'rkin (Kor. Kam. yi'lhi-cvi'yi'kin) he cuts a finger
kalē-tsārkin (Kor. Kam. paŋka-tsē'kin) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkin (Kor. Kam. qooq-nma'it'kin) he slaughters reindeer
tikoinmtor'kin I take out glasses
tilenti'pi'gтрrkin I have a headache
gelentilvilin he cut off her head 86.7
nirautpa'tqen she boiled heads 43.12
nācipta'tmat they boiled fat 14.7
nēnavēntpa'tqen he put cloths on him 127.1
mnpēčar'va  let us search for food 119.18
valanma'ltm knife-whetter (vala knife) 44.4
niraa'nmatqen he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
niqueviriv'qgin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside
(gu'yim upper part of trousers; viriru to turn out) 46.7
geletirqgi'kutū'a scratching the head 126.7
nēnavērvanła'tqen he asks for clothing 126.10
kē'rgiupge'z he put on the dress 52.9
qāre'thipge'z follow the trail! 52.8
tiir-lo'k looking for the entrance 131.1
nitirarē'ngēn searching for the entrance 131.1
qhaunra'gtaty'z take your wife home! 115.8
va'la-rǐ'riq knife holding 106.13
qinde'n inenmut'igrel't-i'git thou art the cause of blood-vomiting
98.11
omqa'-pēnči'yi'z they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:
| gayuχyup'e'nyilenau they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
| gaqoleya'wage (qole voice; ya'wa to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
| gangekīptlen'wua (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
| qavanin'talen she lost a tooth (wa'mnǐ'linm tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

tr-mai'ni-la'wta'pi'gтрrkin (Kor. Kam. tr-mai'ni-la'wta-pi'ktikrin) I
much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made
transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

qaanma'arkin he slaughters reindeer
qaanma'rkin he slaughters reindeer for him
tiri'llhičv'giq (Kor. Kam. tiy'ličv'giq) I finger-cut thee (i.e., I cut
your finger)

In a number of Koryak examples verbs with incorporated object
appear as elements of incorporated complexes. In these cases they
are always treated as intransitive verbs.

§117
§ 118. Composition of Verbal Stems

Compounds consisting of two verbal stems are quite common. In all of these the first stem appears as qualifier of the second stem.

t'rgi-pli' the finished crying 27.11
a'ni-re'-na-tila'ght with easy flying motion 16.8
nu-waqo-tov-qenat sitting they were 62.9
qami-pli'tkuk (Kor. Kam. a'wi'-plitceuk) eating finishing (i. e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb gami-tva to EAT.
v'i'-tiw-twunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:
| čišimmi'lKa'tikin he licked with the tongue Kor. 56.3

§ 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

ine-te'n-imp'ilkuum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7
qa-tan-yoro-tukw'at-ye arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6
tur-q'titin newly frozen 13.7
tur-wet'titin newly born 21.6
tor-kal'no'qenat newly adorned ones 29.1
li'-harau'tilo truly wife-seeking 57.1
a'qa'-riiu badly pursued 17.6
tur-ewkwotyi' he departed just now
ti-te'n-yilq'at-yö'k (Kor. Kam. ti-mal-yilqatik) I slept well

§§118, 119
Koryak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aqa'lenya'vo'yn'kin looks badly</td>
<td>Koryak 13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-aqin'paten it fitted badly</td>
<td>Koryak 34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-qayi'ch'lanu'vo'en it began to be a little light</td>
<td>Koryak 18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ga'yin'suln he chopped it small</td>
<td>Koryak 53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'n-dovye'no' he began to eat well</td>
<td>Koryak 20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ma-lisa'vuln he bit well</td>
<td>Koryak 41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ma-lis'inta'vo'en he fled well</td>
<td>Koryak 41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-tuyi-ki'ma'n-ti-gun I have recently given birth</td>
<td>Koryak 64.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

§ 120. Multiple Composition

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koryak</th>
<th>Chukchee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'ri'h'-tva'rz'cin (Kor. Kam. a'yin't-tva'yn'kin) you are lying on the side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 121. Composition in Kamchadal

The composition of words in Kamchadal is quite similar to that of Chukchee and Koryak.

ke'li-yu'nyu'x (Chukchee ke'li-re'w) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

ni'me'x'in p'ti'x' child being a woman (i.e., daughter) (Chukchee ne'e'kik, Koryak niaw-a'kak woman-child)

In Kamchadal ololax'n k'esi'n'e small little houses the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

3045°—Bull. 40, pt 2—12—53 §§120, 121
§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants \( l \) and \( c \) are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in \( l \) and \( c \) show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

*plomte'uirkin* and *paomte'uirkin* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

**leivu**, **čeivu** TO WALK

\( l \) forms:

- *ga'nga-notai'pü nilei'vuqinet* they traveled through every country
  17.9
- *gamga-vargë'pü nilei'vuqin* he traveled to every being
  18.5
- *nute's'ök pagtalkoi'pü nilei'vuqin* he traveled through the clefts of the ground
  22.6
- *yei'velqäi ku'lükä ra'la'vrüñoi* an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone
  24.10
- *keimi'tulä le'i'vuk rä'tnutqäiti ge'ilä* to traveling shaman small things must be given
  25.9
- *gümna'n atca'le'wukin m'ëlhir* ' give you the means of traveling secretly
  93.4
- *atca'le'wui* walk about in secret!
  93.5
- *notai'pü le'wulit lu'ninet* he saw them walking about in the country
  113.11
- *ia'm nilei'wukt-qir* why don’t thou wander about (all the time)?
  87.18

\( c \) forms:

- *lauttka'na'ta če'iwuku* he walked (for a little while) on the heads
  8.6
- *kita'n nilei'vutku'ëk* let me go
  79.27; 80.10
- *qal'ul püki'rgi' če'ivutklin* a man arrived walking
  86.26
- *irga'tik če'ivutku'kä mötyä'k* tomorrow not walking let me be!, i. e., tomorrow I shall not go
  87.9
- *ne'me če'iwuku* again he went
  87.25; 88.1
- *ne'me če'iwutkuq* again he was going (for a short while and once only)
  88.7

§122
luwi (initial), lov (medial); āluwi (initial), āvī (medial) to cut

l forms:

geleu'ttivilin the head was cut off 86.7

c forms:

nečitku'nušn they cut it off 27.3
niné'nuqin, nine'nuqin he cut it and ate it 48.10 (see also 72.18)
ničitkurkin we'w he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)
lälä'ńčin gečelün he cut the eye 106.19
gińoneti čulwin he cut it in the middle 109.33

kile (initial), rkič (medial); kic (initial), rkipč (medial) to follow

l forms:

a'qda'-rkila difficult to be pursued 17.6
kile' milva'wkwan I should not be able to follow 17.5
kila'wkoč she followed 31.2 (here a single act)
kile'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

c form:

kicača'tyeČ he ran off quickly 57.5

kirič (initial), rkirič (medial); kipč (initial), rkipč (medial) to strike

l forms:

ki'plińen um leu'tik he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26
gar'kipčilėn he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

c forms:

ε'nikit kipči'tkońen suddenly he struck it 35.11
ninenninitenuqin otri'kipčewa he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10
nénarkipčewqin he gave it a push 53.5

līlep (initial), lep (medial); čičep (initial), čep (medial)

l forms:

līlepqin she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14
qate'pgiČ look up! 79.11; see also 107.14
līlepńturkinČ he looks on

c form:

čičepqin they looked about 86.22
ricičberkin he inspects

talaiwu, tačaiwu to strike

nitatalaiwuqen they strike him 59.7
natačaiwuqen they struck him once 59.5

pli, pči to finish

uwi'k pli'tkurkin his body becomes ready

tuwi'k-i-pči'tkurkin I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

§122
-lqiù verbal suffix expressing requested action; -s'qìu verbal suffix expressing single action

l form:
nitule'lqiù-qinet they would come to steal 13.4

č (s') forms:
gantos's'qùlèn he rushed out 57.11
qáníngqens'qì'wkuìkì go and wake them up at once 56.3

-liku AMONG A NUMBER; -čiku INSIDE

l form:
uttì'liku among the trees

č forms:
ple'kičiku in a boot 43.4
wus'qì'mòiku in the darkness 34.5

-qal, -qač by the side of
ragro'tlmanqal from the rear side of the house 51.10
qinikqac'è by thy side 9.3

-lqàn, -s'qàn TOP

l form:
kòivì'lqàn top of glacier 91.16

č form:
qì'thís's'qàn surface of lake 144.3
mute's's'qàn surface of ground 98.24

mel-, meč LIKE TO

l form:
mel-uwwá'tuçì it seems my husband 49.9

č forms:
meč-dì'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10
mač-dìopèl somewhat a little better 135.7

A number of nouns show generally the l forms, but have in cases when parts of the object or special forms of the object are named č forms.

ge'ličhin tongue 40.10
ri'ličhin fingers
(qlik) man
u'nel thongseal
mêmìl seal

yèč'ičhin tip of tongue 40.4
rick'ičhin finger-tips
qäč'ìk'èhèqa the man transformed (similar to a man)
uneč'ìhin thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30
mëmič'ìhin thong of seal skin 134.31

1 See also -lqàn ABUNDING IN (§104.39).

§122
mulî blood  gamočë pilën full of dried blood 68.2

Also:

iel sick  tiečirgin disease 133.7
lâ'le winter  čővče cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

lw'erkin he sees  čw-tu'mgin or lw-tu'mgin old acquaintance (= seeing companion)
lele'lhin mitten  če-mingga'liũn glove (= mitten hand)
lâ'qlig egg  čr-g'i-ttm egg-shell (= egg-bone)
vêlâ'lhin ear  vilu'-ttim or vîeu'-ttim auricular bone
vîlu'ptirkin he marks the ear (of the reindeer)  eviu'ptiki (reindeer) without ear-mark

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings -čhin and -lhin, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, -lhin being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, -čhin in those indicating particular representation of the class of object.

In other cases the forms in l and č, while related, do not differ in their more or less specific character, but in other ways:

qulile'erkin he cries  gučiče'erkin he shouts, makes a noise
gemle'lin it is broken  gemčetkulin broken to pieces
ũml'lin ǔlō'ńêt the whole day  ŭml'čti-ćv'ńêt or ŭml'č-ćv'ńêt a long time
angal'a-ra'rmkin maritime people  aňga'či-ra'rmkin reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore
lũnilin the hearty one, avenger  čînle'erkin he yearns for something (from lũnilin heart, lũnilin he avenges)

§§123-124. Numerals

§ 123. Introductory Remarks

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression to count really means to finger (Chukchee rîlhurkin, Kor. Kam. yîľne'kin, he counts [from stem rîlh-, Kor. Kam. yîlâ, fin-
In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>From stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi'lipén</td>
<td>mi'lipén</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-niro'otkén</td>
<td></td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qon'a'či'čikén</td>
<td>qonya'aci'čin</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mingi'tkén</td>
<td>mingi'tčen</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilh'nkén</td>
<td></td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$qli'kkin$ belonging to a man $qlık$ twenty a man, refers to all the fingers and toes. The form $qlık$ is obsolete in both languages.

Larger numbers are composed with $qli'kkin$ or with the ordinary modern word $qla'ul$ (Kor. Kam. $qla'wul$) man.

The term $qliq-qli'kkit$ or $qli'kkin$ $qla'ul$ four hundred is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called $guye'-'te'gin$ limit of knowledge. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of one thousand. This recalls the old Russian term for ten thousand $țma$ (Greek $μίστας$), which literally signifies darkness.

§123
In Chukchee, 11, 12, 13, etc., contain the particle pa'rol (also pronounced pa'roč) besides. This element, however, may be omitted. It is not used in Koryak. The numbers 9, 14, 19, 99, are negative verbal forms containing the negative prefix and suffix ę—këlin (see § 114, 4).

amingitkau’këlin not being the tenth
akilhinkau’këlin not being the fifteenth, etc.

When used as nouns, all numerals may take post-positions. When numerals stand with nouns with post-positions, they form compounds with the nouns for which the stems without affixes are used.

mingit-kalë-tela tačtu-pl'tkeot'k I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (mingit ten; kalë-tol scratched one; -a instrumental; t- I; ačm debt; pl'tko to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni're-mü'ri</td>
<td>ni'ye-mul'yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niro'-mörë</td>
<td>niyo'-mul'yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nü're-tü'ri</td>
<td>niyë-te'vi'yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nü'ger'geri</td>
<td>niyél'che'it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

we two
we three
ye two
dey two

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, -ę, -ę (Kor. Kam. -ča) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except qunęčę once (Kor. qu'wac Kor. 53.2), which is derived from qun single.

ni'ra’ča giwi'kinek on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix -vut; (Kor. Kam. -yut [dual], -yv'yut [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix em- just (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except one.

ni'req'urkin (Kor. Kam. niyeq'l'wikin) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, -nleŋ (Kor. Kam. -län) (see § 124, p. 841).

The Kamchadal numerals have almost been lost, and their place has been taken by Russian numerals. Only the first four numerals are still in use, side by side with their Russian equivalents. The word lünde'jin he counts is also derived from the stem lëx finger (absolute form lëx'bëxë).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Iterative</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kōnē’n</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kasx, ka’cix</td>
<td>ntel</td>
<td>ntel’nēnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>cōk</td>
<td>cōl</td>
<td>cō’la’na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cōk</td>
<td>cōl</td>
<td>cō’la’na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ka’cix kēx’ōn two dogs
ka’caxa’n lī’l two mittens
cō’ka’n kēx’ōn three dogs

Kamchadal gun may be compared with Kor. Kam. gun single.
Kamchadal cōk may be compared with Kor. Kam. nīyo’x three.
Kamchadal cōk may be compared with Kor. Paren nīya’w four.
(perhaps from an older form nīča’x)

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

Chukchee     | Koryak Kamenskoye | Koryak Paren |
-------------|--------------------|-------------|
1 enne’n’    | enne’-            | enne’n’     |
             | n’ē’ē’n           |             |
2 nī’rāq      | nī’yyax           | nī’čax      |
3 nīro’q     | nīyo’x            | nīyo’x      |
4 nīra’q     | nīa’yyax          | nīa’x       |
5 mi’liiēn   | mi’liiēn          | mi’liiēn    |
6 enn’a’n     | mi’liiēn          | enn’a’-mi’liiēn |
7 nēra’-mi’liiēn | nīa’-mi’liiēn   |             |
8 am-nīro’otkēn | nīyo’-mi’liiēn   |             |
9 qon’a’čiįkēn   | qonya’ačiįn       |             |
10 ming’itkēn  | ming’itčen        | ming’itčen  |
11 ming’itik    | en-               | ming’itik enna’n |
             | ne’n’-pa’rol      | pa’rol      |
12 ming’itik    | nī’rā ming’itik   | nī’yyax     |
             | pa’rol            |             |
13 ming’itik    | nīro’ ming’itik   | nīyo’x      |
             | pa’rol            |             |
14 min’iți’k     | min’iți’k        | min’iți’k   |
             | akilhin’kau’kē’- |             |
             | lē’n               |             |
15 kilhiṅkēn   | ming’itik mi’liiēn |             |

§124
Chukchee.  Koryak Kamenskoye.

16 kilhi'nike'n'en' mingit'ik enna'n mi'-
p'rol

[ki'lh'nik u're']

19 [pa'rol elikku'k'elin] mingit'ik qonya'aci'n

20 qi'kk'kin qi lik

21 qi'kk'kin enn'en' pa'rol

30 qi'kk'ig mingit'-
tken pa'rol

[qi'kk'ik mingit'eken

iyor'x mi'n'gitu

40 ni'r'ag-qi likkin

[ni'yax qi lik

ni'a'yax mi'n'gitu

50 ni'r'ag-q'li'kk'ig

mi ngi'it'ken

[ni'yax qi lik'it' en'ki

mii'li'n'en mi'n'gitu

60 ni'ro'q qle'kk'en

[enn'an mi'li'n'en mi'n-

gitu

ni'yo'x qi lik'ku

80 ni'ro'q qle'kk'en

[ni'yo'x mi'li'n'en mi'n-

gitu

99 amiliqlekkau'-
k'lin

100 mi'li'q'k'ken

[mi'li'n'en qi lik'ku

mii'li'n'en mi'n'gitu

200 ming藜qle'kk'en

mii'li'n'en qi lik'ku

400 qi'k'k'kin qi lik'k'ku

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix -eu (Kor. Kam. -aw, -(i)w).

Chukchee   Koryak Kam.

ni'reqa'urkin   ni'yegi'wikin   he is double, he is the second

ni'reqa'urkin   ni'yog'a'wikin   he is threefold, he is the third

-nle'n (Kor. Kam. -lan) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee   Koryak Kam.

enn'enle'n   enna'nlan   a single one

ni're'nle'n   niya'qla'n   two together

ni're'nlan   niya'qla'n   three together

ni'tro'nlan   naya'qla'n   four together

§ 124
§ 125—131. Adverbs.

§ 125. MODAL ADVERBS.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix \( n(i)-eu \), (Kor. Kam. \( n(i)-au \)) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form \( n(i)-qin \) (see § 49).

\[
nime'leu\text{ well (Kor. Kam. } nima'\text{ }au)\text{ stem Ch.}\text{ }mel\text{ (Kor. Kam } ma\text{)}
\]

\[
nime'n\text{eu go't\text{vul}en a't\text{tin he made a great promise, a dog } 101.21
\]

\[
n\text{\text{Of}mkeu ki'\text{wkiw ni'nelqi}n\text{ the nights passed (there) became many } 108.8\text{ (ki'\text{wkiw} is sing.; } n\text{\text{Of}mkeu adverb)}
\]

These forms however are not used very frequently, especially in Koryak. In most cases they are replaced by adverbial composition (see § 119, p. 832).

