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THE BUREAU
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1908.

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

Yours, respectfully,

W. H. Holmes,
Chief.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New York, February 26, 1910.

Franz Boas.
HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

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

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INTRODUCTION

By Franz Boas

I. RACE AND LANGUAGE

Early Attempts to Determine the Position of the American Race

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

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

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

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

Classifications based on Physical Type, Language, and Customs

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

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

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

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

Relations between Physical Type, Language, and Customs

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recent investigations of the physical types of Europe have shown with great clearness that the distribution of types has remained the same for a long period. Without considering details, it may be said that an Alpine type can easily be distinguished from a north-European type on the one hand, and a south-European type on the other. The Alpine type appears fairly uniform over a large territory, no matter what language may be spoken and what national culture may prevail in the particular district. The central-European Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Slavs are so nearly of the same type that we may safely assume a considerable degree of blood relationship, notwithstanding their linguistic differences.
Instances of similar kind, in which we find permanence of blood with far-reaching modifications of language and culture, are found in other parts of the world. As an example may be mentioned the Veddah of Ceylon, a people fundamentally different in type from the neighboring Singhalese, whose language they seem to have adopted, and from whom they have also evidently borrowed a number of cultural traits. Still other examples are the Japanese of the northern part of Japan, who are undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, Ainu in blood; and the Yukaghir of Siberia, who, while retaining to a great extent the old blood, have been assimilated in culture and language by the neighboring Tungus.

Permanence of Language; Changes of Physical Type

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

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

**Changes of Language and Type**

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

**Permanence of Type and Language; Change of Culture**

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

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

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

Hypothesis of Original Correlation of Type, Language, and Culture

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Artificial Character of All Classifications of Mankind

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

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

Definition of Language

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

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

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

Character of Phonetics

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

Number of Sounds Unlimited

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

Each Language Uses a Limited Number of Sounds

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

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

Alleged Lack of Differentiation of Sounds in Primitive
Languages

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Brief Description of Phonetics**

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial stop</th>
<th>p</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguo-palatal stops:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apical (dental, alveolar, post-alveolar)</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral (produced with the tip of the tongue turned backward)</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorsal:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal (a stop produced with the vocal chords)</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all these stops may be modified by giving to the closure a different degree of stress. In English we have two principal degrees of stress, represented, for instance, by our b and p or d and t. In many languages, as, for instance, in Sioux and in the languages of the Pacific coast, there are three degrees of stress that may be
readily differentiated. The strongest of these we call the "fortis," and indicate it by following the consonant by an ! (p!, t!).

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

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

A third modification of the consonants is brought about by the strength of breathing accompanying the release of the closure. In a sound like t, for instance, the sound may be simply produced by closing the mouth, by laying the tip of the tongue firmly against the palate, producing a slightly increased amount of air-pressure behind the tongue, and then releasing the closure. On the other hand, the sound may be produced by bringing about the closure and combining the release with the expiration of a full breath. Sounds which are accompanied by this full breathing may be called "aspirates," and we will designate the aspiration by \( \acute{\text{v}} \), the symbol of the Greek spiritus asper. This full breathing may follow the stop, or may begin even before the completion of the closure. With the increased stress of closure of the fortis is connected a closure of the glottis or of the posterior part of the tongue, so that only the air that has been poured into the vocal cavity is expelled.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 See P. W. Schmidt, Anthropos, II, 834.
most characteristic form, is produced by the expiration of the breath
with all the articulating organs at rest.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labio-dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingua-labial</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingua-dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingual</td>
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<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apical</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorsal</td>
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<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veral</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td>l'</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Unconsciousness of Phonetic Elements

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

**Grammatical Categories**

**Differences in Categories of Different Languages**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the same language the SEAL in different conditions is expressed by a variety of terms. One word is the general term for SEAL; another one signifies the SEAL BASKING IN THE SUN; a third one, a SEAL FLOATING ON A PIECE OF ICE; not to mention the many names for the seals of different ages and for male and female.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Grammatical Processes**

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

**Word and Sentence**

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

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

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

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

Nevertheless there are certain elements contained in our definition which seem to be essential for the interpretation of a sound-complex as an independent word. From the point of view of grammatical form, the least important; from the point of view of phonetics, how-
ever, the most fundamental, is the phonetic independence of the element in question. It has been pointed out before how difficult it is to conceive the independence of the English *s*, which expresses the plural, the possessive, and the third person singular of the verb. This is largely due to the phonetic weakness of this grammatical element. If the idea of plurality were expressed by an element as strong phonetically as the word *many*; the possessive part of the word, by an element as strong as the preposition *of*; and the third person singular, by an element like *he*—we might, perhaps, be much more ready to recognize the character of these elements as independent words, and we actually do so. For example, *stones, John's, loves*, are single words; while *many sheep, of stone, he went*, are each considered as two words. Difficulties of this kind are met with constantly in American languages. Thus we find in a language like the Chinook that modifying elements are expressed by single sounds which phonetically enter into clusters which are pronounced without any break. To give an example: The word *aničlōt* *I GIVE HIM TO HER* may be analyzed into the following elements: *a* (tense), *n 1, i HIM, a HER, l TO, o (direction away), *t* TO GIVE. Here, again, the weakness of the component elements and their close phonetic association forbid us to consider them independent words; while the whole expression appears to us as a firm unit.

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

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

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

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

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

In other cases, where the organic connection becomes so firm that either both or one of the component elements may never occur without signs marking their close coupling, they will appear to us as a single unit. As an example of this condition may be mentioned the Eskimo. This language contains a great many elements which are quite clear in their significance and strong in phonetic character, but which in their position are so limited that they always follow other definite parts of the sentence, that they can never form the beginning of a complete phonetic group, and
that the preceding phonetic group loses its more permanent phonetic form whenever they appear added to it. To give an example: *takuvoq* means he sees; *takulerpoq* means he begins to see. In the second form the idea of seeing is contained in the element *taku-* , which by itself is incomplete. The following element, *-ler,* can never begin a sentence, and attains the significance of beginning only in connection with a preceding phonetic group, the terminal sound of which is to a certain extent determined by it. In its turn, it requires an ending, which expresses, in the example here selected, the third person singular, *-poq;* while the word expressing the idea of seeing requires the ending *-voq* for the same person. These also can not possibly begin a sentence, and their initial sounds, *v* and *p,* are determined solely by the terminal sounds of the preceding elements. Thus it will be seen that this group of sound-complexes forms a firm unit, held together by the formal incompleteness of each part and their far-reaching phonetic influences upon one another. It would seem that, in a language in which the elements are so firmly knit together as in Eskimo, there could not be the slightest doubt as to what constitutes the word in our ordinary sense of the term. The same is true in many cases in Iroquois, a language in which conditions quite similar to those in the Eskimo prevail. Here an example may be given from the Oneida dialect. *Watgajijanegale* the flower breaks open consists of the formal elements *wa-* , *-t-* , and *-g-* , which are temporal, modal, and pronominal in character; the vowel *-a-* , which is the character of the stem *-jija* flower, which never occurs alone; and the stem *-negale* to break open, which also has no independent existence.

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

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

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

Ambiguity in regard to the independence of parts of the sentence may also arise either when in their significance they become dependent upon other parts of the sentence, or when their meaning is so vague and weak as compared to the other parts of the sentence that we are led to regard them as subordinate parts. Words of this kind, when phonetically strong, will generally be considered as independent particles; when, on the other hand, they are phonetically weak, they will generally be considered as modifying parts of other words. A good example of this kind is contained in the Ponca texts by the Rev. James Owen Dorsey,\textsuperscript{1} in which the same elements are often treated as independent particles, while in other cases they appear as subordinate parts of words. Thus we find péama these (p. 23, line 17), but jābe amá the beaver (p. 553, line 7).

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

Other examples of this kind are the modifying elements in Tsimshian, a language in which innumerable adverbial elements are expressed by fairly weak phonetic groups which have a definite position. Here, also, it seems entirely arbitrary whether these phonetic groups are considered as separate words, or whether they

\textsuperscript{1}Contributions to North American Ethnology, vi.
are combined with the verbal expressions into a single word. In these cases the independent existence of the word to which such particles are joined without any modification will generally determine us to consider these elements as independent particles, provided they are phonetically strong enough; while whenever the verbal expression to which they are joined is modified either by the insertion of these elements between its component parts, or in some other way, we are inclined to consider them as parts of the word.

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

**Stem and Affix**

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion of Grammatical Categories

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

It seems desirable to discuss the second of these points somewhat more fully before taking up the description of the characteristics of American languages.

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

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

GENDER

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

**PLURAL**

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

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

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

**CASE**

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

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

**TENSE**

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

**Personal Pronouns**

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

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

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

**Demonstrative Pronouns**

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

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

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

The (singular or plural) house visible near me
   invisible near me
   visible near thee
   invisible near thee
   visible near him
   invisible near him

while the Eskimo would express a term like this man as

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

Verbal Categories

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

Much more fundamental are the existing differences in regard to the occurrence of tenses and modes. We are accustomed to verbal forms in which the tense is always expressed with perfect definiteness. In the sentence *The man is sick* we really express the idea, *The single definite man is sick at the present time.* This strict expression of the time relation of the occurrence is missing in many languages. The Eskimo, for instance, in expressing the same idea, will simply say, *single man sick*, leaving the question entirely open whether the man was sick at a previous time, is sick at the present time, or is going to be sick in the future. The condition here is similar to the one described before in relation to plurality. The Eskimo can, of course, express whether the man is sick at the present time, was sick, or is going to be sick, but the grammatical form of his sentences does not require the expression of the tense relation. In other cases the temporal ideas may be expressed with much greater nicety than we find in our familiar grammars. Generally, languages in which a multiplicity of tenses are found include in their form of expression certain modifications of the tense concept which might be called "semi-temporal," like inchoatives, which express the beginning of an action; duratives, which express the extent of time during which the action lasts; transitionals, which express the change of one state of being into another; etc. There is very little agreement in regard to the occurrence of such tenses, and the characteristics of many languages show that tenses are not by any means required for clear expression.

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

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

When we consider for a moment what this implies, it will be recognized that in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed, and that each language has a peculiar tendency to select this or that aspect of the mental image which is conveyed by the expression of the thought. To use again the example which I mentioned before, The man is sick. We express by this sentence, in English, the idea, a definite single man at present sick. In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible form that could be given to it, definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible. Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course, have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person. An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house. In Eskimo, on the other hand, the same idea would be expressed by a form like (single) man sick, leaving place and time entirely indefinite. In Ponca, one of the Siouan dialects, the same idea would require a decision of the question whether the man is at rest or moving, and we might have a form like the moving single man sick. If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding modalities of the verb; thus the Kwakiutl, whose language I have used several times as an example, would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not; and, in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows by hearsay or by evidence that the person is sick, or whether he has dreamed it. It seems, however, better not to complicate our present discussion by taking into consideration the possibilities of exact expression that may be required in idiomatic forms of speech, but rather to consider only those parts of the sentence which, according to the morphology of the language, must be expressed.

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

Origin of Dialects

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

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

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

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

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

Comparison of Distinct Languages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Mutual Influences of Languages**

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

**Phonetic Influences**

This is perhaps most clearly evident in the case of phonetics. It is hardly conceivable why languages spoken in continuous areas, and entirely distinct in vocabulary and in grammatical structure, should partake of the same phonetic characteristics, unless, by imitation, certain phonetic traits may be carried beyond a single linguistic stock. While I do not know that historical evidence of such occurrences has been definitely given, the phenomenon as it occurs in South Africa, among the Bantu and Hottentot, admits of hardly
any other explanation. And the same is true, to a more or less pronounced extent, among other distinct but neighboring languages. The possibility of such a transfer of sounds can not be denied. Among the American Indians, for instance—where intermarriages between individuals belonging to different tribes are frequent; where slave women raise their own and their masters’ children; and where, owing to the small number of individuals constituting the tribe, individuals who have mastered several distinct languages are not by any means rare—ample opportunity is given for one language to exert its phonetic influence over another. Whether this explanation is adequate, is a question that remains to be decided by further historical studies.¹

**Grammatical Influences**

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

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

¹See also p. 53.
Cases of the introduction of new suffixes in European languages are not by any means rare. Thus, the ending -\textit{able} of French words has been adopted so frequently into English that the ending itself has attained a certain independence, and we can form words like \textit{eatable}, or even \textit{get-at-able}, in which the ending, which was originally French, is added to an English word. In a similar way the French verbal ending -\textit{ir}, combined with the German infinitive ending in -\textit{en}, is used in a large number of German words as though it were a purely German ending. I do not know, however, of any observations which would point to a radical modification of the morphological traits of a language through the influence of another language.

\textit{Lexicographic Influences}

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

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

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

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

Origin of Similarities; by Dissemination or by Parallel Development

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Influence of Environment on Language**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Influence of Common Psychic Traits

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

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

\[ \text{Diagram of overlapping types} \]

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

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

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

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

**Uncertainty of Definition of Linguistic Families**

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte.*
IV. LINGUISTICS AND ETHNOLOGY

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

Practical Need of Linguistic Studies for Ethnological Purposes

First of all, the purely practical aspect of this question may be considered. Ordinarily, the investigator who visits an Indian tribe is not able to converse with the natives themselves and to obtain his information first-hand, but he is obliged to rely more or less on data transmitted by interpreters, or at least by the help of interpreters. He may ask his question through an interpreter, and receive again through his mouth the answer given by the Indians. It is obvious that this is an unsatisfactory method, even when the interpreters are good; but, as a rule, the available men are either not sufficiently familiar with the English language, or they are so entirely out of sympathy with the Indian point of view, and understand the need of accuracy on the part of the investigator so little, that information furnished by them can be used only with a considerable degree of caution. At the present time it is possible to get along in many parts of America without interpreters, by means of the trade-jargons that have developed everywhere in the intercourse between the whites and the Indians. These, however, are also a very unsatisfactory means of inquiring into the customs of the natives, because, in some cases, the vocabulary of the trade-languages is extremely limited, and it is almost impossible to convey information relating to the religious and philosophic ideas or to the higher aspects of native art, all of which play so important a part in Indian life. Another difficulty which often develops whenever the investigator works with a particularly intelligent interpreter is, that the interpreter imbibes too readily the views of the investigator, and that his information, for this reason, is strongly biased, because he is not so well able to withstand the influence of formative theories as the trained investigator ought to be. Anyone who has carried on work with intelligent Indians will recall instances of this kind, where the interpreter may have formulated a theory based on the questions that have been put through him, and has interpreted his answers
under the guidance of his preconceived notions. All this is so obvious that it hardly requires a full discussion. Our needs become particularly apparent when we compare the methods that we expect from any investigator of cultures of the Old World with those of the ethnologist who is studying primitive tribes. Nobody would expect authoritative accounts of the civilization of China or of Japan from a man who does not speak the languages readily, and who has not mastered their literatures. The student of antiquity is expected to have a thorough mastery of the ancient languages. A student of Mohammedan life in Arabia or Turkey would hardly be considered a serious investigator if all his knowledge had to be derived from second-hand accounts. The ethnologist, on the other hand, undertakes in the majority of cases to elucidate the innermost thoughts and feelings of a people without so much as a smattering of knowledge of their language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Theoretical Importance of Linguistic Studies

Language a Part of Ethnological Phenomena in General

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

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

Language and Thought

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

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

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

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

**Unconscious Character of Linguistic Phenomena**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An example of what is meant by polysynthesis is given, for instance, in the following Eskimo word: takusuariartorumagaluarnerpå? DO YOU THINK HE REALLY INTENDS TO GO TO LOOK AFTER IT? (takusuarpå] he looks after it; -iartrialoq] he goes to; -uma[voq] he intends to; -g]^aluar[poq] he does so—but; -ner[poq] do you think he—; -å, interrogation, third person.) It will be recognized here, that there is no correspondence between the suffixed elements of the fundamental stem and the formal elements that appear in the Indo-European languages, but that a great variety of ideas are expressed by the long series of suffixes. Another example of similar kind is the Tsimshian word t-yuk-ligi-lo-d’Ep-ddLt he began to put it down somewhere inside (t, he; yuk to begin; ligi somewhere; lo in; d’Ep down; ddL to put down; -Lt).

American languages have also been designated as incorporating languages, by which is meant a tendency to incorporate the object of the sentence, either nominal or pronominal, in the verbal expression. Examples of this tendency are the Mexican ni-pella-tsiwoa I MAKE MATS (pella-tl mat); or the Pawnee ta-t-t’ka’wit I DIG DIRT (ta-...
ative; *t- I; *t'kär* dirt; *-pit* to dig [*rp* in contact, form 'w']); or the Oneida *g-nagla*-sl-i-zak-s I search for a village (*g- I; *nagla* to live; *sl-* abstract noun; *-i-* verbal character; *-zak* to search; *-s* continuative).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BY

PLOMY EARLE GODDARD
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Text
ATHAPASCAN
(HUPA)

By Pliny Earle Goddard

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATHAPASCAN FAMILY

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

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

1 The principal works which treat particularly of the Athapascans of the north are the following:

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans: In the Years 1789 and 1793. London, 1801.


——. The Déné Languages. Transactions of the Canadian Institute, 1, 170-212. Toronto, 1891.

——. The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Toronto, 1904.
The Pacific coast division formerly consisted of one band in the interior of British Columbia, two small bands in the state of Washington, and many villages in a strip of nearly continuous territory about four hundred miles in length, beginning at the Umpqua river, Oregon, and extending south between the coast and coast range mountains to the head waters of Eel river in California. At the Klamath river their territory was cut through at one point by the Yurok who occupied the lower portion of that river and the coast southward nearly to the mouth of Mad river. From that point the non-Athapascan Wiyot extended along the coast a little south of the mouth of Eel river. These villages were separated in many cases from each other by low but rugged mountains. They were surrounded by the small stocks characteristic of the region.

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

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

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

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1 Publications treating this division of the Athapascan are:


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2 The published material concerning this division is mostly restricted to the Navaho, and has been collected by one author, Dr. Washington Matthews. The more important of his works are: The Mountain Chant: a Navaho Ceremony. *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887. Navaho Legends. *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, V. Boston, 1897.


§ 1
Galice creek being the most distinct. In the southern portion of the area, on Eel river and the coast, are several dialects differing much more in vocabulary than in phonetics. That Indians from the extremes of this territory can converse in their respective languages is not probable. On lower Mattole and Bear rivers and the adjacent coast a very distinct dialect was spoken. In the middle of this Pacific coast division are two dialects very closely connected. One of them was formerly spoken on upper Redwood creek and middle Mad river in Humboldt county, California; and the other, the Hupa of which this paper treats, on the lower (northern) portion of the Trinity river.

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

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

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

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

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

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1 For a general account of the Hupa villages and their surroundings, see P. E. Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa. University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1, no. 1.—Hupa Texts, idem, 1, no. 2.

2 The Morphology of the Hupa Language, idem, III.

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

The stops may be represented as follows:

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<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Anterior palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
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<tr>
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<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>((\epsilon))</td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
<td>(t)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(k)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
<td>-</td>
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The continuant consonants of Hupa comprise spirants, affricatives, nasals, and liquids. A glottal spirant occurs after as well as before vowels. Initially it is a surd breath escaping as the glottis passes from

---

1 Compare Hupa lo\(\text{tilleswen} \) \( e \) carried, and mon\(\text{ilex} \) \( e \) you finished, with Kato \(\text{telesgin} \) and ben\(\text{iltk} \).
the open position maintained in breathing to the position required for the vowel, and is written $h$. It is rather stronger than English $h$. When final, the spirant is caused by the sudden opening of the glottis without diminution of the force of the breath, and is written ('). It has been noted only where it is most prominent, or where it differentiates one word or word-element from another. One of the spirants ($x$) imparts a noticeable harshness to the Hupa language. It is formed rather far back in the mouth, apparently in the velar position. The mouth-passage is made quite narrow, and the uvula is thrown into vibration. The period of these vibrations is about forty per second. The resulting sound is harsh, both from the lowness of the period and from its irregularity. The degree of harshness varies considerably in individuals, and, indeed, in the same individual. While the sound is not far removed from the velar $r$ in its place and manner of formation, its effect on the ear is rather that of German $ch$ after back vowels. In Hupa, however, this sound is usually initial. There is no corresponding sonant in Hupa. It does occur in Navaho; as, for example, in the proper pronunciation of $hogan$ house, where the first consonant is nearly like the Hupa sound, and the second is its sonant. There is a spirant pronounced in the palatal position, but accompanied by marked labial rounding. It closely resembles $w$; but it is a surd, not a sonant. When this sound is initial ($hw$), it appears to begin without rounding of the lips, sounding much like English $wh$ in who. When final ($w$), the sound makes much less impression on the ear. It is to be distinguished from $x$ by its lack of roughness, and from both $x$ and $h$ by the rounding of the lips. It differs from a bilabial $f$ in that it is accompanied by a narrowing of the mouth-passage in the palatal position. Another spirant ($l$) common on the Pacific coast, and found in Hupa, causes great difficulty when first heard. It is formed at one or both sides of the tongue, as is $l$, but differs from that sound in that the breath which passes through the opening is surd instead of sonant, and that the passage is narrower, causing a distinct spirant character. When the passage is entirely closed and the breath must break its way through to continue as a spirant, an affricative $L$ is formed. Both of these sounds, but especially the latter, impress the ear of one unaccustomed to them as combinations of $t$ or $th$ and $l$. The spirant $s$ in the alveolar position is frequent in Hupa, and does not differ espe-
cially, either in its method of formation or in its sound, from English s. The sonant z does not occur except when preceded by d. There are no interdental, labio-dental, or bilabial spirants except the rounded palatal spirant, \(h_w, w\), discussed above.

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

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

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

The continuants may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Anterior palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(h ('))</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(h_w (w))</td>
<td>(l) (lateral)</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>(h_w (w))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tc, tow, dj, L</td>
<td>ts, dz</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(\bar{n})</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(l) (lateral)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complete system of consonants may be tabulated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Anterior palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(h ('))</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(k (k))</td>
<td>(h_w (w))</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(\bar{n})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(g, gy)</td>
<td>(k, ky)</td>
<td>(l) (lateral)</td>
<td>tc, tow, dj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>(t (t))</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>ts, dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(h_w (w))</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(y, \bar{y}, i, \bar{i}, \bar{e}, e, a, \bar{a}, o, \bar{o}, \bar{u}, w\)

§ 2
The vowels in Hupa are formed with much less movement of the lower jaw and lips than is employed in the corresponding sounds in English speech. The Hupa seem to talk with their mouths nearly closed. As a result, the sounds are not open and clear, but muffled. These vowels may terminate in a sudden opening of the glottis, resulting in an aspiration of the vowel; or in a closure of the glottis,\(^1\) bringing the vowel to an abrupt close. When aspirated, the whole vowel has a breathy quality; and when closed by a glottal stop, it sounds hard and compact.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

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

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

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

§ 4. Assimilation of Sounds

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

(1) **Retrogressive.**

- *t* before *n* becomes *n*.
  
  *tcūhwilkinneen* he nearly caught me (for *tcūhvīlkitneen*)

- *t* before *m* becomes *m*.
  
  *yailkimmiñ* they intended to catch (for *yailkīlmiñ*)

- *ū* before *l* becomes *l*.
  
  *yawīn* an he picked up a stone (but *yawillai* he picked up several stones)

- *t* before *l* becomes *l*.
  
  *noiwīllillite* it will be foggy (for *noīwīllillite*)

- *ū* before *t* or *d* becomes *n*.
  
  *neilīn* I am looking at it (but *neilinte* I am going to look at it)

- *ū* before *m* becomes *m*.
  
  *yawīn* an he picked it up (but *yawimmas* he rolled over)

(2) **Progressive.**

- *h* after *l* becomes *l*.
  
  *tcūkqallit* as he walked along (for *tcūkqalhit*)

- *w* after *ū* becomes *ū*.
  
  *tēwnīnṇas* he scraped bark off (but *wēvōas* I scraped bark off)

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

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

- tcēi'iiyulhe is always lying down
- tcūweswaL he remained lying down
- tcissilwaL he is lying down
- tcilloi'ie he tied it
- tcinnestenhe lay down
- tcittesyyai he went
- tcūkqal he walked

**GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)**

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

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

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

§ 6. Composition

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

These sound-complexes expressing complete thoughts might be looked upon as sentences, which they often are, and their constituent parts as monosyllabic words, but for the following reasons: First, the individual parts, expressing definite ideas or relations, are not always phonetic wholes capable of independent production. These may be thought once to have had a more complete form, and to have
united with other elements of the word with which they came in contact through the disappearance of one of the vowels or by their contraction. It is, however, possible that from the beginning of the language they have had this meager form. Second, some of these elements, while existing as independent syllables, express relations or subordinate ideas which do not seem to arise in the mind of the Hupa when these syllables by themselves are uttered, but which readily arise when the syllables are uttered in their accustomed connection. Both of these statements are true of some of the monosyllabic elements of spoken English. The difference is not one of kind, but of degree.

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

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Root

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

1. Changes in the terminal consonant.
2. Changes in the character and length of the vowel.

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

Changes in the Character and Length of the Vowel.—Certain vowel-changes occur in connection with the change of terminal consonants, and are perhaps tied up with them. These are a change of *a* to *ã*, and of *e* to *i*. The stronger vowels, *a* and *e*, occur with *n*; and *ã* and *i*, the weaker ones, with *ã*. The threefold consonant-change, *l*, *r*, and *L*, has *e* before *L*, and *i* before *l* and *L*. Other changes take place in cases where there are now no final consonants. These are *ã* to *c*, *au* to *a*, and *ai* to *a*. In all the pairs given above, the first-named is considerably longer in its duration than is the second. Probably these changes, the direction of which is not known, came about by a change in the position or force of the accent, whether of stress or pitch.

§ 8. Position

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

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

(§§ 9-19)

§ 9. Enumeration of Categories

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

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

1The pairs *ã*, *e*, and *au*, *a*, are represented in Kato and other Eel river dialects by *e*, *e’, and *a*, a’.

§§ 8, 9
§ 10. Denominating Concepts

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

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

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

§ 11. Predicating Concepts

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

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

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

§ 12. Syntactic Relations

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

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

§ 13. Classification

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

There are no grammatical forms by which objects are classified. Classification is sometimes indicated, however, in the verb, the stem expressing the character of the object to which the predicate refers.

§§ 12, 13
the objects being characterized as long, round, flat plural in number, etc. In the intransitive verb this classification relates to the subject; in the transitive verb, to the object.

§ 14. Number

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

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

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

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

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

§ 15. Distribution

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

- tce niñyaï he went out
- tce nindeL two went out
- tce yanindeL they went out
- tcre deL one by one they went out

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

- yawiñεan he picked up a stone
- yawiillai he picked up stones
- yateεan he picked up a stone here and there

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

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

§ 16. Time

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

 tcinniňya he has just arrived
tcinniňyai' he arrived some time ago

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

§ 17. Mode

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

 Leyanillai they built a fire
 Leyanillaxolan they must have built a fire [here are the ashes]

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

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

§ 18. Place and Direction

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

§ 19. Person

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

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 20-88)

Nouns (§§ 20-27)

§ 20. Structure

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 21. Formative Elements

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

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

1. -xoi inhabiting; added to the name of a place.
   Lōmitta'xoi glades among people (the New River people)

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

3. -kyō large, an augmentative.
   koskyō bulb large (Chlorogalum pomeridianum, the soap-root)
4. -ite, -tc SMALL, the diminutive suffix.
   medilitce canoe small (from medil canoe) 102.9
   djelatce small storage-basket 158.13

5. -yaaw SMALL, YOUNG. Used of trees.
   niltúkyauw young black oaks (from niltúk black oak)

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

7. -dií PLACE.
   tsee åin brush-place (a grave)

8. -ta' PLACES.
   mila'kinta' its hands bases places (its wrists)

9. -kút ON.
   miskát a landslide on (the name of a village)
   denokút the sky (this us on) 286.12

§ 22. Compounds

There are five classes of compound nouns:

1. A few nouns stand in juxtaposition without a subordinating possessive prefix. In a few cases the second noun seems to qualify the first: for example, Lugaran snake river (an eel). If these compounds are introduced by a possessive prefix, the first noun qualifies the second: for example, kixxakkin its net pole.

2. When the second of two nouns forming a compound has a possessive prefix, the first qualifies the second and is subordinate to it: for example, dindai' mitotcwé FLINT ITS GRANDMOTHER (a bird).

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

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

5. Compounds similar to the last have for their last element words indicating abundance or lack of the quality named by the first part of the compound. Examples are: mâxxaixxol en ITS CHILDREN HAVING (doe), mitotdeédin ITS MIND LACKING (an infant).
§ 23. Verbs as Nouns

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

- nañya it comes down (rain)
- nilliñ it flows (a creek)
- nündil they come down (snow)

For the passive voice the following may be cited:

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

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

- nax-kekōs-naduwvul two its necks waving about (nax two: ke its; kōs neck; waL to strike [a monster])
- sas'xauw in the mouth a liquid is put (acorn-soup)

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

- miltcōlvul with he chops (an axe)
- kiinadil with them they travel (wolves)

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

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

§ 24. Plural of Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keltsan</td>
<td>keltsän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsúmmeslon</td>
<td>tsúmmeslon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xúxai</td>
<td>xúxai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvittsoi</td>
<td>hvittsoixai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikkil</td>
<td>nikkilxai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xõltistoe</td>
<td>xõltistoeixai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgin, maiden</td>
<td>a fully grown woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a child</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your younger brother</td>
<td>his sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25. Possession

Possession is indicated by prefixes which are shortened forms of pronouns. These vary according to the person and number of the

§§ 23–25
limiting noun or pronoun. Many nouns, upon taking the prefixes, add a syllable to the end, which seems to have no other office than the preservation of the symmetry of the word in some way. This added syllable has e for its vowel, but is preceded by various consonants, apparently suggested by the final sound of the original word.

- millitde its smoke (from Lit smoke)
- nōliṅke our pets (from liṅ a pet, a dog)
- xōhwinne her song (from hwin, a song)

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

§ 26. Locative Suffixes

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

1. -me£i IN.
   - Lōhawame£ glade only in (a prominent hill)
   - tseyeme£ in (under) a rock

2. -dti£ AT.
   - mikkindi£ its base at (the name of the place by the back of the house)

3. -tei£ TOWARD.
   - Lōhauṅkattotin glade only on toward

4. -kai ALONG.
   - xottselkai his forearm along

5. -kūt ON.
   - Lōhauṅkūt glade only on

§ 27. Tense

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

§§ 26, 27
Verbs (§§ 28-75)

§ 28. Structure

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

Formative Elements (§§ 29-50)

§ 29. General Remarks

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

**PREFIXES (§§30-37)**

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

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

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

§ 31. Adverbial Prefixes, First Position

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

1. **ya-** (1) is used of the position of one sitting, of picking things up from the ground, and of motion wholly or partly through the air, as the carrying of objects and the flight of birds. The primary meaning seems to be in the air, above the surface of the ground.
   
   **ya**w**i**n**e**a he was sitting 162.11 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b; § 54; ə to be in a position)
   **ya**w**i**n**e**m he picked up a stone 342.1 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b, § 54; ən to transport several round things)
   **ya**w**i**ls**k**a**s he threw up 96.3 (definite, class II, conjugation 1 b; § 64; kas to throw)
   **ya**w**i**n**e**n he carried it (wen to carry)

2. **ya-** (2) seems to have the meaning of the object being reduced to many pieces.
   
   **ya**n**a**k**i**s**d**i**m**m**i**l**l**e**i she smashed it 152.16 (**na**- again, § 32; **k**-, § 34; **s**-, § 35; **d**-, 3d modal, after **na**- § 32, p. 116; **m**i**l**- to throw several things; **e**i suffix, § 40)
   **ya**n**a**k**i**s**k**i**l he split 142.3 (**na**- again, § 32; **s**-, § 35; **k**i**l**- to split)

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

\[\text{yenawityai} \text{ he went into (a house) } 98.15\]
\[\text{yenawitlen} \text{ he made it swim into (a river from the ocean) } 266.2\]
\[\text{yentlitic} \text{ you must step into (a canoe) } 209.2 \text{ (tal to step)}\]
\[\text{yetceitkas} \text{ he threw into (a basket) } 288.7\]

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

\[\text{wakinnillitxolan} \text{ they were burned through } 119.3 \text{ (lit to burn)}\]
\[\text{wakinninkats} \text{ he cut through}\]

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

\[\text{wonaistla} \text{ he handed it to him } 181.13 \text{ (x0 him)}\]
\[\text{waimmil} \text{ he always distributes them } 195.8\]

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

\[\text{lenaisloil} \text{ he tied together } 210.5\]
\[\text{lenanillai} \text{ he built a fire}\]
\[\text{lenanitten} \text{ he took it all the way around (the world)}\]

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

\[\text{menaisdiyai} \text{ he climbed (a tree) } 103.12\]
\[\text{menemen} \text{ he landed him (against the shore) } 162.9\]
\[\text{meittan} \text{ he stuck to it } 202.3\]
\[\text{meimmila} \text{ he beat on}\]

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

\[\text{meinsyen} \text{ she stands in (the body of her husband) } 195.11\]

9. na- (1) is used of indefinite motion over the surface of the ground or water, and of position on the earth's surface. The primary meaning may be horizontal.

\[\text{nailitits} \text{ it is running about } 294.4 \text{ (its to run)}\]
\[\text{na^wimme} \text{ he swam}\]
\[\text{na^iawil} \text{ I paint (my body) } 247.12\]

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

- *naïänwát* it dropped down 115.14
- *nanawityai* he came down 183.15

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

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

12. **no**- is employed of the cessation of motion, as in placing something in a position of rest, of reaching the end or limit of something, or of completing a task.

- *noyanindeL* they sat down 280.5
- *noñawunw* you must put it down 210.7 (auw to handle round objects)
- *noiniñyanne* that far they ate 347.17

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

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

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

- *xeeiyol* he blows away 296.15
- *xeenailkí* she pushed it away 185.3.

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

- *xotdaiêLkas* he threw down (from a tree) 138.8
- *xotداول* they floated down 216.5

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

- *xotdeisyaï* he met him 105.14
- *xotdeyaïsdeL* they met them 110.8.

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

- *saëwínwán* he put it into her mouth 278.10
- *saivillai* he put in his mouth 119.6.

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

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

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

21. **dū-** signifies off, away from.  
*dūciūxtis* it came off (the umbilical stump) 157.7

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

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

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

25. **tsīn-** means away from in expressions of fleeing.  
*tsintetēsdīdile* we ran away 198.10

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

27. **ke-** seems to refer to motion or position against or along a vertical surface.  
*kēisīyai* he climbed up 137.17  
*kēnaniīnēa* it was leaning up 99.5

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

28. **wūn-** \((wa + n ?)\) is used of looking for a thing the position of which is unknown, as in hunting game. It also means to attempt something by persistent effort.

- wūnnāiyā he started to make 319.3
- wūnnādithe they will hunt 311.14

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

- nayāxātlexe they tracked him 170.3

30. **xa-** implies the going-after with the intention of getting the thing sought and bringing it back.

- xanetete I am going to look for it 336.10

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

- adenne he said 97.15
- a'lene you must do it 100.18

§ 32. **Adverbial Prefixes, Second Position**

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

- menanistewiit he pushed it back 163.1
- nanāxītwāhe he used to carry it back 237.8
- nanōdiya let it come back 233.5
- anatcillau he did it again 106.8

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

- xaatcillau he did the same thing 211.1
- xadīyate it will do that 254.10
- xaūlke do that 165.19
- xaatoityau he did that 280.12

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§ 33. Deictic Prefixes, Third Position

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

yetci'ida he is carrying a large object
yeyi'ida he (not an adult Hupa) is carrying a large object

§ 34. First Modal Prefixes, Fourth Position

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

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

nakiniyú:n eat again (without mentioning what is to be eaten) 153.9
yakínów:n carry it 105.18
yekyínesterce the wind blew in 270.4

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

2In other dialects a sound (tc) which almost certainly corresponds to this is regularly used when the object has not been mentioned or is unknown.
2. **te-**, the prefix of distribution, means either that the act took place here and there in space, or continuously over space; or that one person after another did the act.

- **nateīs** she dragged it back 190.1
- **tēttōren** it grew 96.3
- **tētētētōvaī** she buried in several places 192.12
- **tōtētaL** they went out one by one 138.5

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

- **dēzōdilwāL** he threw him into the fire

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

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

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

- **tēexauw** he is accustomed to catch with a net (tc- deictic; -e customary; xaum. stem)
- **tēōexait** he is accustomed to buy (tc- deictic; ō- first modal; -e customary; -xait to buy, customary tense)

6. In the same group stand all pronominal objects.

- **tc(u)hmw'...i:C(l{i)Ltcs** he will ask me for it (tc- deictic; hw- me; ō- first modal; -w- second modal; -L- third modal; xul to ask, definite tense; -L continuously; -te future; the letters in parentheses represent glides)
- **tanaizōsōwcei** it cut him all to pieces (ta- adverbial prefix of unknown significance; na- iterative; -i deictic; -xō him; -s- second modal; dō to cut; -ei emphatic)

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

§ 35. Second Modal Prefixes, Fifth Position

There are three simple sounds which by their presence indicate whether the act is viewed as beginning, ending, or progressing. These sounds are not found in all forms of the same verb, but only in those tenses which refer to the act or state as one and definite. While it

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seems certain that these sounds do have the force mentioned above, it is found, by making comparisons, that they follow certain prefixes. In many cases the nature of the prefix requires the act to be thought of as beginning, ending, or progressing. The sound which is of most frequent occurrence is w. It stands at the beginning of a syllable, usually the one immediately preceding the root. The remainder of this syllable contains the subjective personal elements. Its initiatory force can be seen in the verbs wiñyal COME ON and wiñza WATER LIES THERE. This last verb can not be applied to a natural body of water, like the ocean, which has had no beginning. The following prefixes require w in the definite tenses: ya-, ye-, xa-, saa-, da-, de-d-, diu-.

In a precisely parallel manner, n occurs as the initial of the inflected syllable under circumstances which point to the completion of the act. With wiñyal (above) compare niñyai IT ARRIVED. Most of the prefixes which require n to follow in the definite tenses require the act to be viewed as ending. They are the following: wa-, le-, me-, na- (3), nö-, -lee-.

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

xawíñan he took a stone out of a hole (but xaíñyai he came up a hill)1

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

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

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

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

First Person

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

Second Person

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

§ 37. Third Modal Prefixes, Seventh Position

Certain prefixes are found in many verbs immediately preceding the root, and suggest transitiveness or intransitiveness in the verb, or in some way point out the relation between the subject, predicate, and object. As the second modal prefixes are required in most cases by the adverbial prefix which precedes them, so these are necessitated by certain roots which follow them. When, however, a root is found with different prefixes preceding it, their force becomes apparent. Compare $\text{t}c\bar{i}t\text{t}e\bar{t}aL$ he stepped along with $\text{t}c\bar{i}t\bar{t}e\bar{t}aL$ he kicked something along. The absence of a modal prefix in the first is connected

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with the intransitive meaning; and \( z \) is connected with a transitive force. Compare also *kewintan IT STUCK FAST* (said of a bird alighting on pitch) and *kewiltan HE PUT PITCH ON SOMETHING*. The \( n \) which in the first of these examples precedes the root, seems to be a vestige of a prefix of this order occurring in certain forms of the third person in a class of verbs where usually none is present.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Suffixes (§§ 38-44)**

§ 38. Classification of Suffixes

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

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

\text{wilweL teisdaux} until night he stayed
\text{naiLits\text{x}} he ran around (until morning)

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

\text{teiwaLwinte} they always dance

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

\text{augtinneen} I used to do that
\text{vessilyoneen} you used to like (him)

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

\text{melügte} I am going to watch it
\text{dedüwillate} he will put it into the fire

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

\text{teisdiyannete} she may live to be old

5. -\text{teL}. This suffix seems to denote events in a nearer future than those expressed by -\text{te}.

\text{düwilleteL} a party is coming to kill
\text{mynesgitterL} it will be afraid 295.7

§ 39
§ 40. Temporal and Modal Suffixes

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

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

yaviitennei she picked him up (after several attempts)

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

yaxwixail going along they track him
toohgeiltte they will call (continually)
toowittel he was bringing
tyuwinynañil you ate along

§ 41. Modal Suffixes

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

yailkimmiil that they might catch it

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

ótsaïne* dry them
yeintuïne* you must step in

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

doneyahru I can not stay
tanyahru one ought to go away

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

yawunxütssel len he nearly flew

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

dōtrōxönnæi newan one can hardly look at

13. -deẹ. For the expression of a future condition, -deẹ is employed.
adendeẹ if he sings
axōladeẹ if it happens 308.1

14. -deetc. This suffix, which occurs but rarely, seems to indicate a less probable and more general future condition.
tćeissexwind etc if he kills

15. -mĩninne. For the expression of the result of supposed conditions contrary to fact, -mĩninne is employed.
dōdaxōaținmĩninne (people) would never have died

§ 42. Suffixes Indicating Source of Information

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

16. -e. The vowel -e, standing by itself or preceded by the consonant or semi-vowel of the preceding syllable, indicates that the object or act is within the view of the speaker.
něwintanne he stuck to it (he saw)

17. -tsũ, -tse. When the act is perceived by the sense of hearing or feeling, -tse is appended to the present definite, and -tsũ to the past definite.
neiũggittse I feel afraid
adentsũ he heard it say

18. -xōlan. A fact inferred from evidence is expressed by the suffix -xōlan. Since the act is viewed as already completed, the verbs often have the force of the pluperfect.
lenanillaxōlan he had built a fire (he saw)

19. -xōlũũ. This suffix is said to differ from the preceding only in the fact that the evidence is more certain.
xalaxōlũũ grass has grown up (the fact is certain, for the grass is there, although the growing of it was not seen)

§ 43. Conjunctional Suffixes

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

§§ 42, 43
20. **-hit.** The suffixing of **-hit** to the verb has the effect of making it part of a subordinatetemporal clause.

*yexoññññhit* when they ran in
tceinsithit when he woke up

21. **-mlL.** This suffix has nearly or quite the same force as **-hit.**

*yitsiñ eeamiiñ* west (the sun) used to be then

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

kiññúntsít eat first

§ 44. **Adverbial Suffixes**

There are two suffixes which appear to be adverbial.

23. **-he.** This suffix emphasizes a negative command or a conditional statement. It is comparable to English in the least, or French *pas*, in negative clauses.

dóadúwinnehe don’t say that
tcúwiyññilhe even if he eat it

24. **-ka, -uk.** These suffixes signify like, in the manner of.

a滕ka the way they do
nessedáiñk the way I sat

**VERBAL ROOTS (§§ 45-50)**

§ 45. **Variation of Verbal Roots**

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

Sometimes the changes in the root mark off the definite tenses from the indefinite; in other cases the customary and impotential are different also in the form of the root from the present indefinite and imperative; and in a few cases, the impotential alone has a form longer than or different from that found elsewhere in the verb. The indefinite present and imperative are the weakest of all in the form of their roots. Of the definite tenses, the past is usually longer than the present, and

§§ 44, 45
is characterized by stronger vowels: for example, a is found in the past instead of i, and e instead of i; and the diphthong ai and au appear for a. Some roots which end in t in the past do not have that ending in the present.

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

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

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

§ 46. Roots with Four Forms

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

-ven, -wen, -we (3d imp.) to carry on the back
-ven, -wen, -we (3d imp.) to move or to wave fire
-ten, -tin, -te (1st and 3d imp.) to lie down

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

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

§ 47. Roots with Three Forms

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

-ean, -eaun, -eauw to transport round objects
-an, -aun, -auw to run, to jump (with plural subject only)
-yan, -yuñ, -yuar to eat
-xan, -xuñ, -xuaw to move in a basket or other vessel any liquid or small divided substance, to catch with a net
-tan, -tūñ, tūw to handle or move a long object
-tan, -tūñ, tūw to split
-xen, -wiñ, -we to kill
-ten, tiñ, tūw to move or to carry in any way a person or animal
-tewen, -tewīñ, -tewe to make, to arrange, to grow, to become
-yai, -ya, -yuar to go, to come, to travel about (1st and 3d imp. in -ya)
-lai, -la, -lūw to move or transfer a number of objects
-lai, -la, -lūw to travel by canoe, to manage a canoe
-hīcai, hīwa, hīhau to walk, to go, to come (imp. has -hīwa)

The following have the definite tenses with -L, the customary impo
tential with -I, and the present indefinite and imperative with -l: 1—
-nal, -wil, -wul to strike, to throw, to scatter
-wel, -wil, -wil relating to the passing of night
-mel, -mil, -mil to strike, to throw, to drop
-deL, -dil, -dil to go, to come, to travel (plural only)
-deL, -dil, -dil to strike
-taL, -tūL, -tūL to step, to kick, to do anything with the foot
-teL, -tel, -tei to pound, as with a hammer or maul

§ 48. Roots with Two Forms

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

First Type, -an, -uñ

-yan, -yuñ to live, to pass through life
-yen, -yuñ to spy upon, to watch, to observe with suspicion
-xan, -xuñ to sleep
-lan, -lūñ to quit, to leave, to desist
-lan, -lūñ to be born
-nan, -nūñ to drink
-xan, -xuñ to be sweet or pleasant to the taste
-tan, -tūñ to eat (3d person singular only)
-fan, -fūñ relating to any wax or waxlike substance
-tan, -tūñ relating to the eating of a meal in company
-fan, -fūñ to find, to see
-tevan, -tevũñ relating to the eating of a meal in company
-kan, -kūñ to put on edge, to lean up

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

- en, -iń to look
- en, -iń to do, to act, to deport one's self
- yen, -yiń to stand on one's feet
- len, -liń to flow, to run (said of any liquid)
- men, -miń to fill up, to make full
- hwen, -hyiń to melt
- sen, -siń to think, to know (1st and 2d persons only)
- den, -diń to travel in company
- den, -diń to be light, to blaze
- ten, -tiń to do, to perform an act
- tcwen, -tcwiń to smell, to stink, to defecate
- tcwen, -tcwiń to want food or sexual gratification, to desire

Third Type, -ai, -a

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

Fourth Type, -au, -a

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

Fifth Type, -u, -e

- łu, -le to make an attack, to form a war-party
- łū, -le to dive, to swim under water
- łū, -le to handle or to do anything with a semi-liquid, dough-like substance
- nū, -ne to do, to happen, to behave in a certain way
- xu, -xe to finish, to track, to overtake
- djeu, -dje to fly in a flock
- łu, -le to sing in a ceremony
- tŚu, -tse to squirm, to writhe, to roll, to tumble
- tcuőu, -tcore to cry, to weep

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

• VAT, -VAT to shake itself (said of a dog)
• LAT, -LA to float
• LAT, -LA to run, to jump
• XAIT, -XAI to buy
• TOT, -TOA to be sick, to become ill
• KAI, -KAI to cause to project, to push, to pole a canoe, to shoot, to fall forward from weakness (i.e., to starve)
• KYOT, -KYÔ to flee, to run away
• TOT, -TSO to sit down

Seventh Type, -ô, -ô

• HÔL, -HÔL to swim, to dive (plural only)
• YÔL, -YÔL to blow with the breath
• WÔL, -WÔL to shake a stick, to dance
• LÔL, -LÔL to dream, to sleep
• NEL, -NEL to play
• NÔL, -NÔL to blaze
• KÔL, -KÔL to fish for with a hook, to catch with a hook
• KÔL, -KÔL to call by name, to name
• XAL, -XAL to dawn
• DIL, -DIL to ring, to give a metallic response to a blow
• TSEL, -TSEL to be or to become warm
• KIL, -KIL to split with the hands
• QÔL, -QÔL to crawl, to creep

Eighth Type, -ts, -s

• MATS, -MAS to roll, to coil
• XUTS, -XUS to pass through the air, to fly, to fall, to throw
• TATS, -TAS to cut a gash, to slit up, to cut open, to dress eels

Ninth Type, -te, -w

• XÔL, -XÔL to move in an undulating line
• ÔÔL, -ÔÔL to throw, like a spear
• ÔÔL, -ÔÔL to run like a wolf

§ 49. Roots with One Form

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

• ÉL to have position (plural only)
• ÜNG to drop
• ITS to shoot an arrow
• ITS to wander about
• ÛT to move flat flexible objects
• YA to stand on one’s feet (plural only)
-ye to dance
-ye̱w to rest
-ye̱w to rub, to knead
-yits to entangle
-ỹ̱ to like
-ỹ̱w to flow, to scatter
-ỹ̱t to chase, to bark after
-warw to talk, to make a noise (plural only)
-waw to shave off
-wis to twist, to rotate
-wite to rock sidewise
-le to feel with the hands
-lei to carry more than one animal or child in the hands
-le to bother
-lit to burn
-litc to urinate
-lik to relate, to tell something
-loi to tie, to wrap around
-lois to drag, to pull along
-lu to watch, to stand guard over
-lit to cause to burn
-me to swim
-men to cause to swim
-medj to cook by boiling
-mit to turn over, to place one's self belly up or down
-mût to break out (as a spring of water), to break open
-na to cook by placing before the fire
-na to move
-ne to gather nuts (from the ground)
-nuw to hear
-hone to dig
-æa to have position (said of water or a liquid)
-xêt to hang
-xût to tear down
-xûts to bite, to chew
-sit to wake
-dae to be poor in flesh
-dae to carry, to move (said of a person or animal)
-dae to bloom
-dik to peck
-dits to twist into a rope
-dô to cut, to slash
-dô to dodge, to draw back
-djiín to mind, to be bothered by something
-te to look for, to search after
-te to carry around
-te to remain in a recumbent position
-tetc to lie down (plural only)
-tits to use a cane
-töe referring to the movement or position of water
-töt to drink
-tū to beg
-tūw to split
-tük to count
-tše to have some particular form, appearance, or nature
-tık to tie with a string
-tö relating to mutual motions of two objects by means of which one is inserted into or withdrawn from the other
-tsai to be or to make dry
-tsas to swing a stick about, to whip
-tsce to open or shut a sliding door
-tsce to stay, to live (plural only)
-tsis to be hanging
-tsis to find, to know
-tsit to know a person or some fact or legend
-tsit to fall, to sink
-tsit to soak acorn-meal
-tsit to pull out a knot
-tsit to wait
-tce to blow (said of the wind)
-tcit to die
-tćut to strip off, to take bark from a tree
-tcovid to push, to pull off leaves, to shoot, to rub one's self
-tcōd to sweep
-tcūw to smell of
-git to be afraid of, to be frightened
-git to travel in company
-kas to throw
-kēt to creak
-kis to put one's hand on, to stab, to spear
-kit to catch with the hands, to take away
-kit to hang, to spread, to settle (said of fog)
-kit to feed, to give food to any one
-kütc to make the stroke or throw in playing shinny
-kya to wear a dress
-kya to perceive by any of the senses
-kyas to break, to cause to break
-köys to handle or to move anything that is flat and flexible
-qal to walk (3d person only)
-qöt to push a pointed instrument into a yielding mass, to stick, to poke
-qöt to dodge, to tumble, to flounder about helplessly

§ 49
§ 50. Meaning of Roots

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

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

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

- *-can, -tüh, -tauw* round objects
- *-ut* flat and flexible
- *-wen, -vin, -wuń* fire
- *-lai, -la, -luw* several of any kind
- *-lel* several children or animals
- *-tu, -lo* dough
- *-xan, -xūn, -xauw* liquid
- *-da* a person or animal
- *-tan, -tūn, -tūw* a long object
- *-ten, -tūn, -tūw* person, animal, or animal product
- *-tan, tūn* wax or waxlike
- *-cwoi* the soil
- *-kypōs*, flat and flexible object

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

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

§ 51. Analysis of Verbal Forms

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

§§ 50, 51
### Analysis of Verbal Forms

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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rō, na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- he placed it 210.6.
- one should leave it 215.8.
- they ran back 181.6.
- I lay them crosswise 247.5.
- we will look at 216.18.
- they stand in water 310.4.
- he came out again 102.13.
- I will go with you 187.4.
- he used to come 306.7.
- he was walking along, he saw 185.13.
- they will tie together 151.10.
- he pulled him out 106.17.
- he went to sleep—it slept him 203.1.
- I will spend the night; the night passed 348.2.
- don’t bring them to me 230.13.
- with him it floated back to shore 315.6.
- I will watch again 267.17.
- I leave it 247.3.
- they left food 110.9.
- they took away 171.14.
- one could see 242.13.
- we will look at 216.18.
- he completed the circuit 220.8.
§ 52. Tenses and Modes

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 52
Conjugations (§§ 53-75)

§ 53. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1A

tceexauw HE IS CATCHING

**Present Indefinite**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. iuwxauw</td>
<td>itdexauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. inxauw</td>
<td>o'xauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. teexauw</td>
<td>yaxauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yixxauw</td>
<td>yaixeauw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. iuwxauw</td>
<td>itdexauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. inxauw</td>
<td>o'xauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. teexauw</td>
<td>yaxauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yixxauw</td>
<td>yaixeauw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. exu xai</td>
<td>wituexauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. winxai</td>
<td>xo'xauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. teexinxa</td>
<td>yaxinxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yixinxa</td>
<td>yaixeauw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 54. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1B

yamas HE IS ROLLING OVER

**Present Indefinite**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yauwma</td>
<td>yadimma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yimma</td>
<td>ya'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yama</td>
<td>yayama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yama</td>
<td>yayama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yaiuyma</td>
<td>yaitdimma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yaimma</td>
<td>ya'oma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaimma</td>
<td>yayaimma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaimma</td>
<td>yayaimma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ya immigrant</td>
<td>yavodimma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yayimmma</td>
<td>yavoda'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yayimmma</td>
<td>yayawimma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yayimmma</td>
<td>yayawimma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**nalit** HE IS CHARRING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definite</strong></td>
<td>1. naihit</td>
<td>naihitdiliit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. nañhit</td>
<td>nañhitdiliit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. nañwiniit</td>
<td>nañwiniitdiliit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. naiwiniit</td>
<td>naiwiniitdiliit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 56. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1D

**kittús** HE CUTS OPEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>1. kyúrtús</td>
<td>kyúrtúltis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. kintús</td>
<td>kyótús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. kittús</td>
<td>yaktúltis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yikittús</td>
<td>yaktúltis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. keitútús, etc.</td>
<td>keitúltis, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>1. ketátús</td>
<td>kyúritúltáts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. kyúrítúltáts</td>
<td>kyúrótátts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. kintáts</td>
<td>yaktáts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yikíntáts</td>
<td>yaktáts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 57. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1E

**tcóxai** HE IS BUYING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>1. óuyxáit</td>
<td>óxáit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. ónxáit</td>
<td>óxáit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. tcóxáit</td>
<td>tcóyaxáit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a. yóxáit</td>
<td>yóyaxáit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. óuyxáit</td>
<td>óitdxáit, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 58. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2

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

nōniṅūt he put a blanket down

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. oixai</td>
<td>ēvitdeoxai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. oṅxai</td>
<td>ēvō'xai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tcōṅxai</td>
<td>tcōyaṅxai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yōṅxai</td>
<td>yōyaṅxai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 59. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2, WITH A CHANGED ROOT
tceniṅya he is coming out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nōnaūt</td>
<td>nōndaiūt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nōniṅūt</td>
<td>nōνō'ūt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nōniṅūt</td>
<td>nōyaiṅiṅūt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. noiniṅūt</td>
<td>nōyaiṅiṅūt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 60. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3A
tcisloī he is tying

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. seloiे</td>
<td>sitdilloiे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sīloī</td>
<td>sō'loī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tcisloī</td>
<td>yaisloī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yisloī</td>
<td>yaiisloī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 61. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3B
tcittetaL he is stepping along

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. tesetaL</td>
<td>tesdittetaL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tesintaL</td>
<td>tesō'taL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tcittetaL</td>
<td>yatetaL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yittetaL</td>
<td>yaitetaL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 62. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 4

na'ta he has it

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nau'ta</td>
<td>nada'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ná'na</td>
<td>na'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. na'ta</td>
<td>naya'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nai'ta</td>
<td>naya'ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. natc'ó'ta</td>
<td>nayatc'ó'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nay'ó'ta</td>
<td>nayay'ó'ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. na'iw'ta</td>
<td>na'itda'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nai'na</td>
<td>na'o'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nai'na</td>
<td>naya'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. nai'a'ta</td>
<td>naya'a'ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 63. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1A

yetc'itda'¹ he is carrying in a large object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ye'i'iw'ta</td>
<td>yeitdilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ye'i'lda</td>
<td>yeó'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yetc'i'lda</td>
<td>yeailda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. ye'i'lda</td>
<td>yeai'lda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. ye'tc'i'lda</td>
<td>yeyatcd'ilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. ye'lda</td>
<td>yeaiy'ólda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ye'i'iw'ta</td>
<td>yeitdilda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ye'i'lda</td>
<td>yeó'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ye'tc'i'lda</td>
<td>yeailda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. ye'i'lda</td>
<td>yeai'lda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yeitda</td>
<td>yeiti'dil da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yeitda</td>
<td>yeitda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yeyeitda</td>
<td>yeai'lda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yeitda</td>
<td>yeai'lda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

§§ 62, 68
### § 64. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1C

**yailwáL** HE THREW INTO THE AIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yauuwáL</td>
<td>yadilwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yáLwáL</td>
<td>yáLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yailwáL</td>
<td>yaiLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yailwáL</td>
<td>yaiLwáL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. yateóLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaióLwáL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yaiiúLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yailwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yailwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yailwáL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yaiiLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yaiLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaiiLwáL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaiiLwáL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### § 65. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 2

**meilxe²** HE IS FINISHING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. miuixe²</td>
<td>meidilxe²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. miixxe²</td>
<td>melxe²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. meilxe²</td>
<td>mayailxe²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. miilxe²</td>
<td>meyailxe²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. metcoóLxe²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. meyóLxe²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. meiúLxú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. meíLxú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. meíLxú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. miíLxú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 66. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3A

The indefinite tenses do not differ from Conjugation 1.

naisxdt he is tearing down

§ 67. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3B

tcisselwiyn he is killing

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 4

naitsan he is finding

§§ 66-68
§ 69. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 1

yadeqôt HE IS DODGING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indefinite</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yawmdeqôt</td>
<td>yadûkqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yündeqôt</td>
<td>ya'deqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yadeqôt</td>
<td>yayadeqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yadûkqôt</td>
<td>yayadûkqôt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. yatcódeqôt</td>
<td>yayatcódeqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaôdeqôt</td>
<td>yayaoôdeqôt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yaïwîqdeqôt</td>
<td>yayitdeqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yaindeqôt</td>
<td>yao'deqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yaîtqôt</td>
<td>yayaitqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. yaitqôt</td>
<td>yayaitqôt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. yaiwdeqôt</td>
<td>yayitdeqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. yandeqôt</td>
<td>yavô'deqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yawitqôt</td>
<td>yayavitqôt</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. yatqôt</td>
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</table>

§ 70. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 2

naniteauw HE IS BRINGING IT BACK

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<tbody>
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<td>nanô'deauw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. naniteauw</td>
<td>nayaniteauw</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. nainiteauw</td>
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<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>2. naneinde^aum</td>
<td>nanôô'deauw</td>
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<td>3. nainiteauw</td>
<td>nayaneiteauw</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. naineiteauw</td>
<td>nayaineiteauw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

naisdeqot HE IS TUMBLING ABOUT

§ 72. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 1

nailyeuw HE RESTS
§ 73. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 3

nadiliña HE IS WATCHING FOR IT

<table>
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<td>2. nadiliñ</td>
<td>nadoñiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nadiliña</td>
<td>nayaadiliña</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. naidiliña</td>
<td>nayaadiliña</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<table>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<table>
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<td>2. nadiuwesiliñ</td>
<td>nadiuwesöliñ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. naiduwesiñ</td>
<td>nayaaiduwesiñ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**§74. OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION**

*yahuwiitum* HE IS PICKING ME UP

### Present Indefinite

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<th>Second person singular (object)</th>
<th>Third person singular (object)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1. ——</td>
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<td>2. <em>yahwiitum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>yeehniitum</td>
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### Imperative

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<th>Second person singular (object)</th>
<th>Third person singular (object)</th>
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<td>Singular</td>
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<td>3. <em>yahjiiitum</em></td>
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<td>3a. <em>yaijiiitum</em></td>
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<td>yeehniitum</td>
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<td>yazoiitum</td>
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### Definite

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</table>
OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION—Continued.

*yahwiltuw* HE IS PICKING ME UP

### Present Indefinite

<table>
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### Imperative

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### Customary

<table>
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<th>Subject:</th>
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<th>Third person plural (object)</th>
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### Definite

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</table>

The past definite has -lai for its root.
§ 75. PASSIVE VOICE

yaxesiltin HE IS CARRIED OFF

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>3a.</td>
<td>yül dittuw</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>yayaxöiltluw</td>
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<td>3a.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a.</td>
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<td>yayatla</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives (§§ 76-78)

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

§ 76. Prefixes of Adjectives

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

1. **n-** used mostly of inherent qualities, such as dimensions.

   - nuyne I am tall
   - nuykvo I am good
   - nuydas I am heavy

   - nuytel I am broad
   - nuytovin I am dirty
   - nuykya I am large

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

   - Luykai I am white
   - Luykau I am fat
   - Littso it is blue, yellow, or green
   - Luhwin it is black

§§ 75, 76
§ 77. Comparison of Adjectives

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

hai dadinnes the longest    hai dadittsit the shortest
hai dadillukkan the fattest    hai dadikkyaö the largest, etc.

§ 78. Conjugation of Adjectives

nitdas IT IS HEAVY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Present</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. nindas</td>
<td>no das</td>
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<td>3. tcindas</td>
<td>ya'indas</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td>2. indas</td>
<td>o' das</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tcödas</td>
<td>yatcödas</td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. yödas</td>
<td>yayödas</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Customary</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. eiuwdas</td>
<td>eitditdas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. eindas</td>
<td>eö' das</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. tceitdas</td>
<td>yaitdas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. e'itdas</td>
<td>yaeitdas</td>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. wijadas (or wedas)</td>
<td>vitditidas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. windas</td>
<td>wo' das</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. tcwinds</td>
<td>yawinda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. windas</td>
<td>yandas</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic Particles (§§ 79-86)

§ 79. Personal Pronouns

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

1 Let me be heavy.  
2 I become heavy (each season).
The pronoun for the first person singular is **huwe**, which serves for both subject and object. All other Athapascan languages have a word phonetically related to this. In Tolowa the word is **ci**; in Carrier, **si**; and in Navaho, **ci**. The plural of the first person is **nehe**. It may be used of the speakers when more than one, or of the speaker and the person spoken to. Instead of **huwe** and **nehe**, longer forms (**huween** and **neheen**) often occur. These seem to be formed by the addition of the particle **en**, which points to a person, contrasting him with another.

The second person singular is **niη**, and the plural **nōhin**.

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

§ 80. Possessive Pronouns

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

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

§ 81. Demonstrative Pronouns

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

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

§ 82. Adjective Pronouns

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

The most important of these are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'tiñ all</td>
<td>all dtifihweenobody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'tinne all people</td>
<td>dâñhwâe everybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'tinxe everything</td>
<td>dâñhwâe something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'tinxe every kind</td>
<td>dâñhwee nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'tindõ every place</td>
<td>dûñtûñhyên several people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xôdaidehe anything</td>
<td>dûñtûñhyêt several things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 83. Numerals

The numerals to four are common to the Athapascan languages, most of which have cognate words for five also. From five to nine the Hupa numerals are not easily analyzed. Ten (mîn'lûn) means enough for it. The numerals above ten are made by expressing addition for the numbers lying between the decimal terms and by multiplication for those terms. The meaning of Lâ^eitdîkkin, one hundred, is not evident. No higher numbers exist, but the hundreds may be enumerated to a thousand or more.

A special termination is used when enumerating people. This seems to be an old suffix, -nî or -ne, meaning people. Compare Lâ^e and Lûwûn, nax and nanin, tak and takûn, diñk and diñkin, and tcwqola^e and tcwqolane, the numerals from one to five, for things and people respectively.

§ 84. Adverbs

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

§§ 82-84
common initial, yî-, which may after all be connected with the pronoun yô. The final elements are:

- nîk south or up stream
- dê north or down stream
- dûk east or up a hill
- tsin west or down a hill
- män the opposite side of a stream or the ocean

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

- dûn and -tsin (place)
- dûn and -di (time)
- ka and -xô, -ûx (manner)

§ 85. Post-positions

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

- a for, for the benefit of
- e in
- edin without, lacking
- an out of
- û under, near
- ye at the foot of
- winna around, encircling
- wûn toward or from
- lan with the help of
- lai on top
- l with
- na after
- na in the presence of

§ 86. Conjunctions

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

hâiûn  |  hâiyadetc
hâiyalûn  |  and
hâiyamîl
hâiyamîlûn

§§ 85, 86
§ 87. Character of Sentence

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

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

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

§ 88. Character of Vocabulary

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

§§ 87, 88
the accent is not strong, and in most cases does not belong to the word, but to the sentence.

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

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

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

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

Me'dildiñ 1 dedin 7 tcit!tie 8 tcitewen 3 haiūn 4 tittēkin 5 nikkyao 6

Me'dildiñ poor he grew. And spoon large
tc!t-an 7 haiūn 4 takeimnil 8 haiūn 4 Laaiüx 9 hai 10 xōkitēkin 11
he had. And she used to make soup. And at once the his spoon
tci-si 12 yaaqōt 13 haiyō 14 takeimnil 8 mil 15 yaxxauw 16 haiūn 4
with he used to poke up. Then she used to make soup And
mil 16 yaaqōt 13 haiyō 14 takeimnil 8 mil 15 yaxxauw 16 haiūn 4
that She used to one. makesoup and he used to dip it up.

aīwe 17 xōwōni 18 wakinnintats 19 haiyal 20 yauwxxauw 21 tōndesne 22
away from him he cut a hole And Let me dip it up he thought.

Laaiüx 9 xō 23 wanĩqōts 41 tcinnten 45 hai xōkitēkin Laaiüx 9
And in vain it ran through. He looked at his spoon. At once
yoneyiduka 36 mil xeekitse 47 laaiux innaisdukkan 42 laaiux

from he threw it

At once after

mitdai 39 tcieniyai 30 haiu ha xota 31 haiyo xolduwenne 32

outside away then

At once the father that

yeu 43 na tcieniyai 30 mukuutnikkyo 44 haiu wun 45 xoikyun 46

across has gone

"Way across he has gone.

And about his mind

naiva 47 hai axottcitdenne 38 taise 49 muxxa 40 tciitiesai 41 haiu

studied that he had said of him.

Wood

xootelit 48 xoltinniit 45 mil yisxunhut 44 xuLedun adenne xa 45

with him it burned.

With him it finished then

Then the next day in the morning he said.

Hwa 46 miin wiyal 47 hai (explanation was) there It always came

out.

M?/on-the seat of honor back of the fire, corner; yi- a prefix common to names of direction; daak together with yi-, has the meaning of up hill, and the derived meaning of east. The word as a
whole applies to the bank back of the fire, where the belongings of the men are kept.

zc- prefix meaning away from, used with verbs of throwing: -i- first modal; -t- third modal; -a- verbal root, to throw, to pound; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

in- prefix of uncertain meaning, but employed of the act of rising from a recumbent position: -n- prefix of iteration; -a- 2d modal of durative force: -daak, 3d modal; -aai verbal root of acts performed with the legs (or other long instrument); class III, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

mitdai the space in front of the house; mit- is probably the possessive prefix; compare mitdiden (see note 131).

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

-daif father, not used with a possessive prefix.

-zol- indirect object 3d per. sing.; -ce verbal root to say, to sing, to make a noise; Irreg. past def., 3a per. sing.

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

mukaat lake; -nikkyo compare note 6. This is the name given to Trinity Summit, a mountain
of 6,500 feet elevation east of Hupa valley.

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

-kun heart or vitalis, the organ of cogitation.

na- perhaps meaning down, from above, is employed of things coming into existence; -ya verbal root to go, to come; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

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

tas- probably connected with tao of taikuy; -t- brush, small shrubs.

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

tele- declarative; 3d per. sing.; -te- distributive prefix; -a- 2d modal of durative action; -ya to go; class I, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

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

-n- prefix indicating the coming to a stop or end; -mi- for -nin; class I, con. 2, past def., 3a per. sing.

yisxun- apparently a verb, of which yi- declarative 3d per. sing. (not an adult Hupa), -a- 2d modal, and
-xun the root; compare yizun day; -hi- conjunctive suffix when.

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

hug- pronominal prefix of lst per. sing.; -a- post-position meaning in the interest of, for
the benefit of.

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

daiti, the meaning of this word as a whole is more apparent than that of its parts. It is
employed to introduce the explanation of a mystery. The first syllable, dai- or dait-, is apparently
the element which gives the indefiniteness to interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

te- the prefix mentioned in tcieniyai (see note 30), but here it is used of coming out of the sur
rounding forest into a glade; -guy verbal root connected with -ate undulating movement, as of a
herd.
the brother he told, "Well me for it come along." "Well let it kill him
the something. You it is first two three together stand
between you must run in." Then they started. They went up.
Lomatckúttci'én teceindeL haiya mikkyaqóttsé nalaúy
the glad. Then he said to him, "You here around
sindáñ hwe yéi kai wúnnaiwéden the yai bócutwé
from him they ran, on him they ran. Then three he killed
Lomatckúttci'én they came. There elk were about
the they went in. Then the started. Múngkútnikyádo
hai Lokút haiun axótclcitdenne nín dikkyúñ minna
eyou stay. I distant along I will sit for
xókyatci'én tece tece xókút danakindiyón haiúnh tak teceelwén
From him they ran, on him they ran. Then three he killed

The verb "sit", "to remain"; -d suffix, perhaps from -ne (see note 58).
-ða verbal root to smell, it has L preceding it when the verb is transitive, but does not have it when it is
intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.

"ta-" prefix CP, here up on a hillside: the delictic (leitú, is not used after za-); class I, con. 3, past def.,
3d per. dual.

Ló grass; kí'ón. M The position of the speaker. Compare haiya, the more remote position.
-cíà- pronominal prefix; -na post-position around, about.
-s verba root found in the present of a few verbs (compare -s- 2d modal prefix): -da verbal root to
sítt, to remain; -d suffix, perhaps from -ne (see note 58).
-ðe- prefix used of pursuit or attempted action; -se- 2d modal of injunctive force; -se- sign of 1st
per. sing., found only in the definite tenses: -da- verbal root to sítt; -se suffix used to express the future.
-ða- sign of plural, employed of animals, etc. (for adult Hupa -ya- is used); -ðo- object; -te- verbal
root to smell, it has L preceding it when the verb is transitive, but does not have it when it is
intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.

"ta-"-prefix, a variant for teis- and teis- found in teisélwen, teisélwen (below); -de-, se- is the
prefix mentioned in note 68; -s- 2d modal, is dropped before L3d modal; -se- verbal root to kill;
class II, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

"da-" prefix which literally means on something higher than the ground, perhaps figurative
here: -te- of uncertain force; -s- 3d modal; -ya- verbal root used of the movements of deer and
elk: class III, 1d, past def., 3a per. sing.

"de-" sign of 3d per., a variant for teis- and teis- found in teisélwen, teisélwen (below); -de-, se- is the
prefix mentioned in note 68; -s- 2d modal, is dropped before L3d modal; -se- verbal root to kill;
class II, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

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

The verb is singular, since the band as a whole is the subject. Class II, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.
-ða- prefix which literally means on something higher than the ground, perhaps figurative
here: -les- of uncertain force; -le- 3d modal; -ya- verbal root used of the movements of deer and
elk: class III, 1d, past def., 3a per. sing.

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

The verb is singular, since the band as a whole is the subject. Class II, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.
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here: -les- of uncertain force; -le- 3d modal; -ya- verbal root used of the movements of deer and
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here: -les- of uncertain force; -le- 3d modal; -ya- verbal root used of the movements of deer and
elk: class III, 1d, past def., 3a per. sing.
mikkyaqottse haiūn Lenaiyanillai haiya xökūt yalwel haiūn
elks.
Then they built a fire.
There it became night.

xölūn axölteitdenne dikkyūn tein don döxölwil xa' naidil.
bros he said to him, "Here they say it is night. Let us go home.

menesgit hai dikkyūn nehelwelte haiūn dondūnλhwoδiin I am afraid.
Then we will spend several times the night.

axölteitdenne yūdiñhit xōtei tewintewi axölteinne mil
he said it to him. Finally on his head he cried. He kept telling him with
account

naïdil haiūn kūt wilwel xōtesδūhwen haiūn kitiwescte
'Let us go home.' Then already it was night. It grew dark.
Then the wind blew.

yūdiñhit axölteitdenne xa tcωic tekiłla kīt ainūwinsen
Finally he said to him, "The firewood gather. Already you have decided,

hygelwelte haiūn kūt Leyakillau Lenayanillai xohow
'I will spend the night.' Then already they gathered it. They built a fire. Some way

akitδwennene xōwiniit haiyabidjit haiyō adenne xa' naidil dau
it sounded. It thundered. And then that one said, "Well, let us go. "No."

home."

---

75 Le- prefix employed of motion toward or position near each other; -na- (na-)
iterative prefix often employed of habitual acts; -ya- sign of plural; -nil- for -min-
because of the following l; lai verbal root employed of moving or handling more than one object; class 1, con. 2, past def., 3d per. pl. The fire may have been ceremonial for the dressing of the elk.

76 ya- sign of plural; - ? 3d modal, often of passive force; -wel form of a verbal root indicating the passing of the night. The verb may be considered as an active form with the object prefixed, the subject being some natural element or supernatural being, or as a passive form of which the subject is the young men in question.

77 Of uncertain derivation, but probably connected with the root -me- to speak.

78 dō- negative prefix; -wel form of the verbal root discussed above.

79 na- iterative prefix used here with the meaning of returning whence they had set out; -dil verbal root to go, other forms of it are -dil and -del (see note 69); class I, con. 3, pres. indef., 1st per. dual.

80 me-object; -nes-, of which n- is a prefix of uncertain meaning, and -s, 2d modal (some sign for the first person singular would be expected, but a number of verbs have the first and third persons alike in form); -git verbal root to fear; class IV, con. 3, pres. def., 1st per. sing.

81 nehe-object; or subject of passive we.

82 en- stem or prefix found in expressions meaning several or none: -λān many, much: -how expresses uncertainty or indefiniteness; -di locative suffix, but in numbers means times.

83 yū- probably connected with the demonstrative stem yū; -di locative suffix common with adverbs of time and place; -kit conjunctival suffix then.

84 tec- verbal root to cry, to weep.

85 -tein, -tein- would be expected, but the verb is quite irregular; -ne verbal root to say; irreg., cust., 3d per. sing.

86 xo- prefix giving absolute and impersonal force to the verb, used especially of weather conditions; -te- distribution; -s- 2d modal; -d- 3d modal; -hge verbal root, no doubt connected with -hge in λūhgiin black.

87 kit- prefix always found with the blowing of the wind, it may give the idea of continuousness to the act; -see- formative element which gives a durative force to verbs, especially in the passive; -te- verbal root indicating the action of the wind.

88 Le- see note 75; -ki- perhaps giving the force of local distribution: -s- for s on account of the following -; -la shorter form of the verbal root -la (see note 91); class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

89 at- apparently the same prefix which occurs in axölteitdenne (below); -n- prefix of unknown force; -en verbal root to think, other forms of it are -siñ, -ne; irreg. class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

90 hu- object or subject me or l.

91 -kil- contraction for -kūwín-; -lau, verbal root; class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

92 zō- way or manner; -hug-, compare dahge (see note 53).

93 -kit- employed in the place of -tein- when the subject is some unknown agent.

94 zō- see note 92; -lit verbal root employed of noises such as a footfall. This verb in its impersonal form is used for the noise of the earthquake as well as of thunder.

95 Evidently connected with dō- the negative prefix.
teitdenne96 kūt dañ xo' unnitdenne97 naidil dömükkañaisiñ'98 he said, "already some in vain I said to you, 'Let us go home.' You did not want to." 

haiñk kiye anakitdenne99 xōdjoñ100 xündiñ hiaiyähitdijit xōwūñ Then again it sounded still closer. And then for him xōdj101 tcōnda102 axōltcitdenne nax hai neskin mittūk yellane his mind was sorry. He said to him, "Two the firs between you must run in hai dikkynū nōñixūts103 mil haiñ kūt nōłtōn104 mil hai the here it lights when." And already it dropped. Then the neskin mittūk yexōnān105 haiyō nōłtōn laiūx yīkyūwiñyān106 firs between they ran in. That one lit. Immediately it began to eat hai mikkyaqōttsi laiūx yinnelān107 hiaiyähitdijit laiūx xo' the elks. Really it ate them up. And then at once in vain xaitenīn108 yīxōlttsan109 xōkūttctn yaltōn10 laiūx hai neskiñ it looked for it found them. On them it jumped. Really the firs minnaikitdelai110 haiñ xo' mūkkūt danadūwil111 yūdīñhit a'tīn it embraced. Then in vain at it he shot. Finally all tekininnūtīs111 hiaiyal hai xo'līn axtcitdenne nittsītākanāwe113 he shot out. And the his brother he told, "Your quiver

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

The form a- takes when followed by n; -nil- indirect object of 2d per. sing. Compare -nōl- in axōltcitdenne (below). These indirect objects are really adverbial phrases containing a post-position rendered in full by you.

Do- negative prefix; -mūk- pronominal prefix; -nō- post-position after; -nō- prefix over the surface of the ground; -nō- 2d modal; -nō- sign of 2d per. sing.; -a verbal root to have in one's possession. The literal meaning of this phrase is said to be, YOU DID NOT CARRY AFTER IT IN YOUR HAND.

-nt- iterative prefix. Compare akitdenne (see note 98), employed of the first occurrence.

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

ta- possessive prefix; -dj- mind.

dō- verbal root to waste away.

nō- prefix denoting a position of rest on the surface of the ground; -nōl- 2d modal required by -nōl-; -dūta verbal root to pass through the air.

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

-ō- prefix of unknown meaning; -an verbal root to run, used of dual and plural only; compare peilīn (p. 153); class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. dual.

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

mel- contraction for -mēwil-, of which the prefix evidently has reference to the completion of the act; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

za- prefix indicating pursuit or search (the form zai- is due to the subject not being an adult Hupa); teñ- probably a contraction for -tawil-. -en verbal root to look; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

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

mūn- pronominal prefix; -nāi- post-position around; -yāi verbal root apparently connected with la hand. It was explained that the wings had teeth on them; these the bird drove into the tree with great force.

dō- prefix position higher than the earth; -nādī- indicating a position perpendicular as regards some plane; -yāi verbal root to have position; -i suffix denoting repeated acts.

ice- prefix out of; -lēn- verbal root used of acts completed, the means being exhausted; -i's verbal root to shoot; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

-nt- possessive prefix; -lūdkändsē the quiver of fisher-skin; -nt- prefix over the surface of the ground; -we verbal root to carry.
hyêuwlwul throw to me. And he threw it to him. Finally dawn came.

xoatindifi yudinhit naxaits na^tses noudlyan haiyahitdjiteverywhere. At last two only arrows were left. And then the said to him, "Canoe himself high."

dohetayastan haiya xana{deL haiun L\\u0110wunnin They did not take There they came upon. Then alone he went out. again.

hai medil xaistan taikyisu mittsitit The canoe he brought up. Sweat-house its root he put it on. This way

kitteseox anuweste smart his nature was.

114 hyg- indirect object; -w\\u0110l- from the prefix -wa- (used of handing an object to any one) and L 3d modal, a becomes i in 2d per. sing., probably because of the accent; -\\u0110\\u0110l, verbal root to throw a long object; class II, con. 2, 2d per. sing. imp.
115 yaxöl- indirect object; -il, -nil would be expected; -\\u0110l another form of the root in hye\u00f6\\u0110\\u0110l; class II, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.
116 w\u00f6n\u00f6yaisdeL canoe himself high.
117 xai- prefix down; -il verb root to appear, to have a certain nature.
118 \u0160ai- reflexive pronoun; -a post-position for. Compare hwa (see note 46).
119 taikyisu mittsitit root to appear, to have a certain nature.
120 w\u00f6n- see note 35.
121 \u0156u- the more common word for water in Athapaskan dialects (in Hupa it is found in compounds and is applied to the ocean); -k\u00f6\u00f6 adjetival root to become large.
122 -il- prefix out of the water; -in- sign of 2d per. sing.; -\u0156u- verbal root employed of long objects only; this form is confined to the indefinite tenses; class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.
123 do- negative prefix; -he adds emphasis to the negation (see note 51, p. 156); -do- not know deietic; -ne verbal root to do a specified act; irreg. past def., 3d per. sing.
TLINGIT

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON
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TLINGIT

By John R. Swanton

§1. DISTRIBUTION

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

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

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

PHONETICS (§§ 2, 3)

§ 2. Sounds

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t!</td>
<td></td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives, s series</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives, c series</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k!</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q!</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L!</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels: ū (or ṯ), u (or o), a, a (ā under the accent), ē (or ē), i (or e).

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

- **§ 3. Phonetic Processes**

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

- gawó'q eye
- yugo'qte the trap
- yék spiritual helper
- Lélt'c gadu' ¡újá'ge nothing to kill with (instead of \( Lélt'c \) gadu' ¡újá'ge)

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

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

\(^1\) See PhoNetics of Tsimshian.
used after a, especially when a is accented: as, anqā'wu chief, qokʷəgwanā'wu if there were going to be death, ducaxă'wu his hair. A similar phenomenon exists in Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Dakota.

The strengthening of " as in duyā'gu his canoe (from yāk⁴ canoe) and daq ā'lunago'qoawe when salmon were running up (from ā'lunagoq⁶), must not be confused with this.

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

§ 4. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

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

§ 5. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

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

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

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 6-24)

The Noun (§§ 6-10)

§ 6. Structure

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

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

\[ qaq\dot{n}-q.'ôs \text{ sun-feet} \quad \text{leq}!'-k.'udá's \text{ red-snapper coat} \]
\[ qo'sa-xa-qoan \text{ man-eater-people} \]
\[ xuí-s.'ûx \text{ root-hat} \]

Parts of the body, except in composition, are always classified by placing qa man before those belonging to a human being, and the name of the corresponding animal before those belonging to animals; as,

\[ qadjî'n \text{ a human hand} \quad qaq!'ô's \text{ a human foot} \]
\[ qawâ'q \text{ a human eye} \quad \text{tanca' a sea-lion's head} \]
\[ qagû'k \text{ a human ear} \quad \text{qowaki'nq}!'a \text{ a deer's mouth} \]

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

\[ cî-t.'-ka' \text{ (cî- behind-on) Sitka} \]  
(See § 23, nos. 24, 29.)

More common are nouns containing a possessive element (-yu or -i) (see § 10):

\[ qits!'o \text{ sky people} \quad s.'ato \text{ Moss Town} \]
\[ xât gqo'nî \text{ salmon people} \quad \text{tân q.'âdadjû'yu sea-lion bristles} \]
\[ yao teyî' \text{ herring rock} \]
Here may belong—

**Kiks-'a'di** people of the island

**Kiks** (a Tlingit clan)

Other compounds are:

**Go'na-na** foreign tribe (the inland Athapascan)

**Dek'i-na** far-out tribe (the Haida)

Nouns formed from clauses also occur:

- **wu-c-ta-că'-yă** a married couple. (See *wu*- [§ 15.4]; *c*- reflexive [§ 11];
  - *ta* probably = *da* [§ 14.4]; *ca* to marry; *yă* [§ 20.2]
- **yu-ta'q!ă'-yu-t** mortal(yu- that [§ 12]; *ta'q!ă* to pound; *-ye* [§ 20.2];
  - *t* purposive suffix [§ 20.1])
- **tō-ux-sī-yēt** whistle (tō into; ux to blow; sī [?]; ye[§ 20.2]; *-t* [§ 20.1])
- **Yāk"-kalasegə'k"** canoe-resting-place (a place name) (yāk" canoe;
  - *ka-, la-, se-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.4, 1]; *gə* stem [?])
- **Kat-naq-tən**, white-rock-on-top-of-another (Ring island) (?)
- **Yā'q!ă-a'k"nax-st-yadugu'q** point he threw something across (yā-
  - *demonstrative; q!ă a point; k"nax post-position probably com-
  - pounded of k" on, and nax near; st thing; ya-, du-[§ 15.3; § 17.3]
  - verbal prefixes; *guq to throw*)
- **yu-oc-iqə'-wuswuw'-st** the thing that helped him (yu-
  - *demonstrative; oc personal pronoun of third person; *ga for; *wu-
  - verbal prefix; *su stem; -wu infinitive or possessive suffix)
- **Cə'nyak."-Lăx** moldy-corner (of salmon), (a personal name) (cə'nyu corner; k." probably diminutive suffix; Lăx moldy)

Adjectives, except numerals, follow the noun qualified.

### § 7. Intensive Suffix

When special attention is to be paid to anything, an intensive suffix, *-tc*, is employed. Thus **Līngi'ttc** is the intensive form of **Līngi't people**; **Kiks'adItľtc**, the emphatic form of the name of the clan **Kiks'adIt;**

**qawaq'tltc**, the emphatic form of **qawāq eyes**; **ūhântlc**, the emphatic form of **ūhān (we)**; and **Lēl'ttc NEVER**, the emphatic form of the negative particle **Lēl NOT**.

### § 8. Diminutive Suffix

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

- **qīxtc!"k!"o** little frog (from *qīxtc!" frog)
- **āk:"u** little lake (from *ā lake)

²§ 7, 8
This suffix is used much with terms of relationship, sometimes probably in an endearing sense; as,

- cran:k'" grandchild
- dik'" grandparent
- lak'" little mother, mother's sister
- sik'" daughter
- kolk'" nephew or niece

§ 9. Collective

With animate or inanimate objects, but more often the latter, the sense of a LOT OF OR A HEAP OF is expressed by suffixing q! or q'i; as,

- Ling'it man or men
- ta stone
- q!at'i island
- hit house
- gur slave
- Ling'iq'! many men together
- teq! stones lying in a heap
- q!at'i.q!i islands
- hî'tqi houses
- gurq! slaves

That this is not a true plural is shown on the one hand by the fact that its employment is not essential, and on the other by the fact that it is occasionally used where no idea of plurality, according to the English understanding of that term, exists. Thus yuyâ'i tânq! the big whale may be said of a single whale, the suffix indicating that the whale was very large, and that it had many parts to be cut out. Therefore it may best be called a collective suffix.

With terms of relationship the plural is more often indicated by placing has after the noun:

- dukâ'k his uncle
- dukâ'has his aunts
- duâ't his aunt
- duâ't has his aunts

Has also fulfills the office of a personal pronominal prefix in the third person plural, but it is probable that the pronominal function is secondary (see § 11).

Instead of has, some terms of relationship take yën, often in conjunction with the collective suffix q!; as,

- dukâ'ni his brother-in-law
- kik' younger brother
- dukâ'niyën his brothers-in-law
- muckik'iyën brothers to each other (wu- § 15.4; see § 11)
- ducâ't his wife
- ducâ'tyën his wives

§ 10. Possession

Possession is expressed by the possessive pronoun, which precedes the noun, and by a suffix which is attached to the term for the thing possessed, except when it is a term of relationship or part of the body, §§ 9, 10
or one of a few other terms. This suffix is -yi after the vowels a, i, e, i, ø, and sometimes after a; -i after consonants; and -wu and -wo after u or o and occasionally after a. Examples are—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yao te'yl} & \text{ herring's rock} \\
\text{xiixte/k! ciyi} & \text{ little frog's song}
\end{align*}
\]

The possessive pronouns are—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ax} & \text{ my} \\
i & \text{ thy} \\
\text{du} & \text{ his} \\
\text{ac} & \text{ his own}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ac'i} & \text{ my father} \\
\text{dul} & \text{ his mother} \\
\text{dulxayi} & \text{ his paddle} \\
\text{dulxut}s & \text{ her cane} \\
\text{hasduxayi} & \text{ their anchor}
\end{align*}
\]

The demonstrative a may sometimes replace the forms of the third person; as, \text{acayi} his head.

It seems possible that the suffix -i (-u, -yi, -wu) is identical with the participial suffix to be discussed in § 20.2.

\section*{§ 11. The Personal Pronoun}

There are three series of personal pronouns: the subjective, objective, and independent. The last of these evidently contains demonstrative elements, and may be strengthened by the intensive suffix (§ 7). The third person objective with verbs and post-positions is sometimes a, while du and hasdu are used only with post-positions. In the following table these pronouns are given, together with the possessive pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>subjective</th>
<th>objective</th>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>x, xa</td>
<td>xat</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>xa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>wae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>{ a }</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>{ ac }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>\text{wah}n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>y\text{fi}</td>
<td>y\text{fi}</td>
<td>y\text{fi}</td>
<td>y\text{iwa}n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>{ a }</td>
<td>hasdu</td>
<td>has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{ hasdu }</td>
<td>has</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In composition the objective pronoun always precedes the subject, and both may be separated by verbal prefixes. The use of the independent pronoun in a sentence does not affect the verbal compound, and the pronominal prefixes must be repeated.

The subjective pronoun appears as the subject of all active verbs, no matter whether they have an object or not. Some verbs that have no object take an indefinite object, *at something*; for instance,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{at } xa & \text{ xa I eat something} \\
\text{at } xa & \text{ tōq I laugh}
\end{align*}
\]

**Has** is fréer in its position than the pronouns described before. It seems probable that it was not originally a pronoun.

Examples of the use of the pronoun are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tōc } q' & \text{awənəu' s } \text{in } \text{I questioned him (xa I, independent; -tc intensive suffix \([\S 7]\); } q' \text{a mouth \([\S 14.1]\); } xa I, subjective, } \text{wu- verbal prefix \([\S 15.4]\); -s } \text{in stem} \\
\text{hu } tōc & \text{ q'awənəu' s } \text{in he questioned me (hu independent pronoun; } \text{tōc emphatic form of objective} \\
\text{q' } & \text{awənəu' s } \text{in I questioned thee (i thee; } q' \text{a mouth; } xa I) \\
\text{tōc } & \text{tōq } q' \text{awənəu' s } \text{in thou questionedst me (mac'tr emphatic form of independent pronoun; } \text{tōq me; } q' \text{a-i contracted to } q' \text{e mouth thou}} \\
\text{uha'ntc } q' & \text{atəwəu' s } \text{in we questioned him (uha'ntc emphatic form of independent pronoun; } tu \text{ we, subjective}} \\
\text{tōc } & \text{haq'awənəu' s } \text{in thou questionedst us (hu us)} \\
\text{uha'ntc } & \text{yq'atəwəu' s } \text{in we questioned you (yī you; } q' \text{a mouth; } tu \text{ we, subjective)} \\
\text{xagəx} & \text{I am crying} \\
\text{uha' } & \text{na gəx } tōc sətəli } \text{ we are crying (tu we; } na- verbal prefix \([\S 18.1]\); } tō \text{ to be) \\
\text{ye } & \text{yəwəqə' she said thus (ye adverbial, thus; } yu- verbal prefix \([\S 15.3]\); } \text{wa- verbal prefix \([\S 18.2]\); } yə \text{ to say)} \\
\text{ye } & \text{yəxəyaqə I said thus (x I; } \text{wa- verbal prefix \([\S 18.2]\)} \\
\text{izənətinə } & \text{I saw thee (i thee; } xa I; \text{ si- prefix \([\S 18.1]\); } tən \text{ to see)} \\
\text{yəxəsətinə } & \text{I saw you (yī you)} \\
\text{xoasətinə } & \text{I saw him (x- I; the use of } oə \text{ here is not explained)} \\
\text{xatəyisətinə } & \text{ye saw me (xat me; } yı \text{ ye)} \\
\text{haxəsətinə } & \text{ye saw us (ha us)} \\
\text{haxəsətinə } & \text{ye saw them (has them)} \\
\text{Gaya' kade' } & \text{has awənəx they heard it on Gaya' (kade' on; } \text{has they; } \text{a- indefinite pronoun referring to } \text{ci song; } \text{wa- verbal prefix \([\S 18.2]\); } ax \text{ to hear)}
\end{align*}
\]
ak'at has qox ayu' has aositin when they paddled toward it they saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; kät toward; has they; qox to go by canoe; a-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tin to see; here a is used three times; first, replacing xitc! frog as object of the postposition kät; second, in combination with yu, performing the function of a conjunction, when; and, third, in the principal verb, again taking the place of xitc!)

The pronoun is contracted with a few verbal prefixes. The i combines with the terminal vowel of preceding elements, as in xat q'ewu's/i in thou questionest me (q!/a-i = q!/c mouth thou; xa and the prefix wa- form xoa, although xoa may perhaps originate in other ways also. Contractions are particularly characteristic of the future, which has a prefix gu-. This combines with the first person to gwa (for gu-xa); with the second person to ge (for gu-i). These forms will be discussed later on (§ 15.5).

§ 12. The Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, with verbs when changed into nouns, in the formation of connectives, and with certain elements which transform them into independent demonstratives.

1. he indicates an object very near and always present.
2. ya indicates an object very near and present, but a little farther away than the preceding.
3. yu indicates an object more remote, but it has now come to perform almost the function of an article.
4. we indicates an object far remote and usually entirely invisible.

It has come to be used almost with the freedom of yu.

Following are examples of their use:

he'lingit  this person  he'do this place here
ya'lingit  this person  yā't'a this place, this person
yu'lingit the person  yū'do i'c a'ni there is thy father's town
we'lingit that person  ayu', awel', when, that being done

Some of them are also employed with post-positions; as, hāt HITHER. Sometimes, particularly in songs, another demonstrative, yadi, is heard, which is evidently compounded from ya. It differs from ya in being used to refer to a person who has just been spoken of, but is not actually present.

§ 12
The Verb (§§ 13-21)

§ 13. Structure

Verbal stems are, on the whole, monosyllablic. They take a considerable number of prefixes and a few suffixes. Most of the prefixes have a very weak meaning, and appear in many cases as purely formal elements, while in other cases the underlying meaning may be detected. It seems easiest to classify these prefixes according to their position. In the transitive verb the object precedes the whole verbal complex. Then follow prefixes, stem, and suffixes in the following order:

Prefixes (§§ 14-18)

(1) Nominal prefixes
(2) First modal prefixes.
(3) Pronominal subject.
(4) Second modal prefixes.
(5) Third modal prefixes.
(6) Stem.
(7) Suffixes.

§ 14. NOMINAL PREFIXES

A few monosyllabic nouns are prefixed to the verb. I have found the following:

1. q'α MOUTH OR LIPS.

\[\text{qeq!'e'di ayu' ye'q'ayaqa toward morning she spoke thus (ayu' indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ye' thus; q'α mouth; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qa to say)}\]

\[\text{yuq'nx'q! ad'a'x q'ayuq'x'he blew upon the raft (yu demonstrative; x'nx'q raft; a indefinite pronoun; d.Ax on; q'α mouth; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; di- verbal prefix [§ 18.3]; sa to blow)}\]

2. tu MIND.

\[\text{atax'v tuwulitsi'n therefore (the KiksA'di) are brave (tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; ti- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; tsin strong)}\]

\[\text{Lax wa'sa tuwunū'k he felt very sad (Lax very; wa'sa how; tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; nuk sad)}\]

3. iu POINT.

\[\text{daq o'tunago'qoawoe when they were running ashore in a crowd (daq ashore; a demonstrative; iu point, i.e. crowd; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; qo'qoawoe they run)}\]
4. *da-* is employed sometimes with words meaning TO SAY OR TELL, when it seems to indicate an indirect object.

\[\text{duk\d'ni\d'\text{y}en ye daya'd\d{a}, his brothers-in-law spoke to him thus (du- his; k\d'ni\d'\text{y}en brothers-in-law; ye thus; da- indirect object; ya- [§ 15.3]; du- [§ 17.3]; qa to say)}\]

§ 15. FIRST MODAL PREFIXES

1. *cu-* usually stands before all other prefixes, and indicates that the action of the verb is total, applying to all of the people or objects involved.

\[\text{got cu\d'waxix they had been all killed off}}\]
\[\text{yad\d'e-t\d{a} xu\d{nazi'zawec when these two years were over (ya- these; dex two; t\d{a} year; cu- totally; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; xi\d{x} to finish; ave when)}\]
\[\text{axod\d'e yag\d{a} xu\d{nagut he was leading all these men among them (a indefinite pronoun; xod\d{e} among; ya demonstrative; qa man; cu- totally; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; go- to go; t purpose [§ 20.1])}}\]
\[\text{ye yen ha su cuq! d\d{a}wadja thus there them all he told (ye thus; yen there; hasu them; cu- totally; qa with mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; go to tell)}\]
\[\text{K\d{ik}s\d{a}d\d{t}i got cu\d'waxix the K\d{ik}s\d{a}d\d{t}i were all lost (got wholly; cu- totally; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; xi\d{x} to finish)}\]

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

\[\text{axcu\d{d}t yaqo'x come over to me (ax me; cu entirely; -d to; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; go to go by water)}\]

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

\[\text{ax duq yuka'odziha' she caused a hole to be in it by digging (ax literally, from it; duq shoreward, or into the earth; go- indefinite verbal prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- causative; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dezi- verbal prefix [§ 18.6]; ha stem)}\]
\[\text{hasdudaka'q! kaudu'liya nu len a large fort was caused to be lowered down on them (hasdul them; duka'q! out on; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; li- verbal prefix [§ 18.5]; nu fort; len large)}\]
\[\text{yida'tsque'te yinaqok\d{e}t k\d{u}n\d{e}\d{m}in\d{e} when did your cheek-flesh cause a man to be saved? (yida'tsque'te when; yi your; we cheek; k\d{u}q'ok\d{e}t flesh, with intensive suffix; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; si- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ne\d{x}r to save)}\]
At ka'oligathey caused (the canoe) to be loaded up (at indefinite object [things]; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§17.2]; ti- verbal prefix [§18.4]; ga to load)

dä' akä'wana doxängä'wou then he caused his clothes-man to go out (a demonstrative; de to; a indefinite pronoun; ka- to cause; owa- verbal prefix [§18.2]; na to send; do his; xan clothes; ga man; -ou possessive [see § 10])

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

yiyaxte are you hearing it? (yi ye; ya- verbal prefix; ax to hear; -tc emphatic suffix)

Kiksädi'te stäcyu xiëtc! has ayähén therefore the Kiksä'di claim the frog (a indefinite pronoun; teu adverb; a indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xiëtc! frog; has they; a indefinite pronoun; ya- verbal prefix; hën stem)

hit teků qa'ovagut yucaus't the woman was going through the houses (hit house; -q!l collective suffix; tux through; ya- o- owa-verbal prefixes [§17.2; §18.2]; gu to go; -t purpose [§20.1])

ya häsduqă'naw yagatsă'q when he was chasing them (ya demonstrative; häsdu them; qă'naw after; ga- verbal prefix [§17.4]; tsøy to run)

yuyanagu'it when (he was) traveling (yu demonstrative; ga-; na- [§ 17.4, 5], verbal prefixes; gu to go; -t-i suffixes [§ 20.1, 2])

This prefix ya- seems to be identical with the suffix referred to in § 20.4.

4. wu- often indicates the passive, but seems to have a very much wider function.

Cit/ka'dë än has wuqo'x they went with him to Baranoff island (Ci Baranoff island; t' behind; ka on; de to; ä demonstrative; -n with; has they; wu- prefix; gox to go by canoe)

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

wucti'n st wudužik's peace was made between them (wu- verbal prefix; c- reflexive [§ 11]; tin with; [wucti'n together]; st indefinite object; wu- du- zi- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.5]; k'ë to be good)

The last of these examples shows a curious use of wu- before the reflexive prefix c-, the latter standing independent of the verb, and being followed by a post-position. This employment of wu- with the reflexive is very common.

§ 15
5. gu- or ga-. Future time is denoted by a prefix gu- or ga-, which is sometimes used much as if it were an independent particle. Besides its strictly future function, it is employed in speaking of any event about to take place as well in the past as the future. In the following simple examples it is often accompanied by the suffix x-to become, which will be treated in § 15.7.

was'a' at gu-goneyl' whatever is going to happen (was'a' whatever; at indefinite object; gu- future; gona stem; -yi suffix [§ 20.2])

ān guyagqu't when he was going to go with them (ā indefinite pronoun; -n with; gu- future; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])

de dA'qde ye guxdunmv yuhēl' daidedi' they were going to take up the house-timbers (de now; dA'qde up to; ye thus; gu- future; x- to become; du- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; nī to take; yu demonstrative; hit house; daidedi' timbers)

hit a guxdayēx gone't gana'yīl' the opposite side (clan) was going to build a house (hit house; a indefinite pronoun; gu- future; x- to become; ta- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; yēx to build [x possibly a suffix])

yē'doq.'on gaxu nda'gel' they were going to make a hole in this one's mouth (ga demonstrative; do- his; q.'a mouth [see § 3]; ga- future; x- to become; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; tak to bore [ʔ]; -e suffix)

More often the future occurs in conjunction with an indefinite prefix go or k". The following examples illustrate this use, and also show the peculiar manner in which it combines with the personal pronominal prefixes. It will be seen that, instead of guwa in the first person, we find qua; instead of gu-i, in the second person, ge. It would also seem that contractions of q and g to q, and g and g to g, take place in the first and second persons plural.

### Future tense of the verb git to do

**Singular**

| 1st per. | yeqwynasgīt |
| 2d per. | yeqwi'sgīt |
| 3d per. | yeqwa'sgīt |

**Plural**

| 1st per. | yeqwisqasgīt |
| 2d per. | yeqwisgīt |
| 3d per. | hās qō a yeśgugasgīt |

### Future tense of the verb geq to throw down

**Singular**

| 1st per. | xu'tc ye'nde yywage'q! |
| 2d per. | wae tc ye'nde yywage'q! |
| 3d per. | hutc ye'nde syywage'q! |

**Plural**

| 1st per. | uha'nco ye'nde qaxtugēq! |
| 2d per. | yihānco ye'nde gaxyīge'q! |
| 3d per. | hāsto ye'nde sqyywage'q! |

§ 15
The * which appears in the third person plural is probably a contraction of has, although the full word has may not have been heard when recording.

**To cry** takes the prefix or modifier *ke*, and its plural is formed by the use of the verb *ti* to be.

**Future tense of the verb *gáx* to cry**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. <em>ke</em> <em>kʷgwaḡá'x</em></td>
<td><em>(uhaust)</em> <em>ke</em> <em>gax gaxu'sati</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. <em>(wae')</em> <em>ke</em> <em>kʷgeqá'x</em></td>
<td><em>(yihd'n)</em> <em>ke</em> <em>gax gaxu'sati</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. <em>(hu)</em> <em>ke</em> <em>kʷgwaḡá'x</em></td>
<td><em>ke haš gax ga'wasi'</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*Lět lět!* *qa* *ā'te qosti*? there were no white men's things in those days (*lět* not; *lět!* white; *qa* man; *ā'te* their things; *qo- s-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

*yuqo'lit! tek* those who used to leave the others behind (*yu* demonstrative; *qo-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.4]; *lit* stem; *kʷ* suffix [§ 20.3])

*kʷduqo'qtc* they always laughed at him (*kʷ* - *du-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3]; *cuq* to laugh; *tc* always [§ 19.1])

*gusn* *yɛn* *yuqʷxé'teqgi* where is it that they never broke it off (*gusn* where; *yɛn* there; *yu-* demonstrative; *qo-* verbal prefix; *teq* stem; *q* probably should be *kʷ* [§ 20.3])

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

*Lět su qosti*? there was no rain (*lět* not; *su* rain; *qo- s-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

Since future events are by their nature indeterminate, this prefix is constantly used with the future prefix *gu-*; as,

*a'dq'waliŋ* when will he break it off? (*a* indefinite pronoun; *q* indefinite prefix; *q(u)* future prefix; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *ti* to break off)

7. **-x** expresses the alteration of a person or thing from one condition to another. It is suffixed to the name of the thing altered, the adjective indicating the altered state, or to the future particle, but is placed among verbal prefixes because its connection with the following verb is extremely close, as is shown by its insertion after the future particle.

*tsêšku'ux tʰnasti* you can become an owl (*tsêšk'u* owl; *-x* verbal affix; *tʰ* thou; *na-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.5; § 18.1]; *ti* stem)
The subjective pronoun follows the first modal elements. Examples illustrating the position of the subjective pronoun have been given before (§ 11). The following example contains also first modals:

\[
\text{Lēt wuxasagōk yāndat!} \text{tc I can not swim (Lēt not; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; xa I; sa- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; gōk can; yāndat!tc to swim)}
\]

§ 17. SECOND MODAL PREFIXES

1. dji- QUICKLY.

\[
\text{Ha'sdu dāt xā djiū'dīqut enemies came upon them quickly; (ha'sdu them; dāt upon; xā enemies; dji- quickly; u- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dī- inchoative [§ 18.3]; gu to go; -t suffix [§ 20.1])}
\]

\[
\text{adē' dāk wudīxī'x he ran down to it (a- indefinite pronoun; dē to; dāk down or out; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; dji- quickly; xīx to get)}
\]

\[
\text{yu'x hās djiūdeā't they started to rush out (yu'x out; hās they; dji- quickly; u-de- [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; āt to go)}
\]

\[
\text{Lēq! ts'utā't ayu' at nate' hās dji'usīha one morning they started out quickly to hunt along shore (Lēq! ts'utā't [see p. 200, note 11]; a-yu indefinite demonstrative pronoun; at indefinite object; nate' to hunt [?]; hās they; dji- u-si verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ha to start)}
\]

\[
\text{ha'sduōk! Lehadjī'wahlān they gave their sister to him quickly; (ha'sdu their; ọk! sister; adj(i)- indefinite pronoun with intensive suffix; -t to; hās they; a- demonstrative; dji-wa- [§ 18.2]; tan to give)}
\]
2. *u-* (o-) often accompanies simple statements of past actions. This prefix is never used with the future *gu-*, or with *wu-*, nor apparently with the first and second persons singular and plural, and occurs only in the principal verb. It may be an element expressing the active, but may equally well be regarded as a past-temporal prefix.

*yen ugo'xtche* always came there (yen there; u- prefix; gox to go by canoe; -tc always [§ 19.1])

*læq! ts!utā't an ke udziq't duicū'nt* one morning he awoke with his dream (læq! one; ts!utā't morning [see p. 200, note 11]; ān with it; ke up; u- prefix; dzi- prefix [§ 18.6]; git to awake; du his; tecin dream; -t possessive suffix)

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

*aayu' hās aosiit'n there they saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; o-veral prefix; si- indicative prefix [§ 18.1]; tin to see)

*le dutū'tz got kaoduk!i't it all got out of his head (Le out; du his; tū into; -t at; -z from; got all; ka- causative [§ 15.2]; o-veral prefix; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; k!i't to get)

3. *du-* is very nearly identical in meaning with the English perfect tense, conveying the idea of something already accomplished. It resembles *wa-* [§ 18.2] in some respects, and is often used conjointly with it; but while *wa-* seems to express finality, *du-* expresses previous accomplishment.

*le dutu'tz got kaoduk!i't it all got out of his head (see above no. 2, ex. 5)

*ckle' a'gitahān yū'yaodudzēqa "get up!" they said to him (ckle up; a'gitahān get [?]; yū- demonstrative; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; o-du-dzē [§ 17.2; § 18.6]; qa to say)

*age'di hās gā'dustin when they saw them already inside (a- indefinite pronoun; gē inside; dī to; hās they; ga- when [§ 17.4]; du-s [§ 18.1]; tin to see)

*koduci' duūgā' they hunted for him (ko- [§ 15.6]; du-; cī to hunt; du he; t euphonic [?]; ga for)

*lēl wudusku' they knew not (lēl not; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; s- [§ 18.1]; ku to know)

*ts!utā't hin wā'īdi akayē'k wudū'waax stzx'e'tc the next morning (it) was to be heard at the mouth of the creek (ts!utā't [see p. 200, note 11]; hin water; wāt mouth; dī to; a- indefinite pronoun; kayē'k at; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; wa- [§ 18.2]; az to hear; st indefinite object; zē to go on; -tc always [§ 19.1])
A box of grease was put inside of the canoe (a box of grease; a- indefinite pronoun; -yidé inside; ye thus [?]; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; dzi- [§ 18.6]; ni to put aboard)

They could not see him (lél not; has they; du-perfect suffix; tìn to see)

4. ga- is a prefix that indicates usually that the action was performed just before some other action, and may be translated by our conjunction when. This may be identical with the ga in ago or agawet'sa as soon as, immediately upon.

Lax á'tate gadjaw'gina've dág ugu'ttc when he became very cold, he always came out (lax very; át cold; -tc intensive suffix; ga-; djaq to die of [hyperbolically]; -in suffix [§ 19.3]; a'we when; dág out; u- [§ 17.2]; gu to go; -t suffix [§ 20.1]; -tc always [§ 19.1])

When they saw them inside, the enemy started to come upon them (see p. 179, no. 3, third example)

When the sun got straight up over her father's town, they always said to her as follows (du- her; íc father; án town; -t possessive suffix; a- indefinite pronoun; kíná' above; wu- [§ 15.4]; ga-; xíx to reach; -in suffix [§ 19.3]; yú- demonstrative; gigan sun; ye thus; yén possibly there; du- [§ 17.3]; s- [§ 18.1]; qa to say; -tc intensive suffix)

5. na- is employed when the action with which it is associated is represented as accompanied by or accompanying some other action. Just as ga- may often be translated when, this prefix may be translated while, yet the two may be used together. It is so similar to the suffix -n [§ 19.3] that it is not unlikely that the two are identical.

While he was going around the lake, he saw a woman floating there (a- indefinite pronoun; yax around; de at; ya- [§ 15.3]; na-; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; ayu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tìn to see; cà'wát woman; yú demonstrative; adigiga in it [exact meaning uncertain]; c-reflexive; wu- tì- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5])

While they were going shoreward, the eldest brother said as follows (dág shoreward;
§ 18. THIRD MODAL PREFIXES

1. *s-* or *si-* is used in a simple statement of an action or condition, whether past, present, or future, but not usually of one which is incomplete.

**tc!āk** a'ya aositin' looking for a while, he saw her (*tc!āk* a long time; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *l-* [§ 18.4]; *tin to see; *i* [§ 20.2]; *a'ya* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o* [§ 17.2]; *si*; *tin to see)*

dutuwu'siigu she felt happy (*du her; *tu* mind; *wu* [§ 15.4]; *si*; *gu to go [*i]*)

dagane'x wusite! quarrelsome he was (*dagane* quarrelsome; *x* [§ 15.7]; *wu* [§ 15.4]; *te, stem)*

**lel** ye awusku* duyi't sati'yi* he did not know it was his son (*lel* not; *ye* thus; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wu* [§ 15.4]; *s- ku to know; *du* his; *yiit* son; *sa*; *ti* to be; *yiit* participial suffix [§ 20.2])

**A'tceqet dusgo'qte** what they throw it with (*du* [§ 17.3]; *s*; *goq to throw; *te* always [§ 19.1])
For examples of the use of this prefix with the future, see in § 15.6. It is important to note the evident identity of this prefix with the particle as or asi.

dis kawuki'si' asiyu' lēq! tāt yū'awasa it was a whole month which he thought a night (dis month; kawuki'si' whole; asi particle; yu demonstrative; lēq! one; tāt night; yū demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; sa to say [= think])

xātc yetsi'net la asiyu' it was the mother of the bears (xātc this; la mother)

xātc te asiyu' it was a stone

2. wa- indicating completed action.

ts!utā't ayyu' dāk has wwaqox in the morning, at that time out they got (u- [§ 17.2]; wa--; qox stem)

a!lā'x has wwa'x behind them they camped has Cq!at qoan ca'oduwawetc they conquered the Stikine Indians (Cq!at Stikine; qoan people; ca- [?]; d- [§ 17.2]; du- [§ 17.3])
gul laz lēq! dis hasduka' cwaxi'x probably entirely one month on them passed (cu- [§ 15.1])

ax'te, xāt u'wa'ha mother, I am hungry (u- wa- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; ha stem)

3. dī- denotes the beginning of an action.

adA'xawe xā djiudigu't after that to war they started (xā war; dji- u- [§ 17.1, 2])

qeqe'de qonaha' le cū'yaq!a'oditan toward morning the woman began to change her manner of talking (cu- completely [§ 15.1]; ya [?]; q'a- mouth; o- [§ 17.2]; tan stem)

ace'nya wudilā'x it had begun to mold at the corner (a- indefinite pronoun; cē'ny corner of; wu- [§ 15.4])

wuck'at caodite' they started to rush around (wu- [§ 15.4]; c- reflexive prefix; kat post-position; ca- reflexive [?]; o- dī- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; te stem)

yuxā'nas! adA'x qaodisas' he began blowing on the raft (yu- demonstrative; xā'nas! raft; q'a- mouth [§ 14.1]; o- [§ 17.2])

kaodit!'a'q! it began to be hot weather (ka- o- dī- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; t!aq! stem)

TO START TO GO TO A CERTAIN PLACE is expressed by means of an adverb.

go'na yēgwaqagugu't when he was going to start (gona starting; ye thus; go- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; gu- future prefix [§ 15.5]; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; gut to go)
4. **I-** or **II-** indicates repetition of an action or a plurality of objects acted upon.

*ya* has *ayā'olīdqaq yūtā'n* thus they killed off the sea-lions (*a*- indefinite pronoun; *ya*—§ 15.3; *o*—§ 17.2; *dqaq* to kill; *yu*- demonstrative; *tān* sea-lion)

*ayu* aolīza'c then he let it float along (*ayu* there; *a*- indefinite prefix; *o*- *li-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *xac* stem)

*xat* qawage' asiyu' aca'olīdqhik it was full of eyes (*xat* this; *qama*; *wage* eye; *asiyu* [§ 18.1]; *a*- demonstrative; *ca*- = cu- [§ 15.1]; *o*- [§ 17.2]; *hik* stem)

*ān* qadjī'n aolī Cafk he shook hands with those things in his hands (*ān* with it; *qadjīn* man's hand; *a*- indefinite pronoun; *o*- verbal prefix [§ 17.2])

*xā'yi* yākq!ūn *ayā'xa* aolīq!a'nq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (*xā* enemy; *yī* possessive suffix; *yāk* canoe; *-q!ū* collective; *ā'yax* like that; *a* indefinite pronoun; *o*- *li-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *q!an* stem; *-q!* suffix [§ 19.5])

5. **L-** or **LI-** is used in contradistinction to the above when the action takes place once, or is thought of at one particular moment.

*aosīti'n* cāwā't yuadīqi'ga cwu'lixac (when he was going around the lake), he saw one woman floating there (*a*- indefinite pronoun; *o*- si- [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *tīn* to see; *cāwā't* woman; *yuadīqi'ga* there; *c*- reflexive; *wu*- [§ 15.4]; *xac* to float)

*dekkī'na* hīnī qa' wuʃ̩u'k far out its water, however, boiled (*dekkī'na* far out; *hin* water; *-i* possessive suffix; *qa'* however; *wu'-* *li-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.4]; *uk* stem)

*yēn* caolīttī's there he stopped

6. **dzi-** conveys the idea of the attainment of a state not hitherto enjoyed, and is best translated by the words to come to be.

*ayā'xa*we duyā'tqii* qodzīti'* this is why his children came to be born (*a*- that; *ya* like; * awe it is; *du*- his; *yat* child; *-qii* collective; *qo*- indefinite [§ 15.6]; *ti* to be)

*ckā* a'odzīku'yuxā't goa'nītc wusnē'xe afterward he came to know that the salmon people had saved him; (*a*- indefinite pronoun; *o*- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *ku* to know; *yu*- demonstrative; *xāt* salmon; *qoan* people; *-te* intensive; *wu*- [§ 15.4; § 18.1])

*tku* tci'ak* ling̪i't tin ka'o'adjīte yu' q a long time ago there came to be copper among the Indians (*ling̪i't* Indians; *tin* with; *ka-o*- [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; *yu*- demonstrative; *ēq* copper)

*wā'sa* iya'odudž̪g̪a', *ayį't?* what did they come to say to you, my son? (*wā'sa* what; *i* you; *ya*- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *o-du*- [§ 17.2,3]; *qa* to say; *ax* my; *yit* son)
7. ci- expresses desire or wish, and may be used equally well as a stem.

du'si' qoku'ti! ak'ewa'ita'n his daughter liked to pick berries (du- his;
qoku'ti! berries; a- indefinite pronoun; kwa- [§15.6]; tan stem)

Suffixes (§§ 19, 20)

§ 19. SUFFIXES OF TEMPORAL CHARACTER

These suffixes, which are not to be confounded with true temporal suffixes, are -tc, -nutc, -n, -x, and perhaps -q! and s!.

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

duwa'qde yaga'ci'tc her eyes to he always pointed

tsi' u yaq ci'xte again there he always went by canoe
gaga'n Kanel'stica cak'i'na'x ke xixtc the sun always rises over the
brow of Cross Mountain (gaga'n sun; cak'i'na'x over the head
of; ke up)
gandawe' uia'utc duda'q'anax towards the fire he always sleeps
with his back (gana what burns; ta to sleep; du- his)

2. -nutc marks what is habitual or customary.

hu qo'a ts!as xük ali'q'anutc she, however, only dry wood would
get (ts! as only; xük dry wood; liq! to fetch)
duqeti'ntutc they would throw off their coats
acu'tentutc duqeti'k!n' she was in the habit of bathing her child
(a = a indefinite pronoun; cutc stem; du- possessive; yet child;
-k! diminutive)
ux udulcu'qnutc they would laugh at him (u- du- l- verbal prefixes
[§ 17.2, 3; § 18.4]; cuq to laugh)
ldak'a't ə'dawe ati'o'q!inutc all kinds of things he would shoot
(ldaka't all; əd thing; a-we indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a-
indefinite pronoun; tloq! stem)
ə't!a'quanutc he would pound

3. -n (after consonants -in or -ən). This suffix marks a stationary condition of the action, and is usually employed in conjunction with another verb, when it indicates the state of things when the action contained in the principal verb took place. The action it accompanies may be conceived of as past, present, or future, and from its character it approaches at different times in meaning a perfect, continuative, and usitative. This suffix is perhaps related to the prefix na- treated in § 17.5.
lā'gu yēn yax dunīgī'nye qoyanagẽtc when a person is through with a story, he always says this (lā'gu story; yēn there; yax thus; du- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.4]; nī[k] to say); ye thus; qo-yā-na- [§ 15.6, 3; § 17.5]; qa to say; -tc [§ 19.1])

wa'niñ cuvutila'c edge turned up, he floated (wan edge; in [?]; c- reflexive prefix; wu- l̄- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5]; xac stem)

duq!e' nax ci tc!a yūt q!anaczē ntc duv'yeq qagal'tūn when his spirits came to him, blood would flow out of his mouth (du- his; qa mouth; -nax from; ci blood; tc!a that; yūt out of it; qa mouth; na- [§ 15.7]; c- [?]; xēn stem; -tc always [§ 19.1]; du- his; yeq spirit; qa [?]; qa- [§ 17.4]; at to go [pl.]; -in suffix).