Kamchadal -q designates adverbs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o'mq} & \text{ deeply (adjective o'mlax deep)} \\
\text{me'caq} & \text{ far (adjective me'balax distant)} \\
\text{k!t\text{jhiq} shallowly (adjective k!t\text{jhi}lax shallow)}
\end{align*}
\]

Note. — I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

\[
n'mi'ta \text{ (Kor. Kam. } n'mi'tau)\text{ warily (adjective } n'mo'tqin)
\]

\[
nu'ra\text{ far.}
\]

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

\[
a'tq\text{euma }\text{ (Kor. Kam. } at\text{ci}\text{au regular) badly R } 62.72\text{ (stem } a'tq\text{, Kor. Kam. } a't\text{; adjective form } e'tqin, \text{ Kor. Kam. } a't\text{e}\text{h})
\]

\[
\text{me'\text{en}k} \text{ (me' < me\text{ } good; } \text{en'ki there) well } 67.22
\]

\[
\text{me'\text{en}ku-\text{wa'1e-\text{\text{am}} I am a fairly good one } 114.34. \text{ Here me\text{ } does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)}
\]

\[
\text{me'rin\text{e} slowly (stem-\text{n\text{r}; adjective form } \text{n'\text{n\text{r}aqin} \text{ slow)}
\]

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added -\_i, -\_qi, -\_ak\_i, -\_eti which are locative and and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with \( \text{v}\text{a'1n} \text{ (Kor. Kam. } i'tala\text{\text{}}\text{n), (see } \text{§ 76).}
\]

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as as well as those with the suffix -\_i, -\_qi, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are —

\[
o'\text{ra openly 121.30; stem } ury (\text{Kor. Kam. } o'ya\text{n}) \text{ (see p. 862.})
\]

\[
\text{omo'ka } \text{(Kor. Kam. } \text{omo'ka} \text{ Kor. } 61.2) \text{ together; stem } y\text{mek}\text{)
\]

§ 125
ye’ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem yîte
a’lva (Kor. Kam. a’lvañ) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem ĝîve
(Kor. Kam. ĝîva)

With suffix -ki, -qi

tê’ki of cylindrical form; stem tîk.
koulo’qi (Kor. Kam. ko’loñ) round; stem kuul.
a’rkiči (Kor. Kam. aykiča) aslant, stem arkîč (Kor. Kam. aykič)
a’rkič qata’ê (Kor. Kam. ay’kiča qata’wan) more aslant!
ve’ti truly 120.24 (ve’tê 107.8); stem vêth
ve’tirê straight (irregular); stem vêth (adjective form nuwê’thâqên)
gê’no without my knowledge; ge’mu 103.5 (Kor. Kam. a’mu
Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem -(t)hêm not to know.
rathêma’un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix re—êu is
causative.
gêwê’ti without my knowledge 120.37; stem -(t)hîu not to know;
allative.
pulhîrra’ki flatly; stem pylîrî
apaga’leri (n) (Kor. Kam. apaga’êri) face downward; stem apaqalî.
pî’ten, pîtva’kî double; stem pîtv
è’mpâ(n), èmpa’kî downcast; stem împ
tr’îmla, timla’kî close to; stem tîml
îr’îchî(n), yîch’al’kî uninterrupted, stem yîch
and several others.

Those with the suffix -êti, -gti express a diminished intensity of
the adverbial term:
çeurtê’ti somewhat low; stem çeût
qalê’gti somewhat lazy; stem qâû
yorgê’ti somewhat foolish; stem yurq 1
gêwrêgti somewhat hasty; stem giwrî
tanê’ti somewhat better; stem ten

All these forms combined with -va’lin (Kor. Kam i’talan) are com-
monly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix
ti’ñki quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

trîk-a’têuma quite badly
trîk-âz’gûlpe with great hurry
trîk-me’rinre quite slowly

1 See also yorgêu-wa’lîshîn a foolish one 65.3.
Some others may form diminutives, as—

kitkinn-u’gái very little 118.6
qaiagan’o’gái a trifle more 106.6.
ë'rmëegái very near 100.15
vi’n’vegái very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Koryak Kam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ë't'mëk 103.9 near</td>
<td>ë'il'mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’n 113.20 far</td>
<td>ya’wak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’al, ya’aëtr 119.29 in the rear</td>
<td>ya’waļ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’tto’ai in the front, earlier; a’tto’oča 8.7 in the front, down the coast</td>
<td>a’tto’ol Kor. 39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giro’l 65.35, giro’pëcëa 123.7 above</td>
<td>gëkho’l, gëkho’ça</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu’til below</td>
<td>t’wil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’t’u’aë-tuca’rë from below 131.5</td>
<td>mya’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mra’ on the right hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha’s’ëm’ki, haëck(e’-n’ki); stem haëch, on the left side</td>
<td>ha’chëga’që, ha’chë’it; stem haëch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro’tëm’ki 52.11; stem roëh, on the other shore</td>
<td>ya’xë’it; stem ya’xë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha’rëp; stem ha’rëpin outside</td>
<td>ha’x’ën Kor. 64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’n’mi inside</td>
<td>antka’elëku Kor. 60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onmiëckoi’pë from within 59.9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’mi where (is it) 81.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’ë’ë, e’ë’ëg near the surface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’ë’ë niv’o’na’at if they had remained on the surface 68.27..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra’nau straight ahead</td>
<td>(K. K. ya’na’u, Kamchadal ti’ilt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’mla close by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha’ëhil on both sides, on all sides 129.24.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rìma’pil farther on, beyond.</td>
<td>pa’ëhil Kor. 58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’ã’čël side by side</td>
<td>yimai’it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en-nu’ärk inland 112.6.</td>
<td>a’ë’ëta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wà’rri on the back</td>
<td>am-nuñik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’gna in the presence.</td>
<td>wul’sstët Kor. 30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra’agana’kt (ra-yagna-u-kt; r—u causative) opposite to 100.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamle’it around</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am- rèp’a’lit back to back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye’it’i half-way 109.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri’re’i askance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolva’k’i across; stem wulv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’ilëë’it lengthwise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>è’è’ë along</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>që’it, që’ë close to (see § 106.26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai’gëpa windward 111.10 (gëp odor coming with the wind; -ëpë ablative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

1 The form roëh’it to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

§ 126
nuwolvénna' tvaqén across sitting was carried 145.3 (n(u)—qin nominalizing prefix; wulv across; ineñe to sit on a sledge; tva to be)

gümingga'qna in my presence
éulé'é'-va'lın of elongated shape 91.15
ya'raw-liha'nlnqač-va'lın to the houses from the other side being 11.7
tè'kri-rgo'l at sunrise 104.16
va'am-girgoqča'gti up river 119.14
kamlé'li-ya'rak around the tent 104.20
yor'o'wi kamlé'li sleeping room all around 12.10 (yor'o'wi al-
lative)
ve'émik va'ë qa'ëa he lived close to the river 122.8
Nota'rmeńqača close to Nota'rmeń 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'íte</td>
<td>t'íta Kor. 27.7</td>
<td>íte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'n'ki</td>
<td>e'ñki Kor. 39.2</td>
<td>kna'ñ, ñur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en'nute'q</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bül'mña 19.1</td>
<td>qül'mlañ Kor. 84.11</td>
<td>tenax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr'tká-łumña</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'net 43.9</td>
<td>ya'not</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yep</td>
<td>ye'ppe</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'le 7.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telenye'p 112.2</td>
<td>ankryep</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tite'ep</td>
<td>tito'o'n</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ñnmitl 83.19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>í'ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qinmiye'p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'qit 21.1; 36.9</td>
<td>a'çihi Kor. 30.9</td>
<td>nè'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'íve</td>
<td>a'ígïve Kor. 78.26</td>
<td>a'çińêk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aivend'a'p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(givën-yêp)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aigo'ôn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>qîank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aigoond'a'p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gigoon-yêp)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir'gã'tık</td>
<td>mîtîw Kor. 21.8</td>
<td>a'jújk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu'r</td>
<td>vo'tin-ai'ñun</td>
<td>v'xiltu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kituje'p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kitur-yêp)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 127
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chuckchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kam.</th>
<th>Kamchadal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitur-ňo'on</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>many a year ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawr'nak</td>
<td>ya'wyrn</td>
<td>tal'a'nak</td>
<td>next year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'Le 20.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>soon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piťkä-yawnak</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>the year after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čit 17.6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>before this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'nêna 54.9</td>
<td>pa'nêna</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>another time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'ne, i'nen 113.11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>early</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guli'nike'ek</td>
<td>guli'nikak</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aïok 118.20</td>
<td>va'yu'k</td>
<td>21.3 va'ak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ňa'nenqač</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>day after to-mor-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golê-t-a'lo'</td>
<td>golê-alo'</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>row</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aïve ňa'nen-</td>
<td>aïgov-aig-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>day before y es-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qač</td>
<td>več'sa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>terday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iricič'oñet</td>
<td>a'mińu,</td>
<td>könępol</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53.1, ă'wun</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a'mińut</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kor. 56.5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'mķinčo 112.8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e'mķinevery)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>probably</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analogous</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to ėg numeral</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a suffix)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ai'nüm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>after that Kor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>a'mlirn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guli'-thi'wik</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>in future years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čig-etuwä'k 44.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>all at once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>yu'lajq</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(čig see §</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.2; 64.10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>113.13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>wü'e'łku</td>
<td>wü'e'tku</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>for a long time</td>
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<td></td>
<td>31.2; 41.2;</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td></td>
<td>47.9; 80.2</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>wo'e'tvăn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>just then</td>
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<td></td>
<td>96.8</td>
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§ 127
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<td><em>un's</em>tku</td>
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<td>after a while (see éto'pel Ch.)</td>
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<td>———</td>
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<td>———</td>
<td>just now</td>
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<td><em>akils</em>t Kor.</td>
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<td>———</td>
<td><em>ve'tha-gq'nom</em> Kor.</td>
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<td>———</td>
<td><em>pie't</em> Kor. 14.11</td>
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<td><em>qo'ra</em> Kor. 70.14</td>
<td>———</td>
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<td>———</td>
<td><em>qul'in</em> Kor. 60.2</td>
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<td>———</td>
<td><em>ninvo'q</em> Kor. 13.5</td>
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<td>many a time</td>
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A number of these are adverbial phrases:

- *qul'in*neke at something else (from *qul* some, *nike* see p. 731).
- *gol-e-a'o'lo* another day
- *imini'do'nét* all days
- *irga'ri* on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

- *irga'tei* towards to-morrow
- *irga'thupu* from to-morrow

Others, like *lämna* AGAIN, *yanet* AT FIRST, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

- *wulgatvi'k* in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lg* darkness -tv to attain a certain quality §110, 68)
- *läle'nki* in the winter 51.1 (stem *lälen*)
- *irgiro'k* at dawn (*irg* dawn; -ru: phenomena of nature (§110, 71)

Following are some examples of their use.

**yep** still

- *yep wu'kwu ya'rañi na'gam* but the tent was still stone 107.11
- *yep irgiro'ka* while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8
- *mi'nkri re'luq va'ma yep* while he is still in the inner room 135.15
- *telen-ye'p* in olden times 61.5
- *telen-ye'pkin* belonging to olden times 61.5
- *yep e'chi* not yet

§ 127
gi'nmilkin lately  
e'nmen lu'ur gi'nmilkin ro'o then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9  
me'nâlgai gi'nmilkin eni'n timyo' yarro'nên the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8  
"gi'nmilkin lo'o the one recently seen 104.8-

pe'nin(e) as before  
pe'nin nma'yenganačhin of large size as before 20.5  
pe'nin eni'n i'gi'kin lu'ilqül it was his face as before 77.14  
pe'nin tautawa'čišin as before he barked 104.13  
penine'i'-gi'it lei'wul-i-git from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12  
pa'nena releulewe'urkin will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1  
pa'nena nikitima'tqen he was as before extending his hands 47.8  
qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17  
pa'ninau vača'pqi'ňu . . . the scars of former times Kor. 86.1  
čit formerly  
a'men čit gîmu'w-ti'mgutü a'qa'-rkila gene'l-i-šum before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6  
enga'n ui'nâ čit eñe'ňkâličin that one formerly had no spirits 60.1  
čit vai ke'le eččaka'ta nilei'wuqin formerly there ke'le wandered outside 61.6  
egailo'qum čit kime'k me'čen'ku'-wa'l-čum in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34  
čit üm wutkekinei'-gîm formerly I belonged to this place 97.10  
guiwelo'li'n čit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11  
čit mitu'ren-mik ēti ge'nu ni'i'rubu'ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2-3  
The following example seems to refer to the future:  
čit ežiqqai'qûpû ta'ast e'un ui'nâ after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34-35  
tele in olden times  
te'le e'nmen . . . najâliči'tginet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1  
§ 127
pe'Le soon
naqa'm pe'le númqitvi'qin but soon it decreased in size 20.2
pe'le nuw'ttin topa'wkwê soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time
ačhi va'n qo'npû maña'či this time it grew much better Kor.
20.5-6
e'čhi-van ti'num this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13
ačhi va'n qaye'm this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5;
54.3)
a'čhi just now (i.e. before a little while)
a'čhi ni'w-i-gi ganga'tiykin now you said, “it burns” Kor 30.9
ačhi'kin neneneye'ye-ge? wert thou looking for it just now?
Kor. 49.8-9
ačiki'ču-ai'nalca now do not cry! Kor. 60.7
See also Kor. 68.13

§128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions
without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The
meaning of many of the adverbial or connective particles is so un-
certain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have
such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered ade-
quately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee
than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly
most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loan-
words.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for in-
stance in the use of ūm, elo'n, a'nen, etc. Some are always post-
positional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify
(see examples under ūm)

ūm, Im, -m an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional
and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached.

Following nouns:
enra'q ne'us'qût ūm . . . qanra'gtaîän then the woman . . .
took it home 28.5-6
pênyo'thin ūm nleie'tyi' the hearth blazed up 32.3
wû'rgir'qin ūm vai ge'pkiîin the noise reached there 32.13
mpina'čên ūm eli'qin gene'wând the old father and his wife 33.9
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enqa'n e'n'ki erre'č ne'us'gät, . . . qora'k üm uwäs'què there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9-10
uwäs'quètù üm by the husband 39.6
yorou'ti üm to the sleeping room 39.10
Following pronouns:
wo'tqan üm vai this one here 45.12
enqa'n üm vi'n'vi te'rgilin this one who was weeping secretly 49.1
günna'n üm I 137.1
Following verbs:
teqe'lignin üm a'mi she made a cap too 28.8
ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13
qaplèta't üm qora'ni the reindeer fell down 51.6
guq, gemi's'gülìn üm, a'ni it is deep! 53.1
minpëla'as'n üm let us leave it 53.1
The emphatic üm appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.
I'mi, also, furthermore,
I'mi am-viye'irgd gi'lhin naranaunu'ınin furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5
i'git i'mi yei'velgäi ku'likä ra'läi'vein'i more, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10
imü novoun'lin in e'le wu'tku epki'rkälin g ü'nurk not even a hair here would reach me 93.6
i'gir i'mi Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'nińo'ñin from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2
enqa'at gei'gälet i'miń they also were sleeping 55.2
Ina'n exhortative particle
pu'ru ina'n wo'tqan va'le mi'ilhir in exchange let me give thee this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)
ima'n am-taaro'na qätä'gäli no'ta-mla'irgätkon only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2
le'uti-tele'n ina'n nanwa'qoa'ñ let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11
In the following example ina'n appears with the future:
ina'n tre'etyäz meë-ü'gälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10
The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem en-
E'nikët all at once
na'qam e'nikët poi'ga nstr'npäqën üm but all at once they struck him with a spear 36.2
§128
In most cases E'nikit appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated as soon as

e'nmen E'nikit rulu'tku then all at once he moved 16.5
E'nikit uwi'k kipčē'tkonēn (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11
E'nikit ūm naramata'git (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9-10
E'nikit gai'mi'čen nigite'čn (as soon as) they looked upon the
wealth 107.16
E'nikit recipe'tyiž (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22
E'nikit ne'rgrä'n ilule'tyiż as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25
E'nikim gite'čnin . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

Enna'n1 in like manner

Ena'q then (see under e'nmen)

Engana'ta therefore (instrumental of enga'n, by that)
engana'ta E'nuqi tiliqr'kinet therefore I gave them up R46.39
engana'ta no'č-e-ūm gene'l-i-ūm therefore I become poor R45.28
gañō'tweye-gūm engana'ta qo'n'pu therefore I became quite poor
R45.28
engana'ta Ivu'na-tota'gtit tīlēgge'nirkīn therefore I wish for the
wild reindeer country R46.52
engana'ta kawuçuwa'-ra'mkirēh a'xttin niggi'ppin therefore the
reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En'ke'mIr, Enqe'mIr, Enke'mir e'ur moreover (see also
ačē'mira)
Engē'mir e'ur a'q'ar'-ra'mkirēhin ya'trat moreover, they are very
bad people R 53.20-21

Engam then (see under e'nmen)

En'ñata'l this time.