Ituvu' q!wan catq!q! Nixā' nēl gu'tē be courageous when Nīxā' comes in (i- thy; tu mind; -wu possessive suffix; q!wan exhortative [§ 22.3]; ca- reflexive; tīq! stem [?]; nēl into house; gut to go; -n -i suffixes [§ 20.2])

tc'!aye' daq gaci tcAcgadjA'qen when it almost killed him, he would run up (tc'!aye' almost; daq up; ga- verbal prefix; cito to run; ac for c- reflexive [that is, he allowed himself to be killed, though by something else]; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; djaq to kill; -ēn verbal suffix)

tān a akawati anax gadsukūl tu awa!' yēn wuqoxōn he pounded out a figure of a sea-lion, so that people would know he had come ashore there (tān sea-lion; a indefinite pronoun; ca-wa- [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; a indefinite pronoun; nax around; qa- du- s- [§ 17.4, 3; § 18.1]; ku to know; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; hu he; yēn there; wu- [§ 15.4]; gox to go by canoe)

həs aqacān when they marry (a- qa- verbal prefixes)

4. -x may perhaps be regarded as a distributive; at any rate, it indicates that the action takes place many times, or continues for some period.

lēl at udja'qtx tu yēn ugo'xtec he kept coming in without having killed anything (lēl not; at indefinite objective; djaq to kill; tu there)

hu qo'a awelēl utē'x he, however, did not sleep (u- [§ 17.2]; -x)

lēl ga'gi ugu'tx he never showed himself (lēl not; ga'gi was [?]; u- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; gu stem; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; -x)

tcu!l ac utē nx ac wudijē'yu ayu aci't q!ē'watan before he thought of it, his nephew saw him and spoke to him (tcu!l before; ac him; tēn to see; ac his own; -gi possessive; ayu demonstrative; aci't to him; qa- mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal suffix [§ 18.2]; tan stem)
aqa' tsa azē'x then only he ate (a- indefinite pronoun; za to eat; -x)

lēl ulgiexe'kē'ładī not ever got big the sea-gull (u- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.4]; gé stem; -x)

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5. -q! Although the meaning of this suffix has not been satisfactorily determined, it may be included in this list, because it seems to be used in describing events that have taken place at some particular time, and to present a marked contrast to the suffix last considered.

ldakα't yεtɕ ducα'q! people from all places tried to marry her (ldakα't all, everywhere; yεtɕ from into; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; ca stem)

tkαx ke djìtì'nìyeq! you can not see anything (tìn to see; ìye participial suffix lengthened [§ 20.2]; rest uncertain)

cakusi'tq'te those are (my people) there (s- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti stem, to be; -tc always [§ 19.1]; rest uncertain)

ayα'xawε aosì'ne acì'n gαnαtìdìcìx lit! tǔ'dì ac wuge'q! as he had told him to do when he ran into the fire with him he threw him into the basket (ayα'xawε as; a indefinite pronoun; o-sì [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ac him, reflexive; -n with; gαn fire; αltì into [?]; di to start to; čìx to run; lit! basket; tǔ'dì into; ac he; wu- [§ 15.4]; gę to throw)

xα'yì yąkì= wu aya'x a'oltìq'α'ńq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (see p. 183, no. 4)

6. -s! occurs after a few verbs, but its significance is obscure.

ataxawε qoλα'xɔ! from there he listened (qo- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; l- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; ax stem)

aga' keqgetl's! wek!wɔ'lx you will look out for the green fern-roots (aga' for that; ke particle; q- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ge= gu-i future prefix and personal pronoun [§ 15.5]; ti to be; we- demonstrative; k!wɔlɔ fern-roots)

has qoti's! they were looking for him (qo- indefinite prefix; ti to be)

§ 20. SYNTACTIC SUFFIXES

1. -t is suffixed to a verb to indicate that it contains a statement of the purpose for which some other action was performed.

dułe'kto ade' qoka'wag x dυgα' x dusgə'ndayu his uncle sent some one after him to burn [his body] (du his; kαk uncle; -tc intensive [§ 7]; ade' to it; qo- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; qa to say; du he; ǐqα' for; du- s-[§ 17.3; § 18.1]; gαn fire, to burn; -d for -t before vowel; -ayu demonstrative)

qα nał'dì k'iđe'n yɛn wuđu'dɔn̩i atų't qonգə'ndayu and they put on good clothing because they wanted to die wearing it (qα man; na- verbal prefix [§ 17.5]; at to go [pl.]; -t verbal

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suffix; [§ 20.2]; k'tidé'n good; yen there; wu- du- dzi- [§ 15.4; § 17.3; § 18.6]; atü't into it; qonga [uncertain]; na to die; -t purpose; ayu demonstrative)

duìga' at nagasú't something to help him (duìga' for him; at indefinite; nA-? ga- verbal prefixes [§ 17.4]; su to help; -t purpose)

ads'x awazo'x a'si'n ekanga'nu'git then he invited him to tell him (something he did not know) (ads'x after it; ac- he; -n with; c- reflexive; kanga [? compare qonga second example; l- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; ník stem; -t purpose)

ak'lq!ayu ye'yati qā akade' wugu't qa' nga a man stopping at Auk went to (the lake) to get wood (ak'lq!, Auk; -q! at; ayu demonstratives; yē- adverb, thus; ya- [§ 15.3]; tī to be; qā man; -kade' on; wu- [§ 15.4]; gu- to go; -t purpose; gān wood, fire; ga for).

The use of -t with gu to go, as in the last example, has become very common, and in that connection it appears to have lost something of its original function.

2. -i, -o after consonants; yi-, -wu after vowels. The subordination of one clause to another is effected more often than in any other manner by suffixing -i or -o after consonants, or -yi or -wu after vowels (see §§ 3 and 10). This seems to have the effect of transforming the entire clause into a participle or infinitive.

yuqā' qo'a kā'deq!akā'x daqt wudjīx'zī the man who jumped out from (the raft was very much ashamed) (yu demonstrative; qa man; qo'a however; hā'deq!akā'x from on it; daqt out; wu-djī- [§ 15.4; § 17.1]; tīx to jump or move quickly)

dudjī'q! ye yutī'yu sī/aq gatā' ake' ase'wati he set up a bone trap he had (du he; djīq! to; ye thus; yu- demonstrative; tī to be; sī/aq bone; gatā' trap; a- indefinite pronoun; ke up; a indefinite pronoun; se- verbal prefix; wati[i] to set up)

hade' wāt at ci yi' this way! those who can sing (ci to sing)

lēl ye wu'szxo yuač'wāt atxa'yi' aza' yudjē'n'nuw she never got full eating sheep-fat (lēl not; ye thus; axt to eat; yu- indefinite pronoun; cā'wāt woman; a indefinite pronoun; axt things; xa to eat; -yi suffix; aza' fat; yu- demonstrative; djē'n'nuw mountain sheep)

wuctacā'yi' married to each other (that is, married couple)

ayas'xe yanagu'diaxyu aosit'i'n while he was going around it, he saw (a-it; ya'xes around; ya-na- [§ 15.3; § 17.5]; -ayu demonstrative)
toékʷ alti'nə aya' aositi'n looking for a while, he saw her (a-
demonstrative; l- [§ 18.4]; aya' it is this)

godziti'ya at big animals or things; apparently signifies THINGS
BEING OR EXISTING (qo- indefinite [§ 15.6]; dzi- verbal prefix
[§ 18.6]; ti to be; -ya' suffix; at things)

3. -kʷ. A verb is frequently changed into a noun by taking a
suffix -kʷ, and this is also usually indicated by the demonstra-
prefix; but it would seem, from the manner in which it is
used with certain verbs, especially with the verb TO CALL OR
NAME (sa), that it should be regarded as a perfect participial
suffix as much as a noun-forming suffix.

yiyuq'atl'ayətc your well speaking of them (yə you [pl.]; yu-
demonstrative; qə a mouth; tan stem; -tc intensive; -gi- stands
here for kʷ)
yə'duwasakʷ their names being these (ye thus; du- wa-
 verbal prefix;

stems)

til yudji'sita'nkʷ waves rise up on it; or waves, the rising up of
them upon it (til wave; yu-
 demonstrative; dji- si-
 prefixes; tan stem)
yə'yunaqutkʷ that was why he had traveled that way; or, more
strictly, thus the traveling of him (yə thus; yu-
demonstrative; wa-
 verbal prefix; gut stem)
yik'a'-at-xacʷ the ones having split tongues for you (yə-
you; kə
post-position; at thing; xac stem)
yuq'layata'nkʷ the one that could talk (yu-
demonstrative; qə
mouth; ya-
 verbal prefix; tan stem)
yuqoyalis!e'ltkʷ when he was playing with the children, he would
hurt them; or, the hurt he would do to them (yu-
demonstrative; qo-
 ya- li-
 verbal prefixes; sləl stem)
yə'yalx!q'kʷ he would break the knife he got hold of (yə-
demonstrative; a-
 indefinite; ya-
 verbal prefix; liq! stem)
laq yala'qkʷ he was a very great eater; or, the great eater that
he was (lax very; ya-
 verbal prefix; laq stem)
duna' at li'te'q'kʷ he was a dirty little fellow; or, the dirty
little fellow that he was (duna [?] at thing; li-
 verbal prefix; 

tel'qʷ stem)

ada' yuq'atul'at'lkʷ about it they were all talking; or, the talk-
ing that went on about it (a-
 indefinite; da post-position; yu-
demonstrative; qə a mouth; du-
 ji- verbal prefixes; at stem)
tela aikan'lk tc'ule' ayə'x yu'yatikʷ whatever he told them took
place (tc'la whatever; tc'ule' then; ayə'x like it; yu-
demonstrative; ya-
 prefix [§ 15.3])

qayə' qokʷywanexə tc'ule' yu'hanikkʷ ayə'x yu'yatikʷ when a

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person was going to get well, he told them, and so it was (qa person; qo- [§ 15.6]; nêz to be well; for the rest see last example). The end of this sentence might be rendered as was the telling of this by him, so was the fact
dâ'sa ga'xdudjâ'q qôn yu'aka'yanîkkâ what they were going to kill was what they got (dâ'sa what; ga- future [§ 15.5]; -x transitional [§ 15.7]; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; djâq to kill; qôn [?]; yu- demonstrative; -a indefinite pronoun; ka-ya- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2, 3]; nik stem)

4. -ya. Another suffix similar to this is -ya, which is perhaps identical with the continuative ya- treated of in § 15.3. This is mainly used in clauses which in English would be subordinated by means of a relative pronoun or adverb, and often the participial suffix -i [§ 20.2] is employed in conjunction with it. It would seem that the entire clause is turned into a noun in this manner, and becomes the object of the principal verb. Examples are as follows:
yâx galê' yuqî'sâ adê' uduwaqî'si'ya far is the distance which the cascade comes down (yâx like; galê' far; yu- demonstrative; qî'sâ cascade; adê' to it; u-du- wa-[§ 17.2, 3; § 18.2])
tc'u adê' xaqî'ya awei ayâ'x got çû'wa'xîx just the way they were sleeping they were destroyed (tc'u just; adê' at it; xaqî to sleep; ayâ'x like it; got completely; cu-[§ 15.1])
dudji'txave yi'dadunâ'ya from him they knew how to fix [a trap] (du him; -dj intensive [§ 7]; t to; x from; awei demonstrative; yi'dadunâ'ya they learned to fix)
adê' has kaqîladî'nutcya adê' akaolî'xe'sî he put them in the place where they were in the habit of hooking fish (adê' at it; has they; ka to cause [?]; qî'at to catch [?]; -nute habitually [§ 19.2]; a- indefinite prefix; ka- o- li-[§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.4])
atî'ya aostkû' when she slept, he knew (a- indefinite prefix; te to sleep; -x -ya suffixes [§ 19.4]; a- indefinite prefix; o- st- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ku to know)
kaoditî'l'qî' â'xô gûdi'ya' it was hot weather from where he started (ka- o- dî- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.3]; t'âqî! stem; a- indefinite prefix; xo among; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])
leî' has â'wusku' adê' yuyanê'gîya they did not know what to make of it (leî not; a- indefinite pronoun; yu- s- [§ 15.4; § 18.1]; adê' at it; yu- demonstrative; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; nek to say) has â'wa'wusî! 'gudA'x sa ye'dadunA'taya' they inquired, "From where do they get this?" (gu where; da'z from; sa interrogative particle; ye adverb; da- du-na- verbal prefixes [§ 14.4; § 17.3, 5]; at to go[pl.])
## Analysis of Verbal Forms

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<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He went out and spoke.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It got completely out of his head.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(got)</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>u-du</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>It</td>
<td>Having been named:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He was always floating himself about.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(at)</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td>zu</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>Being (his son).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>We will cook it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>When it is going to be cut.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>They moved things out.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He sent some one (out) to speak.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It came to be.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He was telling (them).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>They were all lost.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>tsiu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>q/a</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>toz</td>
<td>He is very strong in mind (i.e., brave).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>q/a</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>xac</td>
<td>He spit on it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>xe</td>
<td>He was going to cut off.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>zac</td>
<td>yiya</td>
<td>He having lived for (more than a hundred years).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>fl</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>When he was dying.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>They started to go down.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>They hunted for her for an indefinite time.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>go-ya</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>When they would come in.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>When they go after salmon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>It would always burn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They saved you.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They would always burn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They kicked into it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>It always heard.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>〈ai〉</td>
<td>cu-ka</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>Go with me (de imperative particle).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>〈ai〉</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They rushed (to the door) in a body (tu).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>They have cured us.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>You are dying (of cold).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>You put (or laid) down.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>We will be warm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>You are having.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>You are saying to me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 21. Composition of Verb-Stems

A real composition of two verb-stems in one word seems to be entirely wanting. It sometimes happens, however, that the stem which contains the principal idea is placed before another verb-stem of very general meaning, such as ti to be, xix to get, or nuk* to become, and is there treated as if it were a prefix or an adverbial modifier, all of the other verbal prefixes being attached to the general auxiliary stem. Thus we have—

yi'ha'n ke gax gax[y'sat]' you (pl.) will cry, where gax is the regular stem of the verb meaning to cry, and ti, the stem of the verb to be, taking the future, pronominal, and all other prefixes. Similar to this is ki'arnt has uwanu'k* they became angry, where ki'arnt signifies anger, and nuk* to become. Of this same type is qot cû'vaxix they were all destroyed, although it is uncertain whether qot is ever employed as a regular stem in the place of xix.

The list on pages 190 and 191 contains the analysis of a number of verbal forms in accordance with the groups of prefixes and suffixes described in §§ 14-20.

Adverbs (§§ 22, 23)

§ 22. Modal Adverbs

1. agi* is an interrogative adverb which is used in interrogative sentences in which no interrogative pronoun occurs. It is placed after the verb, or near the beginning of the clause.

iya's'etc agi*? do you hear it?
ūhā'n agi* ye'kav at txax'ck* tca ku'tca qoan qleca'nāt* are we the ones splitting land-otter (tongues) to see people? (ūhā'n we; ye'kav the ones; at indefinite object, namely, tongues; tu we; xax split; -k* suffix [§ 20.3]; tca thus; ku'tca land-otter; qoan people; qleca'nāt to see [uncertain analysis])

xat yi sitl'n agi*? do you see me? (xat me; yi you; si- prefix [§ 18.1]; tin to see)

2. dē following the verb indicates the imperative.

adj't gut dē! come up to me! (ax me; -dj intensive [§ 7]; -t to; gu to come; -t purpose [§ 20.1])
ā'nax asa'qox' dē! go with it around it! (a indefinite pronoun; nax around; a indefinite pronoun; sa- prefix; qox to go by canoe)

'nqa naa't dē! for firewood go! (qan firewood; qa for; na- prefix [§ 17.5]; at to go)

21, 22
3. **qlwAn** expresses a mild imperative and resembles our own PRAY, or SUPPOSE.

*déki' qlwAn daqici'q* out, pray, run to him! (*déki' out; da- to [§ 14.4]; q- [?] ; ciq to run)*

*hiq! qlwAn yén xat cat into the water, pray, then put me!* (*hín water; q! at; yén then; xat me; cat put)*

*itwuw qlwAn cat!l'q! Níxa' nél gu'tnì be courageous when Níxa' comes in* (see § 19.3; i you; tu mind; -wu possessive; ca- reflexive; tlq!, stem [?]; nél into the house; gu to go; -t -n -i suffixes [§ 20.1; § 19.3; § 20.2])

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

*lít kinigîq ya azhî'ítí never tell about my house* (*lít never; ki= ka [?]; ník to tell; -iq suffix; ya about; az my; hit house; -i possessive)*

*lít lax ye xat kuga'ndjîq never let me burn up!* (*lax very; ye thus; xat I; ku future; gan to burn; -tc always; -iq a suffix)*

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

*Lé'gîl xat wunékui? am I not sick?* (*lé adverb; gi interrogative particle; l not (with lé); xat I; wa- verbal prefix; nèle sick)*

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

*gul lax léq! dis hasduka' cuwažî'x very probably they passed all of one month* (*lax very; léq! one; dis moon; hasduka' on them; cu- entire [§ 15.1]; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; xix stem)*

*gul de djînkâ't ayu' qla'owaxe for probably ten days he went [without food] (de already; djînkat ten; ayu' demonstrative; qla mouth [§ 14.1]; o- wa- prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; xe stem)*

§ 23. **Locative Adverbs**

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

1. **dák** outward, out to sea
2. **daq** shoreward
3. **ke** upward
4. **de** now, right away, already
5. **ye** thus or as follows
6. **yèx** or **yax** like

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§ 23
Bearing a closer resemblance to post-positions are:

13. t or đê to
14. n with
15. x from
16. q! at
17. yî down in
18. yî'nadê down toward
19. yes for
20. gox back to, backward
21. xan to a person
22. tu into
23. tâ'yî under
24. t'a behind
25. dax from
26. da around
27. xo among
28. ki toward
29. ka on
30. qa for
31. qâq! for
32. qê inside of
33. tîn with
34. hâ'yî down underneath
35. qîs for
36. qa'yî down in front of
37. wâ at the mouth of
38. tåk in the middle of
39. na'x through, on account of, in association with
40. qân outside of
41. datcû'n straight for
42. ya in the neighborhood of
43. sakû for

The last of these is always used after the verb.

Even nouns and verbs are used exactly as if they were conceived of as post-positions: as,

hî'tqî tîx ya'waqut yucâ'wât adja'q dax the woman went through the houses after she had killed it (hît house; -qît collective; tîx through; ya- wa- verbal prefixes [§15.3; §18.2]; gu to go; -t [§ 20.1]; yu- demonstrative; câ'wât woman; a it; djäq to kill; dax from)

aq!its cantû'dê kax a'odîeq! he put (his coat) on to go down into the midst of its tentacles (a- it; q!its tentacles; can-tû'dê into the midst of; kax adverbial; a- indefinite pronoun; o- di- prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; qeq! to do quickly)

ayalane's!awe awa'n when he had sharpened the edges of it (a- indefinite pronoun; ya- la- verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.4]; nês! to sharpen; awe when; a it; wan edges)

As, on account of their phonetic weakness, the post-positions t, n, x, and q! must always be agglutinated to some other word, they sometimes have the appearance of cases, but the first of these is simply a contraction of đê; and the distinction in use between all of them and the syllabic post-positions is not marked enough to justify a separate classification.

The adverbs de, ke, and ye are essential to certain verbs, and the same may be said of at something with the verbs xa to eat and xun to start.

§ 23
§ 24. Conjunctions

The conjunction used between nouns and coordinate clauses is qa and; while antithesis is expressed by qo'a, which more closely approaches English however in its use than but. Conjunctions employed to introduce sentences are, for the most part, compounded of post-positions and demonstratives:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{adA'xayu or adA'xawe and then (compounded of a; dAX from; a, and yu or we)} \\
&\text{Atxawe' afterwards (from a; t to; x from; a; and we)} \\
&\text{ayA'xawe on account of which (from a; yAX like; a; and we)} \\
&\text{tc!ule', evidently then, consists of two adverbial particles, tc!u and te!} \\
&\text{wananit'sawe by and by (probably compounded from some verb)} \\
&\text{Atxawe' contains the intensive suffix tc.}
\end{align*}
\]

Subordinate clauses, when not turned into participles or infinitives, are connected to the principal verb by awe' or ayu', which also occur in conjunction with the participial suffix -i, and often with qa-, na-, or -n.

VOCABULARY (§§ 25-28)

Stems are almost invariably monosyllabic, and consist usually of a consonant followed by a vowel; or a consonant, vowel, and consonant. Occasionally, however, we find single vowels; a vowel followed by a consonant; or a vowel, consonant, and vowel. Two consonants never occur together in the same syllable unless one is an agglutinated affix.

§ 25. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of several simple nominal stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
&a \text{ lake} & \text{ta stone} \\
&an \text{ town} & \text{tan sea-lion} \\
&as! \text{ tree} & \text{tät night} \\
&a xa' \text{ paddle} & \text{nu fort} \\
&ic \text{ father} & \text{nas't clothing} \\
&yäk* \text{ canoe} & \text{nük!* shells} \\
&yäk \text{ mussel} & \text{tcunë't bow} \\
&yao \text{ herring} & \text{tsa seal} \\
&yäk*tc \text{ sea-otter} & \text{tsësk!* owl} \\
&yäk \text{ supernatural helper} & \text{s!äx* hat} \\
&yit \text{ son} & \text{sìt spruce} \\
&dä's!a \text{ snare} & \text{cat wife} \\
&dis \text{ moon} & \text{can old person}
\end{align*}
\]
Onomatopoetic words are surprisingly rare.

The following are the terms of blood-relationship:

- tilmk: grandparent
- tC: father
- ta: mother

- lak: mother's sister (literally, little mother)
- kâk: mother's brother
- ât: father's sister, and father's sister's daughter
- sa'nâ: father's brother and father's sister's son
- hunx: man's elder brother
- catx: woman's elder sister
- kâk: man's younger brother, and woman's younger sister
- tâk: man's sister
- âk: woman's brother
- kâlk: mother's brother's children
- cxank: grandchild
- yît: son, and son of mother's sister
- sî: daughter, and daughter of mother's sister
- kêlk: sister's child, and child of woman's brother

Terms of relationship through marriage are the following:

- zo: husband
- cat: wife
- wu: father-in-law
- tcn: mother-in-law
- kâ'nî: brother-in-law of man, and sister-in-law of woman

The other relationships are indicated by terms purely descriptive. Most of the above are also used in a broad sense to cover those persons of the same sex, clan, and generation, as the one to whom it more particularly belongs. A sister's husband was called husband; and a wife's sister, wife, because, in case of the wife's death, the widower had a right to marry her sister.

§ 25
§ 26. Verbal Stems

One or two nominal stems, such as sa name, tcūn dream, and xāl herring-rake, are also found as the stems of verbs, but usually the two sets of stems are quite distinct. The following is a partial list of verb-stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Stem</th>
<th>Verbal Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u to use</td>
<td>git to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha to dig</td>
<td>na to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sū′u to cut off</td>
<td>ka to be lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na to do</td>
<td>tla to slap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni to put</td>
<td>tla to be hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xe to stay, remain</td>
<td>ci to hunt for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu to go (one person)</td>
<td>hīk to be full of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at to go (pl.)</td>
<td>djēl to set, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dja to tell, explain</td>
<td>tsīn to be strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti to be</td>
<td>giq! to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku to know</td>
<td>qoω to go by canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts to sleep</td>
<td>ži′ēz to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa to say</td>
<td>cat to take, seize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su to help (a supernatural being acting)</td>
<td>xac to drift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca to marry</td>
<td>xōt! to sharpen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa to eat</td>
<td>āx to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya to carry, bear</td>
<td>hēn to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kī′ē to be good</td>
<td>xēq! to sleep or to go to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji′ to have</td>
<td>s!it to cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge to sit</td>
<td>tīt to drift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēxz to save</td>
<td>gāx to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīk to tell</td>
<td>k′ān to hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yez to make</td>
<td>ts!aq! to smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xōq! to invite</td>
<td>ūk to boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tān to put</td>
<td>t!uk to shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuκ&quot;u to become</td>
<td>t!aq! to pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djaq to kill</td>
<td>wūs! to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīn to see</td>
<td>xīn to fly into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gas! to strike</td>
<td>k′!ak! to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēn to look at, examine</td>
<td>q!ak&quot;u to forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zīx to get</td>
<td>q!āk to swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qan to burn</td>
<td>ak to weave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that the final consonant of one or another of these stems is really a suffix, and such may have been the origin of some terminal consonants which are now inseparable.
§ 27. Numerals

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

- Le'q! one
- dēx two
- nats!k three
- daq!ū'n four
- kē'djīn five
- Lē'ducu six
- daxa'ducu seven
- na'ts!kuducu' eight
- gucū'k nine
- dji'nkāt ten
- dji'nkāt qa Lēq! eleven
- Lē'qa twenty
- nats!ga dji'nkat thirty
- kē'djīn qa one hundred

Ke'djīn is formed from ke up and dji'n hand; dji'nkāt contains the suffix kat across or upon and dji'n hand; Lē'qa is from Lēq! one and qa man.

When human beings are referred to, slaves usually excepted, the numeral takes the post-position nax.

- na's!ginax qa three men
- Leducu'nax duke'lkīt has his six nephews
- dēx gux two slaves

The numeral one, however, is sometimes unchanged.

- yuLē'q! yati'yiqa wuckik!iyē'n bring one of the brothers
- Lēq! ati'yiqa bring one man

nax is also used to form distributive numerals.

Ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of a final -a.

- daxa' the second
- nats!gi'a' the third

The first is expressed by cuq!wā'nax.

Numeral adverbs are formed by suffixing -dahēn.

- daxdahē'n yē'yanaka when he said thus twice
- daxdahē'na gu'dawē after she had been twice

§ 28. Interrogative Pronouns

The chief interrogative pronouns, also used as relatives, are adū'sa who, dā'sa what, and wā'sa what or how. The final syllable sa is separable, however, although never omitted, and ought rather to be regarded as an interrogative particle, though it is perhaps identical with the particle st or ast referred to in § 18.1. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

§§ 27, 28
adu'sa wul'iq! who broke it off?
adu'sgi qasi' gaca' I wonder who will marry my daughter
da'saya ye di'wani what has done this?
dasayu', ale' what is that, mother?
ha dâ'tin sa what with? (that is, what can you do?)
wasa'yu hadë' ye'doqa what to us do they say thus?
tel'le' lël wudusku' wâ'sa waniye' then they did not know what
had been done
wâ'sa iyä'odudziqa' axyï't what did they say to you, my son?

With these should be connected gu'su where.
gus' yên yuqoxe'tegi where is, then, the breaking off of it?
gus' tâwunu'guyiɣi where is it that he had felt bad?
guda'xqa'x sayu' â'wadji lël ye'awusku' from whence he came,
she did not know

The last of these examples shows the locative character of gusu' (in this case contracted to gu); and the first two, the curious manner of its employment.

§ 28
Qaq!atc`gu`k

(Told by interpreter, Don Cameron, at Sitka, January, 1904)

Cit`kaq'layu¹ ye`yati² wu'ck`kiy`en³ ye'duwasak⁴ hunxo⁵ a⁶
At Sitka it was that there were brothers named thus the eldest that is Qaq!ategi`k.⁷ All`i'nayu⁸ has ak`ci'ta`n.⁹ Léq!¹⁰ ts`lutá'tayu¹¹ Qaq!ategi`k.⁷
Hunting it was they liked. One morning it was on
that qáa!x̱li`f xode`¹³ dák¹³ has uwaqo'x.¹⁴ Léq!¹⁵ At udja'qx.¹⁵ T'slu
islands to among out they went by canoe. Not things he ever killed. Again yén ugo'xtc.¹⁶ T'slu dák uwaqo'x.¹⁴ Ada'xayu¹⁷ yuq`tín¹⁸ xó'de
there he always came Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to among
wuduwasá.¹⁹ "Hu at naq'o'xtcyá¹⁰ aya.²¹ Cílk!A'L²² ysa²² his name was called. "He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices after
gu`x."²³ Dák has naq'o'x²⁰ a'ayu²⁵ yuhunxo`a²⁶ ye'qlayaqa:²⁷
lest he Shoredward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:

¹ Cit`ka (Sitka) compounded of Cl the native name of Baranoff island, the post-position t'a BEHIND OR BACK OF, and the post-position ka ON; q' locative post-position at; ayu compounded of ay the demonstrative and probably a indefinite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.
² Ye an adversarial particle referring to BROTHERS, which may here be translated AS FOLLOWS. Although it sometimes refers to what precedes; qa-continuative prefix §15.3; it stem of the verb to be.
³ Yén ugo'xtc. T'slu dák uwaqo'x. Ada'xayu yuq'tín xó'de there he always came Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to among wuduwasá. "Hu at naq'o'xtcyá aya. Cílk!A'L ysa his name was called. "He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices after.
⁴ Gu`x. Dák has naq'o'x a'ayu yuhunxo`a ye'qlayaqa: lest he Shoredward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:

---

1. Cit'ka (Sitka) compounded of Cl the native name of Baranoff island, the post-position t'a BEHIND OR BACK OF, and the post-position ka ON; q' locative post-position at; ayu compounded of ay the demonstrative and probably a indefinite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.
2. Ye an adversarial particle referring to BROTHERS, which may here be translated AS FOLLOWS. Although it sometimes refers to what precedes; qa-continuative prefix §15.3; it stem of the verb to be.
3. Yén ugo'xtc. T'slu dák uwaqo'x. Ada'xayu yuq'tín xó'de there he always came Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to among wuduwasá. "Hu at naq'o'xtcyá aya. Cílk!A'L ysa his name was called. "He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices after.
4. Gu`x. Dák has naq'o'x a'ayu yuhunxo`a ye'qlayaqa: lest he Shoredward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:
"Lāk" axā', yāndunu'k." 20 Lē k'ānt 20 has uwanu'k. 30 Caqahā'dī 31 "Quick paddles it has become windy." Then angry they became. The bowman yāk't 32 awago'qu 33 duaxa'yi, 34 Lakak't ye's 35 wudzīgīt. 36 Ad'axayu 17 into the pushed his paddle. All did the same. And then
cana 37 has wu'dīsūt. 38 Yū'yāk 18 qu'a Lē wu'lixac. 39 Deki'dī 40 heads they covered. The canoe, however, then drifted. Outward
Leduc'i 41 ya'kaye qa tīt 11 has wu'lixac. 39 Yudjīnkāt-qā-dēx 42 six days and nights they drifted. The twelfth day
aka'tayu 43 ke a'odzīgīt 44 yen yu'litīk 45 yūyā'k. 18 Aosītī'n 46 on that up they woke the drifting against the canoe. He saw the
qāt!ka'q 47 asīyu' 48 tān, tsa, qūlūn, yax'utc! qa tān-q'adadā'yi. 49
on the island it was sea-lions, hair-fur-sea-otters, and sea-bristles. 'seals, seals, lion-
Lidak't ada' 50 aolita'q! 51 yuqā't!dāq! 53 Has at kā'wadjēl. 53
All around it drifted the island around on. They things got up.
Lē!q! tāk 54 ayē's 55 wutī'. 56 Ka'ndak'le'ti 57 yule'q! tāk 58 qa acuwu'.
One year they were there. It was completed the one year and a half.
Wutē'x 58 yuqā' tcexta't. 59 Le!q! tsutā't ān 60 ke u'dzīgīt 61
Slept regularly the man to sleep about himself. One morning with it up he woke
dutcū'n. 62 Ye'atcu'n 63 qox! 64 aga'qtc. 65 Ad'axayu 17 Le!q! tsutā't 11
his dream. He dreamed thus back he always got. And then one morning

[Notes and glosses]
duk'i-kl-has  65 ye'ayaosiga,  67 "Ca'yidaq'e'de.  68 Yak"yi  69 at kaylaga'.  70
his younger brothers he said to as follows,  "Sit up.  Into the things you load.

Teakuge'y'i  ye'n'de  71 hayak'gwata'n.  72 Gag'a'n  Kan'e'sdi-ca  73
Anywhere thither we will go.  Sun Cross-mountain  (Verstovaia)

caki'nax  74 ke  xi'xtce.  75 Ada'xayu y'en has ya'watan.  76 Qo'ka
near the top of And then there they were heading.  It was dark.
wucgo'di  77 hasduca'yiny'ay  78 hinka  79 has anati'te  80 gaga'n  ana'x
into the their anchor they lowered sun from near it
ke xi'xtciya.  83 Lax qlon  83 has uxe  84 sayu'  85 has aositi'n  ke'ladf
up where it gets.  Very many they camped when it was saw a sea-gull

yadjindahen.  85 Xate  86 Luix  asiyu'  has aositi'n.  Axa'nga
standing suddenly It was Mount It was they saw.  Near it

yasaqoxayu  87 has aositi'n  Luix kide'n.  "Yu'ca  88 adatu'ni'n,  89
when they they saw Mount plainly.  "The straight towards
yu'yaqqara  91 Qaqlategig'k,  "adatcu'n  90 yen yaya'satan."  92 Ada'xayu
was what said Qaqlategig'k,  "straight towards there you be steering."  And then it

xa'nade  93 ana'x yen has uwaqox'.  Ye has a'wasa Yak'kalisiga'ku.  94
towards near there they came by Then they named it Canoe-resting-place.

Tan a akawati  95 ana'x gaduskit'  96 hu ana'x yen wuqoxo'n.  97
Sea it he caused ashore so they might he near it there had come by

---

65 du- his; kik/younger brother; -kl plural for terms of relationship.
67 ye demonstrating; a definite pronoun; ye- § 15.3; o- § 17.2; -i-simle statement § 18.1; to say.
68 Probably c-reflexive; -i-you; da-inchoative § 18.3; -ge to art; -de imperative suffix or particle § 22.2.
69 pak' canoe; p' probably down into.
70 ka- to cause § 15.2; yi- ye; -i-frequentative § 18.4; to load.
71 yen there; de- motion toward.
72 ha us; ye- § 15.3; k- indefinite § 15.6; gua- (for gu-) future § 15.5; tan to go.
73 Kan'e'st is the modern Tlingit word for cross (Lieu. G.T. Emmons it is believed to be a corruption of
CHRIST. The consonant cluster st does not sound like Tlingit); ca mountain.
74 ca head; ki- towards; nas near, or from near by.
75 yi- to get; -te intensive suffix § 7.
76 ya- § 15.3; se- § 18.2; tan to head.
77 wa- § 15.4; c reflexive; pe- into; de motion to.
78 hasd' their; cap'tna anchor; -ti possessive suffix.
79 his water; -i/ into.
80 a indefinite pronoun; na-action accompanied by another § 17.5; ti stem; -te intensive suffix.
81 a indefinite pronoun; nas near, or from near by.
82 yi- to get; -te intensive suffix § 7; -i participle; -ya verbal noun § 20.2, 4.
83 After Lax q'in, the word dal winter should be understood.
84 -i § 17.2; ze to camp.
85 ya- § 15.3; dih rapidly § 17.1; na- at the same time as § 17.5; da-inchoative § 18.3; kai to stand.
86 -ie emphatic suffix (?).
87 a indefinite pronoun; zar post-position indicating motion to the neighborhood of some person; -pa
88 ye- § 15.3; -s probably stands for has; ye- when § 17.4; goz to go by canoe; apa demonstrating.
89 ya demonstrating; ca mountain.
90 a indefinite pronoun; date'n post-position, perhaps containing da around.
91 ya demonstrating; ya- § 15.3; se- § 18.2; go to say.
92 ya- § 15.3; pi second person plural; -i indicative § 18.1; tan to steer.
93 de motion toward.
94 pak' canoe; kai (?) -i indicative § 18.1; go or pak' (?)
95 ya subordinating prefix § 17.4; du- § 17.3; s indicative § 18.1; ku to know; -i purpose § 20.1.
96 ku- § 15.4; goz to go by canoe; -i conjunctival suffix preceded by de in harmony with the o before z
§ 3; § 19.3.
Ada’xawe yaC’i’l kadè has wuqo’x. Ya’ani gayà’qde. 

And then here to Sitka they came by canoe. This town shore in front of.

yà’sgaqo’xayu tclà’guay101 duca’t103 gant agà’x. Tclaye’ su when they were coming the old one his wife outside wept. At that very time.

gaxe’ayu104 aosití’n yù’yàk u àn gayà’de105 yànaqo’x.108 Aosití’n when she was she saw the canoe town to in front of was coming. She saw crying.

awù’gè107 xàt-słàk xu. Wudiha’n nèlde110 wugu’t.111 Há113 she had the root-hat. She started up into the house (she went).

has wuqo’x. Dutuwn113 sigu’ yucà’wat-càn. Duxò’x duxa’nq!115 they came. Her mind was happy the old woman’s. Her husband to her
daq gu’duyu ìdàkà’t at qàdji’116 ye aosí’nì17 tàn-qı’dadzà’yì, up came when all things to the men these he gave sea-lion bristles, yà’x’tc du’gu’, quìn du’gu’. Àn qàdji’118 aoli’tè’k119 Dukà’ni- sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. With hands he shook. His brothers-
yèn120 yè’daysduqa, “Detc’l’a’k122 iti’q!121 yèn yu-at-kà’wati. In-law they said thus to him, “Long since in your place given.

Yuyi’s-qà125 de126 udu’waca.”127 Ate’n128 tuwunu’k129 awatlè.130 The young woman is already married.” It was trouble she felt.

Notes:
101 yà’sgaqo’xayu: nà:yà’sgaqo’xayu.
102 tclà’guay: tclà’guay, nà: tclà’guay.
103 duca’t: duca’, nà: duca’.
104 gaxe’ayu: gaxe’ayu, nà: gaxe’ayu.
105 yànaqo’x: yànaqo’x, nà: yànaqo’x.
106 Aosití’n: Aosití’n, nà: Aosití’n.
108 yànaqo’x: yànaqo’x, nà: yànaqo’x.
109 Duxò’x duxa’nq!: Duxò’x duxa’nq!, nà: Duxò’x duxa’nq!.
110 wudiha’n nèlde: wudiha’n, nèlde, nà: wudiha’n, nèlde.
111 wugu’t: wugu’t, nà: wugu’t.
112 Detc’l’a’k: Detc’l’a’k, nà: Detc’l’a’k.
113 Dutuwn: Dutuwn, nà: Dutuwn.
114 Duxò’x duxa’nq!: Duxò’x duxa’nq!, nà: Duxò’x duxa’nq!.
115 they came. Her mind was happy the old woman’s. Her husband to her
daq gu’duyu ìdàkà’t at qàdji’116 ye aosí’nì17 tàn-qı’dadzà’yì, up came when all things to the men these he gave sea-lion bristles, yà’x’tc du’gu’, quìn du’gu’. Àn qàdji’118 aoli’tè’k119 Dukà’ni-

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Yuyi’s-qà125 de126 udu’waca.”127 Ate’n128 tuwunu’k129 awatlè.130 The young woman is already married.” It was trouble she felt.

117 tàn-qı’dadzà’yì, nà: tàn-qı’dadzà’yì.
118 àn qàdji’118, nà: àn qàdji’118.
119 aoli’tè’k119, nà: aoli’tè’k119.
120 yèn120, nà: yèn120.
121 “Detc’l’a’k122 iti’q!121, nà: “Detc’l’a’k122 iti’q!121.
123 In-law they said thus to him, “Long since in your place given.

Yuyi’s-qà125 de126 udu’waca.”127 Ate’n128 tuwunu’k129 awatlè.130 The young woman is already married.” It was trouble she felt.

124 In-law they said thus to him, “Long since in your place given.

Yuyi’s-qà125 de126 udu’waca.”127 Ate’n128 tuwunu’k129 awatlè.130 The young woman is already married.” It was trouble she felt.
Brothers lived at Sitka of whom the eldest was named Qaq'atcgū'k. They were fond of hunting. One morning they went out among the islands. He (that is Qaq'atcgū'k) kept coming back without having killed anything. He went out again. Then his name was mentioned among the fur-seals. “The one who always hunts is here. Keep quiet, lest he hear your voices.” When they were going towards the shore, the eldest brother said, “Use your paddles quickly, for it has become windy.” Now they became angry. The bow-man pushed his paddle down into the canoe. All did the same thing. Then they covered their heads. The canoe, however, drifted on. They drifted out for six days and nights. The twelfth day he (Qaq'atcgū'k) awoke and found the canoe drifting against the shore. He saw sea-lions, hair-seals, fur-seals, sea-otters, and sea-lion bristles on the island. All had drifted ashore around the island. They took their things up. They were there for one year. A year and a half was completed. The man kept sleeping, thinking about his condition. One morning he woke up with his dream. He kept dreaming that he had gotten home. And one morning he said to his younger brothers, “Sit up. Put the things into the canoe. The sun always rises from the neighborhood of Mount Verstovaia.” Then they headed in that direction. When it became dark, they lowered their anchor into the water in the direction from which the sun comes up. After they had spent very many nights, they saw a sea-gull upon the water. What they saw was Mount Edgecumbe. When they got nearer it, they saw plainly that it was Mount Edgecumbe. “Straight for the mountain,” said Qaq'atcgū'k, “steer straight towards it.” So towards evening they came near it. They named that place Canoe-resting-place. He pounded out the figure of a sea-lion there so that they might know he had come ashore at that place. When they came ashore in front of the town, his old wife was outside weeping. While she was crying, she saw the canoe coming in front of the town. She saw the root-hat she had woven. She got up to go into the house. They came thither. The old woman’s mind was glad. When her husband came up to her, he gave all these things to the people—sea-lion bristles, sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. He shook hands with these in his hands. His brother-in-law said to him, “The feast was given for you some time ago (that is, the mortuary feast). The young woman is already married.” She (the younger woman) was very much troubled on account of it (because her former husband was now a man of wealth).
HAIDA

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON
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The Haida language, called Skittagetan by Powell, was anciently spoken only on the Queen Charlotte islands, off the coast of British Columbia. About a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, however, a large body of Haida moved from their old towns in the northwestern part of the islands, and settled around Cordova and Kasaan bays, Alaska. As originally situated the Haida consisted of six fairly well-marked geographical groups, each of which probably possessed certain dialectic peculiarities; but only two or three well-established dialects can now be said to exist. The two most important of these are that spoken at Skidegate, in the central portion of the Queen Charlotte islands, and that spoken at Masset (on the northern end of the islands) and in Howkan, Klinkwan, and Kasaan, Alaska. The first I shall call the Skidegate dialect, and the second the Masset dialect. The speech of the people around the southern extremity of the group differed so far from these that it may also have been entitled to dialectic rank, but so few of those who used to speak it now survive that we have no absolute knowledge on this point. From the name given by whites to their principal town, I shall call this hypothetical dialect the dialect of Ninstints.

The nearest neighbors of the Skidegate Haida were the Tsimshian of the mainland of British Columbia; and the nearest neighbors of the Masset Haida the Alaskan Tlingit. There is evidence, however, that at one time the Tlingit were neighbors of the southern Haida as well; and the speech of both shows morphological and even lexical similarities such as lead to a suspicion of genetic relationship. Although Tsimshian influence has been very strong among the Haida in recent years, the Tsimshian language is quite distinct, and the only other language in this region which shows any morphological similarity to Haida is the Athapascan spoken in the interior of the continent.
The examples given in the following sketch have been taken from my collection of Haida texts. Those in the Masset dialect will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume X; those in the Skidegate dialect in Bulletin 29 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. References preceded by B refer to Bulletin 29.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-5)**

*§ 2. System of Sounds*

Like most other languages of the north Pacific coast of America, Haida makes an extended use of sounds of the $k$, $l$, and $s$ series. It is peculiarly remarkable, however, for the great extent to which it employs $n$ and $\tilde{n}$ ($ng$) and the frequent juxtaposition of two or even three vowel-sounds. Following is a list of all those sounds which the Haida themselves appear to recognize:

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<td>fortis</td>
<td>surd</td>
<td>spirant</td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>and breathing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives</td>
<td>$d$, $t$, $t'$</td>
<td>$dj$, $tc$, $tc'$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$q$, $q'$</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>$d$, $t$, $t'$</td>
<td>$t$, $t'$</td>
<td>$s$, $n$</td>
<td>$x$, $\tilde{n}$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$m$, $w$</td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>$g$, $k$, $k'$</td>
<td>$k$, $k'$</td>
<td>$x$, $\tilde{n}$</td>
<td>$y$</td>
<td>$h$</td>
<td>$\tilde{a}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
<td>$\tilde{a}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td>$q$, $q'$</td>
<td>$q$, $q'$</td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td>$m$, $w$</td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$m$, $w$</td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
<td>$\tilde{u}$, $\tilde{o}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
<td>$l$, $l'$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An anterior palatal series might be added to these, but the sounds to be so characterized seem only palatals followed by a close vowel. The fortis sounds are accompanied by a slight explosion, which results from urging more breath against the articulating organs than can at once pass through. Some speakers bring these out very forcibly, while others pass over them with considerable smoothness. In the latter case it is very easy to mistake them for corresponding sounds. It is doubtful whether $d$ and $t$ and $dj$ and $tc$ really exist as recognizable separate sounds; $tc$ is sometimes heard in the Masset dialect, and $dj$ in Skidegate in corresponding situations. $x$ is pronounced intermediately between the $\text{ch}$ in German “ach” and in German “ich,” with which latter sound it agrees entirely when placed before a close vowel. In the $l$-series $l$ is much like $dl$, and $l$ much like $tl$; but the tongue is extended farther forward along the palate, and there is a greater flow of breath around it. In $l$ the outflow of breath becomes extreme. $m$ and $p$ are usually final sounds in certain
syllables where they appear to convey a kind of onomatopoetic sense. In both cases there is a little longer pause with lips closed after the enunciation than is usual in English. b, which occurs in barely half a dozen words, seems to be of the same nature. In the Masset dialect g and z are articulated so feebly that it is best to represent them by independent signs, ' and "; but this alteration seems to be only an accompaniment of the shorter form of speech which Masset people affect. In the present sketch all of the examples not marked “Masset” are taken from the Skidegate dialect.

Among vowels we have to distinguish clearly between those proper to the language and those which seem to be purely accidental, a sort of by-product of speech. In the former class are u (or o), u (or o), i (or e), o (or e), a, and A. The sounds in the pairs u and o, u and o, i and e, are not distinguished from each other, and in each case the two probably stand for a single sound. i and e pass very easily into i and e; and the latter may be described as accidental sounds, although which pair is really accidental it would be hard to say. Under the accent, a is lengthened into a. Sometimes a is heard instead of a (kiä'lu, kiä'lu); and sometimes the doubling of a sound gives the effect of a, as in Masset qä'n, equivalent to qa'ä'n, and qa'ünan, which is the same as qa'änan. a following wa, as in wa'lu, resembles ä; and ä is heard in a few exclamations, but it is not proper to the language. The semi-vowels, y and w, are etymologically related to i and u, and must be considered modifications of these sounds.

A notable feature of Haida is the doubling and juxtaposition of vowels, accompanying the general vocalic character of the speech. Any two vowels may thus be used together, but, although generally treated as equivalent to a single vowel, they do not seem to be pronounced as closely together as the vowel-sounds which compose our diphthongs. Examples of this phenomenon are:

- djä'ada woman
- la l' kiä'gañ wansü'ga he told her the news, they say
- l' sü'us he said
- gua towards
- ta'olän friends
- gui toward
- l' qea'lagan he became
- lnaga'i the town

A weak i may be followed by two vowels, as in qia'ogî at the end.
§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

Syllables may consist of a single vowel; a consonant with following vowel, or with vowel-combination like the above; two consonants with following vowel; two consonants, a vowel, and a terminal consonant; or of two consonants by themselves.

While all classes of consonants may stand at the beginning of words, $k$ sounds are not admitted as terminal sounds.

Two groups of consonantic clusters may be distinguished—those with initial $s$ and $l$, and those with other initial consonants. $l$, $t$, $l$, and $l'$ belong in part to the former group.

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

- *stañ* two 280.10
- *šilë* sick 300.28
- *sgat* to chop 275.10
- *skit-* to club
- *skliän* but 296.32
- *š'oan* (*s'wän*) one 275.7
- *sq'laao* salmon-berry bush 319.23
- *slaqa'm* butterfly 296.26
- *sla'a* hand
- *lta'nu* to eat (collective) 278.7
- *łqılıl* to move about
- *lkwid* disturbed, in haste 719.5
- *lk'ạ'mal* needle of coniferous tree 303.11
- *š'øjid* to begin to split 711.23
- *łqam* kelp
- *łqan* to live 704.9 (from *na* to live)
- *leş'nda* a whole one 707.11; 419.15
- *l'łu'alañań* she cooked it 731.41 (*tal* to cook 295.7)
- *łnlōt* 710.26
- *l'łgalańdän* to split quickly 711.26
- *l'djügía'ga-i* standing 725.26
- *łesk'u'naqagnän* they dress up 717.34

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

- *lnagai'* town 704.9 (from *na* to live)
- *lińa'nda* a whole one 707.11; 419.15
- *lińu'alañań* she cooked it 731.41 (*tal* to cook 295.7)
- *lnōt* 710.26
- *l'łgalańdän* to split quickly 711.26
- *l'djügía'ga-i* standing 725.26
- *łesk'u'naqagnän* they dress up 717.34

All other consonantic clusters do not admit surd stops in second position, and no $k$ sound occurs in first position. The only cluster beginning with an affricative that I have found is *djći*. Presumably all these clusters are due to composition of stems which terminate and begin with consonants respectively. This would account for the $§$ 3
absence of $k$ sounds as first sounds of clusters, since these do not occur as terminal sounds.

§ 4. Dialectic Differences

Compared with the Skidegate dialect, Masset appears to have undergone a shortening process throughout. I have already mentioned the change of $g$ and $x$ to $t$ and $z$; and this shortening is also conspicuously noticeable among vowel-sounds, $a$ appearing as $a$, $hao$ as $u$, $sta$ or $sta$ as $st'$, while the $u$ and $a$ sounds generally, especially when terminal, are reduced to very light breathings. The vowel-combination $ai$ becomes almost $i$. Sometimes, however, one vowel is changed into another, as in $st' i n$ two (Masset sta$n$) or $u' n g u$ on top of (Masset $t' n g u$). In conformity with a euphonic tendency to be noted below, $n$, as in $i's i n$, often changes to $n$ in Masset. Occasionally, too, whole syllables are dropped, and so we have $q a o d$ for $q a ' o d i$; $t l a l$ and $d a l$ for $t l a a ' n$ and $d a l a ' n$; $i ' l a d e$ for $i ' l a z a g i d a s g a i$.

Another difference between these two dialects, related to the question of euphony, is the change of $g$ into $x$ in certain situations in the Skidegate dialect, and its retention in Masset. Thus $a'djgua$ over there in Masset becomes $a'djxua$ in Skidegate, and $l' q a ' g a l s$ he went out becomes $l a q a ' x u l s$. This is interesting as seeming to show that the euphonic tendencies have acted differently in the two branches of the Haida tribe.

All that is known of the peculiarities of the Ninstints dialect is that it tended to substitute $k$ for $g$, and that in the manner of its enunciation it was esteemed by the other Haida to resemble Athapascan.

§ 5. Laws of Euphony

The most important euphonic change in Haida is related to that spoken of above. Within the Skidegate dialect itself the $g$ and $q$ of the connective particle $g a -i$ (see p. 262), the possessive suffix $-g a n$ (see § 28.4), and the past-temporal suffixes before the quotative $w a n s u ' g a$ (see § 23.1), are dropped in certain situations, generally having to do with the preceding sound. It is not possible to make rules that will cover all the cases which occur, but it generally happens that $g$ is retained after $a$ and dropped after $u$. After the consonants and the remaining vowels it is more often dropped than retained; but exceptions are numerous, especially after $i$, $n$, the $l$-sounds, and $s$
contracted from dji. In the cases of infinitives and participles, exceptions are more numerous than with nouns. Examples of the use and disuse of this g are the following:

- xâ'gai the dog B 37.4
- nâ'ñâñ his grandmother B 59.14
- lua'i the canoe B 29.21
- nâ'ñâñ gai the play
- djâ'gâñ his wife B 29.30
- q'ádi'gai the slumber
- avu'âñ his mother B 7.1
- â'sgai this thing B 33.28
- goda'i the box B 71.32
- l' qea'lgai when he came (to be)

In the Masset dialect the g of -agan, the Skidegate past-inexperienced temporal suffix (see § 23.2, p. 248), is dropped in most situations, but retained as g after a, conformably with the above rule.

- la l' tsdagi'gañan they always took him
- l' ñ'sgadanî they landed
- xed t'dja'nî they were ashore

But—

- qâl yû'ân qâl'dju'iJagana big V t'dgani he ate
- l' tâ'ganî reef stood out of the water
- ñâñ v'lagidagan one was chief

The final consonant of certain stems is sometimes l, sometimes ñ.

Of these, l usually appears before a vowel, l before a consonant:

- la sta l' stil they went back
- a'asîn gut la qaxitga'i'lasî he for him
- ran over this way upon it

But accent seems to have something to do with the phenomenon; for, when two vowels precede this consonant and the accent falls upon the second, l is commonly employed; thus—

- Gei la'ga la te'i'tlaceâ'lgai zu when he got through breaking his paddles

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

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

Before s the terminal ñ of the imperative future suffix disappears, as also from gañâñ ñ like before xan, as in gañâxan; while in gi'ñgâñ to himself it appears to be inserted.

s becomes dj before most vowels; for example, iâs sand, tâ'djai the sand; a'dji this, a'sgai this thing; hawa'n dañ xe'ñañãadja do you still live? and gam gu 'añî dañ'a ti'als'ñi t'naiñâñus

§5
MAY WE NOT LEAVE WATER WITH YOU? (Masset)—have the same interrogative suffix -udja, -us.

Labials are of small consequence in Haida. Still it is worth noting that sip sea-anemone changes the p to b when followed by the connective particle, namely, si'bai.

§ 6. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical categories and syntactical relations are expressed almost solely by composition, affixing, and position. There is a sporadic case of duplication presented by the continuative suffix -gaŋ; as, la q'nęgaŋ he is looking, la q'蒡aŋgaŋ he looks many times; but it is not extensively used. The perfect tense is expressed by a form which may possibly represent diereisis, but which is more plausibly explained as a suffix, -y; as, la suda'yągaŋi i'la təda'st, he did differently from the way he had said he would do.

Verbal and nominal stems may be combined into stem-complexes by juxtaposition. These complexes are treated syntactically like single stems, each element in the complex receiving its significance by its position. Besides compositions of such independent stems, a number of others occur in which the component elements do not seem to be independent, but occur as prefixes or suffixes. There is, however, no sharp dividing-line between composition and affixing; and some of the elements that appear at present as subordinate may prove to be independent stems. Notwithstanding the phonetic independence of the elements of the stem-complexes, their relation is so intimate that it seems best to consider them as single words because they enter as units into syntactic construction. A number of sound changes which have been referred to seem to be of a purely phonetic character, and not to have any morphological significance.

IDDRAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

(§§ 7-12)

§ 7. Noun and Verb

In general, the distinction between nominal and verbal stems is very sharp. It is true that certain stems are used in a manner that leaves a doubt as to which category they belong, but their use is quite limited. Such are wə'tgal potlatch and to potlatch, xial dance and to dance, na house and to live; while gida chief's

§§ 6, 7
son, yā'nān clouds, tā'ña sea-water, have or may present verbal forms. Generally, however, a noun which is used as a predicate is followed by a verbal stem, or appears incorporated, as, l' gidaga'gan
HE WAS A CHIEF'S son, l' tcā'aldas HE HAD A SPEAR (from tcā'al SPEAR).

Verbs that change into nouns usually become abstract, their origin being thus easily recognized. The names for instruments, store-articles, and some other things, are generally descriptive terms and thus verbal, but they have dropped their verbal suffixes and taken on a noun-forming suffix. Rarely a verb is turned into a passive and then into a noun by prefixing ta and suffixing gai (see § 17.4, p. 236). These are the only cases in which we find verbal prefixes in nouns.

§ 8. Composition

Although there is much freedom in the composition of stem-complexes, a number of types may readily be distinguished. The more fully developed complexes of this kind generally express by an initial element an idea of modality, most commonly instrumentality; by a second element, the nominal object; by a third element, the peculiar kind of action; and by a fourth element, the local relations of the action. In those cases in which the various elements are best developed, the first element appears as an instrumental prefix; the second, as a term expressing a group of nouns characterized by a certain shape; the third is a verbal stem; and the fourth expresses direction and location.

These word-complexes are followed by suffixes expressing tense, mood, and related concepts.

§ 9. Classification of Nouns

The classification of nouns, referred to before, is one of the characteristic traits of the language. The groups characterize objects as "long," "slender," "round," "flat," "angular," "thread-like," "animate," etc. On account of the extended use of these classifiers, incorporation of the noun itself is comparatively speaking rare. It is here represented by the use of the classifiers which express the subject of the intransitive verb, or the object of the transitive verb as a member of a certain class of things, the principle of classification being form.

On the other hand, the same verbal stems—like "to carry," "push," "move," "be"—are used, on the whole, in relation to all §§ 8, 9
kinds of objects, regardless of their form; consequently there are also only a few cases in which the verbal stem differs in the singular and plural. This agrees also with the fact that in the noun the idea of plurality is only weakly developed. It occurs only in terms of relationship and a few other terms designating human beings.

§ 10. Personal Pronouns

Verbs are strictly distinguished as active and neutral. Neutral verbs are, on the whole, those designating states of the body and qualities, while all other verbs are considered as active. The subject of the latter is expressed by the subjective pronoun, while the nominal relations of the neutral verb are expressed by the objective pronouns. In the pronoun the speaker, person spoken to, and person spoken of, are distinguished. The distinction between subjective and objective forms is confined to the first and second persons singular and to the first person plural. Besides these forms, an indefinite singular and plural occurs. The indefinite personal pronouns are also commonly used before nouns to perform the functions covered by our definite and indefinite articles. The personal pronoun of the third person plural is also frequently used as an equivalent to our passive. It is also employed as an equivalent to the form for the third person singular, when the person referred to is especially venerated or respected. The speaker may refer to himself in the same way.

§ 11. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are limited in number, the most general spatial relations only being indicated. The demonstrative employed to mark nearness occurs very often, and corresponds to a similar demonstrative in the Tlingit language. There are certain other particles of a demonstrative character, but they more often indicate grammatical connection than spatial relations.

§ 12. Connectives

Special local relations are expressed by a long series of connectives which are in intimate relation with the verb, but also with the noun and pronoun. They characterize the special relation of the indirect object to the verb. They are placed preceding the direct object and following the indirect object, if there is one. They seem to be adverbial in character.
§ 13. Formation of Word-Complexes

As already stated, Haida words are very loosely put together and many of their elements may also be used independently. The type of the word-complex which may be isolated as the predicative term of the sentence embraces four groups of elements:

A FIRST GROUP, describing an incidental state or activity, particularly instrumentality.

A SECOND GROUP, indicating the nominal object of transitive, the subject of intransitive, verbs.

A THIRD GROUP, expressing the principal predicative term.

A FOURTH GROUP, expressing local relations and modalities.

Although there is hardly any phonetic influence between these groups of elements, their connection is so intimate that the combination is best considered as a single word, even though the component elements may occur in other combinations quite independently. An example of such a combination is the word dañgídał!xasqa canoe being hauled seaward, which is constituted as follows

First group: dañ by pulling.
Second group: gi canoe-shaped object.
Third group: dál to move.
Fourth group: \{ l'xa toward something. sqa seaward.

Several complexes of this kind may enter into combinations. It would seem that when this is the case each complex expresses modality or instrumentality in relation to the following ones in the same way as the first group expresses modality in the single term. An example of this kind is the word gidjigídałskit to place an animate object by causing it to become (one that) holds on with the hands:

First complex, third group: gidjì to hold with hands.
Second complex, third group: gił to become.
Third complex, third group: da to cause.
Fourth complex, third group: skit to bring into contact.

These combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

La la taqiaqá'ñquañas he ate it as he stood around (La la objective and subjective pronouns; ta to eat; -gia to stand; -añ continuative; -guañ about; -añ participle)
While many verbs and nouns may enter into compositions like those described, others occur, at least at present, only in such compositions, and therefore appear as prefixes or suffixes, according to their position, preceding or following the third group, which contains the principal verbal stems. This is particularly true of the second group, which contains a large group of nominal terms of very general significance, each representing nouns conceived as possessing a certain form. Therefore the second group appears essentially as a group of nominal classifiers, although special nouns occur occasionally in the same position. The local relations which belong to the fourth group never occur independently.