Enñata'ūm wata'lu-gir from now on I shall know thee 93.21
Enñata'ūm enga'n ru'ni'n this time she ate 90.6
Enñata'ûl anqanqacagtī . . . ri'ntininet this time she threw them
seaward 49.6
Enñata'ûl kirvete'rū qinetei'kitik from now on jostle me! (literally
with elbow jostling do me) 61.3
Enñata'ûm revišt'ntik this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19
Enñata'ûm qalhēgamit'vatik of that you may eat your fill 65.31
Enñata'ûm qas qâče'wkwit this time he did it in earnest 83.22
Enñata'ûm lu-orawē'tan this time they were real people 84.29
Enñata'ûm ippe gina'n i'me rõz'nuit em-ginrī'tiů nine'nti-git
this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20
Enñata'ûm na'nimirkin-e-git this time he will kill you 114.32
Enñata'ûl enga'n ērrēttēgın this time it is ended R4.50

§128
'nkri gratis

En'ni'n' thus

nignotiwa'qen en'ni'n' iri'diku he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4
en'ni'n' um han nipi'riqin thus that one plunged along 8.11-12
gagno'pq^e . . . en'ni'n' crouch down thus 32.4
e'le en'ni'n' va'la inenu'kli-muri not of [thus being] such we eat 34.9-35.1
Also 9.4; 15.4; 90.1, 10; 94.1; 95.34; 105.17

En'nu thus

e'n'nu-wa'l-e-git such a one art thou 70.25
en'nu-wa'li-te're such are you 106.28

E'n'notin thus

ni'wkwaw^n e'n'notin they spoke thus 78.4
ti'wkwawk e'n'notin I say thus 15.8

Elo'ni emphatic particle

qik elo'n oh! 10.1
e'lo'ni qinni'ku ne'ly^i now they became (our) game 12.2
qik, e'nmen ni'pe'Üt. elo'ni re'mkin tumge'wkwaw oh, they landed.
Now the people became friendly 14.1
e'llo'ni en'nu'-wa'l-e-git such a one art thou 21.11
elo'ni mirri'wkwut-kit let us bind thee 23.8
ia'n elo'ni ten'ne'erkin why doest thou laugh? 30.3
e'lo'ni nara'nmuq^i^ they will kill thee 37.10
elo'ni vai tryi'urkin-i-git this one I give thee 104.1
elo'ni gina'n elo'ni Piti'yn-i-git thou art Rheum 103.21
i'git um elo'ni but now! 123.18
Here belongs also—

e'milon somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (<em-elo'ni)
e'milonai'nin (augmentative of e'milon) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once

awe'tuwaq ëwkwawtji^e suddenly he left R 13.27
yilg-awe'tuwaq haus'qati'yhin orgütkini kenemal'nin at once
he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

A'men um elo'ni expresses displeasure, somewhat like German
"aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.

qik, a'men um elo'ni notas'qa'wkwaw^e Oh, the land is near 8.8
("aber das Land ist doch nahe")
guq, a'men um elo'ni ët'mquk pela'arkin oh, some are leaving 8.9.
guq, a'men um elo'ni . . . re'mkin güünvre'lgiä oh, the people
will come 10.3-4

guq, a'men um elo'ni miniwkurkin-i'-git let us tie thee 20.9;
see also 23.13

§128
a'mEn um elo'n e'tqi nintewimin'ge't-i-um I was badly tortured by them 21.9
a'mEn um elo'n Notas'sqa-Vairga ini'ukwi I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11-12
"guq, elo'n um a'men ga'nga-vairgë'pü timete'ukwä3k among all beings I could not do it 18.9
elo'n um a'men, wotgana'um elo'n garaqëcha'lën that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9
amen um elo'n wot uvä'qucitä aî'mak em e'tlu gete'kilin this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11
a'mEn um elo'n ne'us'qät-i-gir so you are the woman 136.15

"a'mEn seems to introduce an unexpected event—and then unexpectedly—or to introduce an entirely new idea, to which emphasis
given 40.4; 41.12.
a'mEn um e'nrnen penyo'lhin nuurirge'tqin and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8
e'nmen um uvä'quq gla'ul a'men um nitvëtca'qen wälh-ä'räqäa a'men um vai li'i-teh-evirälin then the man, the husband, was standing there unexpectedly with a little thin fur shirt, unexpectedly really well clothed 33.2
also 24.1; 29.11; 33.11; 39.3, 4, 5; 38.9, 11; 81.1; 88.8
am, a'men oh! (another idea) 56.8
—, a'men! 58.7
a'men-um 8.10; 9.5; 13.10; 9.13; 39.3; 58.5; 65.20; 77.29; 80.25; 89.9; 93.31; 99.1; 101.2
a'minam (= amen-um 15.10)
a'men um not! such a one 98.33
a'men um elo'n 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; elo'n um a'men 31.9 (see under elo'n) it should not be expected, but a'men um qarë'm 16.9; a'men qarëm but I will not! 16.1
a'men um naq'd'n 39.4; na'qam a'men 63.11; however venli'i um a'men 40.7

tepel'ignin um a'mi she made a cap too 28.8
nananaga'qënë'um um a'mi geggeu'lin the little child awoke 55.3
telenye'p um a'mi long ago 61.5-6
kirga'm um a'mi . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

an emphatic particle (?)
e'nmen a'ni qänu'r qun nute's'qän then certainly just like ground 8.6
e'nmen a'ni gilü'tkulin then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)
geçente'ân um a'ni she was startled 29.6-7

§128
gewe'lin iim a'ni he became quite decrepit
a'ni, ge'litkoi'vulin u'kkâm so they distributed vessels
a'ni, gi'lu'tkulin he beat the drum
a'ni, getrpeine'lin he continued to sing
a'ni a'ttau for no particular object
a'ni qu'num, ganto'êz oh, look here! come out!

attau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter
attau', li'en re'gârkin (you went to no purpose) what with thee?
attau', le^'nve (to no purpose, only) in order to be looked at
atau' ni'rgipa'tqen to no purpose was he discussed
atau' gH^nkeWy-gir, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face;
atau' gun o'rgoor ye'taqâ tér'gin just get (your) sledge ready
atau' gumi'lc oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down)

a'chê'mira, a'chê'mira-û-e'ur moreover (see also en'ke'mir)

a'limi disjunctive
a'limi alo'ka'qit va'le-ûm although I am invisible
a'limi va'le ra'qalqal however, there is no need of the knife
ka'ko, a'limi inelu'kâlinet he has not seen them anyway
ya'am tile'lit a'limi lu'ur nan titgâ'nninet but it swallowed them

a'limi quvalo'mürkin um vê'ti do obey!
a'limi ehe'nîlin however, he was a shaman
a'limi kamagra'nnoi he really gave a start

a-lû'mîna expresses surprise (see lu'mîna)
g.uq, a-lû'mîna qai've qît oh, is that so, is it thou?
a-lû'mîna is that so? 121.1; 125.7
a-lû'mîna no'on me'nîn who was here?

a'qâlpe quickly

ei'uk, ai'ok

ena'n ai'ok néuwte'pik trenurete'ur let me in due time make it appear (be born) through a female dog
gîk, gîmr'k ei'uk ekâlû'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last
en'qa'm ena'n ai'ok . . . re'etâyêz then after a while . . . he shall come

Also 118.20

§128
e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

mi'nkri, e'nmen, ge'mqe-ni'kin ni'nqäi nénéa'qtoqën, e'un navi's'qin how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8

ni'lhä ge'wkuhin e'un ninenli'pë' with thongs he is tied and he breaks them 20.9
e'ur püki'rgi' e'un nelki'nkä't then she came and they had gone abroad 31.2
e'ur enqa'n ä'ttwet geti'nenezin, e'un gepli'tku'et and that boat was loaded and they had finished 31.1

qagno'pgë' . . . e'un eze'pkä sit with head bent down . . . and do not look 32.4–5

"en'ne' eze'pkä," e'un valo'mqë' "Do not look!" and she obeyed e'un nine'cviqin and they cut it 72.18

e'un geplqdrudeu'linet fle'wanti and their wives had become decrepit with age 72.29

deq-alvam-va'lt, e'un i'pe kele'ttà qayo's'laat how very extraordinary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8

e'nmen e'un e'n'ki nitva'qën i'me-rës'nut and then there was everything 106.32

e'un yara'ne nine'lqin and it became a house 107.14

gik, ri'pe't üm e'un! (now they are coming!) 11.10

gik, nege'm e'un garë'm e'un, gik oh, but it was not there 27.11
gai'mirtn nigite'ä'n, e'un kulta't-koko'nalhin they looked at the wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

Note: Not to be confounded with the prefix e'un- actual, principal, as in e'un-ñe'lvül principal herd; a'un-gëta'gti just in their sight 83.28

eur, eur-üm is connective and with the added connotation at that time; it always refers to two events taking place at the time.

ra'gtia't, en'qa'm e'ur lûmnëndë's ê they went home, and at the same time he also followed 120.26

e'ur girgironta'len, a'ettwilä ničamitagën at that time the dawn came, and (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9

e'ur rükata'z'unin, "E'ur y'ilqä narayë'gët, maru'wmlä qaïnë'ë" at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6

e'ur üm qëlaro'at, Aiwhuanpina'chä'gai që'ulin at the time when they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island man said 11.10

a'ttwu-yë'ñkä nigite'qin, e'ur üm geyi'rezin they looked into the canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional. §128
e'ur Iumetu'nu rîtyä, rinë'newkwä at the time when you are 
Iumetun, you shall make me black 23.6 (= if you are the same); 
also 24.2
kita'm e'ur li'è-va'rrïïki gañau'trinsic-ë-git, vai u'mksi gaqtu'qín this 
time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a 
polar bear 110.5
i't'ik e'ur tegqeq'irkin, gina'n ci'mïtni if actually you want it, do 
as you please
eulû'mña < e'ur lâ'mña or, or again 
eulû'mña e'kik or again the son R 23.88 
but e'ur lânnâ 98.9

Before the initial n of the following word e'ur changes to e'un (see 
§ 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18

Still e'un and e'ur are not identical, e'ur being used as connective 
and between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while e'un is not 
so used.

gettu'tä e'ur geleu'tirgikutä with blowing or with scratching the 
head 126.7
ilh-à'ttîn e'un, e'ur üm uneë'chhin also the white dog and the 
thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18 
also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

Note: Between proper names, instead of the connective e'ur, the 
plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

Gi'lhin e'rrî Tna'irgin geñewtu'mqä Sunset and Dawn are con- 
nected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they 
Dawn)
mu'ri Qla'ul I and Qla'ul (lit. we Qla'ul)

eple'un

kr'tam qun eple'un li'i eñëqinsi'ë well, did he really obtain 
shamanistic power? 18.4

éwkurga, éwkurga-m however

é'wkurga tu'mgiitun ui'nä however, companion none (i. e. my 
companion is not with me) 11.1
é'wkurga giñëñëqinsitew-i-git however, you have frightened me 
15.10
é'wkurga tilv-a'minan trenë'lthä (if I do so) however, I shall be 
all alone 31.13–32.1
é'wkurga Nota's'qa-Va'rrga nëñanwëthawatqën however, the 
Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9
ëqëi', é'wkurga ça'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 
108.30
é'wkurga-m çotolëw' o'ço nine'lth-ë-üm, however, that under my 

§128
ewkurga-m ilo'n vai nitermeč'e'ngin however, he does much violence 66.26

See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

e'pte likewise, in the same manner
gän'we'r kime'k èna'nmüč e'pte güm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17
attau' a'ttu milhi'a'n e'pte güm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20-21
e'pte grnni'q-gi'li'lit ne'mäqäi gina'n nëna'nmë-git likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9-10
a'men üm elo'n e'pte güm miña'u't'enga'k let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emite't at once, just now
emite't üm mwe'ë'nütaaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 emite't üm in final position
emite't üm tê'rgilin ra'qal ñan even thus crying for what? 27.12
guq, emite't üm evi'rit qätei'käqinet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4
emite't-üm trpëla'nat nme'lginet I just left them in safety (=good ones) 53.4
emite't-üm ataa'nekelin tê'rgilin they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)
emite't üm qagür'gin bring it at once 111.3
emite't'm tigite'ä'ñ I looked on her 88.30

e'ti evidently, probably.
e'tim vai nipal'tqenal vën'va'ki evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9
e'tim nu'tenut mninei'meukwän evidently we are approaching land 9.11
e'tim an genge-nute'gien evidently from every country 11.4
e'tim a'men kuwil'ein tre't'yu'ñ evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1
e'tim ke'lek qäli'ketyi'z evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2
e'tim wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2
e'tim hiro'rgari there many have been three 97.26
elo'n üm e'tim evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ëtilin necessarily
eto—
eto'gaia'qän rikire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4
ë'mmen éto'gaia'qän üm gre'lgi'z after a while he vomits 136.24-25
gai've-mac-ëto'pel indeed I am a little better 135.7-8

§ 128
erre'ć git ēto'pēl thou art most fit 135.19
ēto'pēl en'ki iwikučī'sī she better drank then (i. e. she could
drink then) 37.4
ē'toqon vo'tqan qūmī'tqin will you take this one?
ē'toqon mirrenu'tergi-git shall we bury thee rather in the ground?
R 60.23
e'nmen, en'qa'm, en'ra'a'q then, coordinating conjunctions. Of
these enme'n seems to express the most definite temporal
sequence, en'qa'm a closer temporal connection, while en'ra'a'q
should be translated in turn and indicates a still closer con-
nection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narra-
tive which of these three is used. The first one is the most
frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of
en'qa'm is not rare 62.6 et seq.
The difference between e'nmen and en'qa'm appears most clearly
when their use alternates; as in the following examples.

en'qa'm enqa'n Umqägü'i'rnä rilhindigiwe'nnin ne'us'gät. e'nmen
lu'ur e'grippgi' At that time U'mqägüäi pointed with his finger
at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7–8
en'qa'm enqa'n Umqägü'i'nti geğneu'linet; e'nmen gu'ttirgin
qa'at nerrvä'net at that time U'mqägüäi and his people fled; then
the others untied the reindeer 63.10–11
en'qa'm nite'güqgin . . . e'nmen niten'ne'w-i-um . . . en'qa'm
gi'ulim At that time she sniffed . . . then I laughed a
little; . . . then she said 72.11–13
en'ra'a'q qa'qat qa'mitvada'qen

In all these examples, the impression is conveyed that en'qa'm sig-
ifies a closer connection than e'nmen.
The form en'ra'a'q is parallel to mo'rgin-faq we next 69.22 and
güm-faq i next 77.21 Its meaning in turn this time appears
clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

en'ra'a'q appears also together with e'nmen
en'men nute's'qän en'ra'a'q nuvēthaw'qen then this time he spoke
to the ground 15.9–10
en'ra'a'q qa'ya'kt namingukwa'arkinat then in turn he re-
warded the gulls 74.28–29
In the beginning of a story e'nmen means once upon a time.
e’nmeeč because
va’nëvan ni’tvnèn, e’nmeeč ùm nayilhau’nèn she did not tell him
anything because she feared his anger 88.22–23
e’nmeeč ùm e’un püki’r’gi ya’rak garančèmaul’èn uvæ’ç’ùc when
she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10–11
e’nmeeč ùm ùn a’chi wulqàti’i’i, kënkele’n’inn because of this,
before evening came, he made her descend 97.5–6
e’nmeeč d’àqàlpe because of this, hurry up!
e’nmeeč gëpli’tkulèn and already it is finished
e’nmeeč qui’miTc ta’ilorkèn already you shall have me for a
servant 95.7, also 95.15

èce’nur ècu’ur
èce’nur vintuw’lin it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6
èce’nur . . . veime’nu nere’lu’nnèn it shall be (this way) one who
is kindly treated 25.8–9
guq, èce’nur nè’ta qàtele’tik it shall be this way! (you shall) move
on slowly 65.28
ècu’ur ye’p vai atèvga’tka vai yege’tèe’t it shall be this way! as yet
without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40
èçhi before
e’çhi ras’qùnu’o’æ’t cèt nepi’rirkèn qla’ulqai before they could
enter they attacked the man 85.15
èçhi yułqà’tyút ganto’lèn before they had gone to sleep he went
out 8.4
e’çhi eime’wkwi’i rçiro’n’ñoi before it approached the dawn
came 9.12
See also 10.9, 12.10, 11; 13.3; 20.3; 31.3; 55.6, 8; 97.20
Followed by -rkin WHEN ABOUT TO—
e’çhi pelqànte’erkèn . . . gapèkàgta’lèn when about to come
back, she fell down 97.20
èçhi cèt qam’tvarkèn lu’ur pi’rínèn when she was about to eat,
after that he caught her 87.12
e’nmen èçhi re’çnilà tè’grrkinèn lu’ur i’wkwi’i then, when the
bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said
10.10

ehîle’ñkì in case, if
ehîle’ñkì relè’ñîn in case you should see him
erre’è only
erre’è qun ne’èkìk an only daughter R 12.10
erre’è enga’n ne’èkìk (there was) only that daughter 28.2
erre’è niro’rgani there were only three of them 34.3
na’gàm erre’è yì’liìl ru’rkinèn he eats only tongues 49.3

§ 128
erre'c ām am-gitka'it geğnu'linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre'c ai'kolak moṣi'yın ām on the bedskins was only blood 56.4–5
erre't-te'qin limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from -tegn limit (only
in compounds) 64.2
erre'c mi'mil, yaťrat mi'mil nine'uqin a'mkindo only water,
verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'In but (weaker than naqa'm)
eke'in gi' nu ru'ūl-i-git; gi'newān ām qūmma'n me'čen'ki trentin
but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well
ekaluk

gir'ek ci'īk ekaluk at last for thee 19.4
ekeña'n, ečena'n I wish I could (with subjunctive b)
ekeña'n qūmma'n trepi'reān I wish I could take it
eke'upči and now, but now
eke'upči tiplit'kurkin and now I am finishing

ia'm > Tyam why 19.5
ia'm eio'n ten'ne'urkin why are you laughing 30.3
ia'm pegēti'nu nine'lhi-gir ora'velān why dost thou meddle with
man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11
ia'm gēme'-qinni'q qo'nmakan why do you kill all the game? 92.32

iu'kā oh if! I wish—
guq, iu'kā gaia'qan mingam'tvarkin I wish we could eat more
65.4

iu'kā minpontorkin-e-git I wish I could eat of your liver! 95.19

iu'kā no'ongqan min'mi'märkin I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yI'pe actually
en'qam i'ppe mukrē'yun . . . gata'čen then actually very
many . . . moved 11.7
en'nata'l ām i'ppe qina'n this time it is really thou 93.20
e'ün i'pe keletā qayot'laat now really kele visit them 106.8
i'pe-qun really 45.3
qūm, qu'nā bi'i-i'ppe ti'urkin I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

i'tik

iz'tik a'men ārunte'erkin in reality thou desirest 24.11
garē'men ora'velān, iz'tik ām ke'le (she is) not a human being,
in reality she is a ke'le 29.9
garē'men iz'tik lu'm-nil this is not a real myth 61.5

zik, attauv i'tik ām ti'lu's'ān in vain, if in reality I had seen
him 121.6
galo'očma'-morē iz'tik ām in reality we have met 121.23

§ 128
Nota’s qa-Va’irga leule’wu ine’lhræ li‘en ies’tik the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1
li’en ies’tik amn‘i’ilvna gu’mik rinike’urkin qar’e’m milima‘n-n‘oak just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10
ies’tig lu’mna Tño’irgë-git in reality again, thou art Tño’irgin ies’tig lu’mna gailhna’n-gët eñe’netvii in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11-12
i’enqun lest
nenais’qën i’enqun nere’luwënin she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3
... i’enqun vai kintaya’n ragno’urkin vë’ti ginni’k lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3
nini’uginet, titi’t remlé’gitki, i’enqun nere’luwënin he said to them, “You will break the needles!” lest they should look at them 82.12
igit now
igir i’mi Nota’s qa-Va’irgin narataaro’niinoñin now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2
qu’num igit um minra’qataya’n let me now take it home 121.28
igit-ùm-ùn o’ra tryo’wëkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18
ya’net first
go,gu’m um ya’net oh, I first 43.9
ya’nra separately, alone
nithi’qin ya’nra she passes the nights by herself 28.3
ya’rat very (sometimes ya’cat)
nithi’lqinet ya’rat very hot ones 9.9
ya’rat nite’nginet very good ones 14.8
nite’nqin ya’rat a very pretty one 36.3
eñe’nitivi’iz ya’rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10
ya’ran niglo’qen she sorrowed very much 27.10
a’men um ya’rat verily! 85.2
yaka’n-kin probably 9.13
yagga’i a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German “ja”
yagga’i’ en’ga’m pe’le tre’etyë I’ll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8
yagga’i’ um gu’num tu’ri qaré’mëna-tërë ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5
,mi’nikri-m-e’un yagga’i’ gümna’n milu’s’æn tuwelvaca’arkin how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

§ 128
yäggäi'-han-git-tratara'änna² for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

yäggäi' ora'wē'za-ta'ínata'itel-e-git you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

yäggäi' üm rö'nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

yäggäi' üm yawtala'nvo trye'tyäsk have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

ye'li'i (evidently containing the element li'i TRULY, REALLY, see also u'i'i, venl'i'i, midel'i'i, qäi'i, quy'i')

e'nmen ye'li'i enga'n is he the only one? 21.13

ye'li'i gümna'n rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

yu'raq perhaps.

opo'pe exhortative

opo'pe garai'-git minle'git thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

opo'pä minpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6

opo'pe mutalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50

optima like (see Koryak Kamenskoye opta)

o'ra openly

ğina'n qanra'gta'ya'n o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

i'git-üm-illo'n o'ra tryo'wkut I have come to thee openly '123.18-19

uru'ur it seems that

w'rrri thus, so

w'rrri ni'plu'tevi'qin it was so small 20.3

w'rrri li'nki numqitvi'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

gaqno'pgę' čirčkouti w'rrri ev'ni'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

w'rrri mungt'simn ri'n'nin thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

w'rrri nan gini'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9-10

wu'rrri thus

na'qam üm neyule'tqin wu'rrri still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

e'nmen vai wu'rrri enga'n gama'tñolën there thus that one dragged her 51.1

enga'n e'n'nin čin'it wu'rrri ni'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9

e'nmen wu'rrri puulge'wkwi² then he floated thus 77.23

e'nmen e'n'ikut riulu'ku wu'rrri girgola'qts there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

wu'nük greatly, strongly

§ 128
ul'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also ye'li'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäzi'i, qusi'i)

ul'i yara'nì gamata'qin wu'kwëñ then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

ve'tì really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

ve'tì veime'nu nere'lhiñin truly friendly he will be treated 25.9
vët ginni'k ûm a'men nenankëttuwa'qëñ truly they made game

scarce by means of magic 42.4

vëtì nime'i'ênqin he was very large 73.9

vëtì nige'tvuqin he was very strong 47.3

vëtì nara'nmëntik it will kill you at once 70.12

vëtì-m ret'w nëna'nmëqëñ he killed really (many) whales 73.3

a'limi qwalo'mërkin ûm vë'tì but obey me strictly 88.10-11

trauauti'ûrkin vë'te qun I shall marry at once 57.2

nire'vë'qin vë'tì he really wanted to die 99.27

vëtì, qaya'arkinat ûnã do sing it again! 120.24

vetči'in ûm, veltči'in for my part granted!

venva'kl secretly (see vi'n'vi)

venli'i unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element li'i REALLY, TRULY; see also ye'li'i, uši'i, miteli'i, qäzi'i, qusi'i)

qun've'r met-kii't venli'i ûm a'men rima'qti nine'lqin at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i. e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7

venli'i leu'kì kr'plmën unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12
qai've teinde'erkin, venli'i aal'omka i'êrkin indeed, I blame him;
unexpectedly he does not obey

na'qam pa'nëna venli'i nuurgeimeu'qin but unexpectedly more thunder approached 69.30

ne'me čwii'pit nime'i'netqin venli'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

venli'i nitiu'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-ûm, vele'r ûm ûnau at least (Kor. Kam. va'lan)

limited qualification of action)

gailo'lcim mi'nhi, vele'r-um wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-ûm ničaqaro'ak at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-ûm yara'nì qa'tvata although a house had been there
(lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

§ 128
vele' r črmče'tä qěnata'ğe' at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9, 13)
vele' rm mîtew't haurkín at least I can talk with thee 32.1
vele' r-qun, vele' s-qun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vien• < viyen just, simply
tikimb'e'erkín am, vi' en' mewkw'et'yâ'k I am staying too long, just let me depart
vi' en' pûki'ro'qî ēuño'ast he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3
go, vi' en' qra'gütîk just go home! 45.9
vi' en aa'lomkêl-ê-git thou just doest not listen 54.11

vî'n•vî, vên' va'kiI secretly 108.14
pîla', pîla'q apparently, pretending
pîla' vi'îlin pretending death 82.4; 124.6
plägi I that is all! 107.21 (from stem pl— to finish)
mêl, mêč, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei
ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met•-ki'tkit, met•-ki'it (?)
me'či'ûn besides
i'tkenín üm me'či'û ërga'wkwê' he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle
mač giîma' n let me be the one!
mač irgina' n let them be the ones! R 62.70
mač'ëman<mač-ena' n let it be (impersonal)
mač'ëman ñei'vâ let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mite' of course 121.6

mitelî'i undoubtedly (containing the element li'î REALLY, TRULY; see also yeîli'î, uzi'î, venli'î, güli'î, güli'î)
mitelî'i tîla'nuoa va'rkin rîtu undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18
mitelî'i rañoto'as undoubtedly she will come out 82.21
mitelî'i kitkin'ua'qai rakêrga'tya's undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mitiu' (perhaps miti'iu') I thought—
mitiu' eče'ni-li-git I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3
mitiu' ke'le-i-git I thought thou wert a kele 15.11
miti'ùm elo'n gâligi'pe viri'îrkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

§ 128
tam, tagam all right!

gê, tam! oh, all right! 121.28
qi, tam, a'men! oh, all right then! 84.14
i, tam! yes, all right 84.19

te'naq if perhaps (always with future)
te'naq nara'nmii-ûm if perhaps they should kill me

te'čé-ň how many times
ne'me te'čé-ň qiiwi'ĩi' again how many times a year passed (i.e. after several years) 12.8

naga'm however, but
utte'mil nimaŋwêŋana'čhin naga'm pe'le nûmqiti'qigin like a tree
was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2
nara'nmiiŋgên na'gam... nênałtwau'qên they wanted to kill
him, but... they could not do it 36.1-2.
nâ'gam nir'ni'uíqin ne'me but they ordered him again 59.6
u'ttûqai—na'gam enqa'n gelelu'qäqlin it is little piece of wood!—
But it has whiskers 75.4-5
na'gam èemi'ngît yit'o'nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair
of gloves 115.5-6; also 76.4, 6, 24
na'gam ûm is more strongly adversative
guq, naga'm ûm re'qä but with what then? 34.9
naga'm ûm no'ongqen but this one 35.1
na'gam ûm tew-mu'ulîlin but this one's blood was good 117.14
na'gam ûm ne'gt'uvuqin but this one was strong 66.20

With a'men it is strongly adversative
e'nmen qu'ttirgin qa'at pe'legäi nerri'net, na'gam a'men
Umqägäii'in... nênałtwau'qên then the others' reindeer
quickly were untied, but on the other hand Umqägäïi's...
could not 63.11-12
a'men ûm naga'm iinpilû'tkul-i-gît you on the other hand, are
an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4
naga'm lûmna (literally but again). In this complex the adversative
meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean after
all that has happened.
naga'm lûmna ha'wtingë after all, he married 58.7-8
naga'm lû'mna gaa'qêtełên after all he sat down 98.24
na'gam lû'mna inennike'wkwi' after all I am treated thus
98.28-29
na'gam lû'mna çeg-ê'čâq after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26
inenpelqu'utkâlin ûm wot, na'gam lû'mna he can not be van-
quished, after all 114.27
na'gam lû'mna i'ilil wi'nû ne'lyi' after all, the rain stopped
116.11-12

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——55  §128
naqa’m lu’mna ginni’k reurre’tyä after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:
naqa’m lu’mna awge’tkinka nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6
e’nmen im-niké’rēt nikamagra’qên, naqa’m lu’mna va’gliin n o’mrāgên then the whole night he struggled, however the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be torn) 20.10–11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nominalized verbs
kičauča’tyε na’qam wus’qin’mêku, na’qam niki’tă he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5
na’qam yo’yo qän’ve’r . . . naa’lomqas’n notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4
eñe’nilm naqa’m go’rgulên but the shaman had a sledge 14.10
naqa’m am-gîna’n but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:
gap’e’nrilên na’qam, ganmitkoi’vulên but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4
ni’näqin um naqa’m but this one was swift 40.4–5

ne’me again
ne’me gitte’wkwis again thou art hungry 9.13
ne’me čıpe’tyiε again he dived 10.1
gu, ne’me oh, again 36.6!

ne’maqāi also
e’nmen um Ai’wanat um ne’mägâ’i they are also Aiwan 7.9
e’nmen ne’mäqāi, geri’ñêlin then he also had flown up 15.3
e’pte ginni’q-gili’ltt ne’mäqāi gîna’n nêna’nmê-git likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9–10
nemäqāi gûmna’n I also 93.13
ne’mäqāi enqa’n eñe’nilm nipe’gtimet also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12–15.1

neqe’m but, nevertheless
gık, neqe’m e’un gärëm e’un, gık oh, but it was not there 27.11
neqe’m um li’−vëñolîn nigtaqîn vê è-re’mkä nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

čI’mqąq partly, somewhat
čI’mqąq wà’mkågin re’mkîn nimîtvîlin somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

§128
40.9 ti'mqx in part they were noisy
60.9 č'i'mq'uk kuk'e'čiku e'ret nitva'qen partly in the kettle boiled meat was (left) 75.11

čen men vai yē'tvuč č'i'mq'uk then it grew somewhat brighter 94.22–23

ča'ma also
ča'ma enqa'n muč-ëvqa'n titvu'rkin also this is an incantation I tell 39.13
ča'ma mu'ta e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11
ča'ma li'en ai'makik na'lai'ogën he also defecated on the carcass 81.6
ča'ma qu'tti ga'nmilaat also the others were killed 98.3
tinna la'li'mo're vai ča'ma we come here also carrying antlers 121.20
ča'ma nuvēthav'gaat oravēta'-mēl they also talk like men 64.10
guq, a'ken um na'gam um gai'mič-ai'wan ča'ma oh, he was however a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

če'niit therefore
če'niit gū'muk ēna'tvat epki'rkä nitva'qen therefore to me promised gifts do not come 93.16
go, e'ur gu'nun če'met li'i ivul'ëtyiś la'mīna walqa'liṁn oh, and therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

če'niēt since, because
če'niēt im vinē'tilit nū'mqūgāt since there are many helpers R 4.44
če'niēt um qaalvīlu' en'nī'n' nu'rri nitva'qen since the buck is there on its back R 4.34
če'niēt vē'ličin, ia'm minyo'ax'n since he is dead, why should we visit him? 108.13–14
če'niēt umennē'n'-mi'mlä giwkuci'ttä since they drink one water R 45.13–14
če'niēt gumnī'n e'nni-kuprēn u'īnā enmēqa'eti tralva'wū'n since I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47–48
gu, če'niēt um ili'izä-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an exclamatory phrase) 11.11

če'nu
če'nu gumik ga'tvalen, če'nu ta'n'nik titva'rkin um i'git before it was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying now R 45.19
či a'ivanana me'tal rnya'rkinin . . . čiē'nu um gumna'n wu'tku ti'nri'gän before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20–21

§128
cite'un akka'gti titëgë'nërkin and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

cite'un kinta'riga memila'ga'a na'na'lpin'riç later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

6cite'un ak'tiltu al'vanqan nita'qenat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

mpii-e'keltäd rirî'ldrinnên cite'un vë'-vë'gënto'ë the eldest son was with him later on then he gave up his breath (i.e. that he might die an easier death) R 49.15

le'nitaq already (?)

tite'gët kina'gti later (now) with (mj) son I should (to be) R 46.38

le'nitaq icm na'na'ljyinfie' the eldest son was with him later on then he gave up his breath (i.e. that he might die an easier death) R 49.15

le'niitaq already (?)

le'niitaq um najpelä'an um cëcilc already they had left this daughter 30.12

le'nitaq icm . . . cëmna'chëm na'mugan already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en' and simply, and only; restricted action
	nineimeu'günët, li'en az'tilt gape'nrülen they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en' ehhipëra'rkin e'ce it is simply white with fat 81.27

taq'olhin um lo'lo li'en' the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

li'en' is'tık (see is'tik um) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en' is'tık këma'wkurgë-git and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en' is'tık ra'nëntitaë and may I ask you what do you want here? li'en' um is'tık e'tiqä and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attau' li'en' utterly in vain (see attau' p. 854)

lyq, before vowels lu'un just, just like loen-ai'vë just yesterday

li'i really

en'ëna ta' l üm li'i tr'ilhi-qir from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22

li'i eheñivi'ë he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur after that, thereupon always refers back to a preceding event.

dëmen a'gëpë eiñe'utkuë, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyæt and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

atbau luwaunu'n, lu'ur yopa'tye'ë she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wëthatu'ñë tü thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pintigoro'dt thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

krieywkvät. e'nmen lu'ur qa'u'l ye'tyë they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

§128
rilhindigwēnnin; e'nmen lu' ur e' gripi he pointed at her with a finger; thereupon she felt pain 63.7
See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27
lu' un matali' yun ēnuoi' thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lā'mnā again

gu, mē' nko lā' mna pi' ntiqātyi' oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12
ra' e'notā'chēi lā' mna what are these again? 14.3–4
naga'm lā' mna . . . ergewe' tyi' but again he dived 17.4
See a-lā' mna p. 584.

ripe' t even

ripe' t ērgaqātyi' he even began to cry
eyl' yakēlinet ripe' ēli'git without sleep were even the parents 34.3–4
līle' - mi' mlā nipyuči' tgin ripe' t the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19
ripe' t ge' mnu lī' nā' ēn you did not even mind it 109.25
e' nmen ripe' t ēnna' l'ai' okwut I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattan- ēnauēn enough 65.6

re' en I confess

-ram with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < enfraq um, ĝum-ra'q um it is my turn)
ē' ēnu nipampicē tegen enra' m či' čhināku ānra' lín he puts on tufts of reindeer hair in their turn in the armpits of the owner
(i.e. the owner puts on . . . ) R 4.46
enra' m rimne' tā gaikola' see this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13
enra' m nmu' ngāqāi eńqā' ikelin on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11–12

kime' l, qime' l at once (?)
kime' l ēlhu inē' tēi ē at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)
enqa' m ēnau' gatē' ti qime' l then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

kime' k almost
kime' k mitr' nmuut almost we killed thee 10.11
a' men- um- ēlo' n tr' nma inē' nti ē kime' k but now you did almost kill one 123.17–18
gā' nwe' r kime' k ēnanmuē e' pte ēum this time you have almost killed me 121.16–17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

kita', kita' m, kitau

kitau

kitau' gun, mińkri nī'tqin now then! how was he? 17.12 (kita'm gun 18.1)
kitau' qun atti'yna ninenyegetele'nmik well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kita'
kita' n'a'nmko go ahead! (bring him) here! 20.1
kita'm 46.4; 79.1; 80.10; 87.8; 94.9; 110.20; 113.21; 124.2; kita'm qun 16.6; 18.4; kita'm q'un'num 21.5 well then!
kita'm nu'nri now then (bring home) here! 23.2
gug, kita'm lu'mna well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kita'm e'ur li'ë-vairin'ki qañau'ti'n-é-git qailhin'a'n-gêt, vai u'mki qag'ti' qin now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5–6. Compare 110.9–10.

kita'tkeE unfortunately 25.12
ki'twil-qun notwithstanding
ki'nmal together (?)

ki'nmal minuñe'lmlik let us go for fuel! 30.6
ki'nmal . . . piligili'lit . . . qina'n nêna'nmê-git thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

ki'rga'm ûm a'mEn, ki'rga'm ûm a'mi well now! 121.4
kite' seldom
ki'kitk a little
ki'kitk nten'ne'w-i-ûm I laughed a little 72.13
ki'kitk qänve'ntetyi' open it a little 94.21, 34
ki'kitk nwurre'tqinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'tikä alone 24.10.

qaia'qañ a while

e'nmen qaia'qañ tile'öst they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.
guk,iw'kä qaia'qañ minqami'tvarkin I wish we could eat a while 65.4
qaia'qan e'ur neimeu'qin for a while he approached 66.13
qaia'qan e'uli-gelêñño'ë ven-bûmn'a'chin for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26
eto'-qaia'qañ ripkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4
qiiri'i éto'-qaia'qañ gewkwe'lin after a while he departed 45.11

qaive indeed, truly, really.
qai'vé gine'ëlihi* really, give (it) to me 16.1
enqa'n qai'vé Iu'metui-qr thou art really Iu'metun
gai've-ñ i'mi yei'velgäi nu'tek tûmâ-alva'lag rayi'Igannô indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10–11

§128
guq, qai'vre-m nan me'cen'ki tre'ntri'nin oh, indeed, I shall be able
to manage him 67.22
Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qai'lo'kim
qik, qai'lo'kim re'qä qäta'linitki with what will you answer 14.2
qai'lo'kim mi'n'ëri mi'n'ërin how shall we act 53.1
qai'lo'kim wu'tku mi'ntri-gir how should I keep thee here 109.30
qai'lo'kim pe'nin wolverin before he was motionless 125.4
qai'lo'kim ele'nyutä rrri'lpinnem the younger brother accom-
panied him R 50.22-23

qai'lhina'ngät, qaglëna'ngät and actually
qai'lhina'ngät li'ë-taniëtíñoë and actually, he began to feel quite
well 33.5
qug, qai'lhina'ngät ëm ne'lu'ñ and indeed, they saw it 10.3
qai'lhina'ngät ni'rgipatqën and actually, he was talked about
17.5, 7
Also, 15.7; 18.3; 67.22; 80.27; 104.9

qa'tin just so 127.10

qalëLE vertically

qäi'-i'pe, qäigi'pe really, in truth
qäi'-i'pe li'ë-va'rirñri qa'nau'tiñ-ë-git really among the gods (real
beings) you married 110.30-31
miti'um elo'n qäigi'pe viri'irkë we thought he really wanted to
die R 52.7

qäi'ñun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen qa'î'ñun Kor. 90.2)
qäi'ñun tu'rgin re'mkin e's'tqi it seems your people are bad 8.9-10
tu'rgin re'mkin qa'î'ñun re'lyä it seems your people will appear
10.4
qa'î'ñun mëti'u rine'hlvi certainly I shall not be believed by
them 19.8
Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänü'r like, as
gene'zi'net qänü'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4
mi'nëri va'lit qänü'r a's'twükün pu'ttiñet how big! like holes of a
boat (cover) 14.6
naqa'm lu'män qänü'r mëmlĩckou'ti ergewe'tyiiz but again as into
[the inside of] water he dived 17.4
qänü'r ve'le'li gïlo'len as for a dead one she mourned 27.12
ë'nmen qänü'r a's'ttin arë'ta ni'ntäqin then like a dog they held
him back 66.17
kele'tä va'ñevan elu't'kä qänü'r morjina'ñ i'git ka'mak va'ñevan
eu'rrekõlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an
evil spirit is invisible 62.1-2