§ 14. First Group: Instrumental Verbal Prefixes

1. un- BY MEANS OF THE BACK.

la ga u'ntečidanihe he carried some on his back (la he; ga some; teči stem []; -id inchoative []; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -i suffix [§ 25.6])

xa'ňaqi lina di la u'nxidas lu I wish he would carry me on his back face up (xaňa face; lina I wish; di me; la he; xit to pick up; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254]; lu when)
la la u'nsle'ias he came in with him and took him off from his back (la him; la he; wn- with back; sl to place; te!a into; -y perfect [§ 23.7, p. 249]; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

2. te!'it- BY SHOOTING OR BY HAMMERING; also independent verb, TO SHOOT.

l' gi'tgala'ñ stiT'uxan te!'tggä'igada ŋaga'iga'aga'wansu'ga her sons knew well how to shoot stones by means of a stick (l' her; git child; -ga possessive [§ 28.1, p. 257]; -lañ pl.; stiT'uxan both; te!'it- by shooting; gäia to know how to)

la te!'tguega'ndi qa'o'dihaol after he had shot for a while (la he; gue stem; -gan continuous; -di [§ 20.7, p. 241]; qa'o'di connective after a while; hao general demonstrative)

la la te!'gas he shot it (la it; la he; te!' to shoot; -ga auxiliary to be [§ 18.5, p. 237]; -s participle [§ 25.7])

3. da- BY PUSHING OR BY AN OUTWARD MOTION OF THE HANDS.

la l! daq'isgawas they pushed him down (la him; l! they; l- [§ 15.20, p. 232] shaped like a human being; sl to put or place; gawa [?] -s participle [§ 25.7])

ga la ga'n la da'gilshe put it in for him (ga in; la him; gan for; la she; da- prefix; git [?]; -st participle [§ 25.7])

l' gei'ga la daq'ta'skittogoas they put it in front of it (l' it; gei'ga in front of; la they [with -go § 20.1, p. 240]; da- prefix; sqila- [§ 15.11]; skitt stem; -st participle)

la gut gia'gai la daq'tanana'ngoas he rubbed tallow on them (la them [with -go § 20.1]; gut upon; gia'gai the tallow; la he; da- prefix; qi'ai [§ 15.18]; nan to rub; -añ continuous [§ 24.1]; -s participle)

l! dadjit!aldai'ya'gani they pushed down 45.15 (djit stem; -tal down; da to cause; -y perfect)

4. dañ- BY PULLING; also an independent verb(?). This is one of the most frequent instrumentalss.

la dañ'a'ndjil!xuas he pulled [him] out head first 29.26 (la he; dañ- by pulling; andjì erect; -l!xa toward; -s participle)

gu'tsta la dañ'daias he pulled him apart (gu't together; sta from; la he; dañ- by pulling; da to cause; i = y perfect; -s participle)

s'wan l' dañ'ante!ilas l!u when he pulled one out of the sea (Masset)

s'wan one; l' he; dañ- by pulling; ante!i = andjì erect; la perhaps l!xa toward; -s participle; l!u when)

A'ña l' dañ'nidani he pulled his property out (A'ña his own; l' he; dañ- by pulling; -da to cause; -an past inexperienced; -i [§ 25.6, p. 253])

la dañ'ulgä'-iusas he pulled out (head) 10.4 (q'la-i- § 15.18)

la dañ'insqa'lastas he pulled out a long one 57.9 (sqila- § 15.11)

§ 14
5. **dal-** **by means of a current of water (dal rain).**

\[ l' dā'lılas \text{ he floated (living one) down} \]
\[ nā'lıgā'nda yū'dāla dā'lıgā'xal xaiaga'n much seaweed came \]
\[ drifting 33.22 \] (nā'lıgā'nda seaweed; yū = yū'an much; -dāla pl. adj. [§ 39, p. 276]; dāl- by means of a current; lgal to \]
\[ turn; dā to cause [§ 18.2]; -l!za toward; -i perfect; -ağan past \]
\[ inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. **tla-** by stamping or treading upon. Perhaps related to st!a.

\[ l! t!asēl'gańān they tickled her by treading 31.26 \]
\[ (l! her; l! they; tla- by treading; sel to tickle; -gańān continuative duplic- \]
\[ ated [§ 24.1; § 6])

qala'i inaqwa'igi la t!anana'ناسasi he stamped half of the alder to \]
\[ pieces (qal alder; -ai the; inaqwai the half; gei into; la he; \]
\[ tla- by treading; nan to roll about; -aın continuative; -asi \]
\[ participle)

\[ l! t!asada'ṅgasgas she washed it by treading upon it in the sea \]
\[ (l! she; l!sadaän [?]; ga to go [?]; -sqa seaward; -s participle)

gei la t!anana'ṅgawasi they broke in pieces with their feet (gei \]
\[ into [pieces]; la they [with -gaw]; tla- with feet; nan to grind; \]
\[ -aın continuative; -asi participle)

7. **st!u-** by kicking; identical with the word for foot.

\[ l! la st!a'sgidian he kicked it (la it; la he; sgid stem; -as participle) \]
\[ la st!a'xastgiasa he kicked it into the water (la he; xao quickly; \]
\[ stA stem; -gia suffix [?]; -si participle)

\[ la'ga la la st!aqadai'yağan he kicked his own 89.33 \]

8. **nan-** by grinding, being the stem of the verb to grind.

agA'ın la nanha'ılıwus he destroyed himself by grinding (agA'ın \]
\[ himself; la he; hailu to destroy; -s participle)

9. **skit-** by chopping or by clubbing.

\[ la gei la skitnana'ṅxiai he began to chop them up (la it \]
\[ [pieces]; gei into; la he; nanań stem; -xid inchoative; -i perfect; \]
\[ -s participle)

\[ la la skidnāndi qa'odt after he had chopped it for a while (la it; \]
\[ la he; skid to chop; -an probably continuative; di [§ 20.7] \]
\[ qa'odt after a while)

\[ na'wai la skitnana'ṅgawasi they clubbed the devil-fish (nawa1 \]
\[ the devil-fish; la he [with -gaw § 20.1]; nanań stem; -asi \]
\[ participle)

\[ gi la skidjü'usu he tried to club them (gi to [post-position with \]
\[ omitted object]; la he; skı[r] by clubbing; dju to try, to do \]
\[ that sort of thing; -usu participle)

\[ agA'ın la skitkılı'tudas he let himself be clubbed to death 12.13 \]
\[ (agA'ın self; kütül dead; da to cause)

\[ l'skitqā'gönasi he went around while they were beating time 13.16 .

\[ § 14]
10. **skiū-** BY MEANS OF THE SHOULDER.

\( l' \) **inaqua'\ i la skiū'guxidas** he carried half of it on his shoulder (\( inaqwa'\ i \) the half; \( gu \) stem [\( §1 \); -\( xid \) inchoative [\( § 18.6 \); -\( as \) participle]

**la skiū'sk\( a\) \( g\)i'\( n\)wasi** he sat with it on his shoulder (\( sk\( a\)\) - [\( § 15.8 \); \( gi\) thing [\( §1 \); \( w = u \) to continue to be [\( § 18.1 \); -\( asi \) participle]

**la skiū'dj\( i\)l\( s\)i** being on shoulder 37.32

11. **sl\( l\) - WITH THE FINGERS, this being the word for hand.

\( l' \) **xa'\( n\)è ge'\( t\)\( s\)\( t\)\( a\) g\( a\)'\( ilg\)a\( n\) la sl\( !\)\( g\)\( i\)sta'\( i\)\( a\)\( s\)** he pulled out a blood-clot from his eye with his fingers (\( xa'\( n\)è\) the eye; \( ge\) into; \( sta \) from; \( g\)a'\( ilg\)a\( n\) blood-clot; \( gi\) - shape [\( §15.13 \); \( sta \) to move from; -\( i\) perfect; -\( s \) participle]

**la sl\( l\)!\( s\)\( t\)\( a\)\'ya** he moved the fire with his hands (\( sl\) stem; \( ya \) [\( §1 \)]

12. **g\( i\)n\( h\) - CAUSE in general, of which the special variety has just been given; possibly related to \( gi'\)na thing.

\( ga'\)\( i\)hao \( l' \) **g\( i\)n\( h\)\( d\)ja'\( n\) wansū'\( g\)a** that made him feel that way, they say (\( ga'\)i that; \( hao \) way; is to be; -\( a\)n past inexperienced [\( §23.2 \); \( w\)a'\( n\)sū'\( g\)a) quotative)

\( k\)una'\( i\) sqao \( l' \) **g\( i\)n\( h\)l\( x\)\( d\)\( a\)g\( a\)\( e\)l\( a\)\( n\) wansū'\( g\)a'\( n\)** what he got in exchange for the whales made him rich (\( kuna'\i\) the whales; \( sqao \) in exchange for; \( il\)\( x\)\( d\)\( a\) rich or a chief; \( ge\)l to become [\( § 18.10 \); -\( a\)n past inexperienced [\( §23.2 \); \( w\)ansū'\( g\)a) quotative)

\( \&\) **g\( i\)n\( q\)\( i\)\( a\)'\( a\)\( d\)\( i\)\( a\)\( s\)** he (accomplished something) by pretending to be asleep (\( g\)\( i\)a to sleep; -\( di \) [\( § 20.7 \); -\( s \) participle]

**la \( l' \) gi\( n\)q\( u\)'\( s\)\( u\)\( g\)\( a\)n\( n\)** all that time they made him speak (\( g\)\( u\)\( s\)\( u\) to speak [from stem su]; -\( a\)n continuative; -\( an \) past inexperienced)

\( gi\)n\( k\)\( l\)ot\( u\)l\( t\)\( o\)\( t\)\( u\)l\( d\)\( e\)\( s\)\( i\)\( a\)\( y\)\( a\)\( n\)\( n\)\( \)\()\( . \)\( . \)\( . \) she made herself sick 73.34

13. **kit-** BY MEANS OF A STICK (compare ki'tao SPEAR).

\( l' \) **inaqua'\ i la kit\( d\)j\( i\)\( x\)\( d\)\( a\)\'\( n\) wansū'\( g\)a** he carried half of it off on a stick, they say (\( inaqwa'\ i \) the half of it; \( d\)\( ji \) stem; -\( xid \) inchoative [\( § 18.6 \); -\( a\)n past inexperienced; \( w\)ansū'\( g\)a) quotative)

**la \( l' \) kit\( q\)\( a\)'\( t\)\( a\)t\( c\)\( l\)\( a\)s** he threw it in with a stick (\( g\)ā\( t\)\( a\) to throw; -\( t\)\( c\)l\( a\) inside; -\( s \) participle)

**la \( l' \) k\( i\)\( d\)a'\( t\)\( w\)\( a\)n** they struck at him with a stick (Masset) (\( l\)a him; \( l' \) they [with \( \& \) \( w \) [\( § 20.1 \); -\( an \) past inexperienced]

**la \( l' \) ki'q\( l\)l\( a\)t\( a\)\( g\)\( a\)n** he took it into the canoe with a stick (\( k\)i't\( t\)\( t\) with stick; \( q\)\( l\)\( a\)\( t \) stem; -\( t\)\( i \) into canoe; -\( a\)n past inexperienced)

**la lu\( a\)'\( i\) kiq\( u\)\( d\)\( a\)'\( l\)\( s\)i** he pushed the canoe with a pole 41.3 (\( l\u\) canoe; -\( a\)\( i \) the; \( gi\) - flat object)

**kitq\( a\)'\( d\)\( j\)il\( g\)\( w\)\( a\)\( g\)\( a\)\( n\)** put out (a copper) with a stick 87.24 (\( g\)l\( a\)'\( i\) - round thing [\( § 15.18 \), p. 232])

\( §14 \)
14. **kia**- or **kii**- by means of the voice, for which word this is the stem.

* gai la giatan . . . those shouted out to him (gai those; gi to; gat stem [?]; -an past inexperienced)
* gia'ganai gá'dji kilgà'ixa łaśi the house-pole heads shouted (gia'ganai the house-pole ["standing thing"]; gá'dji heads; gat stem [?]; -x; -a [?]; -si participle)

Llua'i lá'ga la kilgói ğašašan he told him to use his wedge 33.13 (lua'i the wedge; lá'ga his [§ 28.1]; góša to make; -i perfect; -gan past inexperienced)

la l! kilgə'wan they told him to sit (q! to sit; w = u to continue in one place [§ 18.1]; -an past inexperienced)

15. **kwa**- by a stream of water pouring out; also an independent verb(!).

* te'launa'i gei ga'ntai tiala'ń kwalso'stups ğašasań we will let the water run into the fire (te'launa'i the fire; gei into; ga'ntai the water; tiala'ń we; lg- [§ 15.25]; st to move from; -sga into fire; da to cause; -asafl future)
* tec'waı kwagà' ła'la'gašašan the current flowed out quickly (tec'waı the current; gät stem; -la'x toward; -la'gà first or at once [§ 21.3]; -gan past inexperienced)
* tec'waı kwagä'mal'la'zasi the current made cracks by the rapidity of its flowing (tec'waı the current; q!ä'mal to crack; -la'x toward; -si participle)

16. **k!ut**- with the lips, a nominal stem.

* k!utla'stala he spits water upward (lusta stem [?]; -la upward)
* k!utla'idá to make noise with lips 91.37

* qa'al la k!utnä'ni he wet the arrow-point with his lips (qa'al arrow-point; nän stem; -asi participle)

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

* xai'iqwągąša it will fall away under the sunshine (buat- prone object [§ 15.3]; gwe stem [?]; ga to be [?]; -sga future)
* nän xalı'a's one of them was burned up (nän some one; l- [§ 15.20]; la stem [?]; -s participle)
* l' kwa'isqalań xalı'gaias his elder brothers were burned off (kwa'i elder brother; -qa possessive suffix; -lan plural; l-animate object [§ 15.20, p. 232]; ga to be [§ 18.5]; -i perfect; -s participle)
when the sun shone, the heat made it lengthen out (xai to shine; -as participle; lu when; -tal downward [?]; -gān continuative; -as participle) xalhā-'iluasi destroyed by fire 37.13
xalga'mdāxide's beginning to be shriveled up by fire 37.15 (lgam-
[§ 15.24])

18. qō- (Masset ᵃᵒ) BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING WITHIN THE BODY ITSELF.

q'al laal k'ā'tdāla q'ās gōxāgodiēs small persons with black skin held burning pitchwood (q'al skin; laal black; k'āt short or small; -dāla plural suffix for adjectives[§ 39]; q'ās pitchwood; -za inanimate plural [§ 15.26]; go to be somewhere; -di determinate; -es participle)
ge'stā qō'īlama'muldaaānas flames came out of it (gei into; sta from; l'amul stem [?]; da causative; -aān continuative)
'l qā'li gut gōxā'plagānāsi it passed quickly down, burning through the inside of him (qā'li inside; gut upon; xap quickly; la stem [?]; -gān continuative; -asi participle)
a'asīn gōhā'īlūēsi at once they were destroyed by burning (a'asīn at once; hā'īlu to destroy; -ēsi participle); see also 37.8

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

l' xā'slgasi it blew out strongly (-sga seaward; -si participle)
gān lgu sta xūskītqañgā'nsga no breeze will blow from anywhere 31.6 (gān negative; lgu where; sta from; skīt stem; -gān negative suffix [§ 25.3]; -gān continuative; -sga future)
l a xūskītca'si he blew it in (skī[t] stem; tc'a inward; -si participle)
Gā'ssqo ya ō xū'asāian (they) were blown straight out to Gā'ssqo (Masset) (Gā'ssqo name of island; ya straight to [postposition]; ō [-hao] demonstrative; xū by wind; 'as stem; 'a to go; -ia perfect; -n past inexperienced)

20. q'al- (Masset ᵃ'al) BY LEADING, PULLING, OR TOWING.

giwa'i ga la ga galgā'isasi something pulled him to the fishing-ground 29.23 (giwa'i the fishing-ground; ga to; ga something; gā'-floating [?]; sl stem; -si participle)
gwa'iai qadō la la galgā'ylgā'aldaisi he pulled him around the island 29.21 (gwa' island; ai the; qadō' around; gā- [§15.17]; lgāl to move about [stem]; da to cause; -asi participle)
la ga gal'ltaaiaqān something drew it away (ga something; t'ā-[§ 15.4]; la to separate part from whole; -i perfect; -agan past inexperienced)

§ 14
21. *gea*—**BY LOOKING.** It is the stem of the verb to look.

\[qa\text{ to go [sing.]; -}t\text{e}l\text{a inside}; -s \text{ participle}\]

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\[49.18\]

\[\text{gAm} \text{ not; -}t\text{el} \text{ us; -}s\text{ elic to tickle [stem]; -}q\text{a negative suffix [§ 25.3]}\]

\[t\text{c!-v'oya-i} \text{l} \text{qa'q'a-}i\text{-}då\text{a} \text{ldi} \text{qa'odi after} \text{he had looked at the rising sun B 29.9 (qa'q'a-}i \text{- rounded objects [§ 15.18]; -}då\text{ to move; -}d\text{ [§ 20]; qa'odi after}}\]

22. *q'elit*—**WITH A KNIFE.** It is the stem of the verb to cut.

\[l' \text{zA} \text{n} \text{la'q} \text{a} \text{q}'\text{e} \text{idå'} \text{gA} \text{as its bow was carved (zA} \text{n bow or face; lA} \text{ga its; q'ida to be carved [stem] [?]; ga to be [§ 18.5]; -s participle}}\]

\[l' \text{dål} \text{lå'q} \text{a} \text{l} \text{q'elit} \text{q'og} \text{a'was they cut his belly open (dål belly; lA} \text{ga his; lA they [with -gaw [§ 20.1]; gjin stem [?]; -as participle}}\]

\[l' \text{q} \text{a'dj} \text{i} \text{l} \text{q'elit} \text{Lgawa} \text{n} \text{wan} \text{sI'ga they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (q} \text{a'djI head; lA they [with -gaw; q'elit with a knife; l to remove part from whole; -}t\text{ into canoe; -}s\text{ past inexperienced; wan} \text{sI'ga quotative}}\]

\[lA \text{la} \text{q'elit} \text{q'di} \text{a} \text{la q'elit dI'qI} \text{Lgaw} \text{a} \text{n} \text{wan} \text{sI'ga they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (q} \text{a'djI head; lA they [with -gaw; q'elit with a knife; l to remove part from whole; -}t\text{ into canoe; -}s\text{ past inexperienced; wan} \text{sI'ga quotative}}\]

\[l' \text{a'oga} \text{lA gi q'elit} \text{l} \text{q'og} \text{a'wan} \text{his mother cut off for him 7.2}

\[l' \text{q'elit} \text{l} \text{q'dI'qI} \text{l} \text{LxidI'a'-i} \text{tå when he began to cut off (the round thing) 12.14}}\]

23. *qlo*—**BY MEANS OF THE TEETH.**

\[lA \text{ga q} \text{o}'I'l'\text{dAs} \text{something held him tight in its mouth (ga something; l- shape [§ 15.20]; dA} \text{stem [?]; -}s\text{ participle}}\]

\[zA'\text{gai hao q}'\text{e} \text{na} \text{n} \text{q} \text{ogo} \text{nA} \text{ñA} \text{nI the dog was playing with [a stick] (zA'gai the dog; hao that; q}'\text{e} \text{na} \text{n in company with; ga shape [§ 15.17]; na} \text{ñA} \text{n to play [stem]; -a} \text{qA} \text{n [§ 23.2]; -}t\text{ [§ 25.6]}}\]

\[zA'\text{gu q} \text{ok'I'qI} \text{QAT} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I they had halibut in their mouths (zA'gu halibut; kI'u short obj. [§15.15]; gat stem; xi [?]; -asi participle}}\]

\[k\text{u} \text{n} \text{gIa q} \text{oq'I'qI} \text{LAI the piece of whale bitten off (Masset) (kun whale; gia piece of; qI'\text{e} shape [§ 15.18]; l to remove; ai the) (zA'\text{l} \text{q} \text{ok'I'otu'I'gA} \text{ga'wan wan} \text{sI'ga they say the dogs killed them with their teeth 81.42}}\]

1[Compare § 15.26, p. 234. Perhaps all these forms belong to the classifier za.—Ed.]
A zagudjā'ñasi he threw them around (gudjāñ analysis uncertain; -asi participle)

la gi la xā'steclas he handed in to him 55.7 (sl stem; tc! into)

25. xāñ- WITH THE FACE. This is the stem of the word for FACE, and it is rather doubtful whether it belongs properly in this class, although similar to the others in form.

lkia'gui l' djā'ga la sta xāñgā'ldas his wife turned her face away from him toward the door (lkia' outside; gui toward; djā wife; -ga possessive; sta from; igūl stem TO TURN ABOUT; da to cause; -s participle)

la sta la xānga'ogāñas she turned around from him (sta from; gao stem; -gañ continuative; -as participle)

gam la'ga xa'ñgīñañas she did not look in the face as though anything had happened (gam not; -ga possessive; gīn stem [perhaps properly qīñ TO LOOK]; -gañ negative; -as participle)

26. L- BY ANY KIND OF CONTACT, but more particularly CONTACT WITH THE HANDS. It is the stem of the verb TO TOUCH.

la gu la lda'las he laid his hands on them (la them; gu at or there; dal stem; -as participle)

di la lsl let me go (di me; la imperative particle; sl stem)

guda'ñ la lnanā'ñasi he rubbed the medicine on himself (gud upon; -añ himself; nan stem TO RUB; -an continuative; -as participle)

la lxe'gilai lu when she made a noise at the door (by touching it) (xegil [or xegil] stem to make a noise; -ai demonstrative or article turning clause into a noun; lu when)

27. Lu- BY CANOE. It is also the word for CANOE.

zalda'ndjdai lei silgiā'ñ luqā'idesi the five slaves started back by canoe (zalda'ñ or xa'lda'ñ) slave; -djā plural of human beings [§29.2]; -di demonstrative; lei five; silgiā'ñ back [adverb]; qā to go; -id inchoative; -esi participle)

nañ qa'nsta la luqā'îxas he came to one by canoe (nañ one [indefinite person]; qa'nsta to [probably compound post-position of gan for and sta from]; qā to go; -lxas toward; -s participle)

la da'nat la luqā'îxitgaiāngai lu when he started to go home with him (da'nat in company with; qā to go; -it inchoative; -ît seems to be inchoative used again, -it with qā having become so common as to have become stereotyped; -giāñ [?]; gai demonstrative; lu when); see also 7.9

28. xi- WITH THE ARMS (from xi arm, wing).

la xislgilai lu when he waved his arms toward the town (sl stem; gil shoreward; -ai demonstrative; lu when)

§ 14
29. **sqōt-** WITH THE ARMS. It is also the word for armpit.

- *la sqōtxaqiá'ñagani* he had under arms 69.13
- *la gi sqōtqyádáy*n (he) took him by the arm 65.12
- *la spotskiá'ñañ wansi'ga* it is said he clapped with the hands 29.22
- *l! sqotxe'guns* they beat drums 89.41

30. **kiú-** BY TYING.

- *kiúq!q-igadañasi* fastened stones by tying (to it) 71.6 (*q!-i* - rounded object [*§ 15.18*])
- *kiútc!isxiwañani* (it) was tied (to the doorway) 67.1 (*tc!-i* cubic object [*§ 15.2*])

§ 15. **Second Group: Classifying Nominal Prefixes**

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

1. **tc!-** classifies such objects as full sacks and bags, pillows, etc.

- *la'gi la la tc!saga'ias* she brought the full sack out to him (*gi* to; *la* it [sack]; *la* she; **tc!-** classifier; *sl* stem; *-sqa* seaward; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)
- *ga k!e'dj!tc!q'esda' some people with big bellies (*ga* some [people]; *k!e'dj* bellies; *q'esda' big)*
- *la gi sa'ndjilqagai la kiutcisgide'si* he tied a dancing blanket to him (*gi* to; *g!ndjilqogi* dancing blanket; *gai* demonstrative; **kiú-** tying; **sgid** stem; *-esi* participle)

2. **tc!is-** cubic objects, such as boxes.

- *la'ia l! tc!isxida's* they picked up a whole box of cranberries (*la'ia* cranberries; *xid* to pick up; *-as* participle)
- *gayú'da tc!isle'ít* five boxes of berries and grease (*gayú'da* boxes containing a mixture of grease and berries; *le'ít* five)
- *nídja'n!a at sqa'na va'ga sqa'godai tc!isgodígañgi'ni* masks and whistles were always in the secret-society box (*nídja'hn* to imitate; *-unoun-forming suffix [*§26.1*]; *at* with; *sqa'nasupernatural objects, and thus secret-society whistles; *va* that; *ga* in; *sqa'sacred; goda* box; *ai* the; *go* stem to lie; *-di* determinate suffix; *-gah* continuative [*?*]; *-gin* usitative; *-i* perfect)
- *la tc!isx!gas* he brought out a box 55.23

3. **ta!-** applied generally to objects lying on or close to the ground, but also to clubs, etc., grasped in the hand.

- *l! taiss!gas* they all went to bed (sl stem; *-lqa* all; *-qa auxiliary to be; *-s* participle); see also 67.15
- *gů'gus t!agane' t'a'igodies* lo! a house (shape) lay there (*gů'gus* what! *t!agane' behold!* *go* stem to lie; *-di* determinate suffix; *-es* participle); see also 65.28

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1 See also § 17.2.
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gia'sgalAña eight storehouses (gia'sgalAñ storehouses; sta’nsixa eight)

nañ qataidálas one (wave) came moving toward him (nañ one, a; qa [?]; dál to move; -as participle)

úl'úl sta’nsixa'tá'igñ he held a club on the left side (úl’úl club; sta’nsina left; gi at, in; giñ stem [?])

4. tl’a- flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled.

tcá’lga la la tl’algü’ls he put a ground squirrel about her as a blanket (tcá’lga ground squirrel; lgul to go around [stem]; -s participle)

giñña la la tl’algudayana wansü’ga she had put it on her son as a blanket (giñña her own; l- with hands; lgul to go around; da to cause; -y perfect; an past inexperienced; wansü’ga quotative)

5. tl’aoo- objects shaped like spoons and feathers (tl’aqu’n feather)

aga’n la tl’aoogełidas he puts himself (into the water) as an evergreen needle (shape indicated) (aga’n himself; a stem [?]; -geił to become [§18.10]; -da to cause [§18.2]; -s participle)

la’qa la sqastla’olasi she bit off his tongue (la’qa possessive; sqas [?]; la stem; -si participle)

gut la la dát’a’onana’ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (gut upon; da- outward motion; nanan stem; -as participle)

sla’qwal tl’aqgō’na a big spoon (sla’qwal spoon; qō’na big)

la’tl’a’ogiñdá’las feathers floating about (ga-i floating)

6. tl’a- objects shaped like spoons and feathers (tl’aqu’n feather)

aga’n la tl’aoogełidas he puts himself (into the water) as an evergreen needle (shape indicated) (aga’n himself; a stem [?]; -geił to become [§18.10]; -da to cause [§18.2]; -s participle)

la’qa la sqastla’olasi she bit off his tongue (la’qa possessive; sqas [?]; la stem; -si participle)

gut la la dát’a’onana’ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (gut upon; da- outward motion; nanan stem; -as participle)

sla’qwal tl’aqgō’na a big spoon (sla’qwal spoon; qō’na big)

la’tl’a’ogiñdá’las feathers floating about (ga-i floating)

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

7. tl’aoo- objects shaped like spoons and feathers (tl’aqu’n feather)

aga’n la tl’aoogełidas he puts himself (into the water) as an evergreen needle (shape indicated) (aga’n himself; a stem [?]; -geił to become [§18.10]; -da to cause [§18.2]; -s participle)

la’qa la sqastla’olasi she bit off his tongue (la’qa possessive; sqas [?]; la stem; -si participle)

gut la la dát’a’onana’ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (gut upon; da- outward motion; nanan stem; -as participle)

sla’qwal tl’aqgō’na a big spoon (sla’qwal spoon; qō’na big)

la’tl’a’ogiñdá’las feathers floating about (ga-i floating)

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

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

Skia’mskun-tl’a’odjugins hawk with feather sticking out of water (skia’mskun hawk; dju to be; -gin afloat)

6. tl’a- certain slender objects.

tl’a’mdjiwasi it was slender (djiw=dju sort, kind [§39]; -asi participle)

wa’qa tl’a’mqitdiasi it became smaller there (wa demonstrative; -ga at; git stem [?]; -di determinate suffix; -st participle)

Lu tl’a’mduju a narrow canoe 7.7

koat’l’a’mdagasi flowing narrow 8.10 (koat- by a current)

lt’amxi’e’n’l’xa’asi he came to a narrow one 73.38

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

lna’ga’i gut’ga stae’tlasi a village of five curving rows (lna=lana town; gui demonstrative; gut together; -ga in, at; Leii five; -asi participle)

lt’ dusta’sgidasi he pushed a curved (bow) against it 79.7

§ 15
staga'ote'ayasi they came in and sat down in circular lines (qao stem; -tcl motion into; -y perfect; -st participle)

que'stal gatsta'sgit!a'lgans a rainbow moved up and down (que' stem; -tal motion down from above; -gan =-gan continuative; -s participle)

8. sk'al- small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects.

gi'na sk'a'dala some cylindrical objects (stones) (gi'na thing; dala plural with adjectives [§ 39])

sqoda'si ge'ista qe'gu sk'osda'yas he had pulled a basket out from under his armpit (sqoda armpit; -si his own [§ 28.3]; gei into; stA from; qe'gu basket; sda = sta stem; -y perfect; -s participle)

s'i'wai wa'da'hat gu'tgu'i la dasskaxunsasi he was rolling the lake together with it (s'i'wai the one; -giu it is of that sort; -ga to be; -s participle)

nA'n sk'a'idjuwagas the one that had a knot-hole (shape) in it (nA'n the one; -ju it is of that sort; -ga to be; -s participle)

9. sku- round objects, like marbles, berries, eggs, and potatoes.

asi djixi'sla'dala's the waterdrops falling from this were round (asi this; djixi' [?]; dala plural with adjectives; dan stem; -s participle)

la la gaska'zidas he picked it (cranberry) up with it (spoon) (ga-

10. sq'- (Masset s'a-) strings, ropes, hairs, etc.

d'a'gil sqalu'nal three strings (d'a'gil strings; lu'nal three)

wa'luxan ga galsqa'stala'yaA wansu'ga something pulled all of them up (wa it; lu when; xan just so; ga something indefinite; gal- by pulling; sta stem; -la suffix meaning up; -y perfect; -A past inexperienced; wansu'ga quotative)

'aAl s'a'sgu ALL NIGHT, night being spoken of metaphorically (Masset) ('aAl night; squ it is all [?])

11. sq'a/- long objects, like sticks and paddles.

sq'agilA'nas extending out in lines (from the island) (gil seaward [?]; -A'n continuative; -as participle)

a'lai sq'alad'a'ten paddles (A'l paddle; ai demonstrative; La'ten two)

lqea'ma qa'dji sq'astin'i a two kelp-heads 53.24 (lqea'ma kelp; qa'dji heads; sitin two)

sq'axi'u sq'agai sq'lald'nsin'sga'si four lines of people danced toward the beach (xi'u stem; -ga toward beach; gai the; sta'nsin four; -ga toward beach; -si participle)
la dañsq'lasdq'a'-i la'haq when he pulled (it) out 77.43 (dañ- by pulling)
daqs'la'qgidañ push on the long one 55.18 (da- by pushing)
sq'a'baga-i sq'lasta'al ten deadfalls 61.3
sq'a'na iqa'na sqlasti'ñ two dorsal fins 89.3
k'tawse sq'lasta'ñ two spears (Masset) (k't'ao spear; e=ai demonstrative; stañ two [Masset dialect])

See also
sq'l'año pole 41.1
sqlagawa'-i stringers 89.12

12. sL- indicates the shape assumed by objects lying in a heap, such as driftwood, pieces of dry halibut, a cord of wood.
tc'l'a'nuuia sL!q'a'wasí the fire lay there (tc'aanu fire; ai demonstrative; q'a'w=qao or go to lie; -si participle)

13. qH- materials such as blankets, shawls, tablecloths, mats, thin sails. It is sometimes used for canoes, instead of qa-.
mat q'a'li la giga!xas'gas he brought the insides of a mountain-goat (mat mountain-sheep; q'a'li insides; ga stem; -l!xa toward; -sga seaward; -s participle)
q'a'ilqañ la sL!qista'yan he pulled out a blood-clot with his fingernails (qa'ilqañ blood-clot [from gai BLOOD]; sL! with fingers; sta stem; -y perfect; -as participle)
qwé'gal gia'at gisti'ñ two sky blankets (qwé'gal sky; gia'at blankets; stiñ two)

14. gH- flat but broad and thick objects.
qg^sq gile'íl five mats 55.12
la dañgi'stalia'i la when she pulled up (her dress) 31.19
la dañgi'djii!xaga'ñiñi he pulled out the canoe 29.28 (dañ- by pulling; dji stem; -l!xa towards)
la kitgi'ssq'asqga he will push (the canoe) 41.30 (kit- with pole; -sl stem; -sga future)

14. gH- flat but broad and thick objects.
Skí'na qásqga la la q!ogusqidañ . . . he emptied all from his mouth at the head of Skeena, they say (making a lake) (Skí'na Skeena; qás contraction of qa'djí HEAD; -ga at; qlo- with teeth [$14.23]; skid stem; -añ past inexperienced)
Qí'ñígi lanã'ga xí'tgu anó' qãî, gudjà'qogidas it must have been in front of Qí'ñígi's town that a reef came up (Qí'ñígi [name]; lanã' town; -ga possessive; xí down in front of; gu there; anó' it must have been; qãî reef; qjao =dju it was of that sort; gid stem; -as participle)
l' gulasga'ñ wansú'ga he went off in the shape of a flounder, they say (la stem; -sga toward the sea; -añ past inexperienced)

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xa'gu la dAACIÓNqagAL.xa'si he pulled the halibut out on the surface (xa'gu halibut; dAACIÓN by pulling [§14.4]; ga stem; -l'xa toward; -si participle)

la dAACIÓNqagAL.dA'asi he pulled (a cloud) around it 41.40

la dAACIÓNqagAL.sAeitelas he pulled out five (boxes) in succession 55.24

15. k!u- short objects. Posts, nails, and some short loops are so denominated.

sta la k!u'gwectisAisA he (a short bird) came in from it (sta from; gwec stem; -ti motion into; -si participle)

la dA'k!u'qastically pulling; stAstem; -tqoah for good)

la'gohak!usla'yAik!AqA'ga it is said he made (gambling sticks) 53.1

gi'na k!u'g!AqAnasi something he held in hand 73.40

15a. k!At- small objects.

k!u'da k!A'dqul!xaga'-i a small beak came out 53.28 (-l'xa towards)

qe'igaqo k!A'tdju a small basket (qe'iga basket; k!At- classifier; dju it was of that sort)

16. x!A- small objects. Used like the above.

ga xA'tdju some small (olachen) (ga some; dju they were of that sort)

nA qal xA'tdju a small dark person (nA a; qal dark or black; dju it was of that sort)

s!An xA'tdju a small killer-whale (Masset) (s!An killer-whale; dju it was of that sort)

17. qa- (Masset 'a-) flat objects, such as boards, doors, pictures, looking-glasses, dishes, lakes, canoes.

lnaqo'i qalA'itdAya'ganA there were five towns (lna=lana town; gai the; la'til five; -dA causative; -ya perfect; -gan past inexperienced; -t perfect)

q!adaxui' AqA' A qaslgA'yaUS he turned himself in his canoe (indicated by its shape) toward the mainland (q!ada toward sea [mainland being considered outward]; xui toward; AqA' himself [§ 28.3]; sl stem; -sga seaward; -ya perfect; -s participle)

lA'yA la qagA'lxA'tqas he brought out a dish of cranberries (lA'yA cranberries; ga stem; -l'xa toward; -sga toward open place)

g!us tAqane' qa'godies lo! a level (pond) lay there (g!us what! tAqane' behold! go stem to lie; -di determinate suffix [§20.7])

lA qaslgA'nsiN one canoe 10.9

sqA'ola'i galA'il five clam-shells 55.11

lA'na 'AqA'nsiN one town (Masset) (lA'na town; sAoansin one)
18. **q'la**- (Masset *qle*) roundish objects, such as rolls of dry-goods, lumps of bacon, and pieces of whale-meat.

*qa'La qld'igodies* a roundish reef (*qa'La reef; *go* stem **to lie;** -di determinate suffix [*§ 20.7*]; -es participle); see also 77.45

*gi'gawai l* da'ñq!a'isúde' they pulled out the fish-trap (*gi'gaw = *gi'gado* fish-trap; *ai* the; *dañ*- by pulling; *ústa* stem [*?*]; -st participle)

*sta* s!i'n!a'ñ la *qla'islañ* he snuffed from the (round basket) (*sta* from; *s!i'na* snuffing; *sl* stem; -asi participle)

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

*ktq'á'idjilwagagañ* (they) put down (a copper plate) 87.24 (kit- with a point)

*la qea'qla'-idá'ldi* qa'odi after he had looked at (the sun) for a while 29.9 (*qea- by looking; *dal* motion; -di [*§ 20.7*]; *qa'odi* after)

l! *qla'-isliqiñi* they put down (the drum) 14.3

l' *qâ'dji ga qloq'á'-isqidañ* by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (*qâs* head; *qlo*- by biting; *sgid* contact)

We find also

l! *qâ'-isli!xatc!ai'yagañ* they brought (the canoe) in to him 101.4 (*sl* stem; -l!xa towards; -tc! into)

l *la l! qla'-islsqiñ* they took him (porcupine) out to sea 45.16 (*sl* stem; -sga out to sea); the same for **knife** 87.7

l *la l! qla'-isllai'yañ* they took him (beaver) up 47.1 (-l up)

*qla'-idjj!xadies* (foam) coming piled up 95.10 (-L!xa towards)

*qon qlesta'nsañ* four moons (= four months) (Masset) (*qon* moon; *sta'nsañ* four; -an past inexperienced)

19. **qôl**- the shape assumed by long flexible objects, such as hairs or strings, when they are tangled together; also bushes with many stems.

*a'lgan qa'l!a'idijda'i wa'gut q!ôlxâ'was* here was a hemlock with a clump of branches sticking out all over it (*a'l!gan* here; *qa!a* hemlock; *dj!ida'i* the branches; *wa* it; *gut* upon; *xaw=xao* stem; -as participle)

*k'a'ldla q!ôlgue'tla* clump of branches; fall down! (*k'a'ldla* clump of branches; *gue* stem; *la* imperative)

*kt'næan g*a *la daq!o'i!skidesi* he shoved in a bunch of moss to stop up the hole (*kt'næan* moss; *ga* in; *da*- by pushing; *skid* stem)

*stn qlö'dijdjû'gan* a bunch of gambling-stick wood 55.2

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

l' *lxienðâ'las* he was running along (*xien* probably means quickly) [*§ 15*]
la L!a sila'i ga lgodias'it he, however, was lying down in the baby’s place (indicated by shape) (L!a however; sila'i the place; ga in; go to lie; -di determinate; -as participle)

\( \text{tä'xodača } \text{ldjöl'las } \) a grebe came out of the water (tä'xodača grebe; djöl'las toward; -s participle)

la'gùi a�n la lslgil'las he (a fish) turned himself toward him (gù toward [with motion]; a�n himself; sl stem; -gil toward shut-in place; -as participle)

la qla-itl'slas he cut up (a whale) 51.7 (qla-itl' by cutting)

la da'nlstai'yaqani he pulled out (a bear) 95.14 (da'n- by pulling; sta to move away)

la l'sltelas he brought in (a bird) 27.31 (-tel into)

la la llinâ'gas he put a living one down 13.1

l'xida to take (a child) 27.17

l'sgugilels found a whole one 49.17

21. L- or Lu- the shape assumed by a number of clams or fish with a stick run through them to hold them together, and also by a canoe with many persons standing up in it.

ya'gutsi la giza'n ludjùd'asi he placed them standing in line in the middle of the canoe (ya'gutsi =ya'ku middle; l euphonic; -si participle; giza'n standing; djù it was of that sort; -dù causative [§18.2]; -as participle)

ku'ngado idâ'xol'las (a canoe full of men) is coming around the point (kun point; gado around; dâl to go [pl.]; -xol'las toward; -s participle)

22. Ll- thin objects, such as thin boards, berry-cakes, pies and pie-plates, flat cans of beef.

gu'tgi la la dâl'skida'as they flattened it together (gu't together; gi to; dâl- by pushing; skid stem; -as participle)

ga tï'djai l'gôsqâ' certain flat rocks lying out from (the woods) (ga certain; tïdji=tis rocks; ai the; go to lie; -sqâ seaward)

l!le'îl five (plugs of tobacco) (le'îl five)

ya'mdji l'djiwogangâ go to the flint which sticks out thin! (ya'mdji flint; djijo =duj it is of that sort; gân=gâh continuative; -gâ to be [§18.5])

23. Lga- branching objects, such as bushes with numerous branches from one stem, combs, several hooks on one line, clothing with a coarse weave, the vertebral column, and even a person who is very thin.

L! Lâ'djî la gilga'las he broke off the ends of some cedar-limbs (L! some; Lâ'djî limbs; gi- [?]; l stem to touch)

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24. **lgAm**- large roundish or cubic objects.

si'sa lgam'qeda li! lgam'qatxi they had large round rattles in their hands (si'sa rattle; qeda large; qatxi stem [?])

25. **lgI**- large cylindrical objects, like logs, steam-boilers, smoke-stacks, rolls of bedding, many objects flowing in a stream, also driftwood sometimes, and large fence-rails.

26. **xa**- many inanimate small objects.

... xa'godigani they (gills) lie 97.26 (go to lie; -di determinate; -gan experienced; -t [p.253])

ta-u xa'rixwas halibut-hooks were hanging 67.19 (ta-u hook; xiu to hang; -as participial)

27. **SLAP**-

gi'na go'lqal sla'pdala some slim, blue things (gi'na some; go'lqal blue; dala plural with adjectives of shape)

28. **tlAP**-

gi'na sqet ta'pdjul!xa something short and red protruded (gi'na something; sqet red; dju stem; -t!xa toward)
29. **K!Am**- small (cf. no. 15a, p. 231).

\[\text{lu} \ k!A'\textmdala small canoes (\text{lu} canoe; \text{dala} plural with adjectives)\]

\[\text{tla'gas} k!A'\textmdala small flakes of snow 31.28\]

30. **gäm**-

\[\text{ga q́lá'lagd'n} \text{gám} \text{d'n} \text{q́lagd'a} \text{large open space in the woods} \ (\text{ga} \text{some [indef. pl.]}; \text{q́lagda} \text{open place or swamp}; \text{q́l} \text{to lie}; -d́ \text{determine}; -es participle)\]

31. **L!Ap**-

\[\text{la} L!Ap \text{dj}^2\text{l'akadas} \text{he let a small part} \ (\text{of the surface of the moon}) \text{be seen} \ (džilaza [?]; -da causative; -s participle)\]

32. **sLäm**-

\[\text{q́l} \text{d'j} \text{a} \text{l' xé'la} \text{ge'ista} \text{sget} \text{sLám} \text{dj} \text{golá'ndalas} \text{the gum hung out} \text{from his mouth red} \ (\text{q́la} \text{adj} = \text{q́} \text{s} \text{gum}; \text{a} \text{the}; \text{xé'la} \text{mouth}; \text{g} \text{e} \text{i} \text{into}; \text{sta} \text{from}; \text{sget} \text{red}; \text{d́} \text{probably} = \text{d} \text{ju} \text{it is of that sort}; \text{golá'ndal} \text{analysis uncertain; -asi participle})\]

33. **tc!t**- the insides of such objects as sea-eggs.

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

35. **sk!Ap**- applied to such an object as the curled tail of a dog.

\[\text{sk!Ap} \text{dala} \text{crooked wedges 33.13}\]

36. **skiét**- small and very slender objects, such as certain small, slender teapots.

**Third Group: Principal Predicative Terms (§§ 16-21)**

**§ 16. Characterization of Predicative Terms**

Most elements of this group must be considered as independent verbs. It has been pointed out before that they may also enter into combinations. Among some of them this tendency is strongly developed. Here belong the verbs forming terms of the first group (see § 14). A number of others are so intimately related with other ideas in their significance that they occur only rarely alone, if at all, and appear, therefore, in part rather as auxiliary verbs, or even as affixes.

**§ 17. Stems in Initial Position**

Some of these stems take initial positions.

1. **gai**- (Masset gí-') refers to any object floating upon the water, \(gai\) being the stem of the verb TO FLOAT.

\[\text{na-gíu} \ \text{qá} \ \text{gá'}\text{is} \text{geilgigas} \text{he stopped at House-fishing-ground} \ (\text{floating there upon the water}) 29.8 \ (\text{Na} \text{house}; \text{gíu} \text{fishing-ground}; \text{qá} \text{in}; \text{sta} \text{stem}; -gíl \text{to come to be} \ [\text{§} 18.10]; \text{gí} \text{completion of action}; \text{qá} \text{to be}; -s participle)\]
Gam l' lanā'ga da'osqual ga'isega'ogaṅgaṅga driftwood never floated ashore in his town (gam not; lanā town; -ga possessive; da'osqual driftwood; sl stem; gao [?]; -gaṅ negation; -gaṅ continuative; -ga to be)

l' xe'tgu l' gā'isqā'ogils it floated ashore in front of him (xet down in front of; gu there; sl stem; -gil shoreward; -s participle)

l' ga'ingwā'inqā'osgl it was floating about (gā = ga- floating; -ān on sea; -gwā about; -as participle)

[This stem might be considered as an instrumental, like those discussed in § 14. It takes the same position before classifiers as other instrumentals do: gā'-ū!aoga'ogadie's a feather floated ashore 37.24 (t!ao- feather-shaped object).—Ed.]

2. gān- applied when a number of people are doing a thing en masse.

la stA l' ga'ndaxīdījilasi they all started away from her (sta from; da = dal to go [pl.]; -t inchoative [§18.6]; -djīl truly)

la stA l' ga'nlqā'anos they went home from him (sta from; lgal to go indirectly; -ān continuative; -as participle)

la qa'nssta gandā'll!zagīlisi they came to him together (ga'nstā to [= gān for and sta from = coming for a purpose]; dāl to go [pl.]; -l!a toward; -gil landward; -si participle)

l'gān'uld gandaxi'dān three came along 107.20

l' gānā'lqō qa'odōhāo after they had gone along 37.2

[It would seem that this element must be considered as a classifier, analogous to those discussed in § 15 and meaning group of people. The following example illustrates its use following an instrumental: la l' galqā'ndaxīg naï'vaṅ wansū'ga it is said, they led him home 81.39 (gal- by leading).—Ed.]

3. xao- (Masset xo-) to do a thing quickly.

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

la ga yā'nazao'iñā'anas it quickly ground off his skin (ga to; ga something; nān = nan to grind [§ 14.8]; l stem [?]; -gaṅ continuative; -asi participle)

l' dā'qalā'ñ sta'n l' dō'qast'as'ian her two brothers ran down to take her (Masset) (dā'q a younger brother; -lān plural; sta'n two; dō to go and get; sta stem; -s' a seaward; -i perfect; -an past inexperienced)

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

taga'ogaṅañā'ē wansū'ga they say few were left 11.8
taqlā'das she cut up 49.1
taqōldjuulas he spread out in morning 53.4
taskidā'ṅagā'ī they plundered 105.4

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§ 18. Stems in Terminal Position, First Group

Most of these verbal stems take a terminal position:

1. $\ddot{u}$ TO SIT or CONTINUE TO BE.
2. da TO CAUSE.
3. dal TO MOVE ALONG WHILE SOMETHING ELSE IS TAKING PLACE.
4. sît TO WISH.
5. ga TO BE.
6. xît (Masset -id) TO BEGIN
7. xAl or xAl (Masset Al or Al) TO TELL.
8. qa (Masset 'a) TO GO.
9. gaya (Masset 'aya) TO KNOW HOW TO DO A THING.
10. geit or geal (Masset 'el or 'el) TO BECOME.
11. xan TO THINK or GUESS.

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with nouns:

$\ddot{g}an\ddot{t}$ xè'laulas there lay a water-hole ($\ddot{g}an\ddot{t}$ fresh water; xèla a water-hole; u to lie or sit [no. 1]; -as participle)

l! lgâ'ulas they put stones into the fire (lgâ stones; u auxiliary [no. 1]; -as participle)

la gâldas he stayed all night (la he; gâl night; da [no. 2])

l'tcâ'aldas he had a war-spear (l' he; tcâ'al war-spear; -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -s participle)

dâ n gu l madâ'dasga I will put mountain-goats upon you (dâ you; gu there; l I; mad=mAt mountain-goats; â [1]; -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -sga future)

nañ tle'dji lgâ'gas the one who was half rock 8.9 (nañ one; tle'dji half; lgâ stone)

l' nâ'tga gaxâ'gas his nephew was a child¹ (nâ't nephew; -ga possessive [§ 28]; gaxâ child; -ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)

lâ'ga zalâgâ'gan his (implement) was copper (-ga possessive; xâla copper; -ga to be [no. 5]; -agan past inexperienced)

la gi yâ'na nga'ilgaas it became foggy upon them (la them [with suffix -go]; gi at or upon; yâ'na clouds or fog; -geil to become [no. 10]; -as participle)

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

l' q!â'o-û qa'odî after he had sat there for a while (q!â[o] to sit; u auxiliary [no. 1]; qa'odî after a while)

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

¹Gâsà appears to have been originally a verb meaning TO BE WEAK (see § 19.1), but here it is made a verb over again just as if it were a noun.

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l' dā'γīndal qa'odī after he had gone along hunting for a while
(dā'γīn hunting; dal to go [no. 3]; qa'odī after a while)

dañ gi l! γī'dayu'ranaŋa they wish to give you much food
(dañ you; gi to; gidà to give food to any one; yu'ān much;
-ṣi auxiliary [no. 4]; -ga perhaps this should be -sga future)
l'a'oga l' tā'gās his mother ate it 27.28 (ao mother; -ga possessive;
 tā to eat; ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)

la la qā'l!xaxalgoas they told him to come out to them (la they
 [with suffix -go]; qā to go; -l'xal auxiliary [no. 7])

nañ qea'ŋgasi one went to look (nañ one; qea stem to look; -aŋ
 continue; -ga auxiliary [no. 8]; -si participle)

nañ gazā's nā'ŋagayageils the child came to know how to play
 (nañ the [with suffix -s]; gazā child; -s participle; nāna = nan
 stem; -gaya to know how to [no. 9]; -gei to come to [no. 10];
 -s participle)

goñari lā'ŋa që'stā'nsānv'els their months became eight, or eight
 months passed over them (Masset) (goñ moon; ai the; lā'ŋa
 their [singular form covering plural]=la+aña their own; që-
 classifier [§ 15.18]; stā'nsāva=stā'nsāva eight; i probably
euphonic; -eī auxiliary [no. 10]; -s participle)

hayi'ānzan xaga xia'la'ŋgua I think he has danced long enough
 (Masset) (hayi'ān instead of [dancing longer]; xan so, thus;
 xaga enough [i]; xial to dance; -xan auxiliary [no. 11]; -gua
 declarative suffix [25.5])

§ 19. Stems in Terminal Position, Second Group

A number of others are also apparently verbal stems, but appear
in close connection with other verbs, so that they almost convey the
impression of suffixes. In some of them, however, their independent
character is quite apparent.

1. -xa usually occurs in such close conjunction with the verb
stem that it is hard to determine whether it is a true suffix or
not. It may indicate state.

dī dala'n lgazag'īlga you tire me with your handling (dī me;
dala'n you [pl.]; l- by handling [§ 14.26]; gaza together means
weak; -gil to become [§ 18.10]; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.8])

Sawal'ixa gia'xayas Sawal'ixa stood up (Sawal'ixa man's name;
gia to stand; -y perfect; -s participle)

la gan l' st'īxagirdān wansū'ga he became angry with him, they
say (gan with [i]; st'ī angry or sick; qīl to become [§ 18.10];
-ān past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

la'gi l' lgoo'xag'īls he became afraid of him (gi of; lgoo stem to
fear; -gil auxiliary; -s participle)

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La la kilge'idaxa-k'otw'alañ . . . he made her so ashamed by his words that she died (k'il- by words [§ 14.14]; geida perhaps means it is THAT way, but with -xa it signifies TO BECOME ASHAMED; k'otul to be destroyed; -añ past inexperienced)

gam l! qe'zag'anas they did not find him (gam not; qe perhaps is gea TO SEE, but with -xa it means TO FIND; -gan negation)

2. -gin, -gin, or -in MOTION BY SEA; also an independent stem.1

V qa'idangañnas it went of itself by sea (qa to go; -id inchoative [§18.6]; -añ continuative [?]; -as participle)

qā'gīn qa'odi after it had gone along on the ocean for a while (qā to go; qa'odi after a while)

V xao'ins he was fishing 29.7 (xao to fish; -s participle)

V sa'ëns he went out hunting by sea (sañ to hunt; -s participle)

3. -gōn (Masset -'ōn) conveys the idea of random progression on foot, and is used only after the verb stems qā and is.

V dij'goqagōndi after he had danced around for a while (l' they [with suffix -go]; dij stem TO DANCE; qa to go; -gōn=-gōn suffix; -di determinate suffix)

V qā'gōnganî he wandered around (qā to go; -gān past inexperienced; -i perfect)

la qīngā'gōnas he saw walking about 12.2

la qā'gōn qa'odi after he had walked about 67.33

4. -gia is also used principally after qā, and seems to indicate that the motion is with a definite object in view, straight on to a certain place. Possibly it is the stem of the verb TO STAND, with which it is morphologically identical.

gut lā qagiagañna qā'odi after he had gone along upon the trail for a while (gut upon; qa stem to go; -gān continuative; qa'odi after a while)

qā la qā'giagañnst he was going thither (qā to; qa stem to go; -gān past experienced; -i perfect [§ 25.6])

la'qas nañ qā'giagañnas one came to him upon the trail (qa to; -añ one; qa stem to go; -gān continuative; -as participle)

5. -q̱ol or -q̱ol to DO SECRETLY; also independent verb stem.

Sawali'xa l' qinqlo'tadiês Sawali'xa looked at him unobserved (Sawali'xa man's name; qin stem TO LOOK; -ta perhaps FOR; -da auxiliary; -di determinate suffix; -es participle)

la l' su'daq'oldaian he whispered to her secretly (sū stem TO SAY; -da to cause; -da to cause [used twice]; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -an past inexperienced)

1[Nos. 2-4 might be classed with the locative suffixes described in § 22.—Ed.]
\[ d_i \ l a \ q'olq'\text{nda} \] don't let any one know of me (\( d_i \) me; \( l a \) imperative particle; \( q' \) in \([?]\); \(-da\) to cause)

§ 20. Stems in Terminal Position, Third Group

It is probably due to their significance that the following groups take ordinarily their position following the last series:

1. -\( qo \) (Masset -'o) PLURALITY. Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows \( l a \), the personal pronoun of the third person singular.

\( q' \) an \( l a \)\( l a \) djilâ'dagooas they had her as bait for it (\( q' \) an for; \( l a \) they [with -\( qo \); djilâ bait; -\( da \) to cause; -as participle])

\( s \)ta \( l'!a \) lujâ'\text{itygaast} they went away (\( s \)ta from; \( l'!a \) they; \( l u- \) by canoe[§ 14.27]; \( q' \) to go; -it inchoative[§ 18.6]; -asi participle)

\( l' \) nâ'xajiga\( n \)ogga'\( n \)ga they fly about (\( l' \) they [with -\( qo \); nâ'xa to fly [pl.]; -\( q' \)an continuative; -\( q' \)an probably continuative also, the suffix being doubled; -\( qa \) auxiliary)

\( l a \) q'a'\text{oslogoo}awa\( n \) . . . they came and sat down by the fire (\( l a \) they [with \( gaw = \) -\( qo \); q'a to sit; -o probably auxiliary; \( s l o \) stem [?]; -\( qa \) auxiliary [?]; -\( a \)n past inexperienced])

\( l a \) sta \( l a \) lujâ'-\( t \)goas they left him by canoe 59.3

\( l' \) q'\text{tgag}a\( a \)wa\( ' \)i \( l' \)lù when they had gone 59.4

\( l a \) lanadageilgâ'\text{wa}g\( a \)n they had a town 103.11

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

\( l' \) q'a'olå'\text{lqag}agawas they all got up (\( l' \) they [with -\( gaw = \) -\( qo \)])

\( l a \)giag \( g ' \)naqgai \( q a -i l g a g a s \) all his property was lost (\( g ' \)ia property; -\( qa \) possessive; \( g ' \)na things; \( ga \)i the; \( qa -i l \) stem; -\( qa \) auxiliary; -s participle)

3. -\( o d j \)u Masset equivalent of the above.

\( 'a l a -n s l \)\( o d j a w a n \) it was all cooked ('\( a \)n to cook; \( s l \) appears to be the principal stem; '\( o d j a w = ' o d j u \) all; -\( a n \) past inexperienced; -i perfect)

\( 'a l l a \)\( ' i ' s d a -s o d j a w a n \) all went down to it ('\( a \) to; \( i ' s [?] \); \( d a \)l to go; \( s [?] \); '\( o d j a w = ' o d j u \) all; -\( a n \) past inexperienced)

\( l l ! \)\( l l a -s o d j a w a n \) all went down to it (\( l l ! l a d a [?] \); '\( o d j a w = ' o d j u \) all; -\( a n \) past inexperienced)

\( l l '\)\( g u ' \)\( a -h a ' s d a -s o d j a w a n \) he took all into the canoe (\( l l \) canoe; \( g u \) there; \( c = ' c \) into; '\( a -h a \) his own; \( i s d a \) stem; -'\( o d j a w = - o d j u \) all; -\( a n \) past inexperienced)

4. -\( s k \)i applied to an action that fails of accomplishment, or perhaps to one that nearly succeeds.

§ 20
k!iwa'i gei l' xal'ptagoaskià'si he almost went flying through the doorway (k!iw = k!iu doorway; ai the; gei into; xal' probably means quickly; tagoa [i]; -sìi participle)
la dà'yìnska'gàdjüngañ he hunted for it in vain (dà'yìñ to hunt; rest uncertain)
gei l' dayì'nska'iyì lu when they found nothing there by hunting (gei into; dayìñ to hunt; -y perfect; ai the; lu when)
gàdó' l ge'tskìanañ I could in no way get them (gàdó' around [always used with this stem]; l I; get stem; -an [i])

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

l' xelîlt tc!l'ngoañgas he went about hunting birds (xelîlt birds; tc!lin to shoot or hunt; l perhaps euphonic; -ga to go; -s participle). See also 27.27

l' gâ'yìngoañgas it was floating about (gây= gai- floating; -tn on water; -as participle)
goñ ñañ da'ñat la na'ugoañ qa'odi after he had lived along with his father for a while (goñ man's father; -añ his own; dañat in company with; na to live; ù auxiliary; -goañ along or about; qa'odi after a while)
la la 'na-ugoañ qa'odi after he had remained with his wife for a while (la'na to marry; ù auxiliary; qa'odi after a while)

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

la geitgàdaga'i lu when she had finished (geit to become; -da auxiliary; gai the; lu when)
la sugîgai lu when he was through talking (su to talk; gai the)
la qîngî'guasi they looked at it for some time (la they [with -gu = -go]; qîn stem to look; -asi participle)
xàò gâ tadjugî'guan the raven always sat upon it (xàò [i]; gâ at or upon; ta probably a classifier; dju stem [i]; -gañ continuative; -an past inexperienced)

7. -di a suffix that seems to define the action as having taken place at a certain particular place and moment. Its use is not so pronounced in the Masset dialect as in Skidegate.

q'al lqal k!a'tdala q'as gôxâ'godìës some small black-skinned persons held burning pitchwood then (q'alskins; lqal black; k!at-short or small; -dala plural with adjectives [$39]; q'as pitchwood; go- burning; xa inanimate pl.; -go to be somewhere; -es participle)
la liñâ'ndiqàndi xan at the moment when she was striving to disentangle it (li- with the hands [i]; ñan probably stem; -di seems to be determinate suffix used twice; -gan continuative; xan thus, at that moment)

44377—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——16 § 20
gu la ta'idiasi he lay right there (gu there; tai to lie) l' qazā'di at the time when he was a boy (qazā boy)

This suffix is used very often before qa'odi.

l'sūdi qa'odi after he had cried 7.7

8. -ul or -ul TO DO A THING EARLY IN THE MORNING.

Q'ana'n t'la'ga l qa'o-ulas I sit early in the morning at the mouth of Q'ana'n river (Q'ana'n river name; t'la mouth of; -ga at; l I; qa to sit; -o auxiliary; -as participle)

gañuqa'odiafter he had cried 7.7

-gañu (the weather) becomes like this early in the morning (gañu'n like; gei stem it was so; -as participle)
yū'na'na ta'ig'uiula'i tu when it was cloudy (or foggy) early in the morning (yū'na'na clouds or fog; tai to lie [close to water]; -tu on water; ai the; tu when)

l' lā'utiga it is fine weather so early this morning (lā good, fine) nañ k'wai'yagask. o-ulaiyañ one brother lay dead in the morning 77.33 (k'oda- dead; t- classifier; go to lie)

9. -ūña' marks potentiality.

t'ūñu lqao l! xadalind'ngudA'nsi he thought he might restore them (t'ūñu again; lqao new; l! he [plural because a great hero is speaking]; xada human being; -an continuative [l]; -ūd to think; -an continuative [contracted before s]; -si participle)

gi'na at l' lā'ūña' wa'lūxan la'gi lā t'sdas he gave him all things which might make him happy (gi'na things; at with; lā good or happy; wa'lūxan all [wa + lu + xan]; gi to; t'sda gave)

skāñ, sta'iga lqua l sqasgā'īlūña' blockhead, I can knock out your labret (skāñ blockhead; sta'i labret; -ga possessive; lqua a sort of adverbial interjection, whatever it is; l I; sqasgā'īt to knock out)

gam gu 'anīdāñ ga t'ala'ñ l'naññañus may we not leave fresh water with you? (Masset) (gam not; gu interrogative particle; 'anī fresh water; dāñ you; ga to; t'ala'ñ we; l'na stem; -an continuous [l]; -us interrogative suffix)

ūña' may also be employed as the stem of an independent verb and as an adjective.

l! dō'na k!adañ'sis ù l' lūña'yan she made it so that younger sisters are wise (Masset) (l! indefinite; dō'na younger sisters; k!adañ' wise; -s participle; -is probably contracted form of verb to BE; ù general demonstrative; lūña stem; -y perfect; -an past inexperienced)

Naññk'islas lūña'i he who was going to become Naññk'islas, or the potential Naññk'islas (Nañ one; kīl voice; sl stem; -as participle [all meaning ONE-WHOSE-VOICE-IS-OBEYED]; ai the)

§ 20
a’hao qait lîna’i hao īdja’ā wamsû’ga those were the future (or potential) trees, they say (a this; hao general demonstrative; qait trees; lîna’i the potential; īdja to be; -ān past inexperienced; wamsû’ga quotative)

It is also often used in the formation of names.

§ 21. Stems in Terminal Position, Fourth Group

All of these except two are nothing more than incorporated adjectives.

1. yû’ BIG.
   la gâ’ña yû’andayagan he had it very thick 33.9 (gâ’ña thick; -da to cause [§18.2]; -y perfect [§23.2]; -agăn past inexperienced [§23.2])
   la’gan sk!’ulyû’anâs it was very crowded for her (gan for; sk!’ul a crowd; -as participle [§25.7])
   l’ lâi l’ daoyû’anâs they came near him on the opposite shore in a very great crowd (lâi abreast of on shore; dao to go to get) l’ qoanyû’anân they were very many (l’ they [sing. used for pl.]; qoan many; -ān past inexperienced [§23.2])

2. djitî’ REAL.
   gâ’lga-getidjiti’gai lu when it became quite dark (gâ’l night, dark; -ga [ ]; getî to become; gai the; lu when)
   gi la gwaodjiti’gasi he really did not care for (it) (gi for; gwao stem not TO CARE FOR; -ga auxiliary [§18.5])
   di sk!’isldjiti’ga I am truly full (di I; sk!’isl to be full [perhaps compounded of sk’i and sl]; -ga auxiliary TO BE)
   la’gi la dayî’nskidjiti’gas he was absolutely unable to find him (gi to or for; dayî’n to find; -ski in vain [§20.4]; -ga auxiliary TO BE [§18.5]; -s participle)

3. Lâ’gân THE FIRST.
   na’ân la getil’ga lâ’ga’añas he finished a certain one first 33.2 (na’ân one; getîl to become; -gi completed action [§20.6]; -ga auxiliary [§18.5]; -as participle)
   gîla kia’ga’ñlâga’gâgan he asked for him first 33.26 (kia stem; -gan continuous [§24.1]; -agăn past inexperienced [§23.2])

1. go’da (Masset ‘oda) THE LAST. Originally this appears to have been the word for BUTTOCKS. In the Masset dialect it is used as a connective meaning AFTER.
   la ga tá’gagotslas the ones he ate last (la [ ]; ga the ones; tá stem TO EAT; -ga auxiliary TO BE [ ]; -got last; sl stem; -as participle)
5. *sgoan* forever, or for a long time. This is derived from the same stem as *sgoa'nsi'n* one, *sgu'nxan* only.

*ga'igu hao l' tci'ageils*go'ana'n *wansü'ga* he came to have a place there forever, they say (*gai* the or that; *gu* there; *hao* general demonstrative; *tci* a place; *geil* to come to; *-an* past inexperienced; *wansü'ga* quotative)

*lāga la dānda'ost*go'ana'nasi he pulled his [spear] out for good (*-ga* possessive; *dān* by pulling; *dao* to go and get; *sta* to move from a place; *-an* continuous [[§24.1]].) See also 69.9

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

*la gōtziatci*stas*nsañia*i *lu* after he had swallowed four times, or the fourth time (*gōtziia* stem [?]; *-tci* a motion into [[§22.1]; *sta'sna*n four; *-ai* the; *lu* when)

*atha'o la la tci'iga'stianan*... he shot him twice with it (*ata* with; *hao* general demonstrative; *tci'i* by shooting [[§14.2]; *ga* stem; *-stian=stifitwo; *-an* past inexperienced [[§23.2]]

*ga'te'ista la la dandjista'le'tlas* he pulled apart five times (*ga* together; *gei* into; *sta* from; *dān* by pulling [[§14.4]; *djista* stem [?]; *-le'i* five; *-as* participle)

§22. Fourth Group: Locative Suffixes

1. *-tci* or *-c'i* indicates motion or action into something, especially a house.

*klia'lu au'ñ gi la k'ū'sltci'is* he brought a cormorant in to his mother 27.27 (*kli'lu* cormorant; *au* mother; *-uñ* his own; *gi* to; *klu* classifier [[§15.15]]; *sl* stem; *-s* participle [[§25.7]])

*da'tc'i la l'sltci'as* he brought in a wren 27.31 (*da'tc'i* wren; *l* classifier [[§15.20]]; *sl* stem; *-s* participle)

*l' qatci'ayas* he came in (*qa* stem; *-ya* perfect; *-s* participle)

*ga'gei la qi'ntc'iyas* he looked into some houses (*ga* some; *gei* into; *qin* stem; *-y* perfect [[§23.7]]; *-s* participle)

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

*la la da'oxoastogaua'gawai wansü'ga* they ran out of the house to him quickly, they say (*la* they [with suffix *-gau* = *go*]; *dao* to go to get; *zai* quickly [[§17.3]]; *sta* stem; *-an* past inexperienced; *wansü'ga* quotative)

*la gi la qi'ngua'gas* she looked out at him (*gi* at; *qin* stem; *-ga* auxiliary; *-si* participle)

*l' andjīgoa'gai lu* when he put his head out (*andjī* erect; *gai* the; *lu* when)

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1. See also § 19.2-4.
k!iwa'í qa la giá'xagoasi he stood at the door outside (k!iw = k!iu door; ai the; qa at; giá stem; -xa suffix of unknown significance; -goa out; -st participle)

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

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

síudjá'qadánaí tsín da'ñat la qá'xuls he also went out with the woodpecker 29.46 (síudjá'qadañaí woodpecker; ai the; tsín also; da'ñat with; qa stem; -st participle)

l' lás'qaxu'lastí her husband went out (lás husband; -qa possessive [§28]; qa stem)

SLudja'gadAhai i'sihdA'hat Ia q'd'xulshe also went out with the woodpecker 29.40 (SLudjd'gadaft woodpecker; -ai the; i'sift. also; dd 'fiat with; postern; -s participle)

V La'lgaqaxu'lastíher husband went out (hdhusband; -ga possessive §28]; /astern; -asiparticiple)

V qa'gualan he went out of doors (Masset) (qa stem; -an past inexperienced)

gAm harvi'daV qaguld'anan he did not go out quickly (Masset) (gAm not; hawi'dan quickly; á' carries accent; -an negative)

4. -tlftdj across a body of water, especially an arm of the sea.

Si'k!a kun 'a ó l' sa'int!adjan he went across to Sik!a point to hunt (Masset) (Si'k!a name of a point; kun point; 'a to; ó general demonstrative; sa'in stem; -an past inexperienced)

V Lüd'o!t!adjan they went across the harbor (Masset) (Lü by canoe [§14.27]; dö to go to get; -an past inexperienced)

wa'a l! Lü't!adjanithey brought them across to it (Masset) (wa it; 'a to; Lü stem; -an past inexperienced; -t perfect)

qá'dat!adjasi (he) threw across 73.42

5. -sgién across a strip of land, such as a peninsula.

'a l' qá'sgiénaní he went across to it (Masset) ('a to; qá stem; -an past inexperienced; -t perfect)

wagui' l' qá'sgiénan he went across to a distant point (Masset)

(wa it; guí toward [with motion]; qá stem; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. -t!Al or t!Al MOTION DOWNWARD.

tci'wai u'ngei kiti!apha'ot!alsí it stuck into the floor-planks from above (tciw = icu plank; ai the; un on top of; grí into; kiti- by a stick [§ 14.13]; t!apha'o stem [?]; -st participle)

lnaga'í dals'ña la kiti!u't!alasañ I will tip over your town (lna = lana town; gai the; dals'ña you [pl.]; -ga possessive; la I; kiti- with a stick; guí stem; -da to cause; -asañ future [§ 23.5])

silgui'gañ la gaxía't!alagañ he descended to his home (sil back; guí toward [with motion]; -gañ his own [§ 28]; gaxia' stem [?]; -açan past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

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7. -l motion upward.

l' qa'tild qa'odī after he had gone up for a while (qa stem; -dī determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; qa'odī after a while)
l' k'utlā'stāla he spits water upward (k'ut- with the lips [§ 14.16]; lū- probably a classifier; stā stem; -lā up)
naga'i qa la qa'ilstī he went up to the house (na house; gai the; qa to; gā stem; -stī participle)
l' dā'nąndjīlas he pulled it up out of the water (dān- by pulling; āndjī erect; -ūsī participle)
l' qa'inoqalasi they went up to see 12.4

8. -sqa (Masset s'ā) motion toward an open place, particularly toward the open sea, toward the fire.

q'adāxuā' la sa'anaq'asusa come down toward the sea and sit idle 29.4 (q'adā seaward; -xuā toward [without motion]; la imperative particle; sa'ana idle; q'as sit; -u auxiliary)
tā'djīlsqas the wind blew out of the inlet (tādji wind; l [?])
l' xā'gatsqas she stretched her arm seaward to grasp (something) 31.22 (xā- by grasping; qats stem; -spīciple)
lā'laña dā'natq'awōsqa sit down by the fire with your husband (lāl husband; -nā own; dā'nat with; qā stem; -ō auxiliary [§ 18.1])

9. -gil or -gial motion toward a shut-in place.

l' qa'sīgilts it came in and floated (gai- floating; sl stem; -s participle)
l' qaqligāx'lañ wansů'ga she started into the woods (qa stem; xia perhaps = xīt to start; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
l' gōdā'lgialañ wansů'ga she moved farther inland, in a sitting posture (gōdā buttocks; l [?]; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
gwai'yē qa l' lā'gaga'tawan they went up to the island (Masset) (gwai island; yē = ai the; 'a to; l' they [with suffix -aw = -ō]; lū- by canoe [§ 14.27]; qa stem; -gāl landward; -añ past inexperienced)
l' saq'qagatgils he swam ashore 12.11

10. -llxa (Masset -llā) toward anything.

l' stilxagai lu when he came back toward (it) (stil stem; gai the; lu when)
l' luqā'lllaxagoas they approached by canoe 39.5

§ 22
la du la qua'ol xayał wanał'ga it came and got on it, they say (gu on; qua stem to sit; -o auxiliary; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -an past inexperienced; wanał'ga quotative)

la dañ'i ndñi!zas he pulled it out head first 29.26 (dañ'-by pulling [§ 14.4]; ndñi erect; -s participle)
aun' gi la xaga laq'tg'gañasi he brought it up to his mother (Masset) (auñ = ao mother + -an his own; gi to; xa- inanimate objects [§ 15.26]; ga stem; -gil shoreward; -gan continuative [§ 24.1])

(l') ga-isll!xa's he came floating 7.8

11. -gía or gí UNDER WATER.

l' gaoqías it vanished under water (gao stem; -s participle)

lua'í dagu'l gi qaqia'st (the arrow) fell into the water at the side of the canoe (lu canoe; ai the; dagu'l side; gi at; qaqia stem; -st participle)

wa'gei la gi'halqiast they poured it into (the ocean) (wa it [ocean]; gei into; la they [singular used for plural]; gi'hal' [?]; -sti participle)

la la qi'dagías he let him down into the sea (qi'da stem; -s participle)

12. -k INTO A CANOE.

gu'gei la qar'gast he got into his canoe (gu there; gei into; qa stem; -ga auxiliary; -st participle)

la gu'gei la b'slqwas they got into the canoe with him (gu there; gei into; la they [with -gw = -go]; b's stem; -s participle)

la la qi'tqatdayaqgan he got him into the canoe (qi't stem; -ga auxiliary [?]; da to cause; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -agan past in-terminate)

la la qar'daqwas they took her aboard 41.8

Syntactic Treatment of the Verbal Theme (§§ 23-26)

§ 23. Temporal Suffixes

1. -gán, sometimes -án, indicates past events which the speaker has himself experienced.

la l' tc'ínlgoun'ágan they began shooting at them (that is, us) (la them [singular form used for plural]; tc'ín stem; l probably euphonic; -goun about)

la nañ stil'dagan I borrowed one (la I; nañ one; stil stem; -da auxiliary)

lå l' tc'ínlgouñxidan they started shooting at them (lå them; tc'ín stem; l euphonic; -goun about [§ 20.5]; -xidan inchoative [§ 18.6])
dé'nxua aga'ñ l skia'ga'gan I jumped into the stern (dé'nxua stern; aga'ñ reflexive; l I; skia'ga stem [I]; -l aboard [§ 22.12])

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 105–109, Bulletin 29.

2. -aga‘n (Masset -an or -gan) past events known to the speaker only by report.

l' djaj'ga la gi'a-ñxayaga'n his wife left something for him (djaj' wife; -ga possessive; gi'a-ñxa [I]; -i perfect [§ 23.7])
l a l' sā'waga'n she spoke to him (sāw = su to speak)
l a la i'nageaga'n he married her (ina stem; -geal to come to [§ 18.10])

na'n tli'na hao sqā'badax'ida'gan a man began to set deadfalls 95.1 (na'n a; tli'na man; sqā'ba deadfall; -da to make; -x'id to begin)
l u' tc'ast'a'nsañan the canoe had four men (Masset) (tu canoe; ē the; tc'a- people in canoe; sta'nsa- four)

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 33–35, Bulletin 29.

Before wansü'ga, the quotative in the Skidegate dialect, this suffix takes the form -an.

A'ñg a la sqote'skida'ñañ wansü'ga he struck his canoe with his hands, they say 29.22 (A'ñg a his own; sqot with arms [§14.29]; skid contact; -an continuative; wansü'ga quotative)
gitga'n gan la gagoyá'ñañ wansü'ga he was calling for his son, they say (git son; -gan his own [§ 28.3]; gan for; gago [I]; -i perfect; -an continuative; wansü'ga quotative)
la e'siñ qaid'a'wansü'ga he also started off, they say (ē'siñ also; qa stem; -id to inchoative [§ 18.6]; wansü'ga quotative)
l a la qā'ganda'q wansü'ga she saved him, they say (qā'gan to save; -da to cause [§ 18.2]; wansü'ga quotative)

3. -ga'n events that occur or occurred habitually, and usually those which the speaker himself has experienced or is experiencing.

ā'thao gan "Dā'gal" hān l! sū'ga'ñgā'gin therefore they were not in the habit of saying "to-morrow" 35.4 (ā'thao therefore; gan not; dā'gal to-morrow; hān like it; sū stem; -gan negation [§ 25.3]; -gan continuative)
gaga'n hao la wā'ga'ñginiñ that is the reason why I do so (gaga'n hao that is why [=gaga'n + hao]; la I; wā stem to do; -gan continuative; -gin = -gīn usitative; -i perfect [§ 25.6])

'ā'mīlē wa'a'ī'si l nūl'gī'nīñ I used to drink the water that was in it (Masset) (āmīl water; ē the; wa it; ā in; ī'si was; l I; nūl stem to drink; -i perfect [§ 25.6])

ga di l'ooa'ga'giniñ I used to be afraid of it (Masset) (ga something indefinite; di I; l'ooa stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5]; -i perfect)
4. -sga simple futurity.

sgā'na-qeda's da'ŋqa qeə'xolgilga'ngsa the supernatural beings will not become tired of looking at you 31.4 (sgā'na supernatural; qeda's probably those that are so born [from qe to be born, -da auxiliary, -s participle]; daŋ you; qa at; qea by looking; xol stem; -gil probably -gil to become; -gan = -gaŋ continuative)

di gi sīña'gasga no one is going to touch me 31.7 (di me; gi to; sīña stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5])

daŋ l qiŋga'ngsa  I shall see you sometimes 31.13 (daŋ you; l I; qiŋ stem; -gan continuative)

5. -(a)san infallible future occurrence, similar to English you shall.

[In both these suffixes the future element is probably -s, while -sga contains also a declarative ending (-ga).— Ed.]

lua'i daŋ la sīldađasaŋ I will let you have the canoe (lu canoe; ai the; daŋ you; l I; sīlda stem [l]; -da auxiliary)
djā'gaŋ da da'ogasaŋ you shall go and get your wife (djā' wife; -gaŋ your own; daŋ you; dao stem; -ga auxiliary)
l' sgā'iqatgaśasaŋ he will conceal you (sgā' 1st verbal stem to conceal; qat 2d verbal stem it was like that; -ga auxiliary)
gūsu l! i'lagidas ta'asāŋ what will the chiefs eat (gūsu what? l! indefinite demonstrative; i'lagidas chief; ta stem to eat)

6. -qasan, -qasas, immediate or imminent future occurrence; evidently compounded from the above.

a'dal di l! tā'nsangasāŋ they will come to get me to-morrow (a'adal to-morrow; di me; tā'nsan to come by sea)
gīt qā'la'aŋqasāŋ her child was about to come (Masset) (gīt child; qā stem; -l'a toward [§ 22.10]; -aŋ [?] )
nąŋ ya'ets ē u da'nat i'n'la'aŋqasaŋqua the princess is going to bring plenty of food (Masset) (nąŋ the [becomes definite with suffix -s]; ya'ets chief's child; -s participle; ē general demonstrative; da'nat with; ēn stem; -l'a toward; -xan continuative; -qua declarative)
l! lagana'ñqasas they were about to make a feast (lagan to make a feast; -aŋ continuative; -qasas imminent future followed by participle)

7. -q, in intervocalic position y, perfect time.

lqitgu'n awā'ŋ gi la lsltc'la'yaŋ wansū'ga he had brought in a goose to his mother, they say (lqitgu'n goose; aw = aŋ mother; -aŋ his own; gi to; l- classifier [§ 15.20]; sl stem; -tc'la motion into [§ 22.1]; -aŋ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

§ 23
dagalē'ga t'sīn l' xetät't te!ł'i'n glyoāงgayas next day he had again
gone out shooting birds (dagal the next day; ē the; -gə on;
t'sīn again; xetät't birds; te!l'in to shoot; l euphonic [l]; -goān
about [§ 20.5]; -gə auxiliary; -s participle)
la sudā'yangānt īla' teda'st he did differently from the way he had
said (he would do) (su stem to say; da to cause; -agə past
inexperienced; -t perfect; īla' differently; ts stem; -da auxiliary; -st participle)
gana'xan la sū'dayagānt so he had said (gana'xan so [from gana'x
like; xan just]; sū to say; -da auxiliary; -agə past inexperi-
enced; -t perfect)

§ 24. Semi-Temporal Suffixes

Suffixes related to temporal suffixes, but defining the nature or
time of the action more minutely.

1. -gən, -an, or -in. The common continuative or perhaps rather
habitual suffix, similar to the English form of the verb ending
in -ing.

au'n gi la xagal!zaqil'gənasi he was bringing up things to his
mother (au'n [=ao mother + -an his own]; gi to; xa- by
grasping [§ 14.24]; ga stem; -lixa toward [§ 22.10]; -gil shore-
ward [§ 22.9]; -si participle)
gi'naat la nā' ūgənas he was playing with something (gi'na some-
thing; at with; nān stem to play; -as participle)
giqtə'ni la gagoyā'nañ wansū'ga he called for his son, they say
(git son; -gən his own; gagoy =gagoe stem [l]; -an past inex-
perienced [§ 23.2]; wansū'ga quotative)

Sometimes this suffix takes the form -xan or xan.

ga q!a'ozañas the ones sitting there (ga the ones [indefinite]; q!a
stem to sit; -o auxiliary [§ 18.1]; -as participle)
l! naxa'ndt qa'ōdī after they had lived there for a while (nax stem
to live; -dī determinate suffix; qa'ōdī after a while)
l! taixə'ndt qa'ōdī after they had remained in bed for a while (tai
stem to lie; -dī determinate [§ 20.7]; qa'ōdī after a while)

The occasional reduplication of this process has been referred to
in § 6.

§ 25. Modal Suffixes

The following have also a modal significance:

1. l or la indicating the imperative; placed before or after the verb.

di la q!ōsl let go of me with your mouth (di me; la imperative;
q!ō- with mouth; sl stem)

§§ 24, 25
st\'lda la let us go back (stem; -da auxiliary; la imperative)  
ahi lq\'nai di qa\'nsta la ki\'nda now, cousin, be my herald (hai  
now; lq\'n male cousin on father's side; ai the; di me; qa\'nsta  
for; la imperative; ki\'n stem; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2])  
g\'n t\'el s\'u\'nan l tc\'l\'anu \^an tsta\'n get only wet things for fire-  
wood (Masset) (gin things; t\'el wet; s\'un only; -an just;  
tc\'l\'anu firewood; \^an for; tsta stem [l]; -an continuative)  

With the auxiliary qa to go, however, instead of l, -la is suffixed  
to the verb.  
han a l' su\'dagala go and speak to it like this (han like; a this;  
su stem; -da auxiliary; qa auxiliary)  
tc\'l\'anu da\'ogala go and get firewood (tc\'l\'anu firewood; dao  
stem to go and get; qa auxiliary)  
lki\'a'gua na'galdj\'u'galgo go and sit toward the door (lki\'a  
side toward door; gua toward; na'gal [l]; -dj\'u it is of that sort;  
qa auxiliary)  
lq\'et dal\'\n tc\'iag\'nsa qa t\'iyogala go to the place where you are  
going to settle (lq\'et where; dal\'\n you [pl.]; tc\'i stem to  
have a place; -gan continuative; -sa=sa\'n invariable future  
[§ 23.5]; go to; ts stem; -go plural [l]; qa auxiliary)

2. -dja\'n (Masset -te\'in) is employed to indicate what is usually  
denominated the first person imperative, both singular and  
plural, let me, let us.  
hal\'a t!al\'\n tc\'l\'anugad\'anfaj\'an come and let us make a fire (hal\'a  
come! t!al\'\n we; tc\'l\'anu fire; -ga -da auxiliaries [§ 18.5, 2])  
hal\'\n d\'an gi t\'ig\'nugad\'anfaj\'an come and let me adorn you 29.2 (hal\'a  
come! d\'an you; gi to or for; l I; gin- agent in general [§ 14.12];  
gat stem)  
hal\'a t!al\'\n ga\'l\'a\'n\'ndja\'n let us go over to look (hal\'a come!  
t!al\'\n we; ga\'l\'a\'n\'in [l])  
t!al qa\'\'a\'rece\'in let us go away (Masset) (t!al we; qa stem to go;  
sa probably invariable future [§ 23.5])

3. qa\'n (Masset \'a\'n) negation, always preceded by the negative  
particle gam.  
gam gi\'na gut l qa\'\'a\'n\'gan I saw nothing upon it (gam not; gi\'na  
thing; gut upon; l I; g\'a stem to see; l euphonic or possibly  
up; -gan past invariable)  
sqa\'\'na-qe\'a\'s gam \'a gut qa\'\'a\'daga\'\'agn\'gsa the supernatural  
beings will never know it (sqa\'\'na qe\'a\'s supernatural beings  
[see § 23.4]; gam not; gut upon; qa\'\'a\'da [l]; -gan=ga\'n  
continuative [§ 24.1]; -s\'a future [§ 23.4])  

§ 25
...gam la sū'udaqáñasi (he) had not told him 27.6 (sū to say; -da auxiliary; -si participle)
gam l' a'ndañ'añaní he did not feel it (Masset) (gam not; a'ndañ stem [I]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -t perfect [§ 25.6])
gam la ga l! gi'da'ta'angañan they did not give him food (Masset) (gam not; ga indefinite things [food]; gida stem to give food; -gañ continuous; -an past inexperienced)

4. -udja, contracted sometimes to -us, marks interrogation, and, like the two suffixes last mentioned, is always preceded by a particle (gua or gu) or by an interrogative pronoun.
djá kí'lslasi gast'ñhao dãñ qea'ga tsū'udjañ say, chief, what has happened to your brother-in-law? (djá say! kí'lslasi chief [whose voice is obeyed]; gast'ñ what? hao general demonstrative; dãñ your; qea brother-in-law; -ga possessive; ts stem; u'udja=udja interrogative suffix; -an continuous)
aXada'i gua ga gáltalsqá'udja were the meshes of the net pulled off? (axada'i the net; gua interrogative particle; ga indefinite plural subject of verb, and agent of pulling; gál- by pulling [§ 14.20]; t!a- classifier [§ 15.4]; l stem; -sqá seaward [§ 22.8])
gast'n'lao la dãñ t'sta-udjañ why did you tease her? (gast'n'lao why? dãñ you; t'sta stem [I]; -an continuous)

dà gua sklè'ndì are you awake? (dà you; sklè'ndì stem [I]; -dì determinate suffix [§ 20.7])
gam gua qleiga'ña gan dala'ñ u'nsalatgan don't you know any stories? (gam not; qleiga'ña stories; gan for [always precedes u'nsalat]; dala'ñ you (pl.); u'nsalat stem to know; -gañ continuous)

dãñ gu l! v'n'etudja were you married? (Masset) (dãñ you; l! they [used in lieu of passive]; v'n to marry; 'et principal stem)
dà gu sla'gu ti'a-udja did you kill a land-otter? (Masset) (dà you; sla'gu land-otter; ti'a stem to kill)
gi'stò e'djìn who are you? (gi'stò who? e'djìn stem to be)
gast'n'lao dãñ i'djìn what is the matter with you? (gast'n'lao what? dãñ you; i'djìn stem to be; -ñ continuous)
gû'su l! v'l!zagidas tã'asãñ what will the chiefs eat? (gû'su what? l! indefinite demonstrative; v'l!zagidas chiefs; tã stem to eat; -asãñ future infullble occurrence and continuous)

§ 25
5. -gua suffixed in the Masset dialect to declarative sentences in direct discourse.

\[ gamb \] tao t’ala’n da’a’a’u nga ngua we have no food (gamb not; tao food; t’ala’n we; da’a stem to have; -a=n negation; -gan continuative) 

\[ di q!o’lù ‘anl v’djìngua \] I have fresh water (di me; q!o’lù probably means near by; ‘anl fresh water; tdj to be; -n continuative) 

\[ lù di ‘an q’â’l水墨 ngangua \] a canoe came out for me (Masset) (lù canoe; di me; ‘an for; q’â stem to go; -l水墨 toward [§ 22.10]; -st水墨= st水墨 seaward [§ 22.8]; -gan continuative) 

\[ di ‘an l’ yìnginigungua \] they used to call me (di me; ‘an for; yìngin stem [?]; -gin usitative [§ 23.3]; -i perfect) 

Possibly the i after -s is the same in meaning; but I doubt whether it had the same origin. 

\[ Inaga’igu lI q’dAla’i \] they were in a starving condition at the town (Inaga’ithe town; gu at; q’d- mouth [§ 14.23]) 

\[ Ia q’nagast \] he dreamed (qan stem to dream; -ga auxiliary) 

\[ lâ’ga hari’iluva his (food) was gone (lâ his; -qa possessive; hari’ilu gone or destroyed; -asi participle) \n
§25
7. -s or -si is properly used in forming infinitives and participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past-temporal suffix. It indicates that everything in the preceding clause or set of words is to be taken as a unit, and so occasionally appears to have a plural significance. It also has the force of aforesaid, and, after a noun preceded by na, gives the indefinite article the force of a definite.

La la tc!'gas he shot it
La la q!a'gadas he dried it
Na na sqoa'na l' qe'ina he saw one
Lga'xetgu la'nas the Pebble-town people
Na Na Lga'xetgu la'na a Pebble-town person
Na Na la'otawas one who was whittling, or the whittler
Na Na sqadjasas the future brave man
Na Na sqadjas a future brave man
Na Na gax!gas the child, or one who was a child

In the Masset dialect it generally concludes a subordinate clause.

l' v'lagid'els lu Nasto' gu 'aq!e'dadjan when he became a chief,
his mother was drowned at Nasto (l'v'lagid chief; 'e! to become
§ 18.10); -s participle; lu when; Nasto' name of an island;
gu at; 'aq!e'dadj [i]; -an past inexperienced)

§ 26. Unclassified Suffixes

1. -u is suffixed to descriptive terms to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles.

Nidja'nu mask (for derivation compare la at l' nidja'na wansu'ga
he made an image of it, they say)
Sl!anad'nu that with which the hands are washed (=soap)
(Sl!a- with hands [§ 14.11]; nana to play with or wash)
Q!aixtaga'nu round thing shaken (=rattle) (q!ai round-shaped
object [§ 15.18]; xt to shake; gan continually)

2. -Al a suffix used in speaking condescendingly, as to a slave, or sometimes in a kindly manner, to one's equal. It is also employed sarcastically, or in belittling one's self, out of courtesy.

Gana'n hao la su'ula!d!gana he spoke like that (as if speaking to
a slave) (gana' like; hao that; su stem to speak; dal [i];
-gaA continuous)
Ha'osklii'en da'n gia'ga qa'gana'ldas and yet yours will be safe
(ha'osklii'en and yet [=hao + connective sklii'en]; da'n your- gia
thing, or property; -ga possessive; qa'gana stem to be safe;
da auxiliary; -s participle)
3. **-aan̄i** astonishment or wonder.

\[gəm\ gua la gei g̥'na k'udju'as l! q̥'n̥a'q̥anaan̄i\] I wonder that they do not see the object sticking into him (\[gəm\ not; gua interrogative; gei into; g̥'na something; k'udju- classifier \[§ 15.15\]; dju it was of that sort; -s participle; g̥'na stem to see; -g̥n̥ continual])

\[gisi'sdo hao l! waga'ani\] I wonder whence the people came who did this (\[gisi'sdo whence [contains \[sta\ from and o general demonstrative]; hao general demonstrative; wa stem to do; -g̥a auxiliary\])

4. **-alg̥n̥** appears to be identical in meaning with the above.

\[a'saga est̥n̥ l! q̥a'gaalg̥n̥i\] I wonder if I slept here (\[a'sa this place; -g̥a in; est̥n̥ also; l! I [literally they], often used for first person singular or plural; q̥a'ga stem to sleep\])

\[wa lgu g̥'na ge'idai l tagasa'algn̥in\] what a small thing I am going to eat! (\[wa that [thing]; lgu how or what; g̥'na thing; ge'idai it is so or it is like; l l; ta stem to eat; -gasa probably -qasa about to \[§ 23.6\]\])

\[stlao hao gaswaalg̥n̥i\] I wonder if you have become witches (\[stlao witches; hao those; gaswa stem\])

5. **da'og̥o** this is rather a particle than a suffix, but is usually placed after the verb. It may be best defined as a sort of dubitative, though its use is very varied. Sometimes its meaning is conditional.

\[n-n-n hit'aga'n̥ L̥̄sta i'dj̄̄ns at L̥̄̄staia da'ogo isgw̄̄n̥xan̥\] probably it is because she has been doing the same thing again (\[n-n-n exclamation; hit'aga'n̥ then; L̥̄̄sta [ʔ]; i'dj̄̄ns it is [including stem, continual, and participle]; at with; is stem; -gw̄̄n̥ moving about \[§ 20.5\]; -xan̥ continual \[§ 24.1\]\])

\[hadjadi'a gasl'n̥lao di taiq̄'sa da'ogo alas! I wonder what is going to become of me (hadjadi'a alas! gasl'n̥lao what! di me; taiq̄'sa contains the infallible future \[§ 23.5\]\)]

\[l' ti'ndazuai gut gidjiq̄i' da'ogo la L̥̄̄da'n̥galixās lo! when he pulled him out of the water, he only held together by the joints (ti'ndazuai the joints; gut together; gidji to hold; gi [ʔ]; -da causative; l- by handling \[§ 14.26\]; da'n- pulling \[§ 14.4\]; l- classifier \[§ 15.20\]; ga stem; -lxas toward \[§ 22.10\]; -s participle\]

\[§ 26\]
§ 27. Personal Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thou (subj.)</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>thee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she, it</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>him, her, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she, it (indef.)</td>
<td>na\ñ</td>
<td>him, her, it (indef.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>t!ala'ñ</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (plural)</td>
<td>dala'ñ</td>
<td>you (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>l!</td>
<td>them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (indef.)</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>them (indef.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another indefinite L might be added to these.

In the Masset dialect da\ñ is used both for the subjective and objective forms of the second person singular, while dà serves as an emphatic form.

The subjective series is used as subject of the transitive verb and of active verbs, even when there is no object expressed. Objective pronouns are used to express the subject of verbs expressing states and qualities. Following is a short list of neutral verbs.

§ 27
When pronominal subject and object accompany the verb, they are placed preceding the whole stem-complex, the object being placed before the subject. Only the third person plural 1 always stands immediately before the stem-complex. The indirect object precedes the direct object and is characterized by connectives (see § 31).

§ 28. Possession

1. -q'a (Masset -'a). Possession of an object by a person other than the subject of the sentence is expressed by the objective pronoun preceding the noun, and by the suffix -q'a (Masset -'a). In the Masset dialect this suffix is used only rarely. We find the noun either without suffix or with the suffix -q'a.

(a) The possessive forms of terms of relationship are formed by the objective pronoun and the suffix -q'a, which is attached to the noun.

l' djā'q'a qā'gada'qsi his wife dried it 288.12 1 (dia wife)
di gō'nq'a di gi gīnge'idan my father put paint on me 290.8 (di my; gōn father of male; di me; gi on; gīn- to cause [§ 14.12])
Wā'nag'qan gī'tq'a hao idjā'q'an that one was the son of Wā'nag'qan B 87.17
Qā'l-qons gūdjad'ì-a 1'Lgas gī'd'a ina'ẽlan Qā'l-qons' daughter married 1'Lgas' son (Masset) 394.10 (gūdjan daughter; gīt son; ẽna to marry; -ẽl to become)

(b) In terms expressing transferable possession the noun takes neither the pronominal element nor the suffix, but both are combined and precede or follow the noun. At the same time the noun takes the suffix -t.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skidegate</th>
<th>Masset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>nā'q'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy</td>
<td>dā'ñq'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>lā'q'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>i'lä'q'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>dals'ñq'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>l!'añ'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 References in this section indicate page and line in John T. Swanton, Haida Texts (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. x), except that references preceded by B indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology).
dā gua gatağ’-i nā’ga isda’iyañ? did you eat my food? B 45.4 (dā thou; gua question; ga- something; ta to eat; -ga- it)
luā’-i lá’ga sta’gasi his canoe was full 288.10
goa’djiwa- i lá’ga l! ski’dā’nas they beat his drum B 13.16
lā’gudże l dist’ di’na l’sdi take my mat from me! (Masset) 753.29
(lagus mat; l imperative; di me; st’ from; di’na my)
l’ kie’ ‘adō’ lá’ña l! gudṣgwa’nān they thought about its name
(Masset) 741.19 (kie’ name; ‘adō about; gut mind)
tc’i’dalā’ñā’-i isin i’l’aña l’ gi’odjuwē . . . that he also take all
our arrows (Masset) 660.19 (tc’l’dalā’ñ arrow; -ā’dja- all)
lnágā’-i xa’di- dā’ńa hi’lugañ your town people are destroyed
(Masset) 740.22 (lán town; xa’di people; hi’lu to destroy)
tc’i’dalā’ñā- i l!á’ña ‘ag‘ l ’gal!atc’i’a’šaañ I shall swim for their
arrows (Masset) 663.3 (tc’i’dalā’ñ arrow)

In some cases the pronoun precedes the noun.
l! stlā’sil l!á’ña l! qe’hgañan they saw their footprints (Masset)
281.13 (stlā’sil footprint)

(c) Terms expressing parts of the body do not take the suffix -ga;
but either take only the objective pronoun indicating the
possessor and a vocalic ending, or they repeat the pronominal
possessive-like terms expressing transferable possession.
l’ k!u’dalá’ga la qatai’yāgan he sharpened its bill for it B 59.25
l’ lik’adji lá’ga the crown of his head B 13.4
l’ qā’di’ qleitqā’-ilṣidā’-i lū when he cut its head off B 12.14
(qās head; q’leit- with knife [§14.22]; -id to begin)
l’ s!la-i l’il qā’nān her husband saw her hands (Masset) 430.24
(sl’i hand; l’il husband; qān to see)

2. -e. A weak vocalic suffix is used with terms expressing parts of
the body. Words ending in a vowel, n, ń, l, do not take this
suffix, while others seem to transform the surd terminal into a
sonant; s becomes dj before it. The same forms are used in
Masset with terms of relationship.

(a) Words ending in vowels, n, ń, or l.
ō’de ziś’ the eagle’s wing (Masset) 771.2
i’l’adas ńai the chief’s blood (Masset) 779.14
l’ qo’lū his legs (Masset) 332.38
l’ sl’ik’u’n her finger nails (Masset) 507.8
l’ tc’ilā’-a’ada between his teeth (Masset) 331.19
l’ xe’el its neck part B 79.37
l’ xań his face B 10.4
tc’i’na- i qal the salmon skin B 13.5

§ 28
3. -gia means originally property, but in Masset is now sometimes used as equivalent of ga.

v' oñ gia gi'naga'i hi'lawan his father's property was destroyed 689.18
xansú'lot gia luë' sea-anemone's canoe (xansú'lot sea-anemone; lu canoe)
dañ'gia lnaga'i xad'ai your town-people (lnaga'i the town; xad'ai people)
nañ v'liñas gia tâ'wè the man's food (nañ v'liñas the man; tao food)

Sometimes it appears instead of di'na, signifying my, mine; as—
dalañ Hanogi's lu l gia'gañ na-i 'ñ isda'lgala'wan dalañ wa'-
luwan a after you have eaten let all go up to my house
gia'gañ na-i at ic'a'nu yu'an la'ola make a big fire in my house
giagañ 'adó' l'ao l! 'e'sgaga'ñ but they were unsuccessful with mine

4. -gAñ or -añ (Masset -Añ) expresses possession of an object by the subject of the sentence.

(a) The possessive forms of terms expressing relationship and parts of the body are formed by suffixing -gAñ or -añ (Masset -Añ) to the noun possessed.
djà'gañ gi xagwa'-i la lgua'si he carried the halibut toward the
woods to his wife 288.12 (djà wife; gi to; xagu halibut; l- with
hands §§14.26)
gi'tgañ i'sìn l qingá'naga I shall see my son also 291.1 (git child;
i'sìn also; l I; -sga future)
o-uñ at la kiá'nanañas he asked his mother 289.9 (as mother; at
with; kiá'n to question)
kól'lañ lu la dângi'stalia'-i she had it even with her knees 291.7
(lu even; dâñ- by pulling §§14.4; gi- flat thing; sta- to move
away from; -l up).
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(b) Separable possession is expressed by the pronoun A'ṅga (Masset A'ňa).

lua'-i dji'na A'ṅga la sqotskidá'ňaň he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4
q'al dA'ňat A'ṅga la qaxuá'laň wansu'ga he went out with his skin 289.7
'A'ńle 'ai gi'we A'ňa' l' 'isdai'yap he put his fish trap into the creek (Masset) 518.15 ('A'ńle creek; 'ai in; gi'nu fish trap)
gi'we A'ňa' l' qeā'nan he looked at his fish trap (Masset) 518.20

§ 29. Plurality and Distribution

Plural Suffixes with Nouns

1. -lAň is used principally with terms of relationship. It is also contained in the pronouns t'alaň we, dalaň ye.

qá'galaň uncles B 27.13 (qá'[ga] uncle)
ná'tgalaň nephews B 63.24 (ná'[ga] nephew)
sqá'nqalaň aunts (sqá'[ga] aunt)
yá'galaň parents B 45.31
a'ogalaň parents B 59.1
k'wai'galaň elder brothers B 37.10

2. -djít occurs with some words indicating human beings.

i'liňa a male human being
ila'ndjidai male human beings
xa'ldaň slave
xaldá'ndjidai slaves
git a servant or low caste person
gi'djidai low caste persons

The Distributive Suffix

3. -xa is used after numerals, connectives, and nouns.

síti'ňxa two apiece (sítiň two)
le'ilxa five apiece (le'il five)
gado'ixa round about (gado' around)
djì'nxka in the neighborhood of (djìn near)
tcaqá'nxka around under the ocean-water (tcaqá'n the ocean-water)
lk!ti'nxka about in the woods (lk!tié'n woods)
l' stlexgi'alagáň he became angry B 95.3
§ 30. Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

The essential demonstrative elements are a and wa, which are often used alone; but there are also several demonstrative adverbs compounded from these, such as the following:

- a'djxua over here (near by)
- wa'djxua over there (at some distance)
- a'gusa here
- wa'gusa there
- a'st, aldji', alsi' this thing
- wa'nAñ farther off!
- a'nis this region, etc.
- wa'nis that region
- a'lgui this way
- wa'gui that way
- a'lgan right here.

Interrogative pronouns are all built upon three stems by means of suffixes. These stems are gi or gis where? gus what? and gasi'ñ why? or how is it? and the two former may be related to the connectives gi and gù (§ 31). Who? appears to be formed by adding the connectives sta and hao to gi, making gi'stò (literally from where are you?).

Other variant interrogative pronouns are built upon the stems in a similar manner: gi'sgét, giel'sthao, gi'lgan, where; gù'su, gù'sgiao, what?; gasi'ñô, gasi'ñhao, gasi'nLiao, why or how? Gùs is often duplicated into gù'gus. The s which occurs throughout most of these forms very much suggests the interrogative particle (sa) in Tlingit, and is one of the features which suggest community of origin for the two languages. These interrogatives and the indefinite pronouns are also used in place of our relatives; the indefinite l in conjunction with gu (lgu) being frequently so employed.

Modifying Stems (§§31-33)

As already stated, this group of stems includes post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections. They may be most conveniently classed as—

(1) Connectives
(2) Adverbs
(3) Interjections and expletives

§ 31. Connectives

These are a series of words used to bind together the various parts of a sentence and also to connect sentences, and they thus perform the functions of our prepositions and conjunctions. It is evident, from the manner in which they are employed, that they depend very closely upon the verb, and in some cases they are quite essential.
portions of it. The following is a fairly complete list of the connectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at or al with, of</td>
<td>gui toward (with motion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'thaofor that reason</td>
<td>gut with, together with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atgut'u as soon as</td>
<td>gutsta apart, from each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atza'nhao as soon as</td>
<td>gu'tgi together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'zana near</td>
<td>gu'tiga together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'la because, for</td>
<td>guwa'di seeking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alu therefore</td>
<td>ku'ngastra ahead of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aldi'alu therefore</td>
<td>kwavgi above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uid now</td>
<td>kitia'oga for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uied'haonow</td>
<td>kitidl every time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'ngu on top of</td>
<td>ga in or to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'ngut on top of (motion thither)</td>
<td>ga'atga between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v'naat at the same time as</td>
<td>ga'atgei between (with motion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'sgien and (connects nouns)</td>
<td>gado around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya straight opposite</td>
<td>gan for (purpose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hao that (very general meaning)</td>
<td>ga'insta to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'ohao for that reason</td>
<td>gaqa'n on account of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji'nget alongside</td>
<td>go'da behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji'g哺i behind</td>
<td>go'tgado around behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da to (Masset dialect)</td>
<td>go'loga after (compare lga and go'da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagu'ltsu alongside of</td>
<td>gri into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'nat with (close company)</td>
<td>ge'ista out of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di'tgei back toward the woods</td>
<td>qa'odi after a while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla'gi opposite</td>
<td>qa'sdihao after that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla'ga on account of</td>
<td>qalidi inside of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'la while</td>
<td>qalieguit upon the inside of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'sila towing or dragging</td>
<td>qali'gei into the inside of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa above, up</td>
<td>qil'oga near by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sula'uga among</td>
<td>qi'logasta from near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silegiene above</td>
<td>qleui'gi in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sila'iga after</td>
<td>qleui'xa around in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sta from, after</td>
<td>xe'dastra below (toward below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elk'ladzang although</td>
<td>xe'tgu down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawiwan without</td>
<td>xe'tqi down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gai the or that</td>
<td>xe'li in the mouth of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'ista after that, from that place</td>
<td>liu when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan'hu like</td>
<td>lga after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'nah'zan as soon as</td>
<td>la'guu on the shore opposite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi (Masset ga) to or for</td>
<td>la'guda as soon as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gia'ogi at the end or edge of</td>
<td>la'za near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'en and (usually when)</td>
<td>lgi'xna as soon as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu at, there</td>
<td>lgiel against</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A large number of these, it will be seen, are compounded from the simpler connectives, for example:

- a’thao (at + hao)    si'l'iga’ (si’la’i the place + ga)
- atgu'lu’ (at + gu + lu)    ga’ista (ga’i + sta)
- atx’a’hao (at + the adverb xan + hao)    ga’n’xan (ga’n’h + xan)
- a’la (a + in place of a verb or clause)    gu’t’gi (gu + gi)
- al’ut’ (a + hao)    gu’t’go (gu + ga)
- aldji’al’u (aldji’ this + al + hao)    gu’t’sta (gu + sta)
- al’u (a + hao)    gu’t’sta (gu + sta)
- al’u (a + hao)    gu’t’sta (gu + sta)
- d’xana perhaps contains the demonstrative a and the adverb xan
- u’ngu is evidently compounded of a connective un, not used independently, and gu
- u’ngut is compounded of un and gut
- inaat contains at
- ti’sgiën contains giën
- dji’ngui contains gi
- dji’ngui contains gui and probably gi
- daqu’lu’u contains lu
- da’a’nat contains at
- tla’gi contains gi and probably a non-independent connective tla
- tla’ga contains ga and tla
- tla’ga contains ga
- tla’sta contains sta
- s’u’ga contains ga
- skti’a’xan contains xan
- gia’ogu contains gi
- ku’ngasta contains sta and probably ga and kun point
- kwa’gi contains gi
- k’ia’oga contains ga
- qa’atga contains ga
- qa’atgei contains gei
- qa’n’sta contains gan and sta
- q’ol’tga contains ga
- qleš’gi contains gi
- qleš’za contains the distributive suffix xa
- xe’dagua, xe’tgu, and xe’tgi contain gua, gu, and gi, respectively, with a connective xet

§ 31
lā'gu contains gu and a connective lā
lā'gūda contains lā and gut
lā'za contains lā and xa
lā'xan contains xan and perhaps lā and gi

Still another non-independent connective seems to be used with the reflexive suffix in qle'naň for themselves. Gā'wan in the above list is simply the past tense of the verb gao to be wanting, and go'da is the word for buttocks. Gua and gui are probably compounded of go and gei or gi respectively, with gu; and gut is perhaps from gu and at, or else the suffix indicating motion (see below). Qā'li insides, and xē'li in the mouth of, are also used as nouns, meaning the insides of a man or animal, or a sound (body of water), and the inside of the mouth, respectively. Gaňa'ň is perhaps simply the continuous verbal suffix duplicated.

Leaving out these affixes, therefore, along with a few others which occur rarely, it seems as if the following list represented the stems of the original connectives:

| at or al | sū | gān |
| uieđ | sta | gei |
| un | gai | qa'odi |
| ya | gu | q'ol |
| hao | gi | q'eù |
| djin or dji | giën | xēt |
| da | gia | ù |
| dīt | k'ia | ùa |
| t'la | ga | rā |
| t'āl | gāt | lqēt |
| sa | gādō' |

-t is suffixed to connectives to indicate motion of an object in the situation specified by the connective.

si'geit la xi'tlgaldas he flew about above (sīge above; -it in that place; xi't to fly; lgāl moving about; -da to cause)

gam l' nā'dālaň da istic l! dō'ā ngañan l' k!otāl' i sīle' a after he died, they did not call his nephews (Masset) (gam not; nādā nephew; -laň plural; da [?]; istic' also; dō to go and get; -a'n negation; -gañ continual; -an past inexperienced; k!otāl stem to die; -an past inexperienced; sīle after; a stands for dō'ā ngañan)

l! xetl't l! l'steidani they put these before them (xet before; iste stem [?]; -id inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced; -i perfect)

'ā'nle djinē't alongside of the stream (they went) (Masset) ('a'nle fresh water or stream; ē the; djin along by)
§ 32. Adverbs

The position which adverbs take in the sentence, and their use in general, connect them closely with connectives. Both are subordinated to the verb in the same way, and the only difference lies in the fact that an adverb does not refer to a substantival modifier of the verb so directly as does a connective. The fact that adverbial modifiers sometimes do refer to such a substantive (ila', sa, etc.) shows how close the relationship is. The simpler adverbs are the following:

- t'siŋ (Masset t'sin) again, also
- ila' differently
- yen truly
- yē'nlēn very much
- hawi'dan quickly
- hāyi'n instead
- hān (Masset hīn) like, as follows
- halguna'n closer
- hit'ila'n (Masset hit'ila'n) then
- hīna'n only
- di'da landward
- q'ā'da seaward
- sa up, above
- si'nān sniffing
- gū (interrogation)
- gəm not
- xan (Masset hān) still, yet
- xāngia'n answering, in reply
- lān complete, ended
- la (imperative adverb)
- lān a little

A second set of adverbs is formed by means of xan, which has very much the force and function of the English adverbial ending -ly. Such are:

- wa'la'nın really
- ha'oxan still
- de'ixan carefully
- ku'nzān still more
- kia'xan outside
- lqua'nizān aimlessly, traveling at random

Many ideas expressed in English by adverbs are rendered in Haida by a noun, or its equivalent, and connective:

- q'ā'guì northward or to the north
- djazui' seaward, toward the mouth of the inlet
- qalguì' up-inletward, or toward the head of the inlet
- tadjīxua' toward the rear of the house
- tkia'gua toward the door of the house
- sqō'lägi to the right
- slā'ängi to the left or leftward
§ 33. Interjections

The following is a list of interjections, or words of interjectional nature:

- a-iah! or oh my!
- ñya no!
- ñ'digua just hear! (an angry exclamation used by old people)
- aña yes!
- ñ don't!
- ñ (disgust) dirty! etc.
- ñ!e'i indeed! or is that so? or why! don't you know?
- wa or lengthened into wā-ā-ā pretty, nice!
- yū'ya a feminine exclamation of terror
- yūla'dsl an exclamation used by the Ninstints people when they hear news, regardless of its quality
- hai now!
- hawi't quick!
- hā'maya horrors! (a very strong expression)
- hadjadi'a alas!
- ha'ku now!
- halá' come! The Ninstints sometimes use ūi instead of this.
- huk or lengthened into hū'kukukuk look out! also the cry raised when rushing on an enemy. It always indicates danger.
- djā say! well!
- ti'aganë' lo! surprising!
- go'o ano or go'ano no!
- gū'gus ti'aganë' wonderful! or surprising!
- kwai pray! wait! hold on!
- qa pretty or nice (a Kaigani exclamation particularly)
- qūla'la idjāxan an obsolete expression, used only by chiefs, and indicative of intense anger
- ña here! say!
- lan or ha'osl an enough! stop! (identical with the adverb lan)
- l!na would that!

§ 34. Syntax

The verb almost always stands at the end of the sentence or clause; but where the speaker wishes to supplement some thought to what he has just said, he may do so by introducing the essential part of it, and adding a, which stands for the verb and modifiers just given.

wagañăxan la isda'yaqan nañ djā'adas a she did it that way, the woman (did it that way) (wagañăxan that way [=wa + gañă'n + xan]; isda stem; -ya perfect; -a'g an past inexperience; nañ the [with -s]; djā'da woman; a for isda'yaqan)
Occasionally a is omitted.

gièn lā gā'ittqā'isgril.āasi stī lgu lā'na e'sīn and he threw it up hard into the air, the sun also (gièn and; gā'itt hard or quickly; qā'i-classifier; sgrī stem; -l up; -āsi participle; stī sun; lgu indeed; lā'na that one; e'sīn also)

gā'i'luhao l! laga'ya n wansū'ga gā'lai lā'alge'īlsī lu at that time they went off in a crowd, at the end of ten days (literally, nīights) (gā'i'luhao at that time; laga stem [?]; -ya perfect; -ān continuative; wansū'ga quotative; gāl night; āi the; lā'al ten; ge'īl to become; -āsi participle; lu when)

When the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed. A third pronominal object is followed by one of the connectives, and is placed before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and exceptions to this are usually for emphasis:

lan dān l qi'nga I cease to see thee 31.5 (lan to stop; dān thee; l I; qi'na to see; -ga declarative or auxiliary [?])

lā t'sīn lā'ga gā'gas he, too, went to him (t'sīn too; gā to; gā stem to go; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)

dāls'ān lā lā lā'lygī lā'gasga you, however, will be better than the others (dāls'ān you [pl.]; lā however; lā'lygī more than; lā good; -ga auxiliary; -sga future)

I have noted above, that a connective depending upon a verb may stand at the very beginning of the sentence, the noun to which it refers being either understood or expressed in the preceding clause.

Adjectives, connectives, and possessives used like connectives, always follow the nouns to which they refer. When several adjec-
tives depend upon one noun, they are apt to occur in an order exactly
the reverse of that observed in English:

\[
gō'djai tīël xə'td̓ju \text{ the wolf, wet, small (the small wet wolf)}
\]
\[
gi'na gō'łq̓ał sl̓əp̓d̓jū \text{ a thing, blue, slim (a slim blue thing)}
\]

Subordinate clauses almost always precede those on which they
depend, though occasionally they may be inserted into the major
clause itself:

\[
l' \text{ ita'xuixu'adji l' tia'gan la } \text{ gan gūd̓a'ʔn̓aγ}\text{an his friends (that) a}
grizzly bear killed him thought about him (his friends
thought a grizzly bear had killed him) (l'\text{ ita'xuixu'adji friends or clansmen; x̱u'adji grizzly bear; tia stem TO KILL; -}\text{aγ past inexperienced; }\text{gan for [here ABOUT]; gūd̓a'ʔna stem TO THINK; }\text{-}\text{gan past inexperienced)}
\]

In the Masset dialect the subordinate clause usually ends in -s
(§ 25.7) and is followed by gię'n, lu, or some other connective. This
is also found in the Skidegate dialect; but more often the subordinate
clause ends in gai. Masset sentences are usually introduced by
\text{wa'gię'n}; and Skidegate sentences, by \text{gię'n̓a̱o}, \text{wa'gię'n̓a̱o}, \text{lu'ha̱o},
etc. It is often more convenient, however, to regard the sentence
they introduce as a clause coordinate with that which precedes.
This uncertainty always renders it difficult to divide Haida discourse
into sentences.

**VOCABULARY (§§ 35-39)**

§ 35. General Remarks

Haida stems may be most conveniently divided into two classes—
principal stems and modifying stems. The former class includes
those which we should call in English, verbs, adjectives, nouns, and
pronouns; the latter, post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and inter-
jections.

§ 36. Verb-Stems

The greater number of these consist of one syllable, and, in many
cases where more than one occur, it seems probable that they are
really compound. The following list includes all of those most com-
monly employed, along with a few rarely found. They are arranged
in the following order: (1) stems consisting of a single vowel; (2)
those of a single consonant; (3) a consonant and following vowel
or vowel-combination; (4) two consonants; (5) two consonants and
§§ 35, 36
following vowel; (6) a consonant, vowel, and consonant; (7) two consonants, a vowel, and a consonant; (8) stems of two syllables.

1. ā to remain in one place or to sit
2. £ to touch
3. wa to do or make
   dju to be of a certain sort or kind
dao to go and get
ta to eat
tai to lie
tia to kill (one person)
su to say
gao to be absent or wanting
gia to stand
gue to touch
kwo to strike
kiu to tie
kivi to mention
xia to follow
xiao to hang up
go to lie
go(xa) to burn
qa to go (one person)
qē to give birth
qia to sit (usually followed by auxiliary ā)
qia to sleep
qia to laugh
qil to hide or secrete from the eyes
xao to fish
lī to sit (plural)
4. sl a stem of very general application, meaning to place in a certain direction
5. sta to remove from a certain place
   stīē to be sick, angry, sad
   īqī to swim
   lxu to creep
   liđa to kill (many people)
   īja to spit
6. nan to grind or rub
   nial or nil to drink
   īā to go by sea
   kiān to ask
   kīn to make a noise, as a bird
   k!ēl to be extinguished
   xāl to howl
   xīt to fly
   xīt to pick up
   qāt to run, to act quickly
   qēl to become
   qēl to be like
   xut to drink
   xoal to steam
   xon falling of a heavy object, like a tree
   sil to borrow
   īn to start anything
   lil to surround
7. stil to return
   skit to move so as to result in contact
   skit to club
    skin to wake up
   sqail to weep
   sgol to hide
    igal and igul to move around
8. āba to chew up food, for a child
   idji or ḳ to be
   hailu to destroy
   djapā to sink suddenly
daga to own
   īdjī to seize
   īsu to wipe
   k!ōtāl to be dead
   gāza to be weak
   golga to make
gaido to go to war
   la'noto swear

§ 36
Adjectives may always be used as verb-stems and so belong to this category. The following are the principal:

- áda different
- gót last; also a noun meaning buttocks
- yǔ'an big (incorporated yǔ)
- qoan much
- ta'dju' half
- gō'na great, mighty
- t'él wet
- lâ good
- sqët red
- lgal black
- nao(da) many
- qō'lgal blue
- gâ'da white

Nouns like the following may also be used as the stems of verbs:

- yâ'nañ clouds
- gida chief's son
- te!â'ano fire or firewood
- tâ'ña sea-water
- na house

More often the noun is followed by an auxiliary, and these auxiliaries are used after verb-stems as well, though a few of them may occur as entirely independent stems (see § 18).

§ 37. Numerals

The numeral system has become decimal since the advent of the whites, and the word HUNDRED has replaced the original expression that covered that figure; but the old blanket-count ran as follows:

1. sgo̱n'siñ
2. stĩn
3. lgu'nul
4. sta'nsiñ
5. Lē'il
6. Lga'nul
7. djiguagā'
8. sta'nsa'n̄a
9. Laal'i'ŋisgoans'i'ŋgo
10. Lā'Al
11. Lā'Al wai'gi sgo̱n'siñ
12. Lā'Al wai'gi stĩn
20. la'guat sgo̱n'siñ
30. la'guat sgo̱n'siñ wai'gi Lā'al
40. la'guat stĩn
50. la'guat stĩn wai'gi Lā'al
60. la'guat lgû'nul
100. la'guat Lē'il
200. la'guat Lā'Al
300. la'guat Lā'Al wai'gi la'guat Lē'il
400. la'guat Lā'Alē stĩn
1000. la'guat Lā'Alē Lē'il
2000. la'guat Lā'Alē Lā'al

etc.
It will be seen that the term for four is derived from that for two; the term for six, from the term for three; the term for eight, from the terms for four and two; and the term for ten, from that for five; while nine is simply ten minus one.

§ 38. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of the simpler nominal stems, arranged in the same order as the verbal stems given above. Since stems of two syllables with a weak final vowel differ but slightly from those of one syllable, I have given them before other two-syllable stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ál</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tcía</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tcíù</td>
<td>cedar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sù</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gwai</td>
<td>island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'ìu</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zài</td>
<td>sunshine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gài</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìa</td>
<td>harpoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìa</td>
<td>north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'lào</td>
<td>salmon eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xào</td>
<td>juice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zù</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tía</td>
<td>cranberries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>st'ìa</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>st'ìao</td>
<td>wizard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sku</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lqa</td>
<td>land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tqa</td>
<td>rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>djat</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tcí'ìn</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tcí'ìň</td>
<td>teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tìs'ì</td>
<td>rock, ledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>djìl</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sìl</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stì'ň</td>
<td>day or sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìt</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'tìal</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gâl</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìt</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qôn</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìăs</td>
<td>pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìăn</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìăn</td>
<td>hemlock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìăl</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qìăl</td>
<td>swamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zăt</td>
<td>woman's father, also grave-post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xăņ</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xël</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xël</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lën</td>
<td>certain Tsimshian songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'în</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sqot</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l'qan</td>
<td>male cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g'ant</td>
<td>fresh water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tâ' ŋa</td>
<td>sea-water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sgâ'na</td>
<td>supernatural being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'îa'-'ila</td>
<td>tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'îa'-'ilda</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gì'na</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'î'qa</td>
<td>meat, flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'îa'-'da</td>
<td>beak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gô'da</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gô'da</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gâ'djì</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qâ'ja or qâl</td>
<td>reef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qô'na</td>
<td>father-in-law and son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xa'ida</td>
<td>human beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lâ'na</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lxadjì</td>
<td>middle of top of head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38
Iqea'ما kelp; also tall rough
grass along shore
lā' nga feathers
i'naqwa one side or half
tā' lga chief
tā' xagidas chief
i'li' male
tc'ano fire
da'gal to-morrow
dadji'na hat
tā'ni' tongue
stagu'n branch-tips
gia'at blanket
gi'it smoke-hole
gi'qao salmon-trap
gū'dān mind and throat
ki'la language
kī'la color
kī'ižlu cormorant
k'ona'ān a crazy person
gā'ya the sea
gā'yu smoke
gō'dān a white variety of
rock
qā'woda bag
qē'gu water basket or bucket
q'ana's comrade (in address)
q'nda'nal a mass of trees
fallen in one place
lā'la' house-screens

Some of these last are undoubtedly compound. Thus gū'dān, k'ona'ān, and gō'dān seem to have the continuative ending (ān); lā'na is probably compounded from na house, and perhaps la he or his; da'gal probably contains gal night; tā' xagidas is very likely from tā' lga and gi'da chief's son (a gi'da being so high that he was practically certain to be a chief himself); while ki'la probably has the possessive suffix. Other nouns which are certainly compound are: si'ni'xi evening (si'ni day or daylight-sky); ku'ngida corner (perhaps from kun point); q' stu'ixida woman's cloak; ga'ndjilga'gi dancing-blanket; xā'li' dancing-leggings; ga'ixat ashes; gaqwa'nqē cradle; ta'ngoa'n ocean. The two last probably contain the verbal suffix goa'n about, around, and the last seems to be compounded of this and tā' ni'na sea-water. The word for salt, tā'ni'qā'ya, means simply dried sea-water. The word for beans and peas is xō'ya-łū'ga raven's canoe, and refers to one of Raven's adventures. Rice is called i'nli'tc'inn English teeth. Gāxa child seems to be derived from the stem of the verb meaning weak.