§128
qânur' vai mu'rgin re'mkin like our people here 61.6
e'nmèn a'ni qânur' qun nute's'qân then it was just like earth 8.6 qânur' qun wî'qunî just like coal 22.7
gânur' qun nikî'lginet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmèn gol qânur' impinà'èhin genè'wànà then another one, like
the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his
wife 28.1
gânur' li'en ne'ntià'n just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmèn gânur' qun nikîì'te'rugin then it was as though they were
heated 9.8
qâòve'rá the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT,
AT THIS TIME
qânve'rá gâloé'llhîôînà'-mes're just at this moment we have met
121.15
gânve'rá ginnî'ilkinèk til-èime'wanî'tginet at this time they drew
nearer 103.8
gânve'rá gîtte'pîò in kele'kin i'wkwá at that moment the leader of
the kelet said 104.26
e'nmèn qânve'rá neime'wkwà'n qânve'rá îm a'tlí'yû'n îm
wêlha'nhoè at that moment they approached and at that
moment the dog began to speak 103.19
Taaro'n-Va'î'rgu îm qânve'rá . . . Va'î'rgu ne'le'n a Sacrifice-
(receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he
became 41.9-10
Often it may be translated therefore.
qânve'rá îm tèrglâ'tànoè therefore (at this moment) she began
to cry 31.7
lu'ur wî'tqan qânve'rá wî'î'rgîngû walo'mnûmonèn afterwards, there-
fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,
however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)
qâèI'-qu'nà as you like it(?) R 54.36
qâLì'i (<qâ[l]-li'i) but in fact (containing the element li'i REALLY,
TRULY; see also ye'li'i, uli'i, venli'i, mitelì'i, quti'i)
nî'nmèm vai cir'mèqàí va'rîn, Eîwhe'n gâèì'i a settlement is
quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7
gâèì'i git but in fact, it is you 23.5
qâèì'i Re'kkenî but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5
gâèì'i èto'-gài'qàín gëwkwè'ziìn in fact after a short time he de-
parted 45.11
qâèì'i rìz'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2
gâèì'i enqà'n . . . è'tín ye'zi in fact this was the master
70.28-30
qâèì'i pinî'snènat in fact, he asked them 70.30
§128
qä'l'i' notes qa'urkit in fact they were digging the ground 71.9
qä'l'i' qun enga'nat tei'n'ñixit in reality they were murderous
68.20
qä'l'i' üm qun qä'i-ass'itgä'i in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4
qä'l'i' enga'n . . . ela' in fact that was the mother 85.21–22
qä'l'i' pala'wkun yara'ñi in fact a funeral circle 108.17

gete' even now
garaqëcha'ñen geteu' what has the bad one been doing, even now 31.9

qete'm, gette'm, kete'm just, just like
gette'm gi'mnin yara'ñi just like my house
kete'm pírì'tku just as it is finished R 3.24

Go'niri, Go'niri-m, Go'niri e'ur (contracted also gi'en-e'ur) since
qel go'maron wü'thiçi, tu'mgin enga'n go'nirim genëxtu'mgeleet
enga'nat the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these 53.9–10
qol go'maron wü'thiçi, tu'mgin enga'n go'nirim genëxtu'mgeleet
enqana'ta no'o-e-üm gene'l-i-üm because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became R 45.27–28

Go'nirim gunni'n i'git i'rälqül u'iñä . . . trë'lqätya'q Velew-
kwaygo'ütri because my now clothing material nothing . . .
I'll go to Merchants Point (i.e. because I have no material) R 46.43–44

Go'nirim til'-e'tqin-i-git since you are utterly bad
Go'nirim e'uni eli'gin i'mi viri'tägi'ñän since (the) father has also
died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37
Go'nirim Eñe'neñ eñe'wá ca'ma'i'íil üm, qa'ko because he calls the East wind, it rains 132.20–21. Also R 13.21

Go'n'pä quite
Go'n'pä vi'i'ë he was quite dead 83.21
Go'n'pä nim'm'vaañño'at they began to be quite a camp 107.19
qëk, go'n'pä ninënmëleve'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12–13

qun, qu'nüm, qun-üm probably an emphatic particle, stronger
than üm (p. 549) and elo'n (p. 852). It stands in second position, generally following another particle
Gänü'r qun wr'iqwil just like coal 22.7
E'ninen gänü'r qun niëité'ruqin they were just as though they had been heated 9.8–9
Gänü'r qun nithü'lginet just as though they were hot 9.10
Gänü'r qun mëm'lìk just as though (they were) in water 101.32
e'nmen a'ni qänu'r qun nute's'qän they were just like land 8.6 
a'ni qun gribu'ikui valata thus it is! they move about with the 
knives 16.4 
a'ni qun bi'en re'pkirqä' ratopa'wlwa'z thus it is! simply you will 
come home, she will be pregnant 104.4 
a'ni qu'num te'krchín qänu'utki thus it is! then eat the meat! 
14.6 
a'ni qu'num qanto'ë' come out! 81.27 
a'ni qun, i'ppë qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3 
térqat'ë' qun um he cried 116.7 
kr'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñitvi'ë' did he this time attain shaman- 
istic power? 18.4 
ktam qun mi'nrki ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1 
ktam qun é'nnichín qai'pü'qun this time put on the necklace 
16.6 
ktam qu'num mnirri'í-hit this time we will let thee go 21.5–6 
ktam qu'num inele'tth qatw'grün this time what shall there be 
for payment? 102.11 
ktau'qun astt'i'ña ninenyegtele'nmik this time the big dog saved 
us 106.26–27. 
ktau' qun mi'nrki ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12 
attau'-qun non um Tho'tirgina mnpécar'ra we are just going to 
Tho'tirgum for food 119.18 
attau'-qun or'goor yè'ta qäti'gin just get the sledge ready 105.20 
e'nmen -qun ra'qti'ë ela' then the mother went home 30.10 
gä't'i'i um qun qäi-as'ttqäi in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4 
In the following examples qun follows verbs, verbal nouns and 
pronominal forms. 
ripe'ä'ti quilven e'nrkį they went ashore there 71.12 
panéa'tik nmpé'qinet qu'num qỉ' leaping it went ashore, indeed! 
122.16 
a'un-géta'qti prlrnréra'tyä' qu'num he makes himself flat before 
them 83.28–84.1 
ti'nunin qu'num he pulled it out 84.7 
ei'miunin um qun he caught him 121.13 
vì'lin um qu'num enqa'n nine'lqin dead that one had become 
(had died) 125.10 
yi'slhin um qu'num, rä'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26–27 
rä'nut qu'num lo'nil what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4 
i'ne-rä'nut qu'num everything 107.2 
mì'nrkí qu'num mithitte'urkín it is because we are hungry 70.24 
cëi'vutkùi-nimninmeiti, qu'num astto'rguqaiā he went to the camp 
with a dog sledge 105.5 
§128
According to punctuation qunum is in initial position in the following example

ge, tam! qu’nun i’qitum miura’qtatya’n let us take it home now!
121.27

It seems, however, that instead of ge, tam we might read kita’m as p. 21.5

quLi’i in this case indeed (containing the element li’i REALLY, TRULY; see also yel’i’, ul’i’, venli’i, miteli’i, qali’i)

quLi’i va’ar’g an a’s’ttin n’i’ilhit in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

gécew’kI together.

githite’ against one’s will

gi’newän besides

né’wág strong emphasis

né’wág gi’wá you do say 21.11

né’wág ninemirkwe’w-i-äm I have been working hard 81.9

gai’n én né’wág ena’n cini’t mini’uqin indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23

né’wág gai’vé and indeed

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

ImI also

i’mi gaaqai’pale嫩 also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9

i’mi n yuqa’n’u gana’s’linau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3

rmi gaaqai’tilen nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8

i’mi . . . pla’ku wu’qwa gai’yilin also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

Ina’n-awi’wut quickly Kor. 70.12

Enna’n that one alone

ennä’n koro’wapel gana’s’lin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna’niku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa’ta

enka’ta tilai’vikin né’la then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8

enqa’ta gassa’len qata’p-va’lam then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11

E’nki then, at that very moment

e’nki yu’la’n gap’étu’linau then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1

E’nki tryanu’wgi then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18

§129
Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish was (there) Kor. 86.16

Fish-Man then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

E’nki thus

E’nki thus it is! Kor. 78.2

Enke’ Enni’mtila’n thus they lived Kor. 43.7

enña’t’an thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

enña’t’an thus thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

enña’t’an thus they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

Enna’n thus

Euna’n thus Kor. 78.2

Enna’n thus in the dark Kor. 16.9-10

Enna’n thus Kor. 70.17-18

Dual forms:

Enna’anet thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

Enna’anet thus the two filled with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

Ina’n-awii’wut quickly Kor. 70.12

A’wun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna e’wun Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

A’wun gai’yalqwilinau and so they entered Kor. 80.18-19

A’wun in-la’wta’lin and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

A’wun ui’ña and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (= e’wun i’tka Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: e’wun’e’he Paren, Kor. 97.17

Awnui’p (?) Kor. 64.11

A’wgi falsely Kor. 88.14

Am (Paren im)

Gun-am nu’tak ui’ña ane’thiyiptiwa even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

Pe’nin gun-im Uwe’npilin the same (former) little U’wen (Paren) Kor. 92.7

A’men

A’men gawgu’tin and they tied her Kor. 23.4

A’men e’wai and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

A’men yi’nna and now what! Kor. 28.2

A’chi’ a’men gi’mkiri ni’wi-gi just now like me thou wert talking Kor. 29.2

A’mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

Atau vainly Kor. 61.3

A’ta’mtim in vain Kor. 30.8

§129
as's'o' since
as's'o' qati' since you went away Kor. 18.5

a'ččičč, aččo'č (Ch. erre'č) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8; 70.8 aččo'č Kor. 66.19; 68.19

a'nam then, and so
me'nqan a'nam qī'īnau how then did they become? Kor. 61.9–10
a'nam . . . qāla'lin then he came to him Kor. 63.6

Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1
a'nam-e'n en all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8
e'e'n a'nau all right then! Kor. 32.1
a'naqun and so Kor. 36.10
anuva't just as, just when
anuva't nyyatlqīwqin, e'inki mityl'gala just when he was about to come, we went to sleep

a'lmi I wish it were!
a'lmi vai'čita I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2–3
gīna'n a'lmiŋ geti'qin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor. 72.24–74.1

a'va' other
a'valin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

a'kyel also
gayō'olenan, a'kyel ipa'na they put it into it, also into the soup, Kor. 28.6
e'e'n (Ch. e'ur) then, and
gayō'ołen, e'en gavr'yalin he visited him and he was dead Kor. 20.8
ya'nya e'e'n na'vitqatu partly also women Kor. 44.2
e'e'en . . . gamlawanka'wlen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6
gakya'wilnau e'e'n yaq nī'lün nī'tin they awoke and what thong was there? (i.e. and there was no thong) Kor. 40.5
e'enuč once upon a time Kor. 58.4
e'wun (see a'wun)
matuJa'tin e'wun missaitla' numérique they stole it but we shall bring it back Kor. 40.8

i'pa really; indeed Kor. 37.8

i'pa a'nam gi'ssa but really thou Kor. 66.6

Also as adjectives:
i'pa kmi'nun the real child Kor. 68.11
gümni'n i'pa qla'wul viq'gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10–22.1
i'pa l'ge-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'nau quickly Kor. 39.2
gayē'm i'n'na nyya'lın he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

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i'wač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15
inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5
i'nmiq really, in truth
i'nmiq tapaŋaŋvo'ykın in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8
i'nmiqu'nım all right! Kor. 28.1–2.
Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3
inya'ninIK in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from iña'nin such)
o'ya openly
vi'ña o'ya a'tvaka she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14
o'pta also (Lesna: the whole; Kamchadal o'ptma the whole);
Chukchee o'ptma like)
a'ën o'pta geč'lıč'ın he also gave him fat Kor 15.4–5
qla'wul o'pta enka'ta tıla'i'niǩın a man also was walking there
Kor. 21.9
Quyqmna'qu o'pta e'wač Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5
go'ça ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'olen an other one she also put into
the storeroom Kor. 55.1
See also Kor. 56.5
oma'ka together
Ama'mqut a'ńke o'maka kaŋa'tr̋y̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬̬
vi'yăn, ve'ẽn (?)  
vi'yăn iskula'ṭi (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2  
vi'yăn ḱelapi'teño'v'ykn nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8  
na'no vi'yăn kisva'čik vā'ykn of course, it is there on the  
cross-pole Kor. 68.5  
vi'yăn gapanqai'pîlen (without clothes) but with a cap Kor.  
76.22

vi'n'va, vi'n'vun secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14  
va'juk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5  
va'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9

van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee  
demonstrative particle ḱan which is also used adverbially).  
vi'na-van minka'kîla no not by anybody else Kor. 40.7-7  
gaye'n na'no-van minuñana'wge not those I shall be able to  
eat Kor. 55.8-9  
a'mlin-van kitiv'e-li'ga peñci'ykn after that he rushed at her  
every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'ča perhaps Kor. 60.5

mači maybe  
ma'či wu'teuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7  
ma'či vi'lkə vā'ykn mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7  
me'ce mima'tage mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

mal well  
mal-kit properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9  
mal-kı'til very well! Kor. 21.5  
Also met-ki'tkit

male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7

ma'kwv somewhere Kor. 80.9

meńqan how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1  
meńqan mi'qun mo'i'mik how indeed shall I get water? 16.7-8  
meńqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

mi'qun (Paren mu'qun Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle  
mi'qun naña'ngin indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9  
mı'qun AmA'mqut e'wań Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11  
ya'qu mi'qun qatai'krgin what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7  
Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(ti'wqak [literally: I say] it seems Kor. 57.9)

ti'ta when  
ilus'pılın ti'ta mīnelo'cůla when we find a shaman's wand Kor.  
27.7  
ti'ta q'ummas tra'tik when was I at home? Kor. 68.13  
ti'ta o'pta nîmanwa't'an let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15  
ti'taq mu'yu mta'tlayi'pnoľa when did we feed on inner skin of  
dogs Kor. 48.9  

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tito-o'n after a long time Kor. 57.5
nimé very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8
cu'meq indeed Kor. 24.2
cenya'q really Kor. 56.1
cemece'tn it is so! Kor. 46.4
cini't since
cini't ennas'an q'it since thou art so Kor. 56.9–10
I'qiqai much less Kor. 49.1
I'gan simply
I'gan mintelhryalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3
Kima'k almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13
cale'LE, qale'LE vertically
kenam Kor. 39.3; kena'm Kor. 40.3 already
ki'wan truly Kor. 26.9
kit, ki'til see mal-kit
ki, kic (never in initial position) and
ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for ya'qkin see §§ 47, 59)
ki'tai; kitta' then (?)
ki'tai amyagale'she'tun taya'nikin then she wanted to go to the
porch Kor. 33.8–9
gümma kitta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10
kitta' atawalhila'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10
kitta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. en'he)
ki'tkit a little
ki'kit; ki'kic as soon as 84.3
ki'kit gayir'ilil as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3
ki'kic gayar'iqwil as soon as they entered Kor. 72.21
qai'gut indeed Kor. 84.23
qa'wun though
qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though later on thou
wilt marry someone Kor. 78.17
qa'cin
qa'cin plakge'she'tun nas'ca'nvogen for he had passed water into
the boots Kor. 14.2
qa'cin go'npu niki'ta ganas'tlen therefore altogether it became
night Kor. 16.6
qa'cin milya'qwil because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8
gayos'olen, qa'cin vi'tvitpiil they visited her, for there was a
small ringed seal Kor. 24.4
qa'cin naa'n tawi'tkriik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3
§129
§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the Russian (local) forms.

\[i, \text{i, dai} (и, даи) and\]
\[je (же) but\]
\[tolko (только) merely, only\]
\[dotopera (до топера) until now\]
\[potom (потовь) after that\]

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among these I mention

haił, haiłeq it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of meanings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch as the Russian adverb nopa IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction, although this does not agree with Russian usage.

-îme, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the Chukchee -um K. K. -am.

-ke (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than -me.

Kor. 84.1

for those were Bumble-Bee-Men

for without chewing he swallowed her

for am I human game

for this reason will you be (feel) wrong

for this reason will you be (feel) wrong

for without chewing he swallowed her

for this reason will you be (feel) wrong
-ven (never initial) Kor. 98.9. This emphatic particle corresponds to K. K. van, and may have been borrowed from Koryak.

kat then in the beginning of tales corresponds to Chukchee e'nmén.

e'wun and, and so corresponds to Ch. e'wun, K. K. Paren e'wun, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak.
lact how is it, WHEREFORE.

§131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

1. va'nèvan negative particle, not at all (stem probably vanè).