A study of animal names is usually interesting; but in Haida most of the names of land and sea animals, along with those of the most common birds and fishes, are simple, and yield nothing to investigation. Such are the following:

tci'n salmon (general term)
tc'inn beaver
tāi silver-salmon
tan black-bear
tā , loon
tī'n robin
sti'ga snake
stlao screech-owl

§ 38
sqao grouse and big variety of clam
göt eagle
qai sea-lion
sqol porpoise
qö sea-otter
sqi’en gull
xa dog
slgu land-otter
xa’gu halibut
nao devil-fish
xo’ya raven
kiu clam
xot hair-seal
k!at deer
lga weasel
k!al sculpin
lk’tia saw-bill
k!aga’n mouse
lgo heron
kun whale

The word for beaver seems to be the same as that for teeth, from which it may have been derived. Most of the other animal, bird, and insect names are evidently derived from descriptive terms. Such are the following:

ya’nidja’n spider
djaga’ldaxua’n fly; also snipe
dj’igul-a’oga shrew (probably literally, FERN-MOTHER)
djul’a’n humpback-salmon
dogä’txagaña chicken-hawk
tä’ña steelhead-salmon
tä’gun spring-salmon
taxe’t small salmon found on the Queen Charlotte islands
tä’lat trout
tä’lat-gä’dala swallow
tialgun swan
síxasidla’lgäña small bird
stats’u’n fish-hawk
staq’á’djitga brant
ská’qí dog-salmon
skáxial’o swamp-robin
sqa’a’m star-fish
sl’u’djaga’dala’n red-headed woodpecker
kalga’aga’n butterfly, grasshopper
ku’ndaguaña (Masset slaq’a’m) sand-flea
k!a’djidjida crow
qadjit’uq!algékal’ green-headed duck
qödagaja’m’lgal bat
qotgalu’ sparrow
q!á’iegut butter-ball
qöyä’u’ mouse
lytíqnu’n goose
lk’le’ndjost’a’n frog (lk’lé’n forest; qöst’a’n crab)
tälat-gä’dala fast trout

§ 38
Another set of names appears to be onomatopoetic either in fact or in idea:

- hi'xodada or ia'xodada grebe
- wit salmon-berry bird
- má'matc'legí dragon-fly
- djidja't small hawk
- dijdjiga'ga small bird
- tc!a'tc!a song-sparrow
- da'te'li wren

Another set of names appears to be onomatopoetic either in fact or in idea:

- d'ín'a blue-fly
- swí'lawit small bird
- ská'skas small owl
- gü'tgunís (Masset gü'tguníst) horned owl
- L!ai'L!ai bluejay

I know of but two story-names of animals, k'uí'xuginagits MARTEN (instead of k'uí'xu) and sqó'lginagits PORPOISE (instead of sqol); but it is possible that the same suffixes may have occurred after other animal-names as well. gi'na means something, and git son; but whether those are the words included in the suffix is uncertain.

Several animal-names are almost identical with those found in Tlingit:

- tci'tga skate
- tc!isga' moose
- tco'lgí ground-squirrel
- ná'qadjé fox
- nús wolverene
- k'uí'zu martén

lgo HERON, and k'í'ga'n (Keene's) MOUSE, also resemble the Tlingit terms; and the Tlingit word for RAVEN, yél, is the same as that used by the Masset Haida. This similarity between the two vocabularies extends to a few words other than names of animals, of which the following are the principal:

- yage't or ya'ë't chief's son
- hígayd'jí iron
- gaolja'odrum
- gu'lga abalone

Ná'qadjé FOX is also found in Tsimshian, and the following names are also from that language:

- a'od'porcupine
- mat mountain-goat
- skia'/msm blue-hawk
- gü'tgunís horned owl

Names of implements and various utensils are formed from verbs by means of a noun-forming suffix o (u):

- squnxoła'o perfume (from squn, skún to smell)
- st'laná'nu soap (from sl!a hand; na! to play)
- nidjá'ñu mask (from nidjá'ñ to imitate)
- ki'tao spear handle (from kit to spear)
Of a similar character are the following, although their derivation is not clear:

- daqu'nlao matches
- kitsgalå'ño poker
- xaitgadjao'ño tin pan
- q!aixttagå'ño rattle

Probably the Masset word for food, tao, should be added to this list. The Skidegate word for food is formed in a peculiar way—by prefixing the plural indefinite pronoun ga to the stem of the verb eat (ga ta food).

Proper names are often formed from nouns or descriptive terms by means of the suffix s, already referred to. The following are examples:

- Dji'lindjaos a man named Devil-club (dji'lindjao devil-club)
- Gao qons the name of an inlet (gao qon mighty inlet)
- Q!ïets name for the Kaigani country (q!ïet narrow strait)
- Gu'lgaes a man named Abalone (gu'lga abalone)
- Nañkïlslas the Person-who-accomplished-things-by-his-word; that is, the Creator, Raven (nañ kïlsla a person who accomplishes things by his word)
- Qai al lâ'nas a family called the people of Qai (Qai al lâ'na a man of the town of Qai)
- Nañ-sti'ns The-one-who-is-(equal-to)-two (nañ one person; sti'n two)
- Na q!â'las a family called Clay-house People (na q!â'la a clayey house)
- Tcdn lâ'nas Mud-town

This, however, is not essential to the formation of proper names, as the following examples will show:

- Xo'ya ga'nta Raven creek
- Qa'itägaogao Inlet-from-which-the-trees-have-been-swept-away (a camp between Kaisun and Te'la'at)
- Tdjîn za'idadgai Far People (the Kwakiutl)
- G'idâ'nts From-his-daughter (name of a chief)
- Te'lânu al q!ola'i Master-of-the-Fire (name of a chief)
- Sgâ'na yû'an Great Supernatural Power (name of a chief)
- Qena-ga'isl Floating-heavily-in-his-canoe (name of a chief)

The following nouns are nothing more than verb-stems:

- wâ'ilgal potlatch
- stîë sickness
- gû'sû speech
- kîstä dead body
- xiël dance
- e'da shame (Masset)

As already noted, there are a few other stems difficult to classify as absolutely nominal or verbal; such as na house, xa'ida person.
§ 39. Plural Stems

By substitution of one stem for another, plurality is sometimes indicated in the verb itself; but a close examination shows that this phenomenon is not as common as at first appears. A large number of plural stems of this kind prove to be nothing more than adjectives with the plural suffix -dala or -da, and still others really have the same stem in the singular and plural; but the Haida mind requires some additional affix in one number to satisfy its conception fully. In the other cases there seems to be an alteration in idea from the Haida point of view, such as would impel in all languages the choice of a different verb. The only verbs which show conspicuous changes in stem in the plural are the following four:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>tsi, dal, or isdal</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ao</td>
<td>l'u</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xit</td>
<td>ña(lgal)</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tia</td>
<td>l'da</td>
<td>to kill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first three cases the plurality refers to the subject; in the last case, to the object.

The plural of adjectives expressing shape and size is expressed by the syllables -dala and -da. These may be plural equivalents of the stem dju.

- da is sometimes used instead of the preceding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'a'qao k'a'mdala</td>
<td>fine snow (k'a'mdju a small or fine object)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'e'gu yu'dala</td>
<td>big buckets (yu'An big)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'a xa'dala</td>
<td>small children (t'a'dju small thing) (Masset)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu'nda big things (yu'An big)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji'nda long things (dji'n long)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§39
HAIDA TEXT (SKIDEGATE DIALECT)

A RAID ON THE BELLA COOLA BY THE PEOPLE OF NINSTINTS AND KAI SUN

Qa’isun gu Gaa’nxet xa’idaga1 lu gasta’nsin3 gu gada’n4

Kaisun at Ninstints people canoes four at in company with themselves

L! qa’idoxa’g4 Lü’sl’xagan.4 Gi’en hao5 Lü’ gasta’nsin5 gu

t hey to ask to go to fight came by canoe. And then canoes four at

ta’og4n'7 L! i’djin.8 Ga’ituhao8 L! Lüda’ogani10 sta Lülgim11
together they went At that time they went across after Bentinck arm

gei L! Lüsdá’l’tcífagan.12 Gi’en hao gál’xún13 ta’odjig14 L’xa15

into they went in by canoe. And then during the the fort opposite

night

L! Lüsdá’l’tcífagan. Gi’en hao sl’in16 ga ga naxanda’yagan17

t hey went in by canoe. And then the inlet in some had been camping

xa’íngusta18 L! te’ltxi’dan.19 Gü’hao20 Amai’kuns kl’dageidan.21

from in front them started to fire on. Right there Amai’kuns was killed.

Gay’ins’i’sin L! te’l’tl’dagan.22 Qoya’ i’sin L! te’l’tl’dagan.

Floating too they wounded. Beloved too they wounded.

L’éhao23 L! súga sqa’djig.24 Ga’igu25 ga stín L!

He them among was a brave man. There some two they

1 Gaa’nxet was the name of a cape close to the southern end of the Queen Charlotte islands, though, according to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, it is not identical with the Cape St. James of the charts. The Haida on this part of the islands received their name from it. -paî is the connective.
2 pa’- prefix indicating shape; st’ät’sin four.
3 Lüd’ is the suffix denoting intimate possession (§28.4).
4 -gá’- around + the possessive suffix -gá (§24.4) (literally, around themselves).
5 qa’idoxa’g four canoes.
6 Gi’en hao six canoes.
7 ta’og4n’ four at Bentinck arm.
8 Ga’ituhao six at.
9 Lüda’ogani four at.
10 sta Lülgim after.
11 Lüsdá’l’tcífagan four at.
12 Gi’en hao.
13 gál’xún into.
14 ta’odjig.
15 L’xa.
16 Lüsdá’l’tcífagan.
17 gi’en hao.
18 xa’íngusta.
19 te’ltxi’dan.
20 Gü’hao.
21 Amai’kuns.
22 Gay’ins’i’sin.
23 L’éhao.
24 L’éhao.
25 L’éhao.

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Ga'vend 'sda'sx e vea'gati. Giën giën ga djä'gā stūn xaldā'ngadayaga'gani. 24 Giën ga xaldā'ngadag'gani. 22 Ga'īsta 22 L! Lū!i'sda'īx go'ag'gani. 24 Giën Ll enslaved. - After that they started out. And them ku'ngasta 25 ga qa'tla'ga'ngan 26 ga xū'gū'ng'gani 27 ga'īatsgagani. 28 before those started first some coming sailing went out to.

Djigwa'i 30 sq'la'stūn 30 WA gu 31 q'ada'oqgagani. 33 Sta lū'ā'i q'āl guns two it at was the noise of. After the empty ward doorway xūtg'īndā'gani 34 giën ga djā'da stūn xaldā'ngadayagā. 24 drifted along and some women two were enslaved. Giën ga'ngstā 35 l! Lū!i'slxā'gani 36 gi'n ga dja'ada stūn xaldā'ngadag'gani. 24 And to they came and it at persons captured at lū'ga sq'un'gū 38 ga'ā'ni l! x'Añal'gīn'gandi 39 xan 39 Ll q'ūd'gā nan with land close to themselves rejoiced that having while them near a kundju'gāni 40 gado' ga xūtg'ī'djī-Lxagai 41 L! xam që'xagai 42 lu point was around some came sailing them (into) saw when q'ā'gā lū'la'gāni. 43 Giën'nn 'āgo' lū'gā 44 l! daotlā'gāni. 45 Giën'nhao jumped off. And then after (them) they landed. And then aga'ā'ni l! x'gōgagāni 46 qa'o'dī'ha'ā 46 l! qat'ā'gāni. 47 Giën'nhao gi'awài 48 self I prepared after a while I got off. And then the sea LA'xā nā'nī Lxī'ndāl'isi 49 lā xītxi'dāni. 50 Lkā'nixet 51 lā l! xūtg'īndāl near one was running I started to pursue. About in the him I chased about woods.
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qa'odihao52 ga'yawai gei la qa'tgigan.53 Gien l' qa'dji54 da'nat55 l' after a while the sea into he jumped. And his hair with his
axinai56 la' sta la gitg'i'gan.57 Gien qa'da la l' tci'li'xaga'n58 yellow cedar him from I took. And toward he came up

dark blanket

gien di xa'nga59 la lqlag'idana'gan.60 Gie'nhao di ga la and my face he held up his hands at. And then me to he

Lgi'igan.61 Di gan l' a'xanage'lgan62 lu63 fis'n la qa'igigan63 swim shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he dove

gien qa'da la idjil'xaga'n64 gien la g65 l tci'djui xd'an.66 Gien l' and seaward he came to the surface and him at I began to shoot. And he

Lgi'igan gien na'n stala' xa' nghi67 ag'a'n la gidjig'i'dal'xg'68 swim landward and a cliff on the face himself he held tight against.

 Ga'igu fis'n la la ci' gusta'linga69 lu69 lan la la geil'dagna.70 There too him I shot twice when ended him I caused to become.

Gie'nhao stala' la xa' nghi5 qa't 71 giaga'nagAni gut la qa'ixa'lgan.73 And then the cliff on the face tree was standing upon he climbed up.

Gien l' qa'dji stala' sta djiri'gan.74 Sk'li'a xan75 wa'gui76 la

And its top the cliff from was some distance. But still toward it he

t'ski'gaoga'ndi57 qa'odisti stala' xa' nghi67 ag'a'n la gidjig'i'dal'gaski'68 bent it after the cliff on the himself he got hold of.

Gien gu ga xe'lgan.79 gei la qa'tc'lgan.80 Gam sta L' gut81 xe'tgi82 And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward

23 ni' = stem above referred to (50); -gin probably the continuative -gAn; -da'i the auxiliary.
24 gai' to move rapidly; -gil motion down into the water; -gAn temporal suffix.
25 qa'dji is used both for hair and for head.
26 gai' classifier indicating shape of blanket; -gil motion landward.
27 d shape of human being; -le' motion toward.
28 -di objective personal pronoun of the first person, used as the possessive; za'a face; -ga possessive suffix.
29 -li' action with hands; -gil toward the land; -da auxiliary to cause; -gAn continuative suffix.
30 -d shape of man; -s swimming on water; -gil motion landward.
31 -za' near, is also used independently as a connective; -pail the auxiliary meaning to become or
to come to be; -gai' the infinitive-forming connective.
32 -gai' floating on the water; -gil motion down into the water.
33 -za' human shape; -le' motion toward.
34 -la personal pronoun of the third person singular; -gi the connective to.
35 -he'i to shoot; -he'i to begin to do.
36 za'a face; -gi to or at.
37 -djil to grasp, seize; -gil to become; -da the auxiliary to cause; -le' human shape; -sill contact, an temporal suffix.
38 -ke'i = he'i to shoot; -gai the auxiliary to be; -stid' = stid' two; -gai the connective.
39 -la objective pronoun of the third person singular; -la subjective pronoun of the first person singular

stid' to become; -da to cause.
40 also the word for spruce.
41 -ge to stand; -gAn the continuative suffix.
42 gai' to go (one person); -sill quickly; -f motion upward.
43 ji' also an adjective meaning a long distance, far.
44 -za' also the demonstrative pronoun that; -gai' toward (with motion).
45 -ke'i shape of curving tree; -sill to put; -gAn = -gAn the continuative suffix.
46 -d' to seize; -gil to become; -da to cause; -sill shape assumed by a branching object, referring here, either to the top of the tree or to the shape assumed by the man as he climbs off from it.
47 -gil connective there, referring to the cliff which is understood; -gai' connective in; -zei' hole; -gAn past-experienced-temporal suffix.
48 -gai' to go (singular); -ac' motion inside of something.
49 la an indefinite pronoun or adverb; -gai the connective with or together.
50 -zei' down; -gi to.
Giè'nhao ga'ista L! Lüisda'xi'dañi. Lü'bao L! tcila'anu nga da'ga'n.90 and then from that they started by canoe. When and from that they started by canoe Ga'iluhao il! gëtgadá'gedan gièn ga'ista L! L! gëtgadá'dañi.94 At the time we could not get away when from that us they got back in.

Gièn nü'gai95 u'ngu98 nañi L'xuq'u'gëndigan,97 la'bao L! And the house on top of one crept around, him they tcia'anufire or firewood; -gaauxiliary to be; -daauxiliary to cause; -gan temporal suffix.

Gien gut at L! dä'yinxi'dan.90 Gièn ga'ista L! Lüisda'xi'dañi Lü'bao gu ìl! gëtgadá'dañi.93 the fort too they started to fight. Then there we could not get away from.

Gien gut at L! dä'yinxi'dan.90 Gièn ga'ista L! Lüisda'xi'dañi Lü'bao gu ìl! gëtgadá'dañi.93 and each to theystarted togivetoeat. And fromthat they started by when other canoe Gièn gut at L! dä'yinxi'dan.90 Gièn ga'ista L! Lüisda'xi'dañi Lü'bao gu ìl! gëtgadá'dañi.93 made fall by shooting. And seaward they lay after a while a man gandjigá'giáda101 t'arna'gqi'dáda102 Gien ldo'gwani go'ga L!a ga ki'l'gulgar,107 came out. And Ldogwafa there in them to talked.

And thehouse ontop of one crept around, him they tcia'anufire or firewood; -gaauxiliary to be; -daauxiliary to cause; -gan temporal suffix.

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And the house on top of one crept around, him they tcia'anufire or firewood; -gaauxiliary to be; -daauxiliary to cause; -gan temporal suffix.
The Ninstints people came to Kaisun in four canoes to ask the people to go to war in company with them. Then they went along in four canoes. After they had crossed (to the mainland), they entered Bentinck arm. And they went in opposite the fort during the night. Then some people who had been camping in the inlet began firing from in front. There Amai’kuns was killed. They also wounded Floating. They also wounded Beloved. He was a brave man among them. There they also enslaved two persons. After that they started out. And those who started first went out to some people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and

[Translation]

The Ninstints people came to Kaisun in four canoes to ask the people to go to war in company with them. Then they went along in four canoes. After they had crossed (to the mainland), they entered Bentinck arm. And they went in opposite the fort during the night. Then some people who had been camping in the inlet began firing from in front. There Amai’kuns was killed. They also wounded Floating. They also wounded Beloved. He was a brave man among them. There they also enslaved two persons. After that they started out. And those who started first went out to some people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and
they enslaved two women. (The others) came thither, and while they lay close to the land, rejoicing over the persons captured, some people came sailing around a point in a canoe, saw them and jumped off. Then (we) landed in pursuit of them. And after I had spent some little time preparing myself, I got off. And I started to pursue one person who was running about near the sea. After I had chased him about in the woods for a while, he jumped into the ocean. And I took his hair, along with his yellow-cedar bark blanket, away from him. And he came up out at sea and held up his hands in front of my face (in token of surrender). Then he swam shoreward toward me. When he got near me, he dove again and came to the surface out at sea, and I began to shoot at him. Then he swam landward and held himself tightly against the face of a certain cliff. After I had shot at him twice there, I stopped. Then he climbed up upon a tree standing upon the face of the cliff. And although its top was some distance from the cliff, he bent it toward it, and after a while got hold of the face of the cliff. And he went into a hole in it. He could not go from it either downward or upward. We said to one another that he would die right in it.

Then they started from that place in their canoes. Then they had a fire and began to give each other food. And after they again started off, they again began fighting with the fort. Then we got into a position from which we could not get away. Then, although we could not get away at first, they finally got us into (the canoes). And a certain person crept around on top of the house. They shot him so that he fell down. And after they had lain out to sea for some time, a man wearing a dancing-blanket and cedar-bark rings dragged down a canoe and came out to us, accompanied by a woman. And those in Ldō'gwañ's canoe talked to them. Then they told the woman to come closer, and said that they should shoot the man so that he would fall into the water. Ldō'gwañ refused and started away from them. Then they fled away in terror. Their ammunition was all gone. Then we also started off.

Then they started from Point-Dji'dao, and, after they had spent four nights upon the sea, they came to Cape St. James. After they had traveled two more nights, they came to Kaisun. Instead of accomplishing what they had hoped, they returned from a far country almost empty-handed. Here this story comes to an end.
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Texts: 414
TSIMSHIAN

By Franz Boas

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

The Tsimshian (Chimmesyan) is spoken on the coast of northern British Columbia and in the region adjacent to Nass and Skeena rivers. On the islands off the coast the Tsimshian occupy the region southward as far as Milbank sound.

Three principal dialects may be distinguished: The Tsimshian proper, which is spoken on Skeena river and on the islands farther to the south; the Nisqa'z, which is spoken on Nass river, and the G'itkcan (Gyitkshan), which is spoken on the upper course of Skeena river. The first and second of these dialects form the subject of the following discussion. The description of the Tsimshian proper is set off by a vertical rule down the left-hand margin of the pages.

The Tsimshian dialect has been discussed by the writer¹ and by Count von der Schulenburg.² I have also briefly discussed the dialect of Nass river,³ and have published a collection of texts⁴ in the same dialect. References accompanying examples (like 290.2) refer to page and line in this publication; those preceded by ZE refer to a Tsimshian text with notes published by me.⁵

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Tsimshian dialects is in many respects similar to that of other languages of the North Pacific coast. It abounds particularly in k-sounds and l-sounds. The informants from

¹ Fifth Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889, 677-889).
² Dr. A. C. Graf von der Schulenburg, Die Sprache der Zimshian-Indianer (Brunswick, 1894).
³ Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (Reports of the 65th and 66th Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, 583-586; 1896 665-591).
⁵ Eine Sonnensage der Tsimshian, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, 776-797.
whom my material in the Nass river dialect has been gathered used the hiatus frequently, without, however, giving the preceding stop enough strength to justify the introduction of a fortis. A few people from other villages, whom I heard occasionally, seemed to use greater strength of articulation; and there is little doubt that the older mode of pronunciation had a distinct series of strong stops. In the Tsimshian dialect the fortis survives clearly in the t and p; while the ts and k fortis have come to be very weak. I have also observed in this dialect a distinct fortis of the y, w, m, n, and l. In these sounds the increased stress of articulation brings about a tension of the vocal chords and epiglottis, the release of which gives the sound a strongly sonant character, and produces a glottal stop preceding the sound when it appears after a vowel. Thus the fortis of these continued sounds are analogous to the Kwakiutl ey, 'id, 'm, e», and 'l. Presumably the same sounds occur in the Nass dialect, although they escaped my attention. Differentiation between surd and sonant is difficult, particularly in the velar k series.

The phonetics of Tsimshian take an exceptional position among the languages of the North Pacific coast, in that the series of l stops are missing. Besides the sound corresponding to our l, we find only the l, a voiceless continued sound produced by the escape of air from the space behind the canine teeth; the whole front part of the mouth being filled by the tip of the tongue, which is pressed against the palate. The Tsimshian dialect has a continued sonant k sound, which is exceedingly weak and resembles the weak medial r, which has almost no trill and is pronounced a little in front of the border of the hard palate. It corresponds to the sound in Tlingit which Swanton (see p. 165) writes y, but which I have heard among the older generation of Tlingit distinctly as the same sound as the Tsimshian sound here discussed. With the assumption that it was originally the continued sonant corresponding to x of other Pacific Coast languages agrees its prevalent u tinge. I feel, however, a weak trill in pronouncing the sound, and for this reason I have used the symbol r for denoting this sound. In some cases a velar trill appears, which I have written r.

In the Nass dialect, liquids (m, n, l) that occur at the ends of words are suppressed. Tongue and lips are placed in position for these sounds, but there is no emission of air, and hence no sound, unless a following word with its outgoing breath makes the terminal sound audible. 

§ 2
The vocalic system of Tsimshian is similar to that of other Northwest Coast languages, with which it has in common the strong tendency to a weakening of vowels. The Tsimshian dialect has no clear a, but all its a's are intermediate between a and ä. Only after ō does this vowel assume a purer a tinge. A peculiarity of the language is the doubling of almost every long vowel by the addition of a parasitic vowel of the same timbre as the principal vowel, but pronounced with relaxation of all muscles.

Following is a tabular statement of the sounds observed in the Nass dialect.

The series of vowels may be rendered as follows:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ä</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ě</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ōu</td>
<td>ōū</td>
<td>āa</td>
<td>āē</td>
<td>ēē</td>
<td>ēē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This series begins with the ō-u vowel with rounded lips and open posterior part of mouth-opening, and proceeds with less protrusion of lips and wider opening of the anterior portion of the mouth to a, then, with gradual flattening of the middle part of the mouth-opening, through e to i.

The system of consonants is contained in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Affricatives</th>
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<th>Nasals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Stopped by hiatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>(p')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>(t')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(k')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(k')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(q')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral, voiced continued</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is doubtful whether c (English sh) occurs as a separate sound; s seems rather to be pronounced with somewhat open teeth. The sounds g and k take very often a ō-tinge. The semi-vowel ō is almost always aspirated.

---

1 Notwithstanding its defects, I have adhered for the Nass dialect to the spelling used in previous publications.
§ 3. Grouping of Sounds and Laws of Euphony

Clustering of consonants is almost unrestricted, and a number of extended consonantic clusters may occur; as, for instance, -ltkʷtyʷ, ppt, qse, xtgʷ, and many others. Examples are:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a'qikʷdet they reached} & \quad 111.1^1 \\
\text{d'qikʷškʷL came} & \quad 35.1 \\
\text{xskʷəkʷ eagle} & \quad 178.10
\end{align*} \]

There are, however, a number of restrictions regulating the use of consonants before vowels. Terminal surd stops and the affricative ts are transformed into sonants whenever a vowel is added to the word.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{g'at man} & \quad g'a'dem 90.6 \\
\text{gwalχ dry} & \quad gwa'lıgwə 176.2 \\
\text{ne'be'p uncle} & \quad dəp'be'sə my uncles 157.9 \\
\text{n-ts'e'its grandmother} & \quad ts'e'edzə my grandmother 157.10
\end{align*} \]

It seems that single surd stops do not occur in intervocalic position. A number of apparent exceptions, like k'ōpe- small, were heard by me often with sonant, and contain probably in reality sonants.

There are a number of additional intervocalic changes:

Intervocalic \( x' \) changes into \( y \).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ōx' to throw} & \quad 6'q'ən you throw 139.3 \\
\text{hwıldáx' to know} & \quad hwıldə'yi I know 55.3 \\
\text{hₜx' to use} & \quad hə'yuən use of— 55.3 \\
\text{χətsə'x' afraid} & \quad χətsə'ə I am afraid \\
\text{k'səx' to go out} & \quad k'sə'wən I go out! 171.4 \\
\text{yə'dəx' to eat} & \quad yə'dəq'an to feed
\end{align*} \]

In a few cases \( l \) is assimilated by preceding \( n \).

\[ \text{an-hwıl'n instead of an-hwıl' 40.6, 7} \]

§ 4. The Phonetic Systems of Nass and Tsimshian

The system of vowels of Tsimshian is nearly the same as that of the Nass dialect, except that the pure \( a \) and \( ā \) do not occur. The vowels \( o \, ə \), and \( e \, ē \) appear decidedly as variants of \( u \, ā \) and \( i \, ē \) respectively, their timbre being modified by adjoining consonants.

---


\[ §§ 3, 4 \]
I have been able to observe the system of consonants of Tsimshian more fully than that of the Nass dialect. It may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stopped</th>
<th>Affricatives</th>
<th>Continued</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>Sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior palatal</td>
<td>g'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lateral, continued, voiced: 

" " " fortis: l!

" " " voiceless, posterior: l

Breathing: h

Semi-vowels: y, w

The terminal surd is much weaker than in the Nass dialect, and I have recorded many cases in which the terminal stop is without doubt a sonant:

*wâl̓b* house  
*g̊ad* people

Before *g* and *k*, terminal sonants become surds:

*vo-tš'em-l̓â o p̓e* great cave ES 96.30  
*n̓e-g̊a'iga* his hat ES 90.1

Before *t* and vowels, the sound remains a sonant:

*g̊a'be* ... to draw water ... ES 96.10  
*h̊e'oldst* ... many ... ES 96.14

The fact that some terminal sounds always remain surd shows that in the cases of alternation of surd and sonant the latter must be considered the stem consonant.

Some of the sounds require fuller discussion. It has been stated before that the fortes, as pronounced by the present generation, are not as strong as they used to be and as they are among more southern tribes. The *t*-series is alveolar, the tip of the tongue touching behind the teeth. The affricatives have a clear continued *s*-sound, the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth; while *s* has a decided tinge of the English *sh*. It is pronounced with tip of tongue turned back (cerebral) and touching the palate. The teeth are closed. The sound is entirely surd. The nasals *m* and *n* are
long continued and sonant, even in terminal positions; \( m! \) and \( n! \) have great tension of oral closure with accompanying tension of glottis and epiglottis. The sound \( r \) has been described before. It is entirely absent in the Nass dialect. Bishop Ridley, who prepared the translation of the gospel on which Count von der Schulenburg's grammar is based, has rendered this sound, which often follows a very obscure \( t \) or \( e \), by \( ù \); but I hear distinctly \( r \). Thus, in place of Bishop Ridley's \( nýu\) (I), I hear \( n! s'rýu \); instead of \( gúel \), \( ge'el \); instead of \( shgù \), \( sger \). In the Nass dialect, \( c \) or \( ì \) takes the place of this sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( sger )</td>
<td>( sg'ì )</td>
<td>to lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( n! s'Íren )</td>
<td>( nè'ën )</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ge'el )</td>
<td>( g'è'el )</td>
<td>to pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( se'el )</td>
<td>( sè'el )</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k! s'e'el )</td>
<td>( k'è'el )</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ge'resax )</td>
<td>( k'è'dax )</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ge'retks )</td>
<td>( g'etks )</td>
<td>to reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( qës'reng'axs )</td>
<td>( q'l'è'ng'axs )</td>
<td>to crush with foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k'srenx )</td>
<td>( ènx )</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( e'rentl )</td>
<td>( èntl )</td>
<td>bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k'ra )</td>
<td>( ëlx )</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sound has, however, a close affinity to \( u \), before which it tends to disappear.

\( plìa'r \) to tell; \( plìa'u \) I tell.

It is suggestive that many \( u \)-sounds of Tsimshian are \( ì \) or \( ë \) in Nass. This may indicate that the \( u \) and \( r \) in Tsimshian are either a later differentiation of one sound or that a loss of \( r \) has occurred in many forms. On the whole, the latter theory appears more plausible.

Examples of this substitution are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( dûls )</td>
<td>( dèls )</td>
<td>to live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( t!u')s )</td>
<td>( t'ès )</td>
<td>to push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( dûloa )</td>
<td>( dè'löx )</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( hùs )</td>
<td>( wís )</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( iü'ok )</td>
<td>( iè'kù )</td>
<td>to have around neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( dúlk )</td>
<td>( dèlkù )</td>
<td>cedar-bark basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( hútk )</td>
<td>( ètkù )</td>
<td>to call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( lû'oni )</td>
<td>( lèntx' )</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( lû'alg'at )</td>
<td>( lè'elg'ìt )</td>
<td>feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( sùns )</td>
<td>( sìns )</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( lùt )</td>
<td>( ët )</td>
<td>wedge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( gu'op'el )</td>
<td>( k'ù'b'el )</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terminal position Tsimshian -er corresponds to Nass -ax, and after long vowels r to x.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>der</td>
<td>dax</td>
<td>to die, plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kser</td>
<td>ksaax</td>
<td>to go out, plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yer</td>
<td>yax</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'er</td>
<td>tsaax</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ser</td>
<td>sax</td>
<td>mouth of river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ler</td>
<td>lax</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of r following a long vowel are—

- lar: lax
- ts'ar: ts'ax
- dzir: dzix

Combined with change of vowels are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plia'r</td>
<td>pley'dax</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xdir</td>
<td>xlux</td>
<td>to burst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sound r, the continued sonant corresponding to g, is heard very often in the middle and at the end of words, as ganra'n trees; but it disappears invariably when the word is pronounced slowly, and g takes its place.

The sounds z and x of the Nass dialect do not occur in the Tsimshian dialect.

The ending x of the Nass dialect is generally replaced by i in Tsimshian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wila'i</td>
<td>koolax</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoi</td>
<td>hax</td>
<td>to use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gai</td>
<td>ga'ix</td>
<td>wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>wax</td>
<td>to paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change is evidently related to the substitution of y for x before vowels.

Terminal x of the Nass dialect tends to be displaced by a terminal a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'ula</td>
<td>de'ulax</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'la</td>
<td>elx</td>
<td>seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nə'ola</td>
<td>nəlx</td>
<td>jejune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaina</td>
<td>genx</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gə'ep'a</td>
<td>gə'ep'ax</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nə°</td>
<td>nax</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə°</td>
<td>d'ax</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here belong also—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mē</td>
<td>mālé</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būw</td>
<td>bōx</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocalic changes, besides those referred to before in connection with the sound r, occur.

In place of au in Tsimshian we find ē in Nass.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hau</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gił-hau'li</td>
<td>g'ile'li</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'itxaù'tk</td>
<td>g'itxe'tk</td>
<td>some time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ém-ga'us</td>
<td>t'ém-qē's</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ulkst(mālkt)</td>
<td>melk'ēt</td>
<td>crab-apple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian āu is replaced in Nass by ōō.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yā'uxk</td>
<td>yē'ok'ē</td>
<td>to eat, singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā'uk</td>
<td>yē'ok</td>
<td>to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ā'watsx</td>
<td>qē'otšx</td>
<td>gills</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initial wē of Tsimshian is sometimes replaced by ō in Nass.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāpx</td>
<td>ōpx</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another very frequent change is that from ā following u to ē.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wālp</td>
<td>hwēlp</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāl</td>
<td>hwēl</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wātk</td>
<td>hwētk</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ulwā'n</td>
<td>ts'ulwē'n</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgu'ilkslk</td>
<td>tgu-wilksilk</td>
<td>prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wās</td>
<td>(hai)nē's</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The substitution is, however, not regular, for we find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāi</td>
<td>hwēx</td>
<td>to paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wān</td>
<td>hwän</td>
<td>to sit, plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to this is probably—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hā'yēts</td>
<td>hēts</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā'yītk</td>
<td>hētk</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gā'na</td>
<td>gēnē</td>
<td>trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sgā'yiks</td>
<td>sgēkšk</td>
<td>to wound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian p! is replaced by Nass m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nass</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p!a'ly'ixs</td>
<td>mā'ly'ix</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p!as</td>
<td>mās</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p!e'yan</td>
<td>miyā'n</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p!al</td>
<td>mal</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qan-sp!a</td>
<td>qan-sma</td>
<td>baton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The most characteristic trait of Tsimshian grammar is the use of a superabundance of particles that modify the following word. Phonetically these particles are strong enough to form a syllabic unit, and they remain always separated by a hiatus from the following word. Most of them, however, have no accent, and must therefore be designated either as proclitics or as prefixes. These appear particularly with verbal stems, but their use with nominal stems is not by any means rare. They do not undergo any modifications, except in a few cases, and for this reason a large part of the grammatical processes relate to the use of these particles. On the whole, their position in the sentence or word-complex is fairly free. Suffixes are rather few in number. They differ fundamentally from the proclitic particles in being phonetically weaker and in forming with the preceding stem a firm unit. Some pronouns which belong to the proclitic series are also phonetically weak and share with the suffixes the inclination to amalgamate with the preceding elements. Thus the proclitic pronouns sometimes become apparently suffixes of the preceding words, whatever these may be.

Incorporation of the nominal object occurs principally in terms expressing habitual activities. In these it is well developed.

The Tsimshian uses stem modifications extensively for expressing grammatical processes. Most important among these is reduplication, which is very frequent, and which follows, on the whole, fixed laws. Change of stem-vowel is not so common, and seems sometimes to have developed from reduplication. It occurs also in compound words, which form a peculiar trait of the language. Not many instances of this type of composition have been observed, but they play undoubtedly an important part in the history of the language. Many elements used in word-composition have come to be so weak in meaning that they are at present more or less formal elements. This is true particularly of suffixes, but also, to a certain extent, of prefixes, though, on the whole, they have preserved a distinct meaning.

The grammatical processes of Tsimshian have assumed a much more formal character than those of many other Indian languages. It is not possible to lay down general rules of composition or reduplication, which would cover by far the greatest part of the field of grammar.
Instead of this, we find peculiar forms that belong to certain definite stems—peculiar plurals, passives, causatives, etc., that must be treated in the form of lists of types. In this respect Tsimshian resembles the Athapascan with its groups of verbal stems, the Salish and Takelma with their modes of reduplication, and the Iroquois with its classes of verbs. The freedom of the language lies particularly in the extended free use of proclitics.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The use of the same stems as nouns and as verbs is common in Tsimshian, although the occurrence of nominalizing and verbalizing elements shows that the distinction between the two classes is clearly felt. The proclitic particles mentioned in the last section may also be used with both verbs and nouns. While many of these particles, particularly the numerous class of local adverbs, always precede the stem from which they can not be separated, there are a considerable number of modal elements which have a greater freedom of position, and which merge into the group of independent adverbs. These elements are so numerous and diverse in meaning, that it is difficult to give a satisfactory classification. The group of local proclitics occupies a prominent place on account of its numbers and the nicety of local distinctions. It is, however, impossible to separate it strictly from the group of modal proclitics.

The use of these proclitics is so general, that the total number of common verbal stems is rather restricted.

The proclitics are used—

1. As local adverbial and adnominal terms;
2. As modal adverbial and adnominal terms;
3. To transform verbs into nouns;
4. To transform nouns into verbs.

Almost all the proclitics belonging to these groups form a syntactic unit with the following stem, so that in the sentence they can not be separated from it. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb precedes the whole complex.

Another series of proclitics differs from the last, only in that they do not form so firm a unit with the stem. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb may separate them from the following stem. To this group belong all strictly temporal particles. The transition from this class to true adverbs is quite gradual.

§ 6
In the group of inseparable modal proclitics must also be classed the plural prefixes _qa_- and _l_- , which will be discussed in §§ 43–45.

The pronominal subjects of some forms of the transitive verb—and of some forms of the intransitive verb as well—are also proclitics. They consist each of a single consonant, and have the tendency to amalgamate with the preceding word.

Suffixes are few in number. They are partly modal in character, signifying ideas like passive, elimination of object of the transitive verb, causative. A second group expresses certainty and uncertainty and the source of information. By a peculiar treatment, consisting partly in the use of suffixes, the modes of the verb are differentiated. Still another group indicates presence and absence; these take the place to a great extent of demonstrative pronouns. The objective and possessive pronouns are also formed by means of suffixes. Most remarkable among the suffixes are the connectives which express the relations between adjective and noun, adverb and verb, subject and object, predicate and object, preposition and object, and conjunction and the following word. There are only a few classes of these connectives, by means of which practically all syntactic relations are expressed that are not expressed by means of particles.

Reduplication serves primarily the purpose of forming the plural. A number of particles require reduplicated forms of the following verb. Among these are the particles indicating imitation, genuine, action done while in motion. The progressive is indicated by a different kind of reduplication.

Nouns are classified from two points of view, according to form, and as special human individuals and common nouns. The selection of verbal stems and of numerals accompanying the noun is determined by a classification according to form, while there is no grammatical differentiation in the noun itself. The classes of the numeral are formed partly by independent stems, but largely by suffixes or by contraction of the numeral and a classifying noun. In syntactic construction a sharp division is made between special human individuals—including personal and personal demonstrative pronouns, some terms of relationship, and proper names—and other nouns.

Plurality is ordinarily expressed both in the noun and in the verb. It would seem that the primary idea of these forms is that of distribution, but at present this idea is clearly implied in only one of the many methods of forming the plural. The multiplicity of the methods

§ 6
used for forming the plural is one of the striking characteristics of the Tsimshian language.

It has been mentioned before that most forms of the transitive verb are treated differently from intransitive verbs. While the subject of these forms of the transitive verb precedes the verb, that of the intransitive verb, which is identical with the object of the transitive verb and with the possessive pronoun, follows the verb. This relation is obscured by a peculiar use of intransitive constructions that seem to have gained a wider application, and by the use of the transitive pronoun in some forms of the intransitive verb. The independent personal pronoun, both in its absolute case (subject and object) and in its oblique case, is derived from the intransitive pronoun.

All oblique syntactic relations of noun and verb are expressed by a single preposition, a, which also serves frequently to introduce subordinate clauses which are nominalized by means of particles.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-67)

Proclitic Particles (§§ 7-16)

§ 7. General Remarks

The Tsimshian language possesses a very large number of particles which qualify the verb or noun that follows them, each particle modifying the whole following complex, which consists of particles and a verbal or nominal stem. All these particles are closely connected with the following stem, which carries the accent. Nevertheless they retain their phonetic independence. When the terminal sound of the particle is a consonant, and the first sound of the following stem is a vowel, there always remains a hiatus between the two. Lack of cohesion is also shown in the formation of the plural. In a very few cases only is the stem with its particles treated as a unit. Usually the particles remain unmodified, while the stem takes its peculiar plural form, as though no particles were present. There are very few exceptions to this rule.

The freedom of use of these particles is very great, and the ideas expressed by them are quite varied. There is not even a rigid distinction between adverbial and adnominal particles, and for this reason a satisfactory grouping is very difficult. Neither is the order of the particles sufficiently definitely fixed to afford a satisfactory basis for their classification.

§ 7
As will be shown later (§22), nouns, verbs, and adverbs may be transformed into elements analogous to the particles here discussed by the addition of the suffix -em. Since a number of particles have the same ending -em (haldem- no. 77; pëlem- no. 80; belxsem- no. 81; mesem- no. 83; nödm- no. 96; tsagam- no. 9; ts'ëlem- no. 7; xpliyim- no. 126; legem- no. 5; and the monosyllabic particles am- no. 136; ham- no. 156; t'em- no. 140; t'ëm- no. 13; ts'ëm- no. 152; k'sem- no. 146; q'am- no. 118; xleim- no. 56; lem- no. 134; sem- no. 168; dem- no. 170), it seems justifiable to suggest that at least some of these may either have or have had an independent existence as stems that may take pronominal endings, and that their present form is due to contractions (see §33). At least one particle (q'ai- no. 122) seems to occur both with and without the connective -em.

The particles may be classified according to the fixity of their connection with the following stem. In a large number the connection is so firm that the pronoun can not be placed between particle and stem, so that the two form a syntactic unit. A much smaller number may be so separated. Since only the subject of the transitive verb appears in this position (see §48), it is impossible to tell definitely in every case to which group a particle belongs. Furthermore, the particles of the second group may in some cases be joined to the verb more firmly, so that the pronominal subject precedes them, while this freedom does not exist in the former group.

The most distinct group among the particles is formed by the local adverbs. Many of these occur in pairs; as up and down, in and out, etc. All of these express motion. In many cases in which we should use an adverb expressing position, the Tsimshian use adverbs expressing motion, the position being indicated as a result of motion. For instance, instead of he stands near by, the Tsimshian will say he is placed toward a place near by. These particles are generally adverbial. This seems to be due, however, more to their significance than to a prevalent adverbial character. We find instances of their use with nouns; as,

\[ gali-a'k's \text{ river} \quad (gali- \text{ up river}; \quad ak's \text{ water}) \]

A second group might be distinguished, consisting of local adverbs, which, however, show a gradual transition into modal adverbs. Here belong terms like in, on, over, lengthwise, all over, sideways, etc. In composition this group precedes the first group; but no fixed
rules can be given in regard to the order in which particles of this group are arranged among themselves. The use of some of these particles with nouns is quite frequent.

The second series leads us to the extensive group of modal adverbs, many of which occur both with nouns and verbs. These gradually lead us to others, the prevailing function of which is a nominal one.

I have combined in a small group those that have a decidedly denominative character.

There is another small group that is used to transform nouns into verbs, and expresses ideas like to make, to partake of, to say.

It will be recognized from these remarks that a classification necessarily will be quite arbitrary and can serve only the purpose of a convenient grouping.

§ 8. Local Particles appearing in Pairs

1. bax- up along the ground (Tsimshian: bax-).

- bax-iä' to go up, singular 142.8
- bax-qa'd'en to finish taking up 209.2
- bax-sq'el trail leads upward (literally, to lie up)
- bax-db'q to take up several 208.8

We find also—

- bax-iä'l ak's water rises (literally, goes up)

Tsimshian:

| bax-wa'lxs to go up hill |
| bax-gx'^oca to haul up |

2. iaga- down along the ground (Tsimshian: y'aga-).

- iaga-sq'el trail leads downward (literally, to lie downward)
- iaga-iä' to go down 137.5
- iaga-sa'k'sk* to go down (plural) 29.9

Tsimshian:

| y'aga-gd'v to go down to — |
| y'aga-db'x to take down |

3. mEn- up through the air (Tsimshian: man-).

- mEn-g'aa'ask* to look up 214.2
- mEn-dä'ult he went up through the air 95.4
- mEn-g'ibä'yuuk to fly up 126.9
- mEn-łö'b* to go up, plural 42.8
- lö-men-hwan to sit in something high up, plural 34.1 (lö- in; hwan to sit, plural)
- mEn-db'x to be piled up; (to lie up, plural) 164.13
- mEn-qa'd'en to finish taking up 95.10

§ 8
Tsimshian:

\[\text{man-}i\text{a}^\circ \text{ to go up} ZE^1 790^\text{ss}\]
\[\text{di-} \text{man-ho'k} \text{sg to go up with some one}\]
\[\text{me}la- \text{man-wâl} \text{xs both go up}\]
\[\text{man-}li' \text{ plume (literally, upward feather)}\]

4. \textit{d'Ep-} down through the air (Tsimshian: \textit{tgi-}).

\[d'Ep-i\text{a}^\circ \text{ to go down (from a tree) } 9.14\]
\[d'Ep-hê\text{'tk}^a \text{ to stand downward, a tree inclines downward} 201.8\]
\[dê-gulik's-d'Ep-ma'qs \text{ to throw one's self down also (dê also;}\]
\[\text{gulik's self [obj.]; maqs to throw}\]
\[lô-d'Ep-gal \text{ to drop down inside (lô in; gal to drop) 181.13}\]
\[lô-d'Ep-dâ'ul lôqs \text{ the sun sets}\]

Tsimshian:

\[\text{tgi-nê'ots} \text{g to look down}\]
\[\text{lu-tgi-lî}^\circ \text{ to stretch down in something}\]
\[\text{tgi-iâ}^\circ \text{ to go straight down through the air}\]

5. \textit{lEgEm-}, \textit{lôgôm-} into, from the top (Tsimshian: \textit{lôgôm-}).

\[lôgôm-ba'x \text{ to go aboard (literally, to run into [canoe]) 111.11}\]
\[lÊgem-qô't'en \text{ to finish (putting) into} 215.12\]
\[lôgôm-ô'x' \text{ to throw into from the top}\]

Tsimshian:

\[\text{sa} \text{-lôgôm-gôs} \text{ to jump into (canoe) suddenly}\]
\[lôgôm-bâ'x \text{ to run in}\]
\[lôgôm-t.â'x \text{ to sit on edge of water}\]

6. \textit{t'uks-} out of, from top (Tsimshian: \textit{uks-}, \textit{t'uks-}).

\[t'uks-lôô \text{ to stretch down out of canoe 181.3}\]
\[t'uks-îâ'x \text{ to go out of (here, to boil over) 132.5}\]
\[t'uks-ba'x \text{ to run out of dish (over the rim)}\]
\[t'uks-ô'x' \text{ to throw (meat out of skin of game 150.12}\]

Tsimshian:

\[\text{uks-halhô'lt} \text{ they are full all the way out}\]
\[\text{uks-dô'q} \text{ to take out of (bucket)}\]
\[\text{adai uks-sa'k'-}!a \text{ n-tsi'a'lltq}^\circ \text{ then he stretched out his face}\]

7. \textit{ts'EElEm-} into, from the side (Tsimshian: \textit{ts'EElEm-}).

\[ts'EElEm-ba'x \text{ to run in 204.9}\]
\[ts'EElEm-hê'tk}^a \text{ to rush in (literally, to place one's self into) 209.11}\]
\[ts'EElEm-d'yll}^a \text{ to get into 129.12}\]
\[ts'EElEm-dê-ba'x \text{ to run in with something 140.15}\]

Tsimshian:

\[ts'EElEm-wi-ha'utg \text{ to cry into (house)}\]
\[ts'EElEm-t.â'x \text{ to put into}\]

\(^1\text{References preceded by ZE refer to the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908.}\)
8. **k'si-** out of, from the side (Tsimshian: *ksE-*)

- *k'si-gō'nu* to take out 129.12
- *k'si-qō'ts* to cut out 121.6
- *k'si-hā'tłkul* to rush out (literally, to place one's self outside) 30.7

**Tsimshian:**

- *ksE-lō* to shove out
- *ksE-hū'otk* to call out
- *sem-ksE-yə'dz* to cut right out ZE 784
- *ksE-gwa'ntg* to rise (sun), (literally, to touch out)

9. **tsagam-** from on the water toward the shore (Tsimshian: *dzagam-*)

- *tsagam-ha'k's* to scold from the water toward the shore 16.4
- *tsagam-hō'nu* to escape to the shore 51.14
- *tsagam-dē-qlə'ytuka* to fly ashore with it (dē- with) 178.12
- *t lēp-tsagam-q'ă/əxəlt* he himself dragged it ashore (t he; lēp- self [subj.]; q'ă/əxəlt to drag; -t it) 175.14
- *tsagam-q'ə̃n* to give food shoreward 175.3

**Tsimshian:**

- *dzagam-da'ul* to go ashore
- *dzagam-lu-yilha'ltg* to return to the shore, plural

10. **uks-** from the land to a place on the water (Tsimshian: *uks-, t'uks-*)

- *uks-ič* to go out to a place on the water near the shore 150.14
- *uks-a'qlə* to reach a point out on the water 74.13
- *dē-uks-ba'xt* he also ran down to the beach 104.13

Sometimes this prefix is used apparently in place of *iaga-* (no. 2), signifying motion from inland down to the beach, although it seems to express properly the motion out to a point on the water.

**Tsimshian:**

- *uks-hō'otk* to stand near the water
- *uks-ha'nu* to say turned seaward
- *uks-da'ul* to go out to sea

In Tsimshian this prefix occurs also with nouns:

- *uks-a'pda-q'amətərg* one canoe after another being out seaward
- *wagait-uks-G'ideganəidz* the Tlingit way out at sea

11. **qaldix-** to the woods in rear of the houses; corresponding nouns, *g'ilē'lixt*; *qaq'ulən* 65.13 (Tsimshian: *qaldik-*; corresponding noun, *gil-haul/i*).

- *qaldix-ič* to go back into the woods 8.4
- *qaldix-ma'qa* to put behind the houses into the woods 65.13
Tsimshian:

- qaldik-sge' to lie aside
- qaldik-i' to go into woods

12. **na-** out of the woods in rear of the houses to the houses; corresponding noun, *g'āu* (Tsimshian: *na-*).

- **na-ba'x** to run out of woods 147.11
- **na-hē'** to send out of woods 213.13
- **na-de-i'** to go out of woods with something 214.8

Tsimshian:

- **na-gēl** to run out of woods, plural
- **na-bā'** to run out of woods, singular

13. **t'Em-** from rear to middle of house (Tsimshian: *t!Em-*).

- **t'Em-i'** to go to the middle of the house 130.12
- **t'Em-dā'ľ** to put into the middle of the house 193.14
- **t'Em-q'āql** to drag into the middle of the house 62.11

Tsimshian:

- **t!Em-stū'ol** to accompany to the fire
- **t!Em-di-i'** to go also to the fire

14. **asē-** from the middle to the front of the house (Tsimshian: *asdi-*)

- **asē-ō'x** to throw from the middle of the house to the door

Tsimshian:

- **asdi-gēl** to take back from fire

The same prefix is used in Tsimshian to express the idea of **mistake**:

- **asdi-ha'u** to make a mistake in speaking

Tsimshian synonyms of *t'Em-* (no. 13) and *asdi-* (no. 14) are—

15. **lagauk-** from the side of the house to the fire.

- **lagauk-i'** to go to the fire
- **lagauk-hū'iy** to call to fire

16. **ts!Ek'-al-** from the fire to the side of the house.

- **ts!Ek'-al-μa'g** to put away from fire

17. **gali-** up river; corresponding noun, *maqān* 117.6 (Tsimshian: *q!ala-*)

- **lō-gali-sq'i** (trail) lies up in the river 146.10
- **gali-i'** to go up river 117.6

This prefix occurs with nominal significance in *gali-a'k's* river (literally, up river water).

Tsimshian:

- **wē-q!ala-a'k** large river
- **lu-q!ala-yu'k** to follow behind
18. *gisi-* down river; corresponding noun, *sax* 23.6 (Tsimshian: *gisi-*; corresponding noun, *ser*).

- *gisi-ta*s0x to run down river 18.11
- *gisi-a'q* to arrive down river 23.6
- *Kul-gisi-lived* they float about down the river 16.10

In one case it seems to mean **down at the bank of the river**.

- *gisi-loo-tawooy* it was dug down in it down the river 197.8

**Tsimshian:**

- *ste-gisi-ti* to continue to go down river
- *gisi-kia'n* down Skeena river

19. *gidi-* right there, just at the right place or in the right manner

(Tsimshian: *gidi-*)

- *sem-gidi-lo-ket* exactly just there in it it stood 88.8
- *gidi-quk-skut* just there he was dragged 51.5
- *gidi-gotu* to catch (literally, to take in the right manner) 147.8

**Tsimshian:**

- *gidi-gat* to catch ZE 787
- *gidi-wa* to stop
- *se-gidi-kot* to stand still suddenly
- *gidi-ta* to stop ZE 788

20. *ugri-* at some indefinite place, not in the right manner; i.e., almost (Tsimshian: *ligi-*).

- *ligi-kul-du* to sit about somewhere 54.10
- *ligi-tsaqam-de'lp* it was a short distance to the shore somewhere 104.8
- *ligi-metmek* full in some place (i.e., almost full) 159.10

This particle is often used with numerals in the sense of **ABOUT**:

- *ligi-tza'lp* about four 14.1

It is also used as a nominal prefix:

- *ligi-lax-ts'el* somewhere on the edge 104.8
- *ligi-nda* somewhere 87.1
- *ligi-ho'i* goods (i.e., being something) 164.8

**Tsimshian:**

- *ligi-nda* somewhere ZE 782
- *ligi-gat* something
- *ligi-la-ni'edz* to see bad luck coming
- *ligi-gu'n* any tree

A few others appear probably in pairs like the preceding, but only one of the pair has been recorded.


- *spii-ie* to go out of water 52.2
- *spii-gotu* to take out of water

§ 8
22. *wul'äm-* out of water (Tsimshian: *wul'äm-*).

Tsimshian:

| *wul'äm-bax-dō'q* to take up from water
| *wul'äm-d'xly* to get ashore
| *wul'äm-iʔ* to go ashore

§ 9. Local Particles—Continued

The following series of local particles do not appear clearly in pairs, or—according to their meaning—do not form pairs:

23. *tsaga-* across (Tsimshian: *dzaga-*).

| *tsaga-*id* to lay across 40.12
| *lep-tsaga-yōxk* he went across 40.13
| *tsaga-*dékENT* to lead across 79.11
| *tsaga-*hō'ksaan to fasten across an opening 217.5
| *tsaga-his'ia'ts* to chop across 201.7
| *gun-tsaga-ić* to order to go across 40.13

Tsimshian:

| *dzaga-ić* to go across
| *dzaga-di-lā* staying also across (a name).
| *g'ap-k'a-dzaga-alu-bā* to run really very openly across 780

24. *qalk'si-* through a hole (Tsimshian: *qalksE*).

| *qalk'si-yōxk* to go through 149.12
| *qalk'si-g'ä'ask* to look through 127.8
| *qalk'si-libā'yuk* to fly through, plural 14.9
| *lō-qalk'si-ha'q'oax* to squeeze through inside 149.15

This prefix occurs also before nouns:

| *qalk'si-nō'o* a hole through 11.9
| *qalk'si-sqū'xk* through the darkness

Tsimshian:

| *qalksE-nē'ots* to look through
| *qalksE-k'i'ets'el* to poke through
| *qalksE-a'xdl* to get through (literally, to finish through)

25. *g̡̱mē-* probably far into, way in (Tsimshian: *gami-*).

| *g̡̱mē-ić* to walk to the rear of the house, through the space between people sitting on the sides 132.14, 189.13
| *g̡̱mē-yā'ts* to pour through a pipe, along the bottom of a canoe
| *g̡̱mē-yōxk* to go through a pipe 183.1

Tsimshian:

| *lu-gami-t'ū* it goes way in

26. *lōgdl-* under (corresponding noun, *lax*).

| *lōgdl-dep-dā* to sit under (a tree) 8.4

27. *lukl*- under (Tsimshian: *lukli*-).

   *lukl*-g·ibä'yuk to fly under

Tsimshian:

   | *lukli*-da'dul to go under

28. *le-gan-* over. (In Tsimshian *q'an-* occurs alone, but also *l!i*- *q'an-*, which is more frequent. This prefix is a compound of *l!i-* on, and *q'an* over.)

   *le-gan-*öw to throw over
   *le-gan*-g'a'ask to look over

Tsimshian:

   | *l!i*-g'an-bël to be spread over
   | *l!i*-g'an-sü to swing over
   | sa-q'an-t!a° to put over

29. *lo-* in; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts'em-* inside;

   independent noun, *ts'äwu* (Tsimshian: *lu-*; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts'EM-* inside).

   *lo*-d'a to be in 118.10
   dë-lo-d'lg'ixl qö'ot he also speaks in his mind (i.e., he thinks) 49.14
   *lo*-d'Ep-iax'iaq to hang down inside 65.10 (d'Ep- down [no. 4])
   *lo*-sqa-ma'qsaan to put in sideways 150.3 (sqa- sideways [no. 36])
   *lo*-wusen-më'tka it is full inside all along 29.10 (wusen- along [no. 51])
   hasp'a-*lo*-yö'xla° to go in the same road 202.15 (hasp'a-, hasha- upside down [no. 74])
   *le*-lo-d'Ep-yu'k to move on the surface in something downward 104.11 (*le-* on [no. 30]; d'Ep- down [no. 4])

This prefix occurs in a few fixed compositions:

   *lo*-ya'lik to return
   *lo*-dä'lik to meet

It occurs also in a few cases as a nominal prefix:

   *lo*-ts'äwu inside 102.10
   *lo*-k's-g'ë'ot in the lowest one 53.11 (k's- extreme [no. 143])
   *lo*-k's-g'ë'eks at the extreme outside 219.1
   *lo*-lipla'p deep inside 197.8
   *lo*-së'lu'k in the middle 184.13

Tsimshian:

   | *lu*-sgë'ë to lie inside ZE 782°
   | *lu*-l!ë° to sit in
   | sa-*lu*-haldem-bë° suddenly to rise in something
   | *lu*-tgi-*lo° to stretch down in
   | lagax-*lu*-dü° to put in on both sides (lagax- on both sides [no. 38])

§ 9
30. le- on; the corresponding noun has the prefix lax-; independent noun, lax’o’ (Tsimshian: l’i-; the corresponding noun has the prefix lax-; independent noun, lax’o’).

- le-d’a’ to sit on 202.4
- le-men-pu’ltk’ to rise up to the top of (see no. 3)
- le-ia’q to hang on 89.10
- txa-le-bal to spread over entirely (see no. 93)
- le-sqa-sg’i to put on sideways 184.13 (see no. 36)

Tsimshian:

- sa-l’i-g’d’oks to drift suddenly on something (see no. 98)
- l’i-be’ts’en to put on
- sem-l’i-l’âlb to cover well (see no. 168)
- l’i-se-g’ul’g to make fire on something (see no. 164)
- ha-l’i-g’d’ot to think (see no. 160)

31. tgo- around (Tsimshian: tgu-).

- lô-tgo-bo’x to run around inside 77.11
- k’wad’ik’s-tgo-ma’ga to turn over and over much 52.10 (see no. 176)
- tgo-yu’ltk’ to turn around 47.9
- k’ul-lô-tgo-lâx’-l’b’en to roll about around inside to and fro 13.14 (k’ul- about [no. 33]; lô- inside [no. 29]; tgo- around; lâx- to and fro [no. 38])

Tsimshian:

- k’ul-tgu-nê’tsg to look around (see no. 33)
- tgu-voa’n to sit around, plural
- tgu-iâ’t to go around
- tgu-d’a’p to measure around ZE 784°

32. k’utgo- around; corresponding noun, dax’ circumference.

- sâ-k’utgo-dâ’ul to go suddenly around (the trunk of a tree) 211.9
- k’utgo-iê’tk’ to go around (the house) 218.1

33. k’ul- about (Tsimshian: k’ul-).

- k’ul-bo’x to run about 94.10
- k’ul-lô-l’ô’otk’ he puts about on it 218.7
- q’asba-k’ul-hwad’a’x’ he paddled about astray 17.2
- k’ul-lx’la’k’ to scatter about

Tsimshian:

- alu-k’ul-iâ’t to go about plainly ZE 783°
- k’ul-yu’ha’oks g to carry bucket about (see no. 159)
- k’ul-da’msax to be downcast here and there (i. e., always)

34. k’ilq’al- round on the outside.

- k’ilq’al-ma’n to rub over the outside 103.12
- k’ilq’al-axts’â’x’ scabby all around

§ 9
35. *tq'al-* against (Tsimshian: *txal-*).

- *tq'al-gloalk* to dry against (i.e., so that it can not come off) 104.2
- *tq'al-đăx* to put against (i.e., on) face 195.12
- *tq'al-da'k* to tie on 68.12

This prefix is often used to express the idea of **MEETING**:

- *tq'al-hwa'c* to meet and find 31.6
- *hwaqait-łó-tq'al-gō'usk* to reach up to inside against (i.e., meeting) (hwaqait-up to [no. 71]; łu- in [no. 29])
- *tq'al-qō'd* to go to meet (to go against) 158.11

Sometimes it expresses the idea of **WITH**:

- *tq'al-a'k* to drink something with water 21.9
- *tq'al-hu'ksa'c* to place with something 36.8

In still other cases it signifies **FOREVER**, in so far as the object remains fastened against something:

- *lō-tq'al-gwō'lk* to be lost forever in something (lō- in; *tq'al-* against 166.1)

It also may express the idea of **A PURPOSE**:

- *tq'al-ą'n* good for a purpose 80.14
- *sem-tq'al-siep'ın* to like much for a purpose 45.1
- *tq'al-sı'leml* female servant

Tsimshian:

- *sa-txal-g'ad* to float suddenly against (i.e., so that it reaches)
- *txal-hō'lt* full all over
- *txal-a'x* to arrive at

36. *sqa-* across the way (Tsimshian: *sqā-*).

- *sqa-đ'a* to be in the way 183.10
- *lō-sqa-ke'č'ın* to place inside in the way 129.10
- *sqa-sg'i* to lie across 148.11

Tsimshian:

- *lū-sqa-yedz* to strike in and across the face
- *sqa-g'dął̱ (he) himself ties across (see no. 129)
- *sqa-g'į'tg* to swell lying across
- *sqa-bā* to run across (i.e., to assist)
- *sqa-na'k* some time (literally, across long) ZE 791
- *sqa-bō* a few

37. *g'ılıwul-* past, beyond (Tsimshian: *g'ılıwul-*).

- *g'ılıwul-dām* to hold beyond a certain point 61.8

Tsimshian:

- *g'ılıwul-bā* to run past
- *g'ılıwul-a'x* to get ahead
- *līq'an-g'ılıwul-dū'olk* not to be able to pass over (see no. 28)
38. *lax-* to and fro, at both ends (Tsimshian: *lagax-*).

(a) to and fro:

*lax*-ba’x to run to and fro

(b) at both ends, on both sides:

*lax*-g’i lg’a’lk* to be carved at both ends

*lax*-lo-łu’xk* to move in on both sides 34.4

*lax*-le’lk* to watch both ends 136.10

*lax*-aa’lg’ix to talk both ways (i.e., to interpret)

*lax*-hu’d’i’emlk* seated on both sides (two wives of the same man) 194.7

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

*Lax*-wás, Wás (a monster) at each end 106.14

*Lax*-mák’lk* white at each end (name of a man)

Tsimshian:

| *lagax*-lu-dā’o to put in on both sides
| *lagax*-ne-stā’o both sides

39. *sa-* off (Tsimshian: *sa-*)

*sa-ba’ to throw off 145.2

*sa-besbē’ to tear off 25.4

*sa-hē’lk* to stand off 137.9

*sa-lē’q* to scratch off

*sa-uks-ts’ens-x’ka’xk* to escape going off, leaving out to sea

(uks- toward water [no. 10]; ts’ens- leaving [no. 104])

Tsimshian:

| *sa-gā’o* to take off
| *sa-ts’alā’o* to pull off

40. *gis-* away to another place.

*gis-d’a* (plural *gis-hwa’n*) to transplant (*d’a* [plural hwa’n] to sit)

*gis-i’e* to move away to another place

*gis-hē’lk*sen! move away to another place!

41. *wud’En-* away forward (Tsimshian: *wud’En-*)

*wud’En-i’e* to step forward

*wud’En-k’la’x* to kick away

Tsimshian:

| *wud’En-gwa’o* away here along the middle

42. *lūks-* along a valley (Tsimshian).

*lūks-g’ig’á’nit down along the river

43. *wil-* away, probably in some special direction (Tsimshian: *awul-*).

*wil-gō’* to take away

Tsimshian:

| *awul-ma’g* to put aside, to sidetrack

§ 9
44. **hagun-** toward, near; corresponding noun, *awo'a* (Tsimshian: *gun-*; corresponding noun, *awo'°*).

- **hagun-หลวง** to go toward 129.14
- **aqi-hagun-yə'xk** unable to get near 201.6 (see no. 137)
- **hagun-bə tl** to stand near 125.4
- **hagun-də lpk** a short distance near by 147.5

**Tsimshian:**

- **gun-หลวง** to go toward
- **gun-qəl** to go toward something
- **gun-tə ġ** to sit near

45. **hela-** near by.

- **hela-หลวง** to sit near by

46. **lōsa-** in front.

- **lōsa-หลวง** to walk in front of
- **lōsa-หลวง** to sit in front of

47. **txas-** along the surface of a long thing (Tsimshian: *txas-*).

- **txas-หลวง** to walk on a long thing
- **txas-la'agul** to wrap up a long thing
- **txas-ia'ł** to chop along a long thing

**Tsimshian:**

- **lu-txas-sə'q** to put in edgeewise
- **sa-lu-txas-łə'at** to shove in suddenly edgeewise
- **txas-kı'q** through the year ZE 792

48. **hadɔx-** lengthwise along the middle line (Tsimshian: *hat!Ek-*).

- **hadɔx-หลวง** to cut (a salmon) lengthwise 55.3

**Tsimshian:**

- **lu-hat!Ek-łə'Łt** to push in endwise

49. **stEx-** lengthwise, on either side of middle line.

- **stEx-łəsk** one side lengthwise is black
- **stEx-Ğə'ł qɨnɛx ləx-təŁ ak's** the trail lies along (the water) on the beach-side; *(qɨnɛx trail; ləx- on [no. 151]; təŁ beach; ak's water)*

50. **hαl-** along the edge, edgewise (Tsimshian: *hαl-*.)

(a) Along the edge:

- **k'ul-hαl-หลวง** to walk about along the edge (of the water) 122.4
- **dət-hαl-dəq** he held it also along the edge (of the fire) 47.8 *(də also [no. 167]; t he [subj.]; dəq to place; -t it)*

Not quite clear is the following:

- **q'am-lo-hαl-uxtəŁak'det** they only twisted off (their necks) inside along the edge 115.5 *(q'am- only [no. 118]; lo- in [no. 29]; -det they)*
(b) Edgewise:
hal-\textit{g'dol'en} to put (the paddle into the water) edgewise

Tsimshian:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{k\text{.'ul}-hal-\textit{heto} to stand about alongside of ZE 796\textsuperscript{m7}
  \item \textit{hal-k\text{.'a}n} to go along beach in canoe
  \item \textit{hal-g\text{.'a}m\text{.'o}} along here
\end{itemize}

51. \textit{wusEn-} along the inside (Tsimshian: \textit{wusEn-}).
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{wusEn-h\text{e}tk\text{.'u}} to rush along inside (the canoe) 57.5
  \item \textit{l\text{.'o}-wusEn-m\text{.'e}tk\text{.'u}} full along inside (the canoe) 29.10
  \item \textit{wusEn-bisb\text{.'e}s} to tear lengthwise (to split) 99.13 (or \textit{wudEn-}
    see no. 41)
  \item \textit{wusEn-yis\text{.'e}ts\text{.'o}} to chop lengthwise (into wedges) 148.4
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{lax-wusEn-i\text{.'a}m\text{.'o}} on the flat top of a mountain (literally, on along
    going)
\end{itemize}

52. \textit{wits'En-}, \textit{huts'En-} along through the middle (Tsimshian: \textit{wuts!En-}).
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{wits'En-i\text{.'a}} to go back through the house 125.3
  \item \textit{huts'En-d\text{.'a}m\text{.'o}} to put from the back to the rear of the house 207.2
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{wuts!En-i\text{.'a}m\text{.'o}} to go along through the house
\end{itemize}

53. \textit{xlip-} at end (Tsimshian: \textit{xleP-}).
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xlip-g\text{.'u}t\text{.'e}} to hit at end 88.11
  \item \textit{xlip-t\text{.'e}st\text{.'o}tsk\text{.'u}} black at the ends 31.5
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xlep-h\text{.'o}k\text{.'e}n\text{.m}} to put on at end
  \item \textit{sen-xlep-ts\text{.'e}m\text{.n}} the very ends of the top
\end{itemize}

54. \textit{xtse-} in the middle of a long thing (Tsimshian: \textit{xts!E-}).
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xtse-i\text{.'a}ts\text{.m}} to chop across the middle 133.9
  \item \textit{sa-xtse-q\text{.'o}ts\text{.m}} to cut quickly across the middle 100.6
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{xts!E-gai\text{.m}} to bite through in the middle
\end{itemize}

55. \textit{k\text{.'a}le-} all over (Tsimshian: \textit{k\text{.'a}li-}).
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{k\text{.'a}le-hash\text{.'a}m\text{.ts}} to bite all over 84.15
  \item \textit{k\text{.'a}le-bisb\text{.'e}s\text{.m}} to tear to pieces 71.6
  \item \textit{k\text{.'a}le-i\text{.'a}ts\text{.m}} to hit all over 58.2
\end{itemize}

Tsimshian:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{k\text{.'a}li-i\text{.'a}m\text{.m}} laxha' going across the sky ZE 783\textsuperscript{z0}
  \item \textit{k\text{.'a}li-gaigai\text{.m}} to bite all over
  \item \textit{k\text{.'a}li-gal\text{.'e}g\text{.'o}l} split all over
\end{itemize}
56. **xLEM-** around an obstacle, making a curve around something
   (Tsimshian: **xLEM-**).
   xLEM-ī’ē to go overland, cutting off a point
   xLEM-na’gəl to put a rope over something
   xLEM-hē’tsəl to send around something
   xLEM-da’qə to choke some one, hang some one

Here belongs also—
   xLEM-galgal’stēt to kneel down

This prefix occurs also with nouns.
   xLEM-qē’nex trail going around in a circle

Tsimshian:
   xLEM-iə’ok to embrace
   xLEM-da’kł to tie around

57. **k’êdō-** sideways.
   k’êdō-g’a’ask to look sideways

58. **k’ä-l**- aside.
   q’am-k’ä-lō’ōt she only pushes aside 191.11
   k’ä-lē’gum q’e’semg labret standing on one side 191.13

59. **qana-** inclined against (Tsimshian)
   qana-tū’o to sit leaning against something
   qana-hē’təg to stand leaning against something
   qana-ba’tsəg to stand leaning against something

60. **maxle-** through a narrow channel (Tsimshian).
   maxle-bă’o to go through a channel
   maxle-hē’dē’ks to swim through a channel
   maxle-qă’p a narrow channel
   Maxle-qă’la Metlakahtla, narrow channel of sea (compare
   G’ić-qă’la people of the sea)

61. **g’ik’si-** out of; undoubtedly a compound of **k’si-** out of (no. 8).
   g’ik’si-hvi’tkə to come out of 10.1

62. **luila-** near the end; perhaps a compound of **lō-** in (no. 29), and
   hēla- near (no. 45).
   lu’ila-dē’lik’s cut off smooth at end (name of a dog), from
   dē’lik’s smooth
   lu’ila-a’lg’tx to speak close to some one

§10. Modal Particles

There is no strict distinction between this group and the preceding
one. Many of the particles classed here are used with equal frequency
as adverbial and as adnominal elements. Thus we find **wī-**, which
means at the same time GREATLY, MUCH, and LARGE; **lgo-**, which sig-
nifies both a little and small. The attempt has been made to relegate all elements which may be separated from the stem by a pronoun into a group by themselves (§ 15); but since such separation occurs only in transitive verbs, and not all particles have been found with transitive verbs, it seems likely that the grouping may have to be changed when the language comes to be better known. While in some cases the composition of particles and stems is quite firm, others convey the impression of being almost independent adverbs.

63. ausus- ready to move; not free (Tsimshian).

| ausus-t!ā'ō ready to stand up, singular |
| ausus-wa'n ready to stand up, plural |
| ausus-hē'ōth ready to move |

63a. a- easily (Tsimshian).

| a-sonā'āl easily tired |
| a-hū'ti' easily hungry |
| a-bā'g'ask worried (literally, easily tasted) |

64. anb'El- in an unusual frame of mind. This prefix is not entirely free (Tsimshian: p'El-).

| anb'El-īē ready to say crying 220.5 |
| anb'El-a'qīx to speak while angry, to talk behind one's back |
| anb'El-iā'alk to strike, break, in a state of anger |
| anb'El-qalā'q to play |

Tsimshian:

| p'El-qa-mā'ōlk to play with something |

65. ank's- opening up (Tsimshian: aks-).

| ank's-klaqst to kick apart 134.3 |
| ank's-iē to increase |
| ank's-l'emē'st paint-pot |
| wē-ankeq-sqan large rotten (open) tree 106.12 |

Tsimshian:

| sa-hagul-aks-iā'ō to open suddenly slowly (see no. 76) |
| aks-iā'ōq to increase |
| aks-t!ā'ōs to push open |
| se-aks-qā'dq to open up |

66. agwi- outside, beyond (Tsimshian: agwi-).

| agwi-tq'al-ā'ā it is outside close against it |
| agwi-an-dā'w' the outside |
| agwi-mā'ōl boat (literally, beyond a canoe) |
| agwi-hupdā'ek'en great-grandchild (lit., beyond grandchild) |

Tsimshian:

| agwi-ba'tsg to stand outside |

§ 10
67. **alo-** (a- easily, lu- in?) plainly; alone (Tsimshian: alu-).

(a) Plainly, real:

- **alo-đa'** there was plainly 106.13
- **alo-ba'n** run quickly 106.13
- **sem-k'虌alo-đa'x** to run really exceedingly quick 107.10

As a nominal prefix we find it in—

- **alo-g'iq'a't** real persons (i.e., Indians) 170.13

Here belongs probably—

- **sem-alo-gól** to run quite suddenly, plural 141.8

(b) Alone; always with reduplication:

- **alo-hehe'tk** to stand alone 44.15
- **alo-stsgV** to lie alone
- **alo-đa'đa'** to sit alone

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>alu-k'uL-iä'o</th>
<th>to go about plainly ZE 783.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alu-t.'ôo</td>
<td>to be in evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alu-bä'o</td>
<td>to run really</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68. **aLax-** in bad health (Tsimshian: la-).

- **aLax-hag'd'otk** having a crippled back

Tsimshian:

| la-g'at'k in bad health |

69. **aLda-** in the dark.

- **aLda-wä'x** to paddle in the night
- **aLda-ič** to walk in the dark

70. **i-** with reduplication; action done while in motion.

- **i-g'ig'ebä'yuχ** flying while being moved
- **i-đa'đi'ne** I talk while moving, while at work
- **i-hähä'dik'** swimming while carrying

71. **hwagait-** completing a motion entirely (Tsimshian: wagait-).

This prefix belongs to the series **bagait-** (lebagait-) (no. 82),

- **saqait-** (no. 99), **spagait-** (no. 103), **q'amgait-** (no. 119).

- **hwagait-galk'si-dä'ul** to pass through entirely 143.14 (see no. 24)
- **hwagait-sg'ív** to lie way over 134.3
- **hwagait-mu'q** to put away

This is also a nominal prefix:

- **hwagait-g'iv'ks** way off shore 146.14
- **hwagait-g'o'st** over there 134.4

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sem-sa-wagait-ukt's-da'ul</th>
<th>to go right out to sea very suddenly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(see nos. 168, 98, 10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagait-g'iv'ks</td>
<td>way off shore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 10
72. waLEn- former.

\(\text{waleq}-\text{a'n} \) an old (rotten) tree 25.4
\(\text{walen-n\text{-}u'k\text{-}st} \) his former wife 135.14
\(\text{waleq-g'ig'-a't} \) the people of former times 191.1
\(\text{walen-voi-gesg'Ot} \) the same size as before 23.4

73. w\(\text{-} \) great, greatly; singular (Tsimshian: w\(\text{-} \)). This prefix is commonly used as an attribute, but also as an adverb, expressing, however, rather a quality of the subject. See also Lgo- no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

\(\text{w}\text{-se-m\text{-}e'\text{l}} \) to make burn much 89.8
\(\text{w}\text{-sa'qat} \) it splits much 148.8

It is also found in fixed combinations:

\(\text{w}\text{-y\text{-}e't\text{\text-k\text{-}}} \) to cry 90.3
\(\text{w}\text{-am-h\text{-e'}t} \) to shout 89.12. Here it is apparently connected with the adverbial -\(\text{em} \) (§ 22)

(b) Adjectival:

\(\text{w}\text{-q\text{-}a't} \) big (awkward) man 196.9
\(\text{w}\text{-lig\text{-}e'\text{\text{-}ensk} \) great grizzly bear 118.4
\(\text{W}\text{-xb\text{-}\text{\text{-}la} \) Great West-wind (a name)

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

\(\text{wi-ha'utk} \) to cry

(b) Adjectival:

\(\text{wi-g\text{-}o'ep\text{\text{-}a} \) a great light ZE 785
\(\text{wi-med\text{-}e\text{\text{-}ek} \) great grizzly bear
\(q\text{-ap-k\text{-}a-wi-naxno'g\text{-}q \) really exceedingly great supernatural being (see nos. 117, 106)
\(\text{wi-sem'd\text{-}agit \) great chief

73a. wud\text{'ax}- great, plural (Tsimshian: wnt\text{!}u\text{-}).

\(\text{wud\text{'ax}-qa-voe'n} \) large teeth 84.3
\(\text{wud\text{'ax}-ax-qa-g\text{-}d\text{-}d\text{-}et} \) great fools 33.10

74. hasba- upside down (Tsimshian: hasba-). This prefix is related to q\text{\text{'asba-} no. 121.

\(\text{haspa-h\text{-}e's} \) to tear out so that it is upside down 127.13
\(\text{sem-h\text{\text{-}asba-}sg'i} \) to lay exactly face up 214.11
\(\text{hasba'-sg'i} \) to lay upside down (a hat) 17.2

Peculiar is—

\(\text{hasba-t\text{-}y\text{\text{-}y\text{'}x\text{\text{-}u} \) to go in the same trail 202.15

Tsimshian:

\(\text{hasba-p\text{-}e'equal} \) to tear out so that it is upside down

§ 10
75. *hats'eiks*—terribly, causing feeling of uneasiness.  
*hats'eiks-hw'o'il* to act so that people get afraid  
*hats'eiks-a'ly'ix* to talk roughly

76. *hagul*—slowly (Tsimshian: *hagul*).  
*hagul-hw'o'il* to do slowly  
*hagul-gw'd'o'kh* to disappear slowly

Tsimshian:  
| *hagul-ba't* to run slowly  
| *hagul-dzaga-iă'w* to go slowly across  
| *hagul-k'da'x*x* to leave slowly  
| *hagul-iă'w* to go slowly

77. *haldEm*—(Tsimshian: *haldEm*) occurs only with the verbs  
*bax*, plural *göl*, to run, with the meaning to rise 124.9, 114.7.  
In Tsimshian the same composition with *bà'o*, plural *göl*, to run,  
occurs with the same meaning; but the prefix seems to be a  
little freer with the meaning RISING FROM THE GROUND.  
*haldEm-ni'dz* to look up

78. *hê*—to begin (Tsimshian: *hê*).  
*hê-yuk* to begin  
*q'ai-hê-lă'duxdë* they just began to shoot 20.4

This prefix is much more common with nouns:  
*hê-mesă'x* beginning of day  
*hê-luk* morning

Tsimshian:  
| *hê-se-i!ă'ot* it just began to be  
| *hê-ts'i'en* just to enter  
| *hê-set'a-de'mt* p.'a'egant he began to break it down

79. *his*—to do apparently, to pretend to (Tsimshian: *sis*); always  
with medial suffix (see § 17.3-5).  
*his-a'k'sk* to pretend to drink  
*his-huw'd'qs* to pretend to sleep  
*his-hw'i'l'ik* to pretend to do  
*his-nə'o'kh* to pretend to be dead  
*his-wiyet'ik* to pretend to cry  
*his-li'n'tk'is* to pretend to be angry  
*his-zda'k's* to pretend to be hungry

Tsimshian:  
| *sis-kànu* I pretend to be hungry  
| *sis-ă'x*x* to laugh (literally, to play with the mouth)  
| *sis-yu-hu-k'da'k's* to play having (i. e., with) a bow (see nos. 159, 160)
80. **pElEm-** to act as though one was performing an action (Tsimshian: **bEnEm-**).

- **pElEm-go** to act as though taking
- **pElEm-i** to go and turn back again at once
- **pElEm-q’a** to act as though eating something

Tsimshian:
- **bEnEm-** to act as though vomiting
- **bEnEm-t!ü** to act as though about to strike

81. **bElxsEm-** in front of body, forward; similar in meaning to **xina**. (Tsimshian: **xbEsEm-**).

- t ë-belxsem-gaq’aq’ant he opened it in front of his body

82. **bagait-** just in the right place or manner (Tsimshian: **leba-gait-**). Compare **hivagait-** (no. 71), **sagait-** (no. 99), **spagait-** (no. 108), **q’amgait-** (no. 119).

- **bagait-kroc’et** it is cracked right in the middle
- **bagait-go** to hit just in the right place

Like the other prefixes ending in -gait, this prefix is also nominal:
- **se-m-bagait-seluk** just right in the middle

83. **mEsEm-** separate.

- **mEsEm-hwo’an** to sit separately
- **mEsEm-lö’** to walk separately

84. **ma-** like (Tsimshian: **mE-**).

- **ma-wa’tsx** crazy (literally, like a land-otter)
- **ma-d’l** having epileptic fits (literally, like a bear)

85. **wadi-** like (Tsimshian).

- **wadi-hats’id’o’n** innumerable (literally, like fly-blows)
- **wadi-kse-le’atx** like fluid slime
- **wadi-wä’lë** like a house

86. **max-** only, entirely, all.

- **max-hän’a’q** (they are) all women
- **max-d’ust** a woman having only sons; (they are) all men
- **max-hä’x’** it is only fat

§ 10
87. *mEL*(a)- to each, distributive (Tsimshian: *mEla*-).
   *mela-gulā'nt* three to each
   *meli-’d’l* one man in each (corner) 33.12
   
   Tsimshian:
   | *mela-k’i’rrel* one to each

88. *mEla*- both (Tsimshian).
   | *mela-men-wâ’lex* both go up (see no. 3)
   | *mela-l’i-dâ’o* to put on both (see no. 30)
   | *mela-hakhêldem’gat* both (villages had) many people

89. *sen*- firmly (Tsimshian).
   | *sen-nâ’o* to bait
   | *sen-dô’xe* to hold fast
   | *sen-wô’w* to admonish

90. *dEx*, *dix*- firmly; not free (Tsimshian: *dax*-).
   | *dix’-yu’kâ* to hold fast
   
   Tsimshian:
   | *dax-yâ’o’gwo* to hold fast

91. *dE-, dê*- with (Tsimshian: *dE*-).
   | *dê-dâ’ul* to carry away (literally, to go away with)
   | *tsaam-de-g’iba’yuk* to fly ashore with something 178.12
   
   Tsimshian:
   | *dê-bô’o* to run away with
   | *bax-dê-gô’it’ex* to come up with
   | *t dê-ts’ve’n* he entered with it

92. *dula*- improperly.
   | *dula-al’g’ix* to talk improperly, to grumble
   | *dula-d’ad’el â’t* to put mouth on one side
   | *dula-yê’čks* to walk improperly, to wabble
   | *wâ-dula-g’at’kâ* being a great improper man (i.e., cowardly) 195.3

93. *txa*- entirely, all (Tsimshian: *txa*-).
   | *txa-qô’ltsegat* he carried all on his shoulder 116.4
   | *txa-wô’o* to invite all 186.15
   | *txa-lô-ts’d’ot* to skin inside entirely 150.10
   | *txa-belā’d’a* it was all abalone 45.3

   This prefix is contained also in—
   | *txa-qâ’onty* stiff (literally, woody) all over
   | *txa-wô’onty* to have teeth to the end (of life)
   | *txa-yë’dy* all slippery
   | *txa-l’i’qu’i’nat* all fall on

§ 10
94. **nā-** to complete an action (Tsimshian: *na-*).

- *nā-da'q* to strike with a hammer so that it breaks
- *nā-ha't* to bite through
- *na-ć'x* to hit so that it breaks
- *na-gapq'i'et* they fastened it so that it staid
- *nā-čišk'č's* to knock with the hand

Tsimshian:

- *na-g'ul* to punch through

95. **na-** each other, one another (Tsimshian: *na-*)

- *k'ax-na-č'l'a'q*det they talked to each other for a while
- *na-čse'nq*det they disbelieved each other
- *k'ul-na-gaq'i*det they howled about to one another

Tsimshian:

- *lu-na-lā'ol* to put into each other

96. **nō'om-** to desire. This may possibly be the verb *nō'ot* to die.

- *nō'om-i'et* to desire to go
- *nō'om-a'k's* to desire to drink

If this element is an adverbial form of *nō'ot*, it corresponds to

Tsimshian:

- *da'gem xsl'd'ganu* I am dead asleep

97. **sEl-** fellow, companion (Tsimshian: *sEl-*)

- *silhāna'q* fellow-woman
- *sil-g'aima'q* fellow-youths

This prefix is also used with verbs:

- *sil-hwa'n* to sit together
- *sil-gas-qel'č'en* to be of the same size

Tsimshian:

- *ne-sEl-wā'lt* his companions

98. **sā-** suddenly (Tsimshian: *sā-*)

- *sā-hē'č's* to stand suddenly
- *sā-g'ezk'au* to stop crying suddenly

Tsimshian:

- *sa-ha'u* to say suddenly
- *sa-l'i-g'ēks* to float suddenly on something
- *sa-lu-haldem-bā'o* to arise suddenly on something
- *sa-lu-nā'k* to lie on something suddenly

99. **sagait-** together (Tsimshian: *sagait-*) (see nos. 71, 82, 103, 119).

- *sagait-da'k'č* to fasten together
- *sagait-i'č* to go together
- *sagait-wul'qat* to carry all together

§ 10
Tsimshian:

sagait-wa’n to sit together ZE 786
sagait-ha’tq to stand together
sagait-lu-am’a’m qag’d°d they were all glad (literally, good in their hearts)
sagait-wa’lx’em we walk together

100. sag‘ap- without purpose (Tsimshian: sag‘ap-).

k’ul-sag‘ap-ï’’ø to walk about without purpose 96.10
sag‘ap-lé’mix’ to sing without purpose

Tsimshian:

| k’ul-sag‘ap-ï’’ø to go about without purpose ZE 796*|

101. si- new (Tsimshian: su-).

si-na’k’st his new wife 135.15
si-hwil new

Tsimshian:

su-p’a’s young, singular (literally, newly grown)
su-ma’s young, plural (literally, newly standing)
su-sa’mi fresh meat
su-se-n-dzo’q to make a new village (see no. 164)

102. sîx’- steadily (Tsimshian: sta-).

sîx’-q’a’a to look steadily, to watch 156.1
sîx’-ï’’ø to walk steadily
sîx’-o’d x’ to paddle steadily

Tsimshian:

sta-i’a’nu I walk steadily
sta-gisi-ï’’ø to go down river steadily

103. spagait- among (Tsimshian: spagait-). This prefix belongs to the series hväqait-, bugait-, sagait-, q’amgait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 119); -spa seems to belong to haspa- inverted, q’aspa-

astray, which have spa in common with spagait-.

dë-lö-spagait-hösk* also to be inside among 42.4

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

spagait-ganga’n among trees 31.14
spagait-sqì’ëë’rëk* in the darkness 11.9
spagait-loga lò’leq [among] in a rotten corpse 217.9

Tsimshian:

| spagait-sqì’ëë’rëk* in the darkness ZE 782* |

| spagait-gaut among people |

| spagait-ganga’n among trees |

104. ts‘Ens- to desert, deserted (Tsimshian: ts‘Ens-).

ts‘Ens-î’’øk to desert by moving 159.15
ts‘Ens-dza’k* widow (literally, deserted by dying)

§ 10
Tsimshian:

\[ts'!ens-l'd'yik\] to desert by moving
\[ts'!ens-dza'k\] widow (literally, deserted by dying)

105. \(ts'Eml\) a short way (Tsimshian).

\[ts'!enl-dzo'x\] to move canoe back a short way
\[ts'!enl-i'i\] to go a short way off

106. \(k'\alpha\) to a higher degree, exceedingly (Tsimshian: \(k'!\alpha\)).

\[sem-k'\alpha-ale-b'o'x\] to run really exceedingly fast 107.10 (see nos. 168, 67)
\[k'\alpha-vi-he'ldel\] there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no. 73; \(\alpha l\) seal)
\[k'\alpha-vi-t'e'sl\] as \(\alpha e\) his house is larger than mine (literally, his house is exceedingly large to me) (see no. 73; \(\alpha l\) house; as to; \(\alpha e\) me)
\[k'\alpha-vi-t'e'sl\] this house is the largest
\[k^a-vn-he'ld\] there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no. 73; \(\alpha l\) house; as to; \(\alpha e\) me)

107. \(k'\alpha-\) for a while (Tsimshian: \(k'!\alpha\)).

\[k'\alpha-ha'\] it stops for a while 218.3
\[k'\alpha-ha\] to use for a while 34.6
\[k'\alpha-gun-g'a'a\] to show for a while 26.6 (\(gun\) to cause; \(g'a'a\) to see)
\[k'\alpha-naa'lyt\] to talk to each other for a while 19.8
\[k'\alpha-sa-qet\] to make a string for a while 117.6

Here belongs also—
\[g'ax had'\] later on

Tsimshian:

\[ada' k'a-l'a\] then he sat for a while

108. \(g'\beta a\) seems to occur only in \(g'\beta a-h'lt\) to rise 151.14.

Tsimshian:

\[g'\beta a-h\] to rise

109. \(g'\beta a\) (left) behind (Tsimshian \(g'\beta a\)).

\[g'\beta a-h'lt\] to stand behind 141.2
\[g'\beta a-g'a\] to be there, being left behind 67.2
\[g'\beta a-d'\] to remain, being left behind 194.13
\[k'ul-g'\beta a-d'al\] to be (plural) about being left behind 70.8 (see no. 33)
\[lg'\beta a-l\] only a little one was left 95.14
Tsimshian:

\[
g'ina-t'\tilde{a}^o \text{ to stay behind} \\
g'ina-i\ddot{a}^o \text{ to go slower than (literally, to leave going)} \\
g'ina-ts'\tilde{e}^o k \text{ left dry}
\]

110. \textit{k'\textino-} to go to do something; the action to be done is expressed by a noun (Tsimshian).\footnote{This particle is classed more properly with those given in § 13.}

\[
k'\textino-xsa'n \text{ to go to gamble} \\
k'\textino-d\ddot{a}^o sta \text{ to go across (to see)} \\
k'\textino-su-p'\textino'a's \text{ to go after a young girl}
\]

111. \textit{g\tilde{e}lep-} underneath (?), upside down (?)

\[
g\tilde{e}lep-da'lbik'sk\tilde{e} to cling to the underside (of the canoe) 57.6 \\
k'\ddot{u}l-g\tilde{e}lep-qax\tilde{e}ik\tilde{e} to drift about capsized, upside down 24.3 \\
g\tilde{e}lep-qax\tilde{e}ik\tilde{e} I turn dishes over upside down
\]

112. \textit{k'sax-} only, just (Tsimshian: \textit{k}\ddot{a}s\textipa{a}-, often with \textit{q'am-} or \textit{am-} ONLY).

\[
k'sax-\ddot{a}^o q \text{ just to take (i.e., without implements for taking) 41.7} \\
k'sax-k'\ddot{u}l-daxd'o\ddot{e} they just lay about 162.5 \\
-k'sax-g'in\ddot{a}m\ddot{e} l \text{ he just gave a little fat 163.6} \\
\text{ (ts\ddot{o}sk\ddot{e}: little; h\dot{e}\ddot{x}: fat)}
\]

This may really belong to the particles given in § 15.

\[
k’sax- \text{ is often used with nouns:} \\
k’sax-ts'\ddot{e} p \text{ only bones 214.12} \\
k’sax-Lgo-nts'\ddot{e} \text{ only the little grandmother 152.10}
\]

Tsimshian:

\[
q'am-k\ddot{a}s\ddot{o}-t\ddot{x}a lp\ddot{x} \text{ only four} \\
q'am-k\ddot{a}s\ddot{o}-k.'\ddot{e}'\ddot{r} \text{ only one} \\
am-k\ddot{a}s\ddot{e} h\dot{a}n\dot{a}'\ddot{n}ga \text{ only the women} \\
k\ddot{a}s\ddot{e}-h\dot{e}'\ddot{o}t\ddot{g} \text{ he just stood still}
\]

113. \textit{k'\ddot{op}E-} little, plural; a little (Tsimshian: \textit{k'\ddot{a}bE}-). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix for the plural only. The idea of a LITTLE, SLIGHTLY, is generally expressed by this prefix; while \textit{Lgo-}, which is the singular of the attributive prefix, seems to imply that a small one performs the action expressed in the verb. See no. 135.

(a) Adverbal:

\[
k'\ddot{op}E-\ddot{a}b\dot{a}'\ddot{g}'\ddot{a}sk\ddot{u} \text{ to be troubled a little 74.15} \\
k'\ddot{op}E-\text{ama-}g'a'd\ddot{e}sem, \text{ look out a little well for her 192.1} \\
k'\ddot{op}E-\text{lo}-qab'u\ddot{x} \text{ to splash in something a little}
\]

(b) Adjectival:

\[
k'\ddot{op}E-huu\ddot{e}lp \text{ little houses 185.8} \\
k'\ddot{op}E-\text{tk\ddot{e}}\ddot{l}k\ddot{u} \text{ children 102.1}
\]

\footnote{1 This particle is classed more properly with those given in § 13.}
Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

k'abs-si'epgixnu I poor one am sick

(b) Adjectival:

k'abs-ga-gō'k little baskets

114. gun- to order, to cause (Tsimshian: gun-).

gun-ba'Lt to cause to spread out 130.11

gun-gō'u to cause to hit 53.8

gun-se-mē'l to order to make burn 91.14

gun-gē'qan to order to poke 91.6

Tsimshian:

gun-mō'qan to ask to be taken aboard

gun-ni'odz to show (literally, to cause to see)

115. guliks- backward; also reflexive object (Tsimshian: g'ilEks-).

guliks-hē'kwa to rush back 210.4

guliks-a'qik* to reach (arrive) coming back 76.10

guliks-g'a'ask* to look back

dē-guliks-d∃p-ma'qs to throw one's self also down (dē also; d∃p down) 42.13

guliks-dzə'kt* to kill one's self

sem-guliks-s-ë'k* to repent (literally, to name one's self much) 52.3

guliks-bō'tk* pocket-knife (literally, covering itself)

anik's-lō-lā'galik* looking-glass (contracted from an-guliks-lō-lā'galik* what one's self in beholds)

Tsimshian:

g'ilEks-bā'°t to run back ZE 788149

g'ilEks-gā'o to take back

g'ilEks-ni'odz to look back

lep-g'ilEks-ō'get he threw himself down

116. gulx- continued motion (Tsimshian: gugulx- for all times).

gulx-ë'ld's to push along

gulx-ba'x to jump along

Tsimshian:

| gugulx-hē'o'g to stand for all times

117. q'ap- really, certainly, must, strongly (Tsimshian: q'ap-).

q'ap-lgu'ksan to be really unable (to carry) 167.13

q'ap-dē-dzə'pt really on his part he made 170.5

q'ap-hā'q'al to urge really 43.13

q'ap-wō-lē'q'et it is really large 13.13

q'ap-gō'dē I have taken it entirely

q'ap-yō'qun you must eat

q'ap-ō'lq'ë certainly, it is a bear

§ 10
Tsimshian:

\( q'ap-\text{xs-}t'lsa'ps \) really to be called a tribe ZE 783\(^{41} \)

\( q'ap-k'\text{a-}\text{woi-naxn}\text{d}q' \) really a greater supernatural being (see nos. 106, 73)

\( q'ap-wul'am-\text{bd}^*\text{lg} \) really to blow ashore (see no. 22)

\( q'ap-\text{bb-}t'sg \) really to stand

118. \( q'am- \) only, i.e., without result, to no purpose; compare \( k'sax- \)

(no. 112) only, i.e., without doing anything else (Tsimshian: \( q'am-, am- \)).

(a) Adverbial:

\( q'am-\text{and}'q \) to agree without caring 18.13

\( q'am-\text{tsagam-}s\text{ld}^*\text{xt} \) he only fastened it ashore (without taking it up to the house to eat it) 178.3

\( q'am-\text{l}tli\text{e}k^*\text{xt} \) he only finished eating (but did not go) 107.10

\( q'am-l\text{o-}g^*\text{d}^*\text{lx} \) only to lie down (without doing anything) 59.7.

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

\( q'am-k'\text{d}^*\text{l} \) only one 100.13

\( q'am-\text{gul}^*\text{n} \) only three 113.1

\( q'am-\text{a}l\text{ebo}^* \) only few 178.10

(c) Adnominal; refuse, useless:

\( q'am-\text{i}'\text{d}^*\text{ts} \) chips

\( q'am-h\text{vo}'\text{lp} \) a miserable house

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

\( am-\text{man-va}'\text{lx} \) he just went up (see no. 3)

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

\( q'am-k'\text{sa-rx}^*\text{px} \) only four

\( q'am-k'\text{l}^*\text{d}^*\text{l} \) only one

(c) Adnominal; useless:

\( l\text{gu}-q'am-k'\text{s}^*\text{oa}' \)\text{s} an old little broken one

\( q'am-\text{wa}'\text{lb} \) old house

\( q'am-t'\text{s}^*\text{o}^*\text{ts} \) charcoal

119. \( q'am\text{gait-} \) already, just then (Tsimshian: \( am\text{gait-} \)). This pre-fix, which is related to the series in \( -gait- \) (nos. 71, 82, 99, 103), appears also independently.

\( k'\text{st} \) \( q'am\text{gait-g}'\text{d}^*\text{as} \) \( \text{T\text{r\text{a}m}\text{sem}} \) T. had already seen it 17.12

\( t \) \( q'am\text{gait-h\text{voil\text{a}}'x'lx} \text{sem}'\text{d}^*\text{g}^*\text{it} \) the chief knew it already 220.1

\( h\text{voil\text{a}}'x' \) to know; \( \text{sem}'\text{d}^*\text{g}^*\text{it} \) chief

\( q'am\text{gait n\text{g}'i w}^*\text{q}'t \) just then he did not sleep 37.1

\( q'am\text{gait q}'d'\text{m}^*\text{e}'\text{s}^*\text{en d}^*\text{d}^*\text{g}^*\text{ol} \ldots \text{m}\text{e}\text{g}'\text{d}^*\text{q}^*\text{t} \) already he had secretly taken salmon berries 49.15 (\( q'am\text{ts}'\text{en} \) secretly; \( d\text{d}^*\text{g}^*\text{t} \) to take; \( \text{m}\text{e}\text{g}'\text{d}^*\text{q}^*\text{t} \) salmon berry)
Tsimshian:

ada amgait-ta'Hthen he was just thereZE 782

120. gané- always, permanently, without stopping. This prefix occurs commonly with hwil and adverbial ending -a in the sense of always 121.4, 15. Other compounds are—
gané-me'l it burns so that the fire can not be put out again
gané-d'a' to sit down for good
gané-ti'én to have entered to stay
gané-al'g'ix to talk without stopping
gané-qabé'yit there are just as many

121. q'asba- anywhere, astray. This prefix is related to hasba- upside down (no. 74); see also no. 103.

q'asba-k'ul-hwol'ax' to paddle about astray 17.2 (k'ul- about [no. 33])
q'asba-sa-k'ul-i' he went about away astray 38.14 (sa- off [no. 39]; k'ul- about [no. 33])

122. q'ai- still, just, near; also used as an independent adverb.

(a) Adverbial:
q'ai-huwé'qt he was still asleep 127.5
q'ai-hvaqait-tsaqam-yu'kdet they moved still far away toward the shore (hvaqait-[no. 71]; tsaqam- toward shore [no. 9])
q'ai-lig'iqésxk' just any time he stopped 91.5 (lig'i- any place or time [no. 20]; qésxk' to stop speaking)

(b) Adnominal:
q'ai-q'álil lóqs just six months 29.5
lgo-q'ai-ts'og'im vi-l'i's just a little large 153.5 (lgo- small [no. 135]; ts'osk'small; -m adjectival connective; vi- great [no. 73]; l'i's large)

123. gal- too.
gal-alá'n too slow
gal-d'e'lt too fast
gal-ta'til' too late

124. qal- without people, empty (Tsimshian: qal-).

qal-hwi'lp house without people in it
qal-bé'ts space 81.6
qal-ts'd'p town, tribe

This particle is also used with verbs:
qal-d'a' to stay away from a town
qal-dso'q to camp away from a town

Tsimshian:

qal-x'ênx empty box
qal-ts'al'p town
125. **xpi-** partly.
   - *xpi*-ma'k'sh* partly white
   - *xpi*-ts'emēl'ux* partly beaver (name of a monster supposed to resemble a seal with beaver-tail)
   - *xpi*-nā'ts partly coward (name of a man)

126. **xpilyim-** forward (in time and space).
   - *xpilyim*-g'a'a to look forward

127. **xlna-** bending forward (Tsimshian: **xlna-**).
   - *xlna*-g'īłk* to fall down forward
   - *xlna*-dā'k to kneel down

Tsimshian:
   - *xlna*-ma'r'ug to dive, plural (literally, to stand head foremost)
   - *xlna*-de-dā'ul to go down headlong with

128. **l-** is a particle used to express the plural of certain words, and will be found discussed in § 45.

129. **lep-** self, as subject (see *gulik*-s- self as object [no. 115]).
   (a) Adverbial:
      - *lep*-g'-in-hēl't*k* he himself arose 156.11
      - *t lep*-tāgan-g'a'ēk* he himself dragged it ashore 175.13
      - *lep*-gulik'-s-halā'ēlk* it itself acted by itself 61.3
      - *lep*-gulik'-s-hanwulā'k* s nā'ā, I myself destroyed my own 220.5
        (nā'ā I)
   (b) Adnominal:
      - *lep*-nebē'pt his own uncle

Tsimshian:
   (a) Adverbial:
      - *lep*-č'itg he himself takes a name
      - *lep*-tqusg'e'ret he himself is happy
      - *dī t-lep*-dō'get he himself, on his part, took
      - *ām-dī-lep*-nexnō*xedet that they themselves, on their part, are supernatural
      - *lep*-q'leks-ō'iget he himself threw himself down
   (b) Adnominal:
      - *lep*-qarsā' (their) own canoes

130. **LebElt-** against (Tsimshian: **LebElt-**).
   - *dē-lebElt*-h̓w̓iлен̓estā' you also do against (some one) 65.14
   - *lebElt*-hēl'k* to incite against
   - *lebElt*-dā'g'īx to talk with some one

Tsimshian:
   - *lebElt*-dā' to fight against
   - *lebElt*-wāl enemy

§ 10
131. **lEk'ul**- for good (Tsimshian: **lEk'ul**- for good; see **qunê-**
always, permanently [no. 120]).

*Leq'ul-s'i'ns* to be entirely blind
*leq'ul-dâ'ul* to leave for good
*leq'ul-ts'é'n* to have entered to stay

Tsimshian:

| lek'ul-k'a'da'xs to leave for good |

132. **lEk'êx**- partly, half.

*lEk'êx-ma'gai* to put away half
*lEk'êx-g'a't* nobility (literally, halfway [chief] people)

133. **leks**- strange, different, by itself (Tsimshian: **leks**-).

*leks-g'a't* a strange person
*sa-tra-leks-g'a't* to make quite different
*leks-d'a* island (literally, sitting by itself)

Tsimshian:

| leks-t'ä'o island
| leks-g'iq'a'd kinds ZE 79105 |

134. **leM**- stopping a motion (Tsimshian: **leM**-).

*leM-bo'a* to stop by running
*leM-g'o'c* to offend
*leM-t'ik'c* to interfere (literally, to stop by calling)

In Tsimshian this prefix does not seem to be free.

| leM-g'i-pa'ig to fly against the wind
| leM-ba'asg head-wind |

135. **Lgô**- little (Tsimshian: **lgu**-). This is commonly used as an
attributive prefix, but for the singular only. The adverbial
idea is expressed by **k'oPe-** (Tsimshian: **k'ape-** [no. 113]),
which, in an attributive sense, is used only for the plural.

**Lgô-a'lg'ix** he said with a low voice (perhaps better, the little
one said) 54.12

The use of **Lgô**- as attributive is very common:

*k'sax-Lgô-t's'ept'sd'p* only the little wren 126.5 (see no. 112)

**Lgô-t's'etc'ing'il** the little youngest one 185.14

Still more frequent is its use with adjectives:

**Lgô-q'un'äm** the little poor little boy 139.7

**Lgô-q'ai-ts'ôg'im** wi-t'e's only a little large (**q'ai-** just; **t'sôsk**
small; **wi-** great; **t'e's** large)

**Lgô-dax-g'a't** a little strong

Tsimshian:

| lgu-xä'o little slave ZE 789177
| lgu-q'am-k'woa's a bad little broken one |
§ 11. Nominal Particles

A number of particles, according to their meaning, can occur only in a nominal sense, modifying nouns and adjectives. A few of these might as well have been classed with the preceding group.

136. **am-** serving for (Tsimshian: *am*). This prefix is not free.

- *am-lō’x’* alder-tree (serving for [the dyeing of] head rings of cedar-bark)
- *am-māl’* cottonwood (serving for canoes)
- *am-halal’a’t* head-dress (serving for shaman’s dance)
- *am-sg’ini’st* pine-tree (serving for pitch)
- *am-yu’kt* used in potlatch 194.1

Tsimshian

- *am-mō’lk* mask (serving for dance)
- *am-qa’n* cedar (serving for wood)

This prefix is also used in some connections where the explanation here given does not seem satisfactory:

- *am-qa’n* a kind of salmon-trap
- *am-xlā’l* willow (*xlāl* fruit of willow)
- *am-hā’ts* stump 55.5

In other cases it appears as a verbal prefix, the meaning of which is not known:

- *am-qā’dūd* to remember 209.13
- *am-sg’i’t* to lie (on the beach?) 172.11
- *am’āl’ek* to destroy in anger

137. **ax-** without (Tsimshian: *va-*). This prefix is nominal, and serves as negation in subordinate clauses, which in Tsimshian are transformed into nominal form. Examples are here given of nominal forms and of subordinate clauses:

(a) Nouns:

- *ax’-a’k’s* without water
- *ax-wunā’x’* without food
- *ax-qagā’d* foolish (literally, without minds) 123.10
- *ax-gā’le’em q’o’t* foolish person
- *an-ax-kō’t* carelessness
- *ax-mō’lk* unripe 50.5
- *ax-qam- da’x’l* disgraceful
- *ax-dē-si-halal’a’t* never giving a dance (an opprobrious epithet)
- *ax-na-mu’x* without ear-ornaments (an opprobrious epithet)
- *ax-q’ē’ts* without labret (a little girl)
- *ax-tgal-g’a’tk* virgin (not against a man)
Subordinate clauses:

$k'\text{et} \ g'a'al \ wun\u0131'x. \ la \ ax-g'e'betg'\text{et}$ then he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.3.4 ($k'\text{et}$ then; -$t$ he; $g'a'al$ to see; -$L$ connective [§ 23]; $wun\u0131'x.$ food; $la$ past, nominal form; $ax$- not; $g'e'betg'\text{et}$ to eat something; -$t$ his; -$g'e'$ absent [§ 20])

$n\ddot{a}$ t' an $ax-h\text{wil}'a'\text{gin}'$ who does not know thee ($n\ddot{a}$ who; t' an he who; $ax$- not; $h\text{wil}'a'\text{gin}'$ to know; -$n$ thee)

$ng'\text{in} \ de$m \ de \ g'\text{ot}$ $h\text{wil}$ $ax-k\text{\textacute{u}}a'\text{y}e$ I, my part, shall not take it, not being hungry ($ng'\text{in}$ not; -$n$ I; $de$m future; $de$ on the other hand, on (my) part; $g\text{ou}$ to take; -$t$ it; $h\text{wil}$ being; $ax$- not; $k\text{\textacute{u}}a'\text{y}e$ hungry; -$e$I)

There is a second form, $aqL$, the relation of which to $ax$ is difficult to understand. Apparently this form is $aq$ with connective -$L$ (see § 23). It does not occur in subordinate clauses, and may perhaps be considered as a verb meaning IT IS NOTHING.

$nlk'\text{e} \ aqL \ h\text{wil}'l$ then he did nothing 68.6 (then nothing was his doing)

$nlk'\text{e} \ aqL \ g'\text{e}'\text{ben}$ then nothing is your food 157.11

$nlk'\text{e} \ aqL-y'e'\text{x}k'\text{\textacute{u}}$ $T\text{sak'}$ then $T\text{sak'}$ was without (place to) go 126.7

$nlk'\text{e} \ aqL-h\text{wil}'l$ then he was without doing anything 68.6

It is doubtful, however, whether this explanation is really satisfactory. Difficulties are presented particularly by forms like—

$aq \ dep-h\text{wil}'a'\text{gut}$ what can we do $103.7$ ($dep$ we)

$aq \ n \ h\text{wil}'a' \ d\text{\textacute{u}}a'\text{bet}$ I do not know how to make it

Only a few Tsimshian forms may be given here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$wa-d\text{\textacute{u}}l$-$gu-xa'$a$ on their part without even a little foam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>($di$ on their part; $gu'$- little; $xa'$a foam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$wa-d\text{\textacute{u}}q\text{\textacute{a}}\text{ga'}la'ta'$ $\text{\textacute{u}}p'e'I$ without twinkling across</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138. $h\text{win}$- innermost part (Tsimshian: $wun$-).

$h\text{win}$-$g'e'$s brain

$h\text{win}$-h\text{wil}'l point of arrow

$h\text{win}$-t\text{\textacute{u}}l-w\text{\textacute{u}}l heart of tree 148.8

Tsimshian:

| $wun-ga'us$ brain |

139. $de$- extreme, plural; see $k's$- singular (no. 143) (Tsimshian: $ta$-)

$de-lax'$t the highest ones

$de-l\text{\textacute{a}}w'it$ the lowest ones

$de-galgal\text{\textacute{a}}'\text{nt}$ the last ones

Tsimshian:

| $man-ta-ga'\text{ga}$ the first ones to come up (see no. 3) |
| $ta-si'\text{\textacute{e}}y'\text{it}$ the eldest ones |
140. *t!Em* - a nominal prefix of very indefinite significance (Tsimshian: *t!Em*). In several cases this is clearly a weakened form of the attributive form *t!ăm* sitting, and probably this is the meaning of this particle everywhere. (See § 33.)

- *t!Em-ba'x* hip
- *t!Em-gē's* head (qēs hair) 46.6
- *t!Em-lā'm* leg below knee
- *t!Em-lā'niw* neck
- *t!Em-gā'x* fathom, shoulder; and some other terms for parts of the body
- *t!Em-lā'n* steersman
- *t!Em-tsā'i'y* man in bow of canoe

Tsimshian:
- *lar-t!Em-ga'ns* crown of head
- *t!Em-lā'n* steersman (g'ilā'n stern) (See § 33)

141. *spE* - place where something belongs, where one lives (Tsimshian: *spE*).

- *spE-a'p* wasp-nest
- *spE-a'xt* den of porcupine
- *spE-t'ō'lyan* ant-hill
- *SpE-nexnō'y* place of supernatural beings 32.11
- *Spā-xa'lk* place of taboos 32.12
- *spE-sō'nltk* place where one lives in summer
- *spE-ksō'ntk* place where one lives in autumn

Tsimshian

- *spE-sa'mi* bear's den

142. *sgan* - tree, stick; evidently from *gan* tree (Tsimshian: *sgan*).

- *sgan-mē'lik'st* crabapple-tree 17.11
- *sgan-qala'mst* rose-bush
- *sgan-lā'ts* elderberry-bush
- *sgan-dā'pexl* harpoon-shaft
- *sgan-halō' mast

Tsimshian

- *sgan-k!'int* wooden quiver
- *sgan-t'wō'tsg* spear-shaft

143. *ks* - extreme, singular; see *dE*, plural (no. 139) (Tsimshian: *ks*).

- *k's-qalā'n* the last 140.8
- *dE-p-k's-qąq* down first 81.4
- *lō-k's-g'ēkst* in extreme outer side 219.1

Tsimshian

- *ks-qą'qa* first ZE 791

§ 11
144. *ksE*- fluid (Tsimshian: *ksE*). This is evidently an abbreviated form of *als* water. (See § 33.)

*ksE*-t'į*tsa* black fluid
*ksE*-ni*dz* milk (literally, breast fluid)

Tsimshian:

- *radi-ksE-l't* fluid-like slime (see no. 85)
- *ksE*-a'mks clear water
- *ksE*-gw*a'nns spring
- *ksE*-sq*a'esl water of mountain

145. *k*E*- fresh (Tsimshian: *ksE*).

*ksE*-cāk' fresh olachen
*ksE*-sm*a'x* fresh meat

Tsimshian:

- *ksE*-meg*ā*'o's fresh berries

146. *ksE*m- woman (Tsimshian: *ksEm*).

*ksE-*n*sq*�'a a Nass woman
*ksE*-q'k*l mouse woman 136.4
*ksE*-s*ca*ṭ Tongass woman
*ksE*-al*ō-g'g*a't Indian woman 207.12

Tsimshian:

- *ksEm-*w*u*n mouse woman
- *ksE*m-q*ā*o's crane woman

147. *gūt*- people, person (Tsimshian: *gūt*). (See also § 33.)

*Gū*-w*l'a*Wi'k*-Eastern Inlet tribe
*Gū*-q*ā*ns Tongass
*gū*t*w*l*t* warriors 113.13
*Gū*-lax-dā'mek's people of lake

148. *gus*- blanket, garment (Tsimshian: *gus*).

*gus*-ha*l*a*t dancing blanket 71.5
*gus*-q*ā*aqt raven blanket 39.8
*ri*-gus-*q*ā* large frog blanket 168.3
*gus*-m*a'k*śu white blanket

Tsimshian:

- *gus*-ya'ni mink blanket
- *gus*-belhā'tk button blanket
- *gus*-sq*a'n mat coat (rain coat)

149. *qa*- seems to indicate location (Tsimshian: *glt*).

*qa*-sā'x place in front 61.4
*qa*-q*ā*a'n place behind the houses 138.6
*qa*-g*ā'u place in front of house 138.13
*qa*-dā' the other side 211.10

The same prefix appears in certain plurals. These will be discussed in § 43.

§ 11
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g'i-ts.'d'eg</th>
<th>bow of canoe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'i-lā'n</td>
<td>stern of canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'i-g'ā'ni</td>
<td>up river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ihau'ûli</td>
<td>in the woods (with euphonic l[?])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

150. **galdEm**- receptacle (Tsimshian: **galdEm**-).

| galdEm-halda'n-g'ît | box of a sorcerer 217.3 |

**Tsimshian:**

| galdEm-a'kx        | bucket (literally, drinking-receptacle) |

151. **lax**- surface of, top; corresponding to the adverbial prefix **lê**-

(Tsimshian: **lax**-).

| lax-lô'ôp   | surface of stone 109.4 |
| lax-a'us   | surface of sand 122.4 |
| lax'ô'     | top 55.4              |
| lax-ha'    | sky (literally, upper side of air) |

The names of some clans contain this element.

| lax-ski'yek  | eagle clan (literally, on the eagle) 108.3 |
| lax-k'èbo'  | wolf clan (literally, on the wolf) 108.2 |

Names of islands and of the ocean are compounded with this prefix:

- **Lax-neaq** Dundas island
- **lax-sé'lda** ocean 104.7

**Tsimshian:**

| lax-t!em-ga'us | crown of head |
| lax-la'mgem lepló'ôb | top of hot stones |
| lax-ha'    | sky ZE 782" |

152. **ts'Em**- inside; corresponding to the verbal prefixes **lô**-, **ts'elem**-, **legem**- (Tsimshian: **ts'Em**-).

| ts'Em-hwot'lp | inside of house 134.2 |
| ts'Em-dz'ò'dz'ik's | inside of ground 201.9 |
| ts'Em-lô'ôp | inside of stone 20.2 |

A considerable number of words require this prefix:

| ts'Em-a'q  | inside of mouth 118.15 |
| ts'Em-qalá's | stomach 118.11 |
| ts'Em-an'ô'n | palm (literally, inside) of hand 110.10 |
| ts'Em-lé'n | valley 77.3 |

**Tsimshian:**

| ts'Em-lax-ha' | in the sky ZE 782" |
| ts'Em-xd'ô | inside of canoe |
| ts'Em-a'kx | inside of water |
| ts'Em-vè'lb | inside of house |
| ts'Em-ts'â'n8 | armpit |
| ts'Em-ne-û | oven |

§ 11
153. *ts'a-* inside. I found this prefix, which is evidently related to the last, only in *ts'a-hwilp* (Nass) and *ts'ina-walb* (Tsimshian) the inside of the house, so designated in contrast to the outside; while *ts'em-hwilp* (*ts'em-walb*) appears in conjunction with the locative adverbial prefixes *lu-*, *ts'elem-*, etc.

154. *ano-* direction toward (Tsimshian: *nak-* or *na-*).

- *ano-ql* south
- *ano-t* direction of the town
- *ano-t* head end
- *ano-lax-mo'bn* direction of (on the) sea

Tsimshian:

- *nak-semia'wunt* left hand
- *nak-sta'eo* one side
- *nak-taxi-isi-hi-wa'a* east (literally, direction along down river at the same time rain) ZE 785

155. *ts'ik's-* surrounding (Tsimshian: *t'Eks-*)

- *ts'ik's-naaq* bracelet (literally, surrounding jade)
- *ts'ik's-daob* finger-ring

Tsimshian:

- *t'Eks-nao'os* bracelet

156. *ham-* nearness.

- *ham-ts'evb'n* place near the top, 80.12

§ 12. Particles Transforming Verbs into Nouns

157. *an-*. This prefix is very difficult to translate. It is used to transform verbs into nouns, and expresses abstract terms, local terms, and even instruments. (Tsimshian: *n-*, *nE-*).