This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

va'nèvan minute'wur're'erkènen not at all land appears 7.3
va'nèvan nnuval'omnèn he would not hear anything
va'nèvan qina'n l'i qâlhi'gin? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4
yîliiI rurkinin têkîchin va'nèvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4
va'nèvan nule's'qin niyo'nèn they did not at all reach the ground 52.12
va'nèvan nënlu'rkenet kele'tà the kele could not see them at all 100.29
va'nèvan na'nayilhau'nèn a'tttn they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25
va'nèvan anto'këlèn ne'us'qàt the woman did not go out at all 54.8
va'nèvan qarè'm nnuval'omnèn he would not hear anything
va'nèvan dë'nìnet they could not see them at all 61.10
va'nèvan e'te a'lomka they did not hear anything 60.10
va'nèvan elu'kà they are invisible 62.1
va'nèvan eu'rrekèlin it is not visible 62.2

2. qarè'm; Kor. Kam. qaye'm; Kor. Par., qeye'm; Kor. II (village Qare'în and others in Kamchatka i'gut); Kamchadal.
x-e'nè, xë. Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

carè'm mmî'nmittik we shall not kill you 13.4
qarè'm mmî'etdyàk I shall not become black 23.6
qarè'm mihkûn'oa'n I shall not treat him 24.10
qarè'm mmumut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7
qarè'm mra'gîra'k I will not return home 99.2, 24
qarè'm elt'gâ rîneny'qîte'lyàf father will not allow me to live 99.15
qarè'm mi'llhà'ñ I will not do it 99.20
qarè'm mi'îlhi I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9
qarè'm miye'tyàf k I will not come a'men qarè'm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

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qare'm i'git! not now! (i.e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1
qare'm! no! (i.e., I shall not do it) 99.13
Kor. Kam. qare'm mla^'k, Kor. II. v'hut mle^'k, Kamchadal x'enë mnuk I will not eat

Koryak.—
achiva'n qaye'm this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3
qaye'm na'no-van minutana'wge I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8
qaye'm enalha?mik he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qare'm qawu'tak do not die! (i.e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from qare'm is the verbal form qare'men (Kor. Kam. qiyme'nen Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. qismënen) it is not so, not true.

qare'men e'tik lu'mnil it is not really a story 61.5
qare'menai'gum I am not this one 23.5
qare'men ordin'an he is not a human being 29.9
qare'meniqüm qal'ulëum I am not a man
qare'meniqüm nirul'jäm I am not feeble
qare'meniqüm ncurul'jäm I am not feeble
qare'meniqüm ncurul'jäm he is not feeble
qare'meniqüm ncurul'jäm I am not a woman 116.31
Kor. Kam. qiyme'w un impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. ev'në Kor. Kam. k1'tta, Kamchadal jak, x'e do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. elo' no elo' (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9
elë no 30.8
rält'uris-elo' what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4a. ca'mam no! I do not want to (referring to future events) 78.6; used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

ca'mam I do not want to 98.5, 8
ca'mam tre'ilhit I shall not give thee

5. e'Le not, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. e'Le, Reindeer Kor. e'Le, Kor. II., village Qare'nin and others in Kamchatka ella, Kamchadal qam Kor. Kam. ui'ñä instead (see below). See 15, 12, 21.3, 24.8

6. ui'ñä none (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor. Kam., ui'ñä, Kor. Par., ui'ñu e'Le, Kor. II., village Qare'nin and others in Kamchatka em, e'mma not. The Kamchadal uses qam (see above, under e'le). Kor. Par. uses also e'le alone

§131
ui'nd ep'i'nd I have no powder
See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—
čai ui'nd, t'aq ui'nd, tam-v'girm qümni'n no tea, no tobacco, mine is a good life!
(Kor. Par.) e'te ep'i'ndke I have no powder

Derived from this particle is ui'ndilin having none.
ui'ndilium ep'i'ndılimum I have none, I am without powder 59.2

§ 132. Interjections

Chukchee and Koryak are rich in interjections. These may be divided into several groups; namely, a) ejaculations expressing a state of strong emotion, without definite tone; b) exclamations expressing assent, disapproval, surprise, fear, pain, question, call, and answer, etc.; c) onomatopoetic interjections, sound pictures, imitations of sounds, such as singing of birds, thumping of stones, swishing of rapidly moving slabs, etc.; d) words and phrases used as exclamations. Some of these are derived from pronominal or conjunctival stems, while others can not be reduced to such sources, at least not at present.

a. Ejaculations

a! 45.3 (Kor. a! a! Kor. 55.5) oh!
qal R 104.48 oh!
o! 63.9 oh!
e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!
e! 101.20 all right
go, go! R 65.119 (call)
ga, ga! 122.1 call
qi, qi! R 72.16 ah, ah!
qe! 69.4 oh!
ggil! (Kor. ggg!) yes!
ggil! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. qek! Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!
ggil! 24.1 108.32; q'k! 10.1; 11.2; qi! 68.30; R 69.35; Kor. 51.1, 5; 58.6
gu! 26.4; go! 69.7; 108.19
ogogo!ogle! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!
guuguuguu! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!
Koryak
| e! oh! Kor. 47.1
| ye! ah! Kor. 49.2
| e'n! oh! Kor. 64.19

§132 a'ne! Kor. 49.3 i'ne'! Kor. 27.6
b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

**go!** expresses ignorance: *I do not know!*

**goña’arkin** to speak always of one’s ignorance; to answer: “I do not know.”

**Assent:**

* i! 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. o! Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.
  * i! 84.19 ah!

* egei’! 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. uqa’) all right! assent and approval.
  * egei’! 75.30 oh!

* taga’m! R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. toq! to! Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

* taga’m is used also as the usual leave taking.

* taga’m tewkwwe’erkin! R 41.98 (in Koryak toq is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is ye’ti? or less frequently ge’et-i-git;

  * R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. yati? have you come? as greeting)

The answer is *i! yes! or i, trye’tyäk! yes, I have come!*

**Greeting** borrowed from Russian, *toro’ma* (здоро́во) (Kor. *toro’va*) how do you do?

* tam contracted from taga’m, mostly with an ejaculation preceding, come! well!*

* ee, tam! 30.9; 89.23; e tam! 90.3. i, tam! 84.19. gi, tam! 84.14.*

**Assertion:**

* gu’nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!
  * gu’nä, qai’ve 24.8 indeed, yes!*

**Calls:**

* mei! 76.22 R 73.32; R 59.11, from man to woman 53.6; Kor. mai! Kor. 64.24 amei! Kor. 63.6; mei! Kor. 32.5; here addressed from a man to a woman; me! Kor. 100.5 K. Paren ve! Kor. 101.13; Koryak II Qarenin mei Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!
  * nä’ul 45.3 (Kor. nä’val) call among women wui’! 83.13; R 72.15; goi 60.2 (Kor. goi’) answer to call yago’! 67.8 (Kor yawo’! Kor. 33.9) halloo wago’! R 125.22 halloo! there, take it!*

**Disapproval:**

* e’wi! 120.10 so!
  * ee’! 81.17; 83.14; is it? (doubt and disapproval)
  * eei’! 108.19 aha! (doubt and disapproval) §132
Surprise:
Used by men
\textit{ka'ko'!} generally reduplicated \textit{kako, kako!} 8.5; 12.6; 68.31
\textit{oho!}; \textit{qako!} 84.10; \textit{qako, qako!} 77.26; 104.14; \textit{qa'ko} 21.4
\textit{kako, mei'!} 14.7; R 64.93. \textit{qa'ko mei!}, \textit{go'čo mei!}

Used by women
\textit{ke'ke'!} 52.2; 71.26.
\textit{ke'ke, na'ul!}
\textit{keke', keke', keke'!} 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.
\textit{če} Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.
\textit{qe'e} Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:
\textit{qokkoi'!} 63.1 oh, oh!; \textit{goqoi'!} 18.8
\textit{kokkoi'!} 22.5 surprise and fear
\textit{akakaka!} 87.14 sudden fright

Question:
\textit{wa?} (Kor. \textit{va?} Kor. 46.10) would you?
\textit{amto'?} 13.9; 80.4; R 92.18 (Kor. \textit{amto'?}) well? what news?
also used as a conjunction: \textit{amto' qitka'lhln?} how is your leg?

Pain:
\textit{gi,gi,gi} R 74.46 (Kor. \textit{mikikikik!} Kor. 29.1) sudden acute pain
\textit{qe, qe, qe!} 63.8 (Kor. \textit{iqigi'!} Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:
\textit{qa, qa, qa!} 85.17,28 (Kor. \textit{got!}) off! look out!

Laughing:
\textit{qa, qa, qa!} R 79.10
\textit{qigi} 30.2
\textit{gm!} 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:
\textit{gm!} R 72.20 (Kor. \textit{gm!} Kor. 31.2)
\textit{güm!} (terminal) 61.2
\textit{taqa'm, qapa'ae, güm!} 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:
\textit{go!} (Kor. \textit{go!} Kor. 49.6) I do not know
\textit{yau yau!} 66.17; R 73.35 wait a while! (Kor. \textit{ya'wo})

\textbf{c. Onomatopoetic Interjections}

\textit{qa,qa,qa!} R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox
\textit{gm, gm!} 105.27 barking of dog
\textit{m-m!} 106.15 mumbling of \textit{ke'le} (hence derived a noun \textit{mü'ümgin kele's mumbling})
\textit{kabeu', kabeu'!} R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan
aña', aña', aña'! 84.8 crying of small infant
ew, ev, ew! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial
cýg, cýg! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, píw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
piq, píq! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
(Koryak) vakikiki'! Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman’s calls
egegegegei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. qogogogoqo!); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)
ottototototoi'! 59.4
ottatatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman’s call
git, git, git, gige't! 39.9
go'we, gewe! R 306.1 raven’s shamanistic song
go'on-kale', go'on-kale' R 314.23 (Kor. go'on, go'on Kor. 48.2; ann, ann! Kor. 47.2; Koryak, umyu'um Kor. 90.15; Kor. II Pallan, raven’s cawing) raven’s shamanistic song
go'we, egegegei'! R 122.2 mosquito’s shamanistic song
R 306.7
qaia'qan, qaia'qan! foxes shamanistic song (a little more! at the same time onomapoetic)
go'we, ge'we, ko'onin R 315.31 polar bear’s shamanistic song

Calls of reindeer-herders
go, go, go, goq, goq, goq! 32.11 for driving the herd
qa, qa, qa, qaq, qaq, qaq!
eia', eia', eia'! R 307.13 for calling a broken reindeer (chiefly in offering it urine)
grr! R. 4.38 the same; also reindeer’s snorting, onomatopoetic

Interjections are often used in groups
guq, i! 9.13; gik, i'! 65.26 oh, yes!
ete', ta'm! (see before)
egi, gu'nä! 69.4 oh, indeed!

Answer to shaman’s call
git, git, git, gige't! 39.9

b. Words and phrases used as interjections

ma'ndêk, ma'ndêk um 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!
tte'net! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form
tte'net-i-git it is wonderful with you
tte'net-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you
tte'net-ve'rin it is wonderful with him (stem verin unknown otherwise)

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i, tu'n-nikek! oh, my! sudden surprise; (tur new; nikek verbal noun of indefinite verb nike (§82)
echinre'wän! 80.23 oh, goodness!
am no't amem! R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; em mere §113.5) not demonstrative particle (§57) amen adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!
čeg-a'lvam va'lin! 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!
vé nom wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun
vénom gna'n 55.11; 109.24 something like out with you!
abũ'mna! 120.16,23 (a ah, lümna again) only think of it!
sudden surprise (see also p. 854)
nre'qin-um! I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb req (§82)
rere'q-um R 75.6 I do agree! (causative re-requm)
re'qu lën mũna the same! R 73.24 (re'qu designative of req what; lümna again)
ra'qal 80.25 what of that; (req what; al otherwise unknown)
u'nmuũ a'ni, u'nmuũ a'ni-m e'un 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (u'nmuũ very, a'ni-m even so; e'un and so)

KAMCHADAL

| tea there!     |  qu call; ha lloo!   |
| tle there, take it! |   hé, hei answer to call |
| nux here!      |   qa what do you want? |
| ee yes         |   xi surprise         |

§ 133. Euphemism

For diseases, dangerous animals, and unfortunate events or conditions, euphemistic phrases are in use, some of which express the idea to be stated by the opposite idea.

nigttte'pqin (literally, clever) fool
cikaye'tu-walín (from ĉika'yon-walín intelligent) silly
ermē'urktn (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also
emtnē'urktn (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger
uulvšů (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear
leš'wulín (literally, the one who walks about) wolf
re'qatkurkn (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading
va'irgtnktn (from va'irgtn being) disease

§133
§ 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chukchee</th>
<th>Kor. Kamenskoye</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'rem</td>
<td>a'yim</td>
<td>commander (literally, strong man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tê'qenañ</td>
<td>ta'qana</td>
<td>tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teq-e'rem</td>
<td>taqa'-a'yim</td>
<td>chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>añañ-ra'ñ</td>
<td>añañ-ya'ñ</td>
<td>church (literally, spirit-house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-koi'ñim</td>
<td>e'tti-koi'ñim</td>
<td>glass (literally, ice-cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wui'gun</td>
<td>qwi'rin</td>
<td>fortified log-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-u'kkäm</td>
<td>puti'ñi kan</td>
<td>bottle (Russian бытыка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëy-i'mil</td>
<td>ëga'-mi'milì</td>
<td>brandy (literally, bad water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel'i'kel</td>
<td>kol'i'kalì</td>
<td>letter, book, writing (literally, carving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel'i'tul</td>
<td>kal'i'tulì</td>
<td>ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'aq-koi'ñim</td>
<td>ka'nêa</td>
<td>tobacco-pipe (local Russian raasa, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëmtel'-qal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yara'r-e'kkam</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aima'lqal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilh-u'kkäm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>plate (literally, white vessel)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no r, retain, however, the Russian r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>кол</th>
<th>кол</th>
<th>соль</th>
<th>salt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>торо’ма</td>
<td>торо’ва</td>
<td>здоровь</td>
<td>how is your health?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>че’вер</td>
<td>че’вер</td>
<td>четверть</td>
<td>quarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коро’ва</td>
<td>коро’ва</td>
<td>корова</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ка’сак</td>
<td>ка’сак</td>
<td>казакъ</td>
<td>cossack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>столь</td>
<td>столь</td>
<td>столъ</td>
<td>table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>торо’лан</td>
<td>торо’лка</td>
<td>тарелка</td>
<td>plate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Woman Who Married the Moon

E'nmen⁵ qol⁸ yara'chin⁴ ne'u's qat⁵ ûm⁶ qol⁸ ora'welal-nu'am-qat⁷ uwit⁸ quita⁹ e'niku⁹ get'elin,¹⁰ e'nmen⁵ geq'pqatlin,¹¹ woman the husband used her, then she was starving, and elvetiñe'tä¹² gene'lin¹³ em-qu'pqati.¹⁴ E'nmen² gitte'.¹⁵ Qin've'êr she was After that hungry.

um⁶ yara'chin⁴ lu'tin,¹⁶ res'qi'wkwi',¹⁷ čiče'pgi',¹⁸ e'ur¹⁹ teik'-a certain house she saw it, she entered, she looked about the same time evi'rin²⁰ gainmi'vûlen,¹¹ e'ur¹⁹ ĕpa'la'ha²² keme'ni²³ geyt'reezein,²⁴ garments were hanging, at the same time with tallow a dish was full, niqmâr'tvaqên²⁵ um⁶ e'nmen,² li'en: nipl'tkuqin,²⁶ nignt'nteu'qin²⁷ she eats and then, just she finished, she fled

notag't.²⁸ to the country.

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1 From W. Bogoras, Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII, pp. 86-89.
2 Once upon a time, also connective, and then, then; always in narrative (p. 858).
3 Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic qat is also used (§ 60, p. 732).
4 Stem ra house, yara probably reduplication from rara; -chin a particular one (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense there was a particular house.
5 Stem fecu female; -qat a suffix, probably related to others in -q-', but not free. Absolute form as before.
6 Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 849).
7 oras'or + tu'a what belongs to the human race (§ 54, p. 717); -t+ in contact form 1, (§ 7, 17; p. 664) the strong vowels of the word produce ablaut in the second part of the compound (§ 3, p. 646).
8 Subjective form in -ta (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).
9 E'nu'; verbal stem enk to reject, to refuse; -u suffix (103.34) expressing purpose, depending upon the following verb.
10 reti'rrkin or rett'rrkin to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem ret- initial; -t medial; ge-lin normalized verb (b) (§ 73, p. 758).
11 Stem qapqat (dít) to starve; ge-lin she who had attained a starving condition (§ 73); -t<+ (§ 7).
12 Stem evetiñ; -et adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); 2d Nominal Form I,3 (§§ 64, 95, p. 786).
13 Stem nel (§ 77); ge-lin (see note 10); -t<+ (§ 7).
14 em- mere (§ 113, 7, p. 816); qapqat to starve (see note 11; -d Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).
15 gitten to be hungry.
16 Stem lu-t to see; -nin he him (§ 67, p. 741).
17 Stem res'qi' to enter; -pi' he (§ 64, p. 738); wkw<+u-g (§§ 7.2, 72.4).
18 Stem čičep related to ličep to look (§§ 2; 122, p. 834), also čiče to look; -pi' he (§ 64).
19 Stem ličep to make; evi'rin garment, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 770); composition see § 5, 4, p. 830.
20 Stem gim to hang; suffix -yin frequentive or intensive (§ 110.54); ge-lin (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).
21 Áppi'kám tallow; subjective form in -q expresing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).
22 Keme'i'á dish, absolute form in -r (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).
23 Stem yin full; with suffix -et (§ 110, 70); ge-lin (see note 10); -t<+.
24 Stem qapqat; compounded with tag to be; n-qin one who is performing an action (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).
25 Stem p' and suffix -tku (§ 110, 67), compare p'rig if it is ended; n-qin see note 25.
26 Stem gnit; with suffix -gu (§ 110, 70); n-qin see note 25.
27 Stem nqap: -qfit after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).
Qla’ul29 püki’rgi30 čeivutku’i^n.31 Yi’ flohin 32 um3 qu’nüm, rif3 nut.32
A man came walking. The moon is really, what.

“Guq, čeq-a’lvam-valín.34 rif3 nut33 lei’vurkin35 qamitvala’arkin36
Oh, quite extraordinary being, what is walking is eating much,
ū’kkám-yri’il37 te’lprkin.37” “Ne’m e irga’tik39 ewkwe’tyī.40
vessel-full is finished.” Again in the morning he started.

Elve’lin41 l’en42 ple’kit 42 nénai’püqenät,43 nu’qam eu’rreklen 44
Other ones just boots he put on, however not appeared
ñe’wän.45 Ne’me qä’tr’,46 e’ur19 enqa’n47 ne’us’qät5 püki’rgi30
a wife. Again he went, at the same time
ūpā’ninn2 ne’m e lu’i’in.18 Qamitvala’tyē48 qan’ ve’r gin’kew’kiw49
the tallow again she saw it. Sheate much, after that she grew fatter.

Qla’ul 29 um6 ne’m e ragni’tē.50 “Guq, u’mnuñ a’ni.51 Čeq-a’lvam-
va’lin.34 Ra’ nut33 i-lo’n52 qamitvala’arkin53 Kita’m e’ur19 irga’tik39
being. What then is eating much? Well then this
in the morning
ečo’i vutku’ka53 mi’tyā’k5754 Ne’me am-gnötlor55 ne’lyī.56 Lu’ur57
not going let me be!” Again mere mid-day it became. Thereupon
ne’me no’ti58 ye’tyi59 res’q’ikw517 um6 ne’m e, takèchë’ti60 qä’tī.46
again behind there she came, she entered again, to the meat she went.

29 Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem qia (qi(a’)t) (§ 29); q before consonant becomes e
(§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).
30 Stem pükit in initial position; pki’n in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).
31 Stem leivu, related to leivu (§§ 2, 122); -tku (§ 110, 67); -ln one who (§ 54). See note 35.
32 Absolute form; predicative.
33 See § 69 p. 729; absolute form.
34 Eyq- EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); eyq DIFFERENT; aicam-wa’lra extraordinary (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem
ten-to-be, initial va- (§ 12.2, p. 661); -ln (§ 54).
35 Stem leivu, related to leivu (note 31); -tku derived form (§§ 64, 87).
36 See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); -let FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with t dropping out in intercalary position) (§ 10).
37 U’kkám dish, stem yir FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).
38 Stem telp; derived form (see note 35).
39 Stem eyq dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare irqto’lnoi it began to dawn 9.13; irqto’k at
dawn 10.5.
40 Plural.
41 Stem ipli- prefix ine- making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 23); -na’qin, one who is performing an action (§ 73), plural because referring to ple’kit: those that are being put on (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).
42 Stem ur(eu) often medially uerr; e-eko’in negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).
43 Derived from ëw female.
44 Stem medially loq’it; 34 person past, more frequently qa’tyi’/; tyt< t+g (§ 7.26, p. 654).
45 Demonstrative (§ 57).
46 See note 36, ty< t+g (§ 7.26, p. 654).
47 Stem ptk-t-eu (§ 110, 70); qekw< u+g (§ 7.2).
48 From ra house, probably the allative form raqti which serves here as verbal stem: tuq< t+g with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).
49 Particles (§ 125, p. 553).
50 § 125, p. 652.
51 Stem leivu, see notes 31 and 35; -tku (§ 110, 67); e-ka negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.
52 Stem it to be, 1st person subj. (a); ty< t+g (§ 7.26).
53 cm- MERGE (§ 113, 7); gmo’on middle; to’, að’o’ DAY.
54 Stem ada- to become; ly< t+g (§ 7); see Note 13.
55 § 126, p. 588.
56 Demonstrative particle.
57 Stem yel- TO COME.
58 Ëki’choin MEAT; allative form in -eti (§§ 58, 40).
Ne'me eči čit^i qam'tvarken, lu'ur pi'rinin.

Ne'me eči čit^i qam'tvarken, lu'ur pi'rinin.

Again before as before she ate, thereupon she took her.

"'Akakaka'! il'nä a'lya!"4 nqamara'gраd'en.5 "Gu, e'уnan

"Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!" she struggled. "Oh, so
gina'n.67 "Gu'nä, a'lya, qine'rриhi.188 "'Gu'nä, il'nä. Qare'm6

then." "Oh, away! let me go!" "Oh motionless. Not

minre'qewkur,70 minmulo'ur.71 Gik, ia'm nilie'i'vutku-гir?72

I shall do anything to thee, I will question thee. Oh, why

Qai'вв éti'вв-гir?728 "U'i'nä."74 "E'mim?" "Uwä' e'чи'а' e'нку
did you hast a master?" "No." "Where is he?" "My husband to rejection

gine'tcilin,75 gеnaneaatvau'lên,76 gineq'pqeulin."77 "En qa'm78

used me, he cast me off, he let me starve."

'Va'нe'van79 wu'tku80 yara'čiku81 re'qan82 qineln'rkin.7384 "'Va'нe-

not at all here inside of the house something thou hast seen." "Nothing."

van."85 "Guq, a'mен84 ńм, minmata'гir."85

"Oh, then let me marry thee."
I'kw'wi90 en'ño't91 nåwanè'ti,'92 "En'ñe93 a'ntoka94 ralkočikor'pu.'95 He said thus to his wife, "Don't not going from the inside of the outer inner room.

Min're's'qumik,96 li'en' êót-tagnè'ti97 ple'kiit92 qåni'ntimìnet.'798 Let us enter, just put pillow edge to boots throw them.'

E'nmen93 ri'ntimìnet.99 E'nmen93 lu'ùn100 vai100 keme'ùn23, em-keme'ni55 Then she threw them. There there—here a dish, a mere dish.

es'q'i'kw'wif,17 e'un101 ere'ta102 ge'yi're'lin.103 Qam'tvaat104 ne'me came in, then with boiled meat being full. They ate, again

li'en ne'nvuî't̠90 keme'ùn23 irga'tik39 úm6 kiye'wkwå'it.106 E'un101 just they put out the dish, in the morning they awoke. At that time

ekeme'ù39 gite'nin107 ne'us'qåta108 genu'mkeulîn109 the dish she saw it the woman, it was put in its proper place.

Ne'me céi'vutkutî.92 Ñe'lvulin,10—"Gîk,irga'tik39 úm6 munine'tcimik'111 Again he went. He obtained a pillow;—Oh, to-morrow let us have a thanksgiving ceremonial.

Tai'nkwc112 en'ñe93 gna'm6 enne'kà113 qântrigînet."114 E'un101 The charm-strings don't thou not carry have them for ones being thus.' And so

nayopa'tyâ'n115 ena'tôiyo116 ilvlulô,117 c'ón118 tai'nkwc112 gene'linet.118 they went to it made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial wild reind, and so the charm-strings were on it.

Guq, yrlq̕a'tyiâ't.119 Irga'tik39 úm6 kiye'wkwå'it,106 ne'me Oh, they slept. Next morning they awoke, again

90 Stem in; suffix -qì; wkw<ú+y (§ 7).
91 See § 58, p. 727.
92 Stem ne'wàina wife: -êì ALLATIVE (§ 40).
93 § 131.3.
94 Initial stem Atto, medial nto to go out; -ê—kå not (§ 114.4).
95 Stem ríkwe: -eke interior (§ 101.24); -pù ablative (§ 42).
96 Stem res'qù to enter; subjunctive (a), min—nilk let us (§ 64); see Note 17.
97 êótl pillow; êe'gùn edge; -êî ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE L. THE OUTER TENT.
98 Stem iat; t- to cause to (§ 114.1 c); qù—ñiñet THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).
99 Stem and prefix as in note 98; -ñiñet HE—THEM (§ 67).
100 Demonstrative particle; stem wët; (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.
101 § 125, p. 855.
102 êeret boiled meat; -â instrumental (§ 37).
103 Stem yir full. See note 24.
104 See notes 25, 30, 45, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending -pù, with intervocalic k dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).
105 Stem neù.
106 Initial stem kty+eu, medial gg+eu, suffix -eù; wkw<ú+y (§ 7).
107 Stem pîte to see, -ñim HE—HIM (§ 67).
108 See note 5, -â SUBJECTIVE as subject of transitive verb.
109 Transitive prefix t-, in medial position -u-(§ 114.1); stem xmk+eu (§ 110.70); go—lin (§ 73).
110 Stem îre WILD REINDEER, -u- to consume (§ 111, 71); ge—lin (§ 73).
111 Stem iñë to HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps iñë+tê but never used without iné; cf. Kor. Kam. ina-êzë-ay); subjunctive (a), mata—mik let us (§ 64).
112 tai'nkculin pl. tai'nkut misfortune-PROTECTOR; Stem taihà to TRESPASS; tuk protector (§ 105.43).
113 ê—kå negation (§ 114.4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in -(t)â dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 760), initial stem rnc, medial ne.}

114 Initial stem rt, medial nt; qù—ñiñet THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).
115 Stem yogat to visit; ng—gin they—HIM (§ 67).
116 Stem iñë, see note 111; -yo past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).
117 Stem iné, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).
118 Stem neï; ge—linet, 3d person plural (§ 73).
119 Stem ylgàt to SLEEP; ty<ù+y (§ 7).
Čeivutkurkin. 87 "Reqım 82 a'men 84 î'unin, 129 "No'onqan 121 če'nîl 122
he was going. "What then he said to her, That trunk
en'ne 83 enve'ntetkā 23 qant'rkın. 124 En'ne 93 pegi'tnu 125 e'llhikā. 126
don't not opened have it for one that is thus.
Don't for object of concern not having it as one.

I'limi 127 quwalo'mürkin 128 um 6 vē'tī. 129
However obey truly.
Gik, e'men 2 čeivutkuir, 87 če'nîl 122 ruwentečewi'ni'n. 130 E'un 101
Oh, then he went, the trunk she opened it.
And so
E'n'ki 131 ne'usqat 15 nenanya'tqen, 132 en'men 2 lu'e'lqāl 133 či'nat'a 134 va'llin, 134
there a woman was placed then destined to split being
qāça'kān 135 le'qač 136 nu'uqin, 137 qol 138 um 6 nič'e'loqêñ. 139 le'qač, 136
one side side of face black, the other red side of face.

E'men 2 ne'usqat 15 yik'rga 140 puke'nnin: 141 "Pr."
Then the woman with mouth made a noise at her: "Pr!"

E'men 2 git'enin, 107 e'ut 109 ñan 142 vai 109 vi'it', 143 pêkagta'tyê. 144
Then she saw her, at that time that one here died, she fell down.

E'men 2 rinennoma'ññen, 145 mińkri 146 nayilhau'qên, 147 qaiilo'qim. 14
Then she closed it, how she was afraid of course.

Puki'rgi'-m 149 uwā'guqê. 150 Res'qi'wkwâ'st. 151 Va'nêvañ 79 n'ytvînëñ, 152
He came the husband. They entered. Nothing she told him,

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120 Stem ia to say; -nin he-him (§ 67).
121 That yonder, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).
122 Absolute form (§ 28).
123 Stem went to be open; r- et causeative (§ 114, 1): e- -kā negation (§ 114, 4).
124 Stem r, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).
125 pegi'tn concern; -nu serving for (§ 103. 34).
126 Stem -liñ (§ 78); e-kā negation (§ 114, 4).
127 Disjunctive conjunction (§ 128, p. 554).
128 Stem wadom to hear; imperative of derived form (§ 64).
129 Particle (§ 125, p. 865).
130 Stem went to be open; r- et causeative (§ 114, 1); -cewiu contracted from -çet -ywu(u), (§100.54,56); she opened with great care and after several attempts; -nin he-him (§ 67).
131 Locative.
132 n-šag-n-raq-t-qin (§ 74; also § 114.1).
133 § 103.37.
134 Stem čiñ; suffix-ät; verbal noun in -(t)ı dependent on the following participle ca'trn.
135 qap'gim belonging to one side (§ 47).
136 ty' face; quă' side of (§ 101, 26).
137 See § 49.
138 See § 60, p. 732.
139 n- gin (§ 49)
140 yik'yiqqir mouth; -a subjective (§ 37).
141 -nin he-him (§ 67).
142 Demonstrative (§ 57).
143 Stem vi' to die, vi'it' <vi'piť with loss of intervocalic p (§ 10).
144 Stem pêkag't; suffix -at
145 Stem om(r); r-at (§114.1); n-ënu prefixes, n- n transitive, en- intransitive (7).
146 Stem miłk (§ 68, p. 727)
147 aytihau; n- gin (§ 73).
148 Particle (§ 128, p. 871).
149 Contraction of um.
150 Absolute form (§ 28).
151 Ending wkwašt <u-göt'.
152 Initial stem tuw, medial tuv; ni- nêñ (§67, Ia 6).
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See § 123, p. 859.

143 See note 147, transitive form; n—nēn (67, Le 6).

144 Initial stem luw+aun, medial lu+aun TO BE UNABLE; 3 p. pl.

145 From keme′ni dish; -gat allative; with ablaut (§ 3).

146 Initial stem ur+eun.

147 It is a wonder! (Interjection).

148 From demonstrative stem ena.

149 Interrogative adverb.

150 Negation (§ 131.5).

151 Stem rent, see notes 123, 130; r—et causativr (§ 114, 1); i—kalin negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).

152 Stem walam to hear, listen, obey, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.

153 Stem luw, see note 132; imperative.

154 Stem luw; -nin he—him; with ablaut (§ 3).

155 Stem tei—um (§ 125, p. 857).

156 Stem gite to see; it—pik 1—him.

157 Stem gite to see; ine—(§ 61); i—kalin negation (§ 114, 4).

158 Stem puket; it—pik 1—, intransitive (§ 64).

159 2d person sing.

160 See note 94; 2d person, nominative verb (§ 73).

161 Stem pereal to obey; e—kalin negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.

162 qiaw′em but with some reason (§ 128, p. 854).

163 2d person nominative verb (§ 73).

164 Absolute form, perhaps for rar-rar (§ 29).

165 Stem yit; qi−pi thou—me, imperative; transitive form.

166 r−eu to cause; -nin he—him.

167 Stem e′un, with vocative u; therefore with loss of intervocalic g of the suffix -pā.

168 -gat very (§ 113, 22); stem am−nin anger; ipā to put on; ge−lin' (§ 73).

169 Stem reli; -sīqet intensity (§ 110, 59); ge−lin (§ 73).

\[ \text{e'nmēc}^{153} \text{ um}^{5} \text{nay} \text{r} \text{hau}^{nēn}^{154} \text{ Ple'kit}^{42} \text{ ri'ntninét}^{99} \text{ cot-tagā'eti},^{97} \]

because she feared him. The boots she threw out pillow-edge to,

\[ \text{e'nmēn}^{2} \text{ a′tēk}^{155} \text{ luw}^{a} \text{wkwa}^{v} \text{ kama'g}tī,^{157} \]

then to wait they were unable for the dish.

\[ \text{Guq, uwa}'\text{q}^{150} \text{ ur}^{e} \text{wkwi}^{2},^{158} \text{ "Guq, qa'ko. Tite'net}^{v} \text{e}^{′} \text{r}^{i} \text{n}^{.}^{159} \]

Oh, the husband appeared, "Oh It is wonderful.

\[ \text{En′a}^{1} \text{e}^{mi}^{1} \text{ Qai′v}^{1} \text{e}^{c′} \text{le}^{162} \text{ ce}^{′} \text{ur}^{122} \text{ i}^{′} \text{nen}^{v} \text{e}^{′} \text{t}^{k} \text{āl}^{−} \text{i}^{−} \text{g}^{i} \text{t}?^{163} \]—

Now where is it? Indeed not the trunk

\[ \text{"E′Le."}^{163} \text{ "Na'q}^{a} \text{m} \text{ um} \text{ e′} \text{mi?} \text{ Gu′nā quwal}^{0} \text{ō}^{m} \text{ur}^{k} \text{i}^{′} \text{n}^{k} \]

After that she told him, "Namely I saw her.

\[ \text{qatu}^v \text{g}^u\text{n!}^{1} \text{ Qan′v}^{e} \text{r} \text{ tu′\w\nēn}^{.}^{166} \text{ "Emite′ t}^{1} \text{umi}^{167} \text{ tig}^\text{e}^{′} \text{a′e}^{.}^{164} \]

She did not see me, laugh!

\[ \text{Inegite′ k}^\text{ālin,}^{169} \text{ e′le.}^{163} \text{ Yikit}^{r} \text{g}^{a}^{1} \text{1}^{160} \text{ tu}^{p} \text{uk}^{e}′ \text{ty}^{i} k,^{170} \text{ lu′ur}^{57} \]

With the mouth I made a noise, thereupon

\[ \text{kaplēt}^{ā}t′\text{y}^{.}^{.}^{2}^{7}1^{7}1 \]

she fell down."

\[ \text{Guq, e′q}^{′} \text{a}^{′} \text{l}^\text{vam}^{a} \text{v}^\text{a}^{′} \text{l}^{−} \text{g}^{i} \text{t.}^{172} \text{ Ləm agērō}^{l} \text{kal−g}^{i} \text{t}^{?}^{173} \text{ Atta′u}^{m}^{1} \text{u}^{.}^{174} \]

Oh, quite extraordinary you are. Why didst thou not obey? With reason

\[ \text{e′um}^{1} \text{ uwa}^v \text{′q}^{e} \text{q}^{e} \text{ṭ}^{i} \text{t}^{.}^{8} \text{ E′} \text{n}^{\text{k}^{u}^{a}^{9}} \text{ ge}^{′} \text{t}^{e} \text{t}^{a} \text{g}^{i} \text{t}^{.}^{175} \text{ Yə′r}^{a} \text{r}^{a}^{7} \text{6}^{6} \text{ rai}^{.} \text{ qine′i}^{l} \text{h}^{i}.^{1771} \]

and so the husband from there

\[ \text{E′\nmēn}^{2} \text{ r}^{i} \text{ni}^{r} \text{g}^{i} \text{r}^{i} \text{g}^{e} \text{u}^{\text{n}}^{i} \text{n}^{.}^{178} \text{ E′\nmēn}^{2} \text{ e′ui}^{i}.^{179} \text{ En′q}^{a} \text{m}^{a}^{7} \text{ lu′ur}^{57} \]

Then he drummed on. Then she revived. Then thereupon

\[ \text{gāq}^{\text{t}^{a}} \text{t}^{i} \text{ni}^{n} \text{mai}^{′} \text{pūl}^{i} \text{n}^{i} \text{e}^{.}^{150} \text{ keme′ni}^{2} \text{3 gerel}^{	ext{'}} \text{i}^{′} \text{s′q}^{i} \text{e}^{′} \text{t}^{i} \text{lin}^{.}^{181} \]

she was quite angry, the dish she pushed in strongly.
In the morning they awoke, he carried her (back).

The husband deserted thee. Let me carry thee (back).

To the father he carried her (back), to the father-in-law he said to him, "Oh,

I indeed watching I could not do her."

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\[182\text{ Stem *rle; initial rle, medial nle; derived form; -nin he—him (§ 67).}

\[183\text{ An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).}

\[184\text{ Stem ra house; paral'm he who has a house; 2d person sing. (§ 73).}

\[185\text{ Stem *rle, see note 182; min—git let me—thee.}

\[186\text{ ELI'gin father; allative (§ 40).}

\[187\text{ Stem *rle, see note 182; -nin he—him.}

\[188\text{ Stem psr to come; ri—eu causative (§114, 1); -nin he—him.}

\[189\text{ From mata to take, to marry; absolute form.}

\[190\text{ Subjective form (§ 56).}

\[191\text{ Adverbial.}

\[192\text{ gintit to watch verbal noun in -k depending on the verb l'au.}

\[193\text{ Initial stem luv+au, medial lvi+au cannot; it—gatn i—him.}

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KORYAK TEXT

LITTLE-BIRD-MAN AND RAVEN-MANa

Valvimtila'ninti1 e'cor2 Pici'qala'n3 nawninoivo'yke4 Quyqinn'a
Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-
qu'yik.5 Quyqinn'a'qu Pici'e'qala'n6 gaimanimivo'ykin,7 e'wan,8
Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,
Gumna'n9 nawa'kak10 Pici'e'qala'n6 tiva'liinn.11 Miti' e'wan,3
"I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Miti' said;
"Gumna'n9 nawa'kak10 Valvimtila'n5 tiva'liinn 11 Va'yuk Val-
vi'mtila'n5 vi'n'va nitoi'kin,12 a'la'ta13 ayweivo'ykin,14 ata'wawa15
Man secretly went out, with excrement
ayweivo'ykin.14 Kiyaw'laike,16 e'nik17 va'ñvolai'ke18 qapa'au19 qu'iti20
he ate. They awoke, there are lying
i'wu'wi.21 Newñivo'ykinenat,22 'Mi'kinak23 ga'nmilenau?24 Valvim-
tila'n,3 'Gumna'n."9

Man, "I."