(a) Abstract nouns:

- *an-xpedzex* fear
- *an-lebalaq* hatred
- *an-se'bensk* love
- *an-ld'msk* honor

(b) Local terms:

- *an-la'k* fireplace
- *an-sg'imatik* womb (literally, lying-in place)
- *an-tig'el-sibik'sk* whirlpool (what around drifts) 104.12
- *an-salep* hole for steaming 55.4
- *an-touin* nest (literally, place of young ones)
- *an-sgi't* grave (literally, where he lies) 218.5
- *an-qalad'q* play-ground
- *an-da' other side

§ 12
Tsimshian:

- n-lak fireplace
- ts'i-en-ne-ū° oven (literally, in-baking-place)
- n-g'il-hau'il a place in the woods

(c) Result of an act, instrument, etc.
- an-hē't what he said 118.1
- an-lē'pelšk° thread (for sewing)
- an-dōy’in garden

158. anda- receptacle, perhaps from an- no. 157 (Tsimshian: nta-).
- anda-ha-sā'xs “rattle-box” 124.12
- and-e-la’ix box of crabapples 192.4
- anda-hawō'l quiver (literally, arrow receptacle) 19.5
- anda-lē’lx‘ box of grease 192.3

Here belongs—
- anda-xsa’n gambling-sticks 28.11

Tsimshian:

- nta-ha-wūlā’°v ad work-box
- nta-hawāl’l quiver

159. yu—kw° one who ha- (Tsimshian: yu—g).
- yu-hwō’lplkw° one who has a house
- yu-neqti’ōtk° one who has a father

Tsimshian:

- k’ut-yu-ha-a’ksg carrying a bucket about
- yu-sa’mi y having meat
- yuh’q’tq having manhood ZE 783°

160. ha- instrument (Tsimshian: ha-).
- ha-xda’k° bow (literally, shooting-instrument) 19.6
- ha-ak’ś cup (literally, drinking-instrument)
- ha-q’ōl knife for splitting 96.12
- ha-la’k° powder (literally, fire-instrument)
- ha-sā’x rattle 213.9

Tsimshian:

- ha-yē’lgh harpoon (literally, harpooning-instrument)
- ha-na’kst marriage present (literally, means of marrying)

The compound prefix ha-lē- is particularly frequent:

- ha-lē-d’a’ chair (literally, instrument to sit on)
- ha-lē-dā’lep pile of wood to roast on 131.12
- ha-lē-dzō’qśe world (literally, means of camping on) 14.10

Tsimshian:

- ha-lō’i-dzō’g world (literally, means of camping on) ZE 782°
- ha-lō’i-qā’ed to think (literally, means of minding on)

§ 12
The days of the week are nowadays designated by the same prefixes:

- ha-le-quònòtkʷ day of dressing up (Sunday)
- ha-le-yèeq day of paying out (Saturday)

161. gan- means of, cause of (Tsimshian: gan-).
   - gan-màtkʷ means of saving
   - gan-đèdèls cause of life
   - gan-đèntr cause of anger
   - gan-łò-gò'ibak window (literally, cause of light inside)
   - gan-huvàlìx carrying-strap, (literally, means of carrying)

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gan-ḥà'axg difficulty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gan-p'ạl'g'ạxg ballast (literally, means of being heavy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This prefix is identical with the particle gan THEREFORE.

162. gwîx- nomen actoris (Tsimshian: huk-).
   - gwîx-ạ'd fisherman
   - wî-gwîx-su'g'ạ't great murderer 23.5
   - gwîx'-wòbö hunter 108.4
   - gwîx'-iạ'my'ạskʷ cheater 52.12

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>huk-ạtsle one who pours out, an auctioneer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huk-ýèl'sk one who drills</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

163. an- the one who ——; preceding transitive verb (Tsimshian: in-). This prefix is used very frequently in phrases corresponding to our relative clauses. It is always preceded by the subjective pronoun of the third person.

- nə'en t'an-đèdòq̓l lāx you are the one who caught the trout
- k'v̓e k'sə̃x̱ lgo-g'ɪ'mx̱dit, demt an-ts'elem-wòböl nak'st then his little sister went out, she who was to call in his wife 204.6 (k'sə̃x̱ to go out; g'ɪ'mx̱de sister; ts'elem- into; wòböl to invite; nak's wife)
- nlc'v̓e dà'ull k'ạ'il g'ạt t'an-gò'ul lgo-tk'v̓l̓kʷ then one man left, who took the child 205.6 (dà'ull to leave; k'ạ'il one person; g'ạt person; gōu to take; lgo-tk'v̓l̓kʷ child)
- k'v̓e huwîl saquit-hāp'ạ'l t'an-kul̓wè-hisya'tst then they rushed together who beat him all over 62.12 (saquit- together; hāp'ạ to rush; kul̓wè- all over; yatɔ to strike)

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nà̃l demt in-na'ksə̃gə lgu'q̓a ges Gau̇ to marry the daughter of Gau̇?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t n'əryu demt in-na'ksə̃gə lgu'q̓a gent it is I who will marry your daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ìn'i's dep gwui t'in-se-lə'ɔsกา these are the ones who began</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada n'ìn'i t'in-lehà'olsetgə he was the one who paid it back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 12
§ 13. **Particles Transforming Nouns into Verbs**

164. **se-** to make something (Tsimshian: **se-**).
   - **se-hna'** to call (literally, to make name) 97.13
   - **se-lé't** to make wedges 148.4
   - **se-hd'**n to catch salmon
   - **se-lé'm** to make a song 77.9
   - **lep-se-ne-mnó’**x to make one's self supernatural 152.6
   - **se-bela'** to make abalone shell 45.14

Tsimshian:

- **l!i-se-gul’g** to make fire on
- **su-se-n-dzóg** to make a new village
- **se-ma’xs** to cause to grow ZE 791299

165. **x-** to eat, consume (Tsimshian: **x-**).
   - **x-hd’**n to eat salmon 205.1
   - **x-ama’lqwa’** eating scabs 41.14
   - **ha-x-smal’x’** fork (literally, meat-eating instrument)
   - **ha-x-miya’d’**n pipe (literally, smoke-eating instrument)

Tsimshian:

- **x-sts’ol’a** to eat beaver
- **x-gwa’dthsenu** I feel cold (literally, I consume cold)
- **lu-x-dzili’sg** until morning (literally, in consume morning)
- **x-sqand’é’s** to kill mountain goats (literally, to eat mountain)
- **x-qö’ep’akem** we enjoy the light ZE 786237

166. **xs-** to say, to appear like (Tsimshian: **xs-**).
   - **xs-negu’d’tlk** to say FATHER
   - **xs-mi’emerk** to say HM
   - **xs-id’nsks** it sounds like leaves
   - **xs-ma’k’sk’** white (literally, it appears like snow)
   - **xs-gusgu’d’osk’s** light blue (literally, it appears like a bluejay)

Tsimshian:

- **wi-xs-nil’d** it sounds loud like a drum
- **wi-xs-suwad’ng** it sounds loud like curing disease
- **q’ap-xs-ts’d’ps** to be called a tribe ZE 78341

§ 14. **Transitive Pronominal Subject**

The transitive subjective pronouns are in both dialects:

- **n I**
- **m sem** ye
- **dEp** we
- **m thou**
- **t he,**
- **l they**

These are placed before the verb and the particles treated in §§ 8–13. They will be discussed more fully in § 52.

§§ 13, 14
§ 15. Particles that may Precede the Transitive Subject

The particles enumerated in the present section differ from all those previously treated, in that their connection with the verb is not so close. In certain cases of the third person, to be discussed later, they precede the transitive pronominal subject. Since many of these particles have not been found with transitive verbs of this kind, it remains doubtful whether they are simply adverbial particles placed before the verb, or whether the first and second persons of the transitive verb, when used as subject, precede them. The particles enumerated under nos. 167-174 are more clearly connected with the verb than the later ones.

167. de- with, also, on (his) part (Tsimshian: di-).

- de-t-gun-g'e'ipt on her part, she ordered (her) to eat it 155.11
- de-ksi-bo'xt he, on his part, ran out to the sea 104.13
- de-qluk's'-lep-ma'ipt he also threw himself down 42.13
- de-t-g'out he, on his part, took it 14.8
- nig'i-n dem de-g'iapt not I shall, on my part, eat it
- de nig'i di-dek's't she, on her part, had no bag 206.9, 10 (de-di
  on her part; nig'i not; de'ilk bag)
- nig'i-n de-g'at I have not seen him

Tsimshian:

168. sEm- very, exceedingly (Tsimshian: sEm-). This particle is very free in its position. It is often used in nominal compounds in the sense of GENUINE.

- sem-aba'g'ask't he was much troubled 80.1
- sem-hasba-sg'e' to lay really upside down 214.11
- sem-h'o'm a'g'izne' I speak the truth
- yagai-sem-k'á-wi-hé'lt, however, exceedingly very many 158.11
- sem-t-oñ-ó'dent she emptied it inside entirely 208.7
- sem-ama sg'e'det they laid it down well 214.10 (am good; sg'i to lay)
- sem-hux-de-lgo-ñ'lk'silkn also, on his part, a very prince (hux
  also; de on his part; lgo- little)
- wí-sem-qà'n the great very tree (i. e., cedar) 147.9
- sem-ñ'te'win the very top 80.4
- sem-q'ai-teet's'osk just very small 171.8
- sem-q'am-k'ü'ñ really only one 145.13

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§ 15
Tsimshian:

| sem-lu-za'ga gâ'ot | very downcast (literally, very dead in heart) |
| sem-lu-zâ'xet | to weep bitterly |
| ada sem tgu-da'pt | then he measured exactly around it ZE 784° |
| ne-sem-se'telg | exactly the middle |

169. HUX also, again (Tsimshian: gîk).

hux â'dîk-skâl yu'ksa evening came again 142.8 (â'dîk-skâl to come; yu'ksa evening)

hux de-t'em-iâ't he also, on his part, went down to the middle of the house 142.14

hux dêt gu'nat he also, on his part, demanded it 143.1

kâ't hux g'îmâ'nt then he gave it again 139.6

hux k'â'll g'at another man 108.1

Tsimshian:

lat gîk tâle ne-mes-a'us lemkdi'odet a tsäl'tga when his sister again put on her paint on her face ZE 795° (mes-a'us ochre; lemkdi'od sister; tsäl'tga face)

adat gîk wuIâ'ide g'a'd then the people knew it again ZE 795°

ada g'îkt wuIâ'ide dem hat'a'xe then they knew again that it would be bad ZE 796°

The following four particles serve to express future, present, past, and continuation. Their syntactic use will be discussed in § 59. Here I give only a few examples illustrating their use with the verb.

170. DEm future (Tsimshian: DEm).

Dem iâ'nee al awd'an I go to thy proximity 196.12

Dem g'a'dan you will see 80.2

n dem swcan I shall cure her 123.7

Dem muckdâl twax' they were going to catch halibut 43.6

In the following examples dem is nominal:

nîg'îdi â'dîk-skâl dem mesâ'x not had come the future day-light 11.10

Dem lep-hova'yîml dem na'èm we ourselves will find our future bait 56.6 (lep- self; hova to find; nax bait)

Tsimshian:

Dem dzâ'be twan?î gâ' he was about to make everything

N dem k'a-tral-wâ'n I shall overtake you soon

Ada dem se-mâ'xe gî'ot then it will make things grow

171. Huwil present (Tsimshian: huwil).

twan?îkâl huwil seâ'sk k'îpe-k'îpsîôt all the small birds 124.11

naxma's Ts'ak' huwil dâl hana'q Ts'ak' heard (about) a woman being there 126.2 (naxma's to hear; d'a to sit; hana'q woman)

-t huwil lô-a'qî at his touching into it 203.6

§ 15
Tsimshian:

at gə° wul kse-gwa'ntge g'a'mget he went to where out comes (touches) the sun

lat ni' estge ts!a'bdle wul k'!a-sa-gidi-t!ä° g'a'mgem dzi'ust when the people saw the sun standing still suddenly for a while ZE 788.13 (ni to see; ts!ab people; k'!a- for a while; sa- suddenly; t!ä° to sit; g'amg heat, heavenly body; dzi'ust daylight)

-ə wul wa-ði-aya'wul on account of his being without cleverness ZE 789.14 (wa- without; ði on his part; ayəwul clever)

172. La past (Tsimshian: la).

nik'!e la hux hë Luk it had been morning again 204.2 (hux again; hë Luk morning)

la dë!pk aide meṣx° it was shortly going to be daylight 143.7 (dë!p.k short; meṣx° daylight)

la hux hwi'lt he had done this also 145.4

c!t!e lat hwi'la'-xl hwi'lu'ôt he had known that he was dead 57.7 (hwi'la'-x° to know; lu'ôt dead)

Tsimshian:

n!i!ni' lat ni' estge ts!a'bd that was when the people saw ada la al di ts!i'ngxge vak'!t but then his brother had gone in (al but; di on his part; ts!i'ngx to enter; vak'!t brother)

nî wâldle la ha'udet it happened, what he had said

173. Lâ while (Tsimshian: lâ).

lâ wi'c'ëal lgo-tk'-lèl'g!ë al lô-d'ët al ts'em-xpëîst while the child was large, it was in the box 9.9 (wi'c'ë large; lgo-tk'-lèl'g!ë child; lô- in; d'ët to sit; ts'em- inside; xpëîst box)

Tsimshian:

lâ n!i!ni' ne-selti-wâldet while that one did it with them

lâ q!aldek-iâ!otgâ° while he was walking about in the woods

174. Iaqai- already, however, rather (Tsimshian: y!aqai-).

iaqai-g'!in-hë'kît however, he stood behind 141.1

iaqai-nôt however, it was so 26.7, 157.9

iaqai-sem-k!a-ôi-hë'lt however, exceedingly many 158.11

k!ët iaqai-lë-ia'qt then, however, it hung on it 46.1

k!ë iaqai-g'ç!ëlt then, he had picked it up already 26.3

iaqai-lô-dâ'ît he had put it on already 50.4

Tsimshian:

y!aqai lâ'-wula tyi-nî'iotsget however, he looked always down ada! y!aqai-dzaq-gâ'ôl we then, however, he went across it

n dem y!aqai-na'ksen I shall marry thee

y!aqai-sem-ba's very much afraid, however

§ 15
175. **mā'dzE**- almost.
   *mā'dzE-sq'it* he almost lay 62.8
   *q'am-mā'dzE-nō'ōzE* I am only almost dead 76.13
   *mā'dzet-bx't* he almost hit it 140.7

176. **kwats'ik**'- close by.
   *kwats'ik-s-tq'al-sq'ìn* you lie close against 75.12

177. **SEM-g'it** strongly (derived from **SEM-** much [no. 168], and *g'at* person) (Tsimshian: **SEM-g'it**).
   *dem SEM-g'it dax-yu'kden* you will hold fast strongly
   *SEM-g'it dē-yō'gal t'em-lā'nēst* hold on to my neck! 80.10

Tsimshian:
   *| ada SEM-g'it hē'tge-hunad'gat* then the woman stood fast

178. **SEM-gal** very much, (from **SEM-**) (Tsimshian: **SEM-gal**).
   *SEM-gal uba'q'ask'at* he was much troubled 36.4, 40.4
   *SEM-gal gwā'et* he was very poor 38.4

Tsimshian:
   *| sem-gal xō'! arch-slave! ZE 790
   | t sem-gal leba'lexst they hate them much ZE 793

179. **q'ams'mts'**En secretly.
   *q'ams'mts'En hē't* he said secretly 40.5
   *q'ams'mts'En ts'ī'nt* he entered secretly 25.6

180. **nig'í** not; used in indicative sentences (Tsimshian: **a'lgE**).
   *k'nē nig'i daa'q'ak'wadet* then they did not succeed 123.6
   *nig'ī baxl ak's* the water did not run 18.3
   *nig'īt hux daak'at* she did not kill him also 203.7
   *nig'īt hūnā'x's Lōgōbol'ā Lōgōbol'ā* did not paddle 17.3
   *nig'īn dē g'at I* have not seen it

The syllable **di**, **dē**, which is very often added to the negative, probably signifies on his part, and is the particle no. 167.

Tsimshian:
   *a'lgE ām dēmt wūlà'idēly'at* it is not good that the people know it (ām good; wūlà'i to know; *g'at* people)
   *ada a'lgE ts'a'k'asqa la'kya* then the fire was not out
   *a'lgE ndem k'-iñā'mt at hanā'o* I will not give it to the woman

§ 16. Alphabetical List of Particles

As a matter of convenience, I give here an alphabetical list of particles, the letters being arranged in the order vowels, semi-vowels, labials, dentals, palatals, laterals. In each series the order of sounds is sonant, surd stop; sonant, surd affricative. Each particle is given its § 16
number in the preceding lists. It will be remembered that there are slight differences in the rendering of the Nass (N) and Tsimshian (T) sounds, which are due to imperfections in the recording of the former dialect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad T \quad 63 \\
\text{avn} & \quad T \quad 63 \\
\text{avn} & \quad T \quad (\text{vit} \quad N) \quad 43 \\
\text{am} & \quad N \quad T \quad 136 \\
\text{am} & \quad (\text{am} \quad T \quad (\text{g'am} \quad N) \quad 118 \\
\text{amq} & \quad \text{T} \quad (\text{q'amqait} \quad N) \quad 119 \\
\text{an} & \quad N \quad (\text{in} \quad T) \quad 163 \\
\text{an} & \quad N \quad (n, \quad \text{ne} \quad T) \quad 157 \\
\text{an} & \quad N \quad (\text{na} \quad \text{nak} \quad T) \quad 154 \\
\text{and} & \quad N \quad (\text{nta} \quad T) \quad 158 \\
\text{anb} & \quad \text{el} \quad N \quad (p' \quad \text{el} \quad T) \quad 64 \\
\text{ank} & \quad \text{s} \quad N \quad (\text{aks} \quad T) \quad 65 \\
\text{ase} & \quad N \quad (\text{asdi} \quad T) \quad 14 \\
\text{asdi} & \quad T \quad (\text{as} \quad N) \quad 14 \\
\text{aqvi} & \quad N \quad T \quad 66 \\
\text{aks} & \quad T \quad (\text{ank's} \quad N) \quad 65 \\
\text{ax} & \quad N \quad (\text{wa} \quad T) \quad 137 \\
\text{alo} & \quad N \quad (\text{alu} \quad T) \quad 67 \\
\text{ale} & \quad N \quad (\text{la} \quad T) \quad 68 \\
\text{ala} & \quad N \quad (\text{na} \quad T) \quad 69 \\
\text{alg} & \quad \text{T} \quad (\text{nig'i} \quad N) \quad 180 \\
\text{i} & \quad N \quad 70 \\
\text{iaga} & \quad N \quad T \quad 2 \\
\text{iagai} & \quad N \quad (\text{y'agaiT}) \quad 174 \\
\text{yu-k} & \quad \text{Y} \quad (\text{yu-g} \quad T) \quad 159 \\
\text{tn} & \quad T \quad (\text{an} \quad N) \quad 163 \\
\text{aks} & \quad N \quad T \quad 6, \quad 10 \\
\text{wa} & \quad T \quad (\text{ax} \quad N) \quad 137 \\
\text{wa} & \quad \text{di} \quad T \quad 85 \\
\text{hwag} & \quad \text{ait} \quad N \quad (\text{wagait} \quad T) \quad 71 \\
\text{valen} & \quad N \quad 72 \\
\text{voi} & \quad N \quad T \quad 73 \\
\text{wu} & \quad T \quad (\text{wut'a} \quad T) \quad 73a \\
\text{wud} & \quad \text{en} \quad N \quad T \quad 41 \\
\text{hw} & \quad \text{ov} \quad N \quad (\text{ovun} \quad T) \quad 138 \\
\text{wun} & \quad T \quad (\text{hwun} \quad N) \quad 138 \\
\text{wusen} & \quad N \quad T \quad 51 \\
\text{wuts'} & \quad \text{en} \quad T \quad (\text{wuts'en} \quad \text{huts'en} \quad N) \\
\text{52} \\
\text{hwul} & \quad N \quad (\text{wul} \quad T) \quad 171 \\
\text{wit} & \quad N \quad (\text{wouli} \quad T) \quad 43 \\
\text{wul} & \quad T \quad (\text{hwul} \quad N) \quad 171 \\
\text{wul} & \quad \text{am} \quad N \quad T \quad 22 \\
\text{ha} & \quad N \quad T \quad 160 \\
\text{ham} & \quad N \quad 156 \\
\text{had} & \quad \text{tx} \quad N \quad (\text{hat! ek} \quad T) \quad 48 \\
\text{hasba} & \quad N \quad T \quad 74 \\
\text{hat'sek} & \quad N \quad 75 \\
\text{hagun} & \quad N \quad (\text{gun} \quad T) \quad 44 \\
\text{hagul} & \quad N \quad T \quad 76 \\
\text{halden} & \quad N \quad T \quad 77 \\
\text{hal} & \quad N \quad (\text{hal} \quad T) \quad 70 \\
\text{h} & \quad N \quad T \quad 78 \\
\text{his} & \quad N \quad (\text{is} \quad T) \quad 79 \\
\text{hela} & \quad N \quad 45 \\
\text{huts'en,} & \quad \text{wuts'en} \quad N \quad (\text{wuts'en} \quad T) \quad 52 \\
\text{huk} & \quad T \quad (\text{giwtx} \quad N) \quad 162 \\
\text{hux} & \quad N \quad (\text{gik} \quad T) \quad 169 \\
\text{benem} & \quad T \quad (\text{pelem} \quad N) \quad 80 \\
\text{p'el} & \quad \text{T} \quad (\text{anb'el} \quad N) \quad 64 \\
\text{pelem} & \quad N \quad (\text{benem} \quad T) \quad 80 \\
\text{belesem} & \quad N \quad (\text{xbelem} \quad T) \quad 81 \\
\text{bagait} & \quad N \quad (\text{isbagait} \quad T) \quad 82 \\
\text{bax} & \quad N \quad T \quad 1 \\
\text{me} & \quad T \quad (\text{ma} \quad N) \quad 84 \\
\text{men} & \quad N \quad (\text{man} \quad T) \quad 3 \\
\text{mesem} & \quad N \quad 83 \\
\text{mela} & \quad T \quad 88 \\
\text{mel} & \quad N \quad (\text{mela} \quad T) \quad 87 \\
\text{ma} & \quad N \quad (\text{me} \quad T) \quad 84 \\
\text{man} & \quad T \quad (\text{men} \quad N) \quad 3 \\
\text{max} & \quad N \quad 86 \\
\text{maxe} & \quad T \quad 60 \\
\text{madze} & \quad N \quad 175 \\
\text{de,} & \quad \text{de} \quad N \quad (\text{de} \quad T) \quad 91 \\
\text{de} & \quad N \quad (\text{ta} \quad T) \quad 139 \\
\text{de} & \quad N \quad (\text{de} \quad T) \quad 167 \\
\text{de'} & \quad \text{N} \quad (\text{de} \quad T) \quad 4 \\
\text{dem} & \quad N \quad T \quad 170 \\
\end{align*}
\]
Suffixes (§§ 17-32)

§ 17. Suffixes following the Stem

There are quite a number of suffixes in the Tsimshian dialects, almost all of which are firmly united with the stem. The significance of most of these is much more ill-defined than that of the prefixes, but those that immediately follow the stem appear to be primarily modal elements. Some of them indicate the passive, causative, elimination of the object, etc. Their use shows great irregularities. These suffixes are followed by pronominal suffixes, while demonstrative elements and the interrogative element are always found in terminal position.
1. -En causative (Tsimshian: -En). In both dialects this suffix generally modifies the terminal consonant of the stem.

|hematic to stand, singular| lō-tq̓'at-hēt'En to place a thing upright against something and inside of something 131.3
|mētka full| mēt'En to fill
|yd̓ok̓a to eat, singular| yd̓og̓'an to feed one person
|tx̓d̓ok̓a to eat, plural| tx̓d̓og̓'an to feed several persons
|bā'six to divide, v. n.| bā'sig'En to separate (v. a.)
|hē-ta'q it breaks| hē-ta'gEn to break (v. a.)
|bax to run| ba'an to cause to run
|magsk to stand, plural| ma'g'aaEn to place several things upright 8.1

gol̓sk̓ covered

|lō-la'qsk̓t she washes in 197.10| la'g'aaEn to wash (v. a.) 198.8
|hōsk̓ to be with 91.8| hū'k'aaEn to place with 36.8
|guks̓k̓ to awake 121.9| gu'k'aaEn to awaken 121.8
|lē'bik̓-sk̓ whirlpool 104.12

Tsimshian:
sa'lp̓Ento hard
|mālk to be uneasy| mālk'En to force
|mōsk̓ to be aboard, singular| mō'g'En to put aboard one object
|hōsk̓ annoyed| hō'g'En to annoy
|lāk̓' bent| lāk'En to bend (v. a.)
|bā to run| bā'En to cause to run
|gak̓sk̓ to wake up, singular| gu'k'aaEn to awaken one person
|lē'dak̓sk̓ to wake up, plural| lē'de'k-sk̓ to awaken several
|hōsk̓ to be with| hō'k'aaEn to place with 36.8

2. -sk̓ expresses primarily the elimination of the object of the transitive verb (Tsimshian -sk).

t'a'a to clap (v. a.) 34.10
|suwa'ān to blow (v. a.) 123.1| suwa'ānsk En to blow (no object) 124.8
|ma to tell (v. a.)| ma'la'ask̓ to tell news 161.15
|g'a'a to see (v. a.)| g'a'ask̓ to look 137.6
|dā'mgan to pull (v. a.)| dā'mgansk̓ to be in the act of pulling 51.8
|gō to take (v. a.)| gōsk̓ to extend 126.7

Verbs with this ending often form verbal nouns:
dā'pxan to nail
dā'pxansk nail
|st̓e'p̓En to love| st̓e'p̓Ensk love
|ayō'q to command| ayō'g'ask commander
|lē'länEn to roll| lē'lëbik̓-sk̓ whirlpool 104.12

§ 17
Tsimshian:

| 1lu-t.'u'°yuxbl'°8I | sweep out a box |
| 8E-y'&lguw'a'i | polish a paddle |
| st'ol | to spin something |
| hō'ksen | to place with something |

Undoubtedly related to the preceding are the following two:

3. -k used commonly after terminal p, t, s, ts, q, x, l, and sometimes after l (Tsimshian: -k); and

4. -tk used after vowels, l, m, and n (Tsimshian: -tk).

Both of these have the same meaning, and seem to be primarily medial or semi-reflexive, while in other cases no clear reason for their use can be given. These endings are found regularly in the possessive form of names of animals. (See § 55.)

Examples of -k are:

- hēt- upright
  - hēt'k to stand
- gōks- to awake
  - gōks'k to wake up
- Lēs- finished
  - Lēsk'k to be finished
- bats- to lift
  - batsk'k to be lifted

Examples of -tk are:

- d'a to sit
  - d'a'tk'k to be placed
- sk-hvā' to name
  - sk-hvā'tk'k named
- wo'd to invite
  - wo'd'k'k to be invited
- halda'u to bewitch
  - halda'ív'tk'k bewitched
- d'a'pxant nail
  - d'a'pxantk'k nailed
- bslā'n belt
  - bslā'ntk'k belted

These endings occur in many intransitive verbs, and in nouns:

- dēlpk'k short
  - metk'k full
- te'lpk'k strong
  - o'lik'sk'k to drift
- aya'ō'd'k'k to cry
  - bēsk'k to expect
- mēth'k'k to scatter
  - da'labik'sk'k to bend
It is uncertain in many of the endings in -sku whether they are derived from stems ending in -s, or whether they belong to the suffix -sk. The same is true of forms in -tk, which may be derived from stems ending in -t or represent the suffix -tk. The following have probably the suffix -tk:

- yaltk to return
- laltk slow
- daltk to meet
- ptaltk to climb
- de’naltk to guide

The same conditions are found in Tsimshian, but it does not seem necessary to give additional examples.

5. -A In the Tsimshian dialect, words ending in p, t, s, ts, q, x, l, and sometimes in l (i.e., those corresponding to the group with the suffix -k [no. 3, p. 345]) have, instead of -sk (no. 2, p. 344), -A. The terminal consonant is here modified, as before the suffix -en (no. 1, p. 344).

- dab to measure something
dab’p’A to measure
- t’l’op’A to drive piles
t’l’op’A to be engaged in pile-driving
- g’ab to dig
gan-g’a’p’A a spade
- se-wulg’ad to dye something
huk-se-wulg’a’d’A a dyer
- gats to pour out
huk-ga’ts’A one who pours out
- bas to split
huk-bay’sA one who splits

6. -s is used in Nisga’ and in Tsimshian in place of -k and -tk (nos. 3 and 4, p. 345) after k’, x’, k”, q, and x.

- ok to throw
- ok’s to fall (literally, to be thrown)
- sa-bok’s to make lies
- se-hurl’a’x’s to teach (literally, to make known)
- mag to put
- ma’gas to be put
- voq to dig
- woqs to be buried

§ 17
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dzak to kill</th>
<th>dzaks killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>med'sk grizzly bear</td>
<td>ne-med'skou my grizzly bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the -s suffix is also used after p, although not regularly:

| wälb house            | ne wäl'peu my house   |

7. -Es appears in Tsimshian a few times after terminal p in place of -sk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>talb to plane down something</th>
<th>ta'lp'ës to plane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lü'ob to sew something</td>
<td>lü'op'ës to sew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. -ë seems to mean IN BEHALF OF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qe'ent to chew</th>
<th>qe'endëx to chew for 36.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hâp cover 8.15</td>
<td>le-hâbact it is on as a cover for it 67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lël'g'it a feast</td>
<td>le'l'g'itx a feast for somebody 83.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. -n. This suffix designates the indicative, and appears only preceding the suffixes of the first person singular and plural, and the second person plural of the intransitive verb and the same objects of the transitive verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>āt gill-net</th>
<th>ā'tnëx I fish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ā'l'g'ul to examine 138.8</td>
<td>ā'l'g'ulnëx I look at something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā'esk* to call</td>
<td>ā'esk*nëx I call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'tk* to come from</td>
<td>vo'tk*nëx I come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'ul to leave</td>
<td>dem da'ulnëx Le'sems I shall leave for Nass river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ië's to go</td>
<td>ië'ënëx I go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t!u'sg to sweep</th>
<th>t!u'sgenu I sweep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bâ° to run</td>
<td>bâ'nu I run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lü'o'mi to sing</td>
<td>lü'o'minu I sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wâ° to find</td>
<td>t wâ'yinu he finds me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t wâ'yinem he finds us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. -d. The corresponding suffix -d appears in the indicative of many transitive verbs, both in Nass and in Tsimshian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>id'ëx what I roast 121.9</th>
<th>id'det he roasts it 121.7, 154.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hab'dl to take care of 143.1</td>
<td>bâ'eldëx I take care of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hats to bite 65.9, 127.8</td>
<td>ha'tsdëx I bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lëgi ag'o dem hë'nist what-</td>
<td>dep hë'idenom we say 42.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever you say 59.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâq to open</td>
<td>gâ'qdëx I open something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sax to shake something</td>
<td>sa'tdëx I shake it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and'ël to allow 122.1</td>
<td>and'eldëx I lend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 17
§ 18. Pronominal Suffixes

The group of suffixes treated in the preceding section are followed by the pronominal suffixes, which will be described fully in §§ 50-51, and § 53. For the sake of completeness I give here a list of the suffixed pronouns:

First person singular . . . . . . -e
First person plural . . . . . . -m
Second person singular . . . . . -n
Second person plural . . . . . . -sem
Third person . . . . . . -t
Third person plural . . . . . . -det

§ 19. Modal Suffixes following the Pronominal Suffixes

12. -gë might (Tsimshian: -gë'n, -gun). The position of this suffix seems to vary.

næxu'ngë'tgë' they might hear it 91.10
s'i'ep'k'gë'nëe I might be sick
gwaflgë' it might be dûng 207.7

Tsimshian:

naha'ung'ë'n maybe it is true
naha'unguna n'axno'yu it may be that it is true what I have heard
t'ul'useng'ë'n (take care!) I might hit you!

13. -se'n evidently (Tsimshian).

n'ini'et-se'n evidently it is he
ne le gwa'd'gese'n evidently there has been a fire

14. -sen indeed! (Tsimshian).

n'ini'et-sen indeed! it is he
naha'unsen indeed! it is true

§§ 18, 19
15. -gat it is said (Tsimshian: -gat).

sg'í'-gal ama xpé'tís there was a good box, it is said 19.4 (sg'í to lie; ám good; -a connective; xpé'tís box)
k'ax-á'm-gal t'em-gé'st his head was good before, it is said 32.8 (k'ax- before; ám good; t'em-gé's head)
tgón-gal dem huw'lem dem aló'tkʷ-gat nó'm this, we are told, we shall do, we are told we shall swim in a shoal 70.6 (tgón this; dem future; huw' to do; -em we; aló'tkʷ to swim in a shoal; nó'm we)
dem suwa'nt-gal lgó'ulkʷt he says he will cure his child 123.10 (suwa'n to cure; lgó'ulkʷ child)
né-gat-g'i di gwix'-g'épt he says he does not like to eat it 40.6 (né-g'i not; di on his part; gwix'- expert; g'éip to eat something)

Tsimshian:

| si'egyeg-gat I hear he is sick |

§ 20. Demonstrative Suffixes

There are two suffixes which are generally attached to the last word of a clause, and which indicate distance and presence in space and time. They are quite distinct from the demonstrative pronouns, and determine the demonstrative character of the whole sentence. These elements are much simpler in the Nass dialect than in Tsimshian, and their general discussion in the latter dialect will be given in §§ 24-31. In Nass we find:

-g'ë absence and distance:

nlk'ë d'lg'íx'tég'ë then he said 53.1 (referring to one who is absent and to an event of the past)
nlk'ë læ-yāl'tkʷ'g'a'd'ég'ë then the man returned 113.3
yu'kdëí qa'ng'ë la dzap'pël they took the sticks they had made 114.7 (yu'k to take; gan stick; dzap to make)
haöng'ë nakʷ' da yu'k'sa before long it was evening 152.14 (haö'n it is soon: nakʷ long; yu'k'sa evening)

-st presence and nearness:

dem q'aiyl'm o'k'sdé hav'il'ëist my arrow will drop near by 19.15 (dem future; q'ai near; -em connective [see § 22]; o'k's to drop; hav'il arrow)
tgónl gónl' this I guess 28.2
sem-hō'daast it is true 29.13
txéldësemëst ye will burn 215.10

§ 20
In some cases a terminal -t is found which indicates presence and nearness and corresponds to the analogous form in Tsimshian.

\[na-gan-hwita\'gut\] therefore I did so 113.6

This element is, however, quite rare in our texts.

**Connectives (§§ 21-31)**

**§ 21. GENERAL REMARKS**

The connective suffixes form a class by themselves. They are always terminal in the word and connect two words that are syntactically related. Therefore they never stand at the end of a clause. We must distinguish between attributive and adverbial connectives, and predicative and possessive connectives.

**§ 22. ATTRIBUTIVE AND ADVERBIAL CONNECTIVES**

-Em. The connective -em is used to express attributive and adverbial relations. Thus it occurs as—

1. Connective between adjective and noun.
2. Connective between two nouns, one of which has the function of an attribute.
3. Connective between an adverb or adverbial phrase and a verb.

The following examples illustrate the use of -em:

1. Between adjective and noun. In this case the adjective always precedes the noun, and the connective is firmly attached to it. The analogy with the second group suggests that the adjective expresses the class of things referred to, while the following noun qualifies the particular kind; as që\'squm gan, a small tkee (namely, a slender thing which is a tree, or which belongs to the class "tree").

   - sìsësem gan little sticks 27.15
   - wì-hëlidem g\@ at many people 28.12
   - lgù-guësem lgò-tk\ë\'lìg little poor little boy 155.15
   - më\'k\ësqum lë\ëp white stone 139.8
   - wë\ëm wan the invited deer 83.3

Tsimshian:

\[sìlìy\ëdëm lgù\ëq the eldest child ZE 783\]
\[lgù\ëqem hàn\ër little woman ZE 797.32\]
\[gwë\ëde\ësem yë\ëm cool fog ZE 797\]
\[lë\ënksem scïqy dry bone\]

Numerals do not take this connective, but take -l instead (see § 23) (Tsimshian, - four pp. 351, 353).

§§ 21, 22
2. Between nouns. The first noun takes the ending -em, and designates the kind of thing referred to, while the second noun specifies the class.

\[g'a'\text{d}em\] gan a wooden man 89.12 (a man belonging to the class "wood")
\[\text{daw}i\text{sem}\] lōt̓op a stone ax 147.14 (an ax belonging to the class "stone")
\[\text{hu}zda'g'\text{int}gum\] q'auq'ā'ō crow-grandchildren 19.15 (grandchildren of the class "crow")
\[a'lg'\text{g}am\] Tē\'ems\a'n Tsimshian language 20.9 (speech of the class "Tsimshian")
\[amg'a'\text{g}'im\] Lē\'ems sawbill ducks of Nass river 114.5 (sawbill ducks of the kind [belonging to] Nass river)
\[hu\text{c}a'm\] had'a'\text{a}x\a' bad names 41.12 (names of the kind "bad")

Tsimshian:

\[g'i'ip'em\] ts'a'al light-face
\[\text{g}'a'\text{ng}em\] dźi'us day-sun ZE 781
\[ts'a'\text{b}em\] yō'ts!esq the animal tribe 783
\[mā\text{sem}\] an'ō'n thumb of hand 792
\[yō'ts!\text{es}g\em\] gilhau'lj the animals of the woods

3. Adverbial.

\[\text{had}a'g\am\] a'lg'ī'ęs Txā'm\a{}sem Txā'msen spoke badly 38.11
\[\text{sem-hō'}\text{m}\] nō'ō'ē he was truly dead 9.6
\[\text{voi-\text{e}s}m\] yō'\text{a}x\a't he ate much 36.10 (yō'\text{a}x\a't is an intransitive verb)
\[ts'a'\text{q}'\text{im}\] mōst he grew a little 175.8
\[K'u'l-\text{voi}-\text{yē'}\text{tgum}\] xi\'ax\a't he was hungry (going) about 39.9

Tsimshian:

\[dza'\text{g}em\] xst'ōx to be dead asleep
\[ks-\text{q}'\text{g}om\] a'lg'ī'ęx to speak first
\[ks-\text{q}'\text{g}om\] mān-a'\text{r}ḷg he reaches up first

-a. The connective -a is used in a number of cases in place of -em. It would seem that its use is determined largely by the particular qualifying term. Some of these seem to take -a regularly in place of -em. In Tsimshian this connective is -a; it appears regularly after numerals.

\[\text{ama}\] hu\text{c}a'lp a good house 48.3
\[\text{wi-ama}\] grāt very good man 203.7
\[\text{ama}\] a'lg'ī'at he spoke well 45.6
\[\text{wi-ama}\] hu\text{c}a'n'ělt they sat down very well 83.4
\[\text{go}d'\text{g}u\text{a}\] txō'x dry halibut 161.10
\[\text{hē'ya}\] ēlt fat of seal 161.12
\[tē'la\] ēlt oil of seal 47.2

§ 22
Tsimshian:

| leksq'ig'ad'e bia'lsetet various stars |
| ama y'u'ot a good man |
| wós-lê'okse lu-am'á'm qa-gá'demt we are exceedingly glad |
| k'élde g'a'mget one moon |
| ká'ld'e g'ad one person |
| héld'e ts'ap many people |

§ 23. PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES

The development of these connectives is quite different in Nass and in Tsimshian, and the two dialects must be treated quite independently. In the present section I give the Nass forms. In all cases where the connection between words is not attributive or adverbial, -l or -s are used as connectives, -s being applied in all cases where the following noun is a proper name designating a person, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun designating a person, or a term of relationship. In all other cases -l is used. With terms of relationship -s is not always used, but -l may be substituted.

The particular cases in which -l and -s are used are the following:

1. In sentences with intransitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

   (a) -l.
   
   lé-ia'q̓əl og a copper hung on it 138.3
   g'sò̱l mál there lay a canoe 138.13
   híw'íll t's'emé'lx̱ the beaver did so 81.4
   t's'é̱nl t's'emé'lx̱ the beaver entered 77.4
   a'l'q̓əx̱ wò-g'a't the great man said 195.15

   (b) -s.
   
   gali-į̱a's Ts̓ak̓· Ts̓ak̓· went up the river 117.6
   hiw̓l̓s dę̱p-bę̱e'be my uncles did so 187.9
   t̓dax̓·s Ts̓ax̓·ms̓em Ts̓ax̓·ms̓em was hungry 21.2

2. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

   (a) -l.
   
   n̓l̓k̓·'ét l̓e̱lk̓·l qusli'ak̓st then watched his nephews 9.5
   wò̱s'ò̱l t's'emé'lx̱ axt̓ the beaver invited the porcupine 73.2
   l̓o̱-d̓e̱p-l̓o̱'ò̱d̓el s̓q̓'idema'q an'ò̱nt inside down put the chief-
   tainess her hand 183.8

   (b) -s.
   
   k'ul-yu̱k̓dets Ts̓ak̓· l̓e̱b̓op Ts̓ak̓· carried a stone about 118.9
   n̓l̓k̓·'é̱t bə̱s Ts̓ak̓· l̓go'ga'mt Ts̓ak̓· struck a little fire 118.12
   t̓ hwas Ts̓ax̓·ms̓em híw̓l̓p Ts̓ax̓·ms̓em found a house 43.3
3. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal object.

(a) -l.

dem lō-ma'qdeel ts'ē'sgun I shall put thy louse in 43.10
nīk'ē't g'ā'al tē'sem g'at then he saw a large man 95.10
ā'mlē wō'ōl na'k'sān (good you) invite your wife! 205.10

(b) -s.

nīk'ē't sa-gō'udēts Ts'ak they took Ts'ak off 120.15

4. In sentences with transitive verb, the object may sometimes precede the verb, and is then connected with the predicate by -l or -s.

taxe'tk'Lqal-ts'ip-tda'pi, ye''dcucdit they asked all the towns 87.3
naxL g'a'at he saw bait 50.15

5. To express the possessive relation between nouns.

(a) -l.

qa-qalā'nl hów'il pl sem'āg'tōt the rear of the house of the chief 137.8
anē'sl qan the branch of a tree 137.9
maqā'nl K'san the mouth of Skeena river 15.3
qa-vō'nl k'ēbō' the teeth of the wolves 84.4
q'āeldā'Il lg'ōil hana'qg'ō six were the children of the woman 97.8

(b) -s.

qal-ts'a'ps dep neguā'ōt the town of their fathers 107.13
nde'ēts Ts'ak the grandmother of Ts'ak 119.8
xpē'īats Lōgōbola the box of Lōgōbola 19.4

6. Between definite and indefinite numerals and nouns, the connective is -s.

k'ēll sem'āg'tōt one chief 137.1
k'ēlīl sa one day 137.2
k'ēgul hān one salmon 169.8
q'ai-t'epxā'L qāq even two ravens 155.4
baqādē'Il lg'ōt two children 159.5
baqādē'Il nak'st two wives 194.6
voi-he'̱lāx many trout 157.6
taxe'tk'L q'aima'qsit many youths 141.10
g'ul-ganē'L ha-xdak'se'mēst all your arrows 144.10

A few indefinite numerals may also take the attributive connective -em.

wi-he'ldem q'aima'qsit many youths 144.3
Connecting the preposition a (see § 67) with the following noun.

(a) -L.
-atskt al gal-te'a'p they landed at the town 107.13
lax-laxit al lax-laxop it is on the stone 109.4
al'g'txl gal-ts'a'p al dem sem'd'g'it the people said he should be
chief 163.10 (al'g'tx to say; dem future; sem'd'g'it chief)
malt al nak'st he told his wife 165.11

(b) -s.
al'g'txl as neltg'p he said to him 157.1
al'g'txl as Ts'ak' he said to Ts'ak' 120.6
k'et sg'it as Txa'msem he laid it before Txa'msem 48.10

Connecting the conjunction qan with the following noun.

(a) -L.
he'ya elx qanL. he'ya dix fat of seal and fat of porpoise 161.12
lax qanL seso'sem han trout and little salmon 157.4

(b) -s.
nel'en qans nel'e qans te'edze you and I and my grandmother
157.10

PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES OF THE TSIM-SHIAN DIALECT (§§ 24-31)

§ 24. General Characteristics of the Connectives

While the connectives -s and -t seem to be regularly used in the Nass dialect, they are absent in Tsimshian in many cases, and a much more complicated series takes their place. We have to distinguish between the connectives in indicative and subjunctive sentences; those belonging to the subject of the intransitive and object of the transitive verb; and those belonging to the subject of the transitive verb. Furthermore, those belonging to common nouns must be distinguished from those belonging to proper nouns; and in each form, indefinite location, presence, and absence, are treated differently. Some of these endings are very rare; others, the existence of which may be expected by analogy, have so far not been found. The series of forms in which a proper name appears as subject of the transitive verb is, for instance, hardly found at all, because sentences of this form are almost invariably rendered by a periphrastic form: "It was (John) who" . . . It will be noticed in the following discussion that the prepositional and possessive forms agree with the predicative forms. The peculiar agreement of the indicative connectives of the subject of the tran-
sitive verb and of the subjunctive connectives of the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to a similar phenomenon that may be observed in the pronominal forms. These will be discussed in § 49-50. The series of connectives may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Indicative.</th>
<th>B. Subjunctive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Indefinite.</td>
<td>(b) Present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb . . . . . .</td>
<td>-z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Subject of transitive verb</td>
<td>-z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb . . . . . .</td>
<td>-st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Subject of transitive verb</td>
<td>-?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25. Predicative Connectives

In the present section I shall give examples of these various classes of connectives, such as occur between verbs and nouns.

A I 1. Intransitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

da  uks-ho'tge d'uta a ne'-gödzä a'kset then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (da then; uks- toward water; ho'tge to stand; d'ut porcupine; a at; ne- possessive; dödz edge; aks water)
höltge ba'ntsegä a'ksogö his belly was full of water (holtyg full; ban belly; geqo development of preposition a [see § 28]; aks water)
sem-ba'öse sts!al'agaö the beaver was much afraid (sem-very; bæö afraid; sts!al beaver)

(b) Present connective -de

na-stü'olde lyüölyem y!o'tgeö the boy went along (na- past; stüö to go in company; lyööly child; em attributive connective [§ 22]; y!öt man)
da al ts!elem-ha'pde n.äödet but then the killer-whales rushed in (da then; al but; ts!elem- into from the side; hap to rush [plural]; n.äö killer-whales)

(c) Absent connective -ge

da na-bä'öge al'agaö then the white bear ran out of the woods (na- out of woods; bøö to run; ol bear)
da gik kse-näölyeys sts!al'agaö then the beaver breathed again (gik again; kse- out; näöly breath; sts!al beaver)
A I 1. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns. It is difficult to find the connectives of transitive verbs before the object, because the order of words in the sentence requires ordinarily that the subject shall follow the predicate. The cases here given, except the first one, contain the pronominal subject of the third person.

(a) Indefinite connective -e
   k′wa'x̂gę ne-ha-xba'gə łağwa'lgut my child has lost his knife (k′wa'tg to lose; ne- possessive; ha-xba'g knife; łağwa'lg child; -u my)
   wā'idę hā°sęt he has found the dog
   dem da'x̂kłęda hā°s he will kill the dog

(b) Present connective -de
   ne la wā'ldęda wula dẑa'bedęs Gunan̄ę̄mę̄n'ad̂ he had told what did Gunan̄ę̄mę̄n'ad̂ (la past; mal to tell; wul verbal noun; dzab to do)

(c) Absent connective -ge
   wā'itęx̂ hā°sgę̄ he has found the dog
   dem da'x̂kłę𝑥̂ hā°sgę̄ hā°s he will kill the dog

A I 2. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e
   wa'i hana'x̂gę hā°sgę̄ the woman found the dog
   agwi-ba'tge ne-q̂an'du my lance stands outside ES 94.20

(c) Absent connective -ge
   ĝul̄isę̄ hukuwoodę̄ngę̄x̂lę̄q ał̄gę̄ the hunter hit the bear (ĝu to hit; hukuwoodę̄ngę̄x̂lę̄q hunter; ał̄ bear)
   dem dẑa'kłę̄gę̄ q̂a'bə̄ūx̂ hā°sgę̄ the wolf will kill the dog (dzák to kill; -d̂ [see § 17.10]; q̂a'bə̄ūx̂ wolf; hā°s dog)
   da dī-l!i-vā'isę̄ x̂̂î-mes-ö́lgą̄ qal-ts'a'pę̄ga h̄ the great bear found the town (dī on his part; l!i-on; va to arrive, to find; x̂̂î great; mes- white; ö́l bear; qal- empty; ts'a lum tribe)

A II 1. Intransitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -et
   ama wā'lt Tom Tom is rich
   da hā'n̄it Sadzapani'ł̄ then Sadzapani'ł̄ said
dū'kol̄get Asdi-wālt Asdi-wā'l̄ can not move ES 90.15

(b) Present connective -det
   l!i-q'an-dā'uldę̄t Astiwāl̄gę̄ Astiwā'ł̄ has gone across (l!i-on; q'an- over; dā'ul to leave)

(c) Absent connective -get
   bā°get Dzō'ngę̄ John is running

§ 25
A II 2. Transitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(c) Absent connective -s

\[
\text{da ní'edẕes Astiwa'lt wuł hół'gye ... then Astiwa'lt saw that it was full (ní to see; hół'gy full)}
\]

B I 1. Intransitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

\[
\text{ada ní' wuł gaṯqi't! eksa t'epxadū'olda y!i'ota then they saw two men coming (ada then; t- he subj.; gaṯqi't! eks [plural gaṯqi't! eks] to come; t'epxadū'ol two persons; y'i'at man)}
\]

\[
\text{a wuł hasa'g'as ts'at'lè because the beaver desired (hasa'g to desire; ts'at'lè beaver)}
\]

(b) Present connective -de

\[
\text{dze hau'unde sem'd'ag'y-it a klá'i if the chief says to me (dze conditional; lu'u to say; sem'd'ag'y chief; a to; klá'i me)}
\]

\[
\text{as'í dá'uls'de t'in-gu'o'sdla nák'sen he who took your wife has just left (as'í just; dá'ul to leave; t he; in- who; gu'o to take; nák's wife; -en thy)}
\]

(c) Absent connective -sgé

\[
\text{ada wuł tral-iá'sgé bá'o'sgESA then his fear increased (tral-iá'sg to increase; bá'o'sg fear)}
\]

\[
\text{wuł lu-la'sgÉ ak'gasa where the water is deep (lu-in; lap deep; ak's water)}
\]

\[
\text{n'in'i'gan hau'sgÉ sís'at'lga'o therefore the beaver said (n'in'i' it is that; gan reason)}
\]

B I 1. Transitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

\[
\text{ada n'dem sa-l'i-t!i'osA ne-galdem-ak'squ I shall suddenly push over on it my bucket (n I; dem future sa suddenly; l'i- on; t!i'os to push; ne- possessive; galdem- receptacle; ak's water; -u my)}
\]

\[
\text{ada lu-xba-q!asg'dze ne-ga-ts'els'ta'sa'ge há'exga'o then he cut (in) across the faces of the geese (t he; lu- in; xba- across; góùdz, with plu. obj. q!asg'd dz to cut; ne- possessive; ga- plural; ts'at'l distributive plural ts'els'tal face; há'ex goose)}
\]

(b) Present connective -sde

\[
\text{... t'in gu'o'sdè nák'sen he who took thy wife}
\]

(c) Absent connective -sgé

\[
\text{ada ge't'edexše haná'o'gà'o then he asked the woman (t he; ge't'edex to ask; haná'o'g woman)}
\]

\[
\text{dat wuł sà'o'sgÉ ma'wulkyo'o then he shook the rope (sà to shake; ma'wulky rope)}
\]
B I 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -e

adat \text{ts'el}en-kš-ga'ge \text{ve'og}get first foam came in (t it, subj.; \text{ts'el}en- into, from the side; kš- extreme; ga' first; ve'og foam)

(b) Present connective -de

adat \text{g'up-yä'kede} \text{txan}'i' gu-wula-dza'bet then all the hunters really pursued it (g'up- really; yä'k to pursue; \text{txan}'i' all; ga'- plural; wula-dza'b hunter)

(c) Absent connective -tye

\text{ada wul} kš-h(aa)̃htyge \text{sem'-y'itg}e \text{hanā'nextg}a then the chief sent out the women (kš- out; h(aa)̃htyge \text{send}; \text{sem'-y'itg}e chief; hanā'g [plural hanā'nak] woman)

B II 1. Intransitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -s

la dem bā's Dzòn John was running

\text{ada wul si'epges} \text{Töm Tom was sick}

(b) Present connective -des

\text{wula dza'bedes} \text{Gunaxnēsmg'a'd} what Gunaxnēsmg'a'd was doing

(c) Absent connective -s

\text{hi-t's'e'ns} \text{Gunaxnēsmg'a'tg}a \text{Gunaxnēsmg'a'd} came in

\text{\text{ada wul sem-bā's}Gunaxnēsmg'a'tg}a then Gunaxnēsmg'a'd ran fast

B II 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(b) Present connective -det

\text{ada wul} \text{ge'redaxdet} \text{kšem-g'asg̃asg}a then Crane-Woman asked him (ge'redax to ask; kšem- female; g'asg̃asg}a crane)

\text{adat dördet} \text{Gunaxnēsmg'a'tg}a \text{lude'm mē-sī'ensg}a then Gunaxnēsmg'a'd took the copper wedge (dördet to take; lüed wedge; mē-sī'entsg}a copper)

(c) Absent connective -tyet

\text{adat} \text{ge'redaxtyet} \text{negrā'otg}e \text{klg}e'rem y'ū'datg}a then the father asked his sons (ge'redax to ask; negrā'otg}e father; klg}e're children; y'ū'datg}a man)

\text{\text{ada al wul} li'ı'se'det} \text{Astiwāl}g}a then Astiwāl counted it (li'ı'se'det to count)
§ 26. Connectives between Subject and Object

In sentences with transitive verb as predicate, the subject generally follows the predicate and precedes the object. The connectives between subject and object are in all sentences, and for both common nouns and proper names, -e, -de, -ge, which generally agree with the predicate connective.

A I 2. Indicative, common nouns:
(a) (with -e) wal' i han'da'ga hā'oset the woman found the dog
(b) (with -ge) dem dza'kidexa g'ihā'uga hā'osya the wolf will kill the dog

B I 2. Subjunctive, common nouns:
(a) (with -e) ada vult gā'det Gunaxnēsemg'a'de ha-kā'osetga then Gunaxnēsemga'd took his knife
ada dit wagait-lu-yā'osetget Asdi-wālde ts'em-ga'ina'ga' then Asdi-wāl also followed in the path
(d) on his part; -t he; wagait entirely; lu-in;
yā' to follow; ts'em-in; ga'ina path)
demt box-gā'de la'msu mā'iti my son-in-law will go after mountain-goats (see § 29)
(b) (with -de) ada al su-nē'de ne-ts'bem ya'ts'esge-de vult kse-gvā'ntye vi'-gō'ep'a, but then suddenly saw the animal tribe the great light rising
(b) (with -ga) ada la hī'ogu sex-dā'o'de lgwōl'ksētga ne-se-még'd'ā'stga' then the princess began to gather her berries (hī'ogu to begin; sex-dā'o to gather, to hold fast; lgwōl'kṣēt princess; ne-possessive; seto make, to gather; még'd'ās berries)
(c) da dī l'ī-wā'īye wī-mēs'ō'lye qal-ts.'a'pqa' then the great white bear, on his part, found the town (dī on his part; l'ī-on; wī to find; vī-great; mēs-white; ēl bear; qal- empty; ts.'ap tribe)
(c) da vult l'yagq-kṣ-dā'o'yē hānā'nāryē su-p'a'sem yā'ē'tagας then the women accompanied the young man down (Tsimsian Texts, New Series, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. III, 78.29; y'aq- down; kṣ-extreme; dāl to accompany; -t he; hānā'nar, plural, women; su-newly; p'a to grow; -em adjectival connective; yā'ēla man)
(c) adat vil k'īndēmët Asdiwāl'ge gō'kγe . . . then Asdiwāl gave the basket . . . (Ibid., 98.17; k'ī-ndäm to give; -det connective B II 2b; gōk basket)

So far I have not been able to find examples in which proper names appear as objects.

§ 26
§ 27. Possessive Connectives

The possessive connectives differ in indicative and subjunctive sentences, and it seems that the complete series must be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Common nouns.</th>
<th>II. Proper names.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Indefinite.</td>
<td>(a) Indefinite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Present.</td>
<td>(c) Present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Absent.</td>
<td>(c) Absent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A I. (a) Indefinite connective -e
n!ini ne-wälbe sem'd'g'it this is the house of the chief
(b) Present connective -de
ne-mele-li-y/dol'me/ ne-ga-ts!uwälde hä'og! set the fingers
of the dog were six on each (paw) (ne- past; mele- each;
li-on; g'alt six; -sun long; ne- possessive; ga- plural;
ts!uwäl finger; hä's dog)
(c) Absent connective -ge
gu'ga dzö'gat gege qal-ts!ag!ge ne-wäl'ptqaE who lived in
the houses of the town (gu who; dzög to camp; gege
from a in [see § 28]; qal-ts!ag!ge town; wälh house)

B I. (b) Present connective -sde
ada ne wul nii ne-wäl'bde y!ü'ota then I saw the house of
the man (ne- I; nii to see; wälb house; y!ü'ota man)
(c) Absent connective -sge
ada wul gwa'lsge ne-wäl'sge y!ü'ota then the house of
the man was burnt

B II. nii dém in-na'kqa lgü'qyes Gau'o? who will marry Gauo's
daughter? (nii who; dém future; t'ín- he who; na'kqa to
marry; lgü'qyes child)
txa-n'i ne-ligi-wäl's negwá'dengaE all the wealth of thy
father (txa-n'i all; ne- possessive; ligi-wäl wealth; ne-
gwá'd father; -n, thy)

§ 28. Prepositional Connectives

The general preposition a, which has been described in the Nass
dialect (§ 23.7), occurs apparently alone in Tsimshian; but it seems
more likely that the a without connective must be considered as a
special form for as (see § 29). With connectives we find both the
indicative and subjunctive forms.

§§ 27, 28
II. (a) Indefinite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Common nouns.</th>
<th>II. Proper names.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Indefinite.</td>
<td>(b) Present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Indicative...</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Subjunctive..</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, several of these forms occur contracted with demonstrative d and g; as—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Indefinite</th>
<th>(b) Present</th>
<th>(c) Absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d eda</td>
<td>g e g a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d eda</td>
<td>g e g a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I A. (a) Indefinite

k’a-a’im a t x a-n’i’ g a o it is better than all things (k’a exceedingly; a’m good; t x a-n’i’ all; g a o something)

da u k s h o’t g e a’ u t a a n e-d z o g a a’ k s e t then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (da then; u k s toward water; h o’t g to stand; a’ u t a porcupine; n e- possessive; d z o g edge; a k s water)

(b) Present da

l e p-i ’ g s g e ’ r e s g e s t s!’ d l d a l a x-a’ k s e t the beaver himself

was happy in the water (l e p- self; l y u n g s g e ’ r e s g happy; s t s!’ d l beaver; l a x- surface; a k s water)

(c) Absent g a

h o’lt g e b a’ n t g e g a a’ k s g e o his belly was full of water (h o’lt g full; b a’n belly; - t his; g e g a from g a; a k s water)

I B. (a) Indefinite

l a b a x-a’ x g e t a n e-m i y a’n w i-sa’ m e n g o o he came up to the

foot of the great spruce tree (l a past; b a x- up; a r g arrive; n e- possessive; m i y a’n foot of tree; w i- great; s a’ m e n spruce)

(b) Present a s d a

a d a l l’ i-q’an-d a’ u d d a o a’ s d e n e-t s!’ u w o’n s g a n e’ o s t g a o but he has gone over the top of the mountain (a l but; l’i- on; q’an- over; d a’ u d to leave; n e- possessive; t s!’ u w o’n top; s g a n e’ o s t mountain)

(c) Absent a s g a

a d a h o’ u s g a a’ u t a a s g a s t s!’ d l y o o then said the porcupine

to the beaver

II. (a) Indefinite a s

a d a h o’ u t n a’ k s t a s n e’ o t then his wife said to him

(b) Present d e s

d a-y a’t A s t i w a’ l d e s n e g o n o t g e o said A s t i w a’ l to his father

(c) Absent g e s

d a’ w u l o h a’ u s g a a’ u t a g e s n e’ o t g a o then the porcupine said to him

§ 28
Examples of the forms desdA and gesgA are the following:

ne n kse'ranu desdA da'udda° I went out (at) some time ago
da wi-am-ха'ushA a'uta gesgA sts!ā'lya° then the porcupine shouted to the beaver

The forms in desdA and gesgA occur in the translations of the Gospels with great frequency; but I have not been able to find any examples except the one given before under A I (c).

§ 29. Phonetic Modification of the Connectives

1. All forms in e described in the preceding paragraphs have no ending after the vowels l, m, n, and r.

2. The endings beginning with s lose this sound after words with terminal s; for instance,

§ 30. Connectives of the Conjunction AND

The conjunction AND, when expressed by di or gan, takes the connectives s and l, as in the Nass dialect—the former before proper names, some terms of relationship, and pronouns designating persons; the latter before common nouns.

§ 31. The Connective -l

Besides its use with the conjunctions di and gan, the connective -l is used in negative, conditional, and interrogative sentences, be-

§§ 29–31
tween the intransitive verb and its subject, and between the trans-
itive verb and its object.

\[
\text{awa