1 -ini dual of personal nouns (§ 35).
2 Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.
3 -n as in note 1;
4 ñaw woman; ña auxiliary vowel; -ny to work as a herdsman; -ny to begin (§ 110, 63); -nye derived
5 Quyqinn Raven; used only in augmentative; -nqau augmentative (§ 98.2); y(t) personal plural suffix
for-wegi (§ 35); -k locative (§ 38).
6 -näfl allative used with personal nouns (§ 41).
7 gaimat to desire; -ñoo to begin (§ 110.63); -ykin derived form (§ 65).
8 Stem su to say. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, says he.
9 Subjective form (§ 56).
10 -naw female; akâk son.
11 yt- yl future; ytl- stem to give; -flin him, future (§ 68).
12 -ño to go out; -kiñ derived form, 3d person singular.
13 Subjective here as instrumental; stem of excrement.
14 Stem awpt; -ñoo to begin (§ 110.63); -ykin derived form, 3d person ing. (§ 68).
15 ati'a dog; ñawu carrion; subjective here as instrumental.
16 Stem kiyan to awake; -laike 3d pl. per. derived form.
17 Locative adverb.
18 Stem ma to re, in initial position ma (§ 18, p. 674); -ñoo to begin; -laike 3d per. pl., derived form.
19 qapa'au, plural in u (§ 34, p. 732).
20 Non-personal form, dual (§ 69, p. 695).
21 For ña'gwi plural (§ 34).
22 Stem in to say; -ñoo to begin; -ñoo-ñkinenat derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).
23 Subjective form (§ 39).
24 Stem km in media position ngi to kill (§ 18); -ñoo nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

898
Va'yu'g gawy'a'lyQen,25 qo'npu en'næ'tan26 ama'lat'an.27 Quyqinn'a-
Afterwards 'a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting better.
qu'nak28 gewʃwvo'lenat,29 "Toq, qama'ltva'thitrk.30 Ma'k31 yamalii-
Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it
tva't'n,32 na'nyen33 tyanwatt'næ'nün.34 Valv'mtla'n, "Gùmma35 better,
that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I
mimalitva'trk.33 E'wa'n,3 "Qinatinu'La'ttrk!37 ñño'q pla'kri'n38 shall make it better."

Patai'klinau,39 Ga'liqatin.40 E'ník41 va'ño' wyposaż41 e'n'migenc42 they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff, 
yenotoño'vrolet.43 Pici'qala'n3 fitoño'vrolet,44 enke17 va'ño'vrolet,41
he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed, 
awyño'vrolet.44 Çemuy'aq Piçi'qalanai'ttr45 Valv'mtla'n3 qaa-lapir-
vo'vrolet.46 Pici'qala'n yanr'wikin,47 ui'nña i'wka48 enuño'vrolet.49 
fooked. Little-Bird-
Valv'mtla'n4 E'ník17 va'yr'wikin.41 E'nænæ'26 qo'npu vuvalanñítvo'yokin,50 
Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm, 
ui'nña ama'lat'an.27 Go, va'yu'g gaya'liqwilin,51 r'm-pla'ku52 gaqi'tlinuau,53
not not it became Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen, 
qaci'n plakgcnc'ttn4 ma'caño'qen,55 ini'nünik pla'ku52 gaqi'tlinuau.53
mean- into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.

"Qiyine'wun, i'yän71 gac'i'malin." Va'yu'g Piçi'kala'n gewñwo'len46

"Impossible, heaven 3 is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

25 Stem in initial position wordl medial  width; py verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
26 Stem in initial position wordl medial  width; py verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
27 Stem mal good; a; èsa negative (§ 114, 4).
28 Subjective in -nak (§ 59).
29 Stem in to tell; -åth to begin; ga- inan normalized form of transitive verb, 3rd pers. dual (§ 74).
30 Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 376).
31 Stem mal good; tv to to: q-åtik imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).
32 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.
33 qina- látik imperative, ye-me; -a(-) n to make (§114.2); nu provisions.
34 Stem plak boot; -åtik 3d pers. pl. more frequently pla'ku.
35 Stem tatík to make; ga-linau normalized form of transitive verb, 3rd pers. pl. (§ 74).
36 Stem lqat to go; nominalized form, 3rd pers. sing. (§ 73).
37 Stem teu in initial position te to stay; -ño to begin; -ykin derived form.
38 -pá base (§ 101.21), locative.
39 ye-desiderative; nu to eat; -cu intensive action § 110.67; -åth to begin; -ykin derived form.
40 Stem fino to go out; -ño to begin; -ykin derived form.
41 -år allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).
42 Stems uma bad; lila to see; yp to put on; ñño'yectin as in note 44.
43 ya'liqlu, Ch. re'sqiu to enter; derived form.
44 Stem in to say; a-ka negation (§ 114, 4); a contracted with i to i.
45 Stem in to to; -åto ykin as in note 44.
46 Stem wápc in medial position wordl; -at (§ 110.70) (see note 25).
47 ya'liqlu to enter (see note 47); ga- inan normalized verb (§ 73).
48 Tem all (§ 113.6); -u plural (§ 34).
49 qil frozen; ga- linau normalized verb, 3rd pers. pl. (§ 73).
50 plak boot; qil bottom; -år allative (§ 40).
51 Ofa urinary; -ño to begin; n-quin normalized verb (§ 73).
52 Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.
"Tryant'oy'kin, 60 plakge'ten', 54 triyan'ëaño'oy'kin?"61 Gew'nilo'lenau 42 should go out, into the boots shall I urinate?" He said to them Quyqinn'auq'nak, 28 "Qalqala'trik, 63 kitta'n aña'wt'nkâ'nilu 74 Va'yu kBig-Raven Big-Raven Big-Raven he said, "Wrong now." Some small fat 5 he took; a stopper, a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, the sky's cëma'thü'tün 75 qalte'në'na 76 gai'pilen, 77 aça'pil 66 ee'të'nil 71 gâni'nâ'linal, 78 cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;

pêc' gama'la'lin. 79 for a while

Gù'mlân gayai'tilen, 80 gù'mlân gawyalo'len. 25 Nà'nyen 23 Gù'mlân gayai'tilen, 80 gù'mlân gawyalo'len. 25 Nà'nyen 23 Stopper came out there was a snowstorm. That

qalte'në'nin 68 ganqu'lin 81 yayaëkko'itê'nin 82 nepplu'qin 83 mi'qun. E'wân, 8 Stopper came out there was a snowstorm. That

"Qiyime'wun. The sky is broken." Big-Raven Big-Raven Big-Raven He said, va'sqin gata'i'kilin 86 nima'yanqin 83 gei'lijin, 84 a'ên 66 o'pta nima'yanqin 83 another one he made a large one that he gave it, fat also large gei'lijin, 84 Ga'lqalin 70 gu'mlân, panenaitê'nil 85 gayi'nâ'linal. 72 Ga'la'lin, 73 he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,

pâ'nëna 65 nà'nyen 23 qalte'në'nin 68 mal-kit 86 ga'npilen, 87 tala'wga 88 that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

57 gu'n- thou; -yaq indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.
58 Stems mal, too WELL, to BE; imperative.
59 Second person personal pronoun gin (§ 56; 129, p. 576 under yaq).
60 triya- 1, future; stem ñto, medial nito; derived form.
61 See note 56, 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.
62 See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.
63 Stem lqat TO GO; qa- jatik imperative, dual.
64 a-ka NEGATION (§ 114, 4);.swoman.
65 Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).
66 ñuñ FAT: -pil SMALL (§ 100.15).
67 Stem akmit; qa- in nominalized verb (§ 74).
68 Absolute form (§ 30).
69 -pil small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.
70 Stem lqat TO GO (see note 63); qa- in nominalized verb (§ 73).
71 Absolute form lya'ni Sky; -ñi ablative.
72 Stem yika TO FLY UP; qa- in nominalized verb.
73 Stem initial ña, medial ña TO MOVE, TO GO; qa- in as before.
74 Belonging to the sky (§ 47).
75 Absolute form.
76 Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).
77 Stem sip TO STOP UP, CLOSE; qa- in as before, here with ablaut.
78 Stem ñiña (Ch. [ñi]) TO THROW; qa-in nominalized verb.
79 Stem mal GOOD.
80 Stem ytik (ablative of ya HOUSE) TO GO HOME.
81 Stem yiku, medial nqis TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).
82 Stems yiku-house; ñiku INSIDE; -ñi ablative, with terminal nasalization.
83 -pil SMALL: n- gin (§ 49) ma'g(a) large.
84 Stem yñ, medial yñ TO GIVE; petit'ïn instead of gall'ïn irregular.
85 panina before, former; absolute form pa'nin; adverb pa'nena AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; ñi ablative, with terminal nasalization.
86 ma'ñ-ki'ñ well, ALL RIGHT (Ch. met-ki'thi, met-ki'ñ someHow); mal (Ch. mel, mel) see § 113.10 and 11; (Ch. ki'ñ, adverb, a LITTLE).
87 ytp, medial-np TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; qa-in with ablaut.
88 Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem ñqà TO STRIKE.
he shooked the hole; altogether it became better.

Gala'lin; 33 na'nyen 33 Val'r'mtla'n aq'a'nn'u 33 ga'čćelín. 94 Miti'nak 95
He came; that Raven-Man to hate they had. At Miti's
eńį'na vagañ'ekm. 96 newńi'vo'ykm. 22 Val'r'mtla'n, "Meńqanqa'čę 97
near he was sitting, she said to Raven-Man, "How
enńi'vo'ykim, 49 ni'me a'laččińi'vo'ykim?" 98--"Mi'qun, 99 ui'ñá yu'laq 100
it happens to thee, quite thou smelliest of
excrement?"—

Akle'woka 101 trn'ef'il.k. 102 Gewńi'vo'len 50 "I'ńač, ga'lqata! 103 Uį'ñá
without bread, I have been." she said, "Enough, go away! Not
mi'qun amalatva'ęča 104 i'čti!" 105 Ga'lqatlín. 70 Pčći'qałanak 28 na'nyen 33
even not making better thou wilt!" He went. Little-Bird-Man that

Yin'į'naıawgut gama'ñalen. 106
Yin'į'naıawgut married.

Toq, gał'ail'ulín. 107 inya'wut gamuqu'ail'ulín. 108 Val'r'mtla'n
Oh, summer came, then it was raining. Raven-Man

Ti'yktiy 109 gaya'łapln. 110 Qaći'n qo'npu niki'lt'ana gana'ñalen. 111
the sun took in mouth. So altogether night it became.
Va'yu'k gewńi'vo'len, 56 "Ča'ąl, qaimi'qe!" 112--"Meńqan mi'qun
Then they said, "Ča'ąl, fetch water!" — "How even
ma'į'mik?" 113 Va'yu'k gewńi'vo'len, 56 "Meńqan ni'me miṭi-
Then they said, "Why" quite we
paš'į'ken. 114 Va'yu'k missavį'yala. 115 Ga'lqatlín 70 qaičayići'ñá, 116
are thirsty. Then we shall die." She went
groping.

Enč'ą'an wūs'qimę'ku, 117 va'yu'k ga'ny'lin, 118 ga'ny'ol'en 119
thus in the dark, then she stopped, she began
E'wañ, \textsuperscript{8} "i'min qai-vai'amiti \textsuperscript{121} alña'we'veya," \textsuperscript{122} Va'yuken singing. She said, "All the little rivers are stingy." Then
gani'kalin \textsuperscript{123} enkai'ti \textsuperscript{124} vai'ampilin, \textsuperscript{125} gañvo'len \textsuperscript{119} cílalat'ik. \textsuperscript{126} Then
did so to that place a small river began bubbling.
Gayr'cæalin \textsuperscript{127} milh-uk'kam, \textsuperscript{128} yaitet'ti \textsuperscript{129} ga'lvqatin; \textsuperscript{70} milh-uk'kam \textsuperscript{128} began

gemtei'plin; \textsuperscript{130} qla'wul gälälín. \textsuperscript{73} Gapkau'len, \textsuperscript{131} e'wañ, \textsuperscript{8} "Gümna'n, \textsuperscript{9} she

carried on her head; "I, gümna'n m'mtin." \textsuperscript{132} She came home in the dark. That one

galimuena'len \textsuperscript{133} vai'am. Gewrivo'len, \textsuperscript{56} "Eni'na ma'ki?" E'wañ,
"Gümna'm \textsuperscript{33} Vaiamenai'-gäm. \textsuperscript{134} Gewrivo'len \textsuperscript{56} they began
"I am the River. I pity had that

giya'plahin." \textsuperscript{137} Gewrivo'len \textsuperscript{119} nawa'kak \textsuperscript{10} kitai'nak. \textsuperscript{138} Na'nyen\textsuperscript{33} daughter
scolding. That one

To, va'yuken qo'npu wüs'qu'mečku \textsuperscript{117} vañvolai'ke. \textsuperscript{139} Gewrivo'len \textsuperscript{56} River,
oh, then altogether in the dark they remained. He was told
Vai'am, "Me'nqan \textsuperscript{97} niki'ta \textsuperscript{140} miritvañvolai'kin?" \textsuperscript{141} E'wañ, \textsuperscript{8} "Men'qan \textsuperscript{97}
River, "Why in the night we remain?" He said, "Why
mi'qun?" Lawtktel'činim \textsuperscript{142} vi'tvitin \textsuperscript{45} gai'pilen, \textsuperscript{143} ganto'len, \textsuperscript{94} ayi'-indeed?"
Head-band of ringed seal thong he put on, he went out at
kvan gaqayichjanuño'vo'; \textsuperscript{146} vantige'\textsuperscript{117} gato'mwalen. \textsuperscript{148} Va'efi-
a small light began to be; dawn was created. Then
yuk gewrivo'len, \textsuperscript{56} "Me'nqan \textsuperscript{97} m'mtin?" \textsuperscript{149} Yini'a-na'wout they talked,
"How shall we do it?" Yini'a-na'wout

\textsuperscript{120} Stem gya'pčak; verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).
\textsuperscript{121} Stem gai,-small, related to Chukchee suffix -qīt (§ 98.4); -mit, after terminal m of vai'am, -tį dual (§ 34).
\textsuperscript{122} 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem aįįé STINGY.
\textsuperscript{123} nika something (§ 60); pa--lin verbalized.
\textsuperscript{124} -it allative (§ 58).
\textsuperscript{125} Diminutive in -pįt, absolute form in -tį (§ 30).
\textsuperscript{126} Stem cílalat'įt to bubble; verbal noun, in -kį, dependent on fo'o to begin (see notes 138, 150).
\textsuperscript{127} Stem yii'tį to be full.
\textsuperscript{128} mi'tį strike-a-light, fire (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); u'kkqam vessel.
\textsuperscript{129} yait to go home (see § 95); verbal noun allative.
\textsuperscript{130} Stem iıt to carry; -pop to put to; pa--lin with ablaut.
\textsuperscript{131} Stem pkan to be unable.
\textsuperscript{132} Stem int to carry; subjunctive (a) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.
\textsuperscript{133} Stem i'mu'nena to follow.
\textsuperscript{134} Stem vai'am river; -ena suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).
\textsuperscript{135} ga'iwat to have pity with; designative in -u (§ 94).
\textsuperscript{136} -ín i--mim (§ 65); stem èl (§ 79).
\textsuperscript{137} Compare note 120.
\textsuperscript{138} Stem yii't to be; 1st pers. pl., derived form.
\textsuperscript{139} Compound noun laut head, k'iffetčin band (from kiff to the (§ 55; 106.44). .
\textsuperscript{140} Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in -in (§ 29, p. 990, note).
\textsuperscript{141} Stem pop to put on.
\textsuperscript{142} Stem i'to, in initial position i'to to go out.
\textsuperscript{143} qai--small; èčh to dawn, to light fill to begin; pa--lin nominalized verb.
\textsuperscript{144} Stem vant to dawn; pe'átn (§ 106.44).
\textsuperscript{145} I I fo'o to be created.
\textsuperscript{146} Stem yt, in medial position yt to do, make (§ 80).
“What wilt the Raven-Man, preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. “Halloo, Raven Man is staying?” Raven-Woman said, “He is.”

Gewi'vo'len Valvi'mtilal'n, “As’s'o’ qati’,”114 qo’npu’a’la’va ttwa’ilvok.”115

He was told Raven-Man, “Since you left, altogether wrong I was.”

Gayo’olen116 Valvi’mtilal’n, gewi’vo’len, “Gria’sa117 qa’ciik ui’na

She found Raven-Man, “Thou really not al’va a’tvaka?”118 Qe’nui’vo?118 Qa’pten119 gayi’tilen,160 yai’na161

wrong verti’ “Wilt thou stay so?” The back he turned, to the front yili’yikin.162 G’imi’la’ni qa’pten li’yikin.163 Va’yu’k ga’no’vo’len119 in the armpits tickling, she turned him. Again the back he turned. Then she began čichi’nik114 yi’yi’gicha’wik,165 gaxečheņqatvinvo’len;166 čake’ta167

in the armpits putting her hands in his armpits; the sister gewi’vo’len,56 “Quya’qi?118 I’nač! E’nnu mal-ña’witkata.”119 Va’yu’k said, “What is the matter with thee? Then enka’iti124 ga’no’vo’len,119 “Gm, gm, gm!” Qo’yin120 yi’envo’ykinen.171 there to he began, “Gm, gm, gm!” To the other side she turned him.

Va’yu’k gaktaca’čałen172 “Ga, ga, ga!” Ti’ylktiy109 gace’pi̇to’len,172

Then he laughed aloud, “Ga, ga, ga!” The sun peeped out, i’ya’f174 ga’plin,175 qo’npu’ gečha’len.176 to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

114 Stem tenma TO PREPARE; verbal noun in -k dependent on fie TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); -ču intensity of action.
115 -ki̇la a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).
116 Derived form of stem tev, in initial position va TO BE.
117 Va’çet< Valvet (§§ 16.2; 122).
118 Stem Qa’t TO WALK, in initial position qa; 2d pers. sing.
119 Stems tev-fie TO BE-TO BEGIN, ti—k 1st pers. sing.
120 Stem yo’ TO VISIT.
121 Absolute form (§ 56).
122 Stem fi TO BE fiu TO BEGIN; q (u)—(§ 68), no personal ending.
123 Absolute form.
124 y’ll TO TURN; ga—in nominalized verb.
125 ga’na TO MEET; adverbial: face to face.
126 ci—causative; li TO TURN; derived form, he—him.
127 Stem li TO TURN; derived form.
128 Locative.
129 yi—aw causative; yi’lich TO ITCH.
130 Stems čichi’ihi ARMPITS; qate TO PUT IN; -fi TO BEGIN.
131 Subjective as subject of transitive verb.
132 yaq WHAT; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).
133 mal GOOD; faw—tqat WOMAN; here subjective.
134 qo’yin allative of qo’ya’. (See § 43, p. 705.)
135 See note 163; the same form with added fiu TO BEGIN.
136 Prefix 1—VERY (§ 113.22); abacat TO LAUGH; ga—in with ablaut.
137 Stem liqep, medial qep; for qep, see § 16.3; 122. fito TO GO OUT.
138 Locative (see note 71).
139 Stem 6q TO FASTEN ITSELF.
140 Stem čéh, ičh TO DAWN (see note 146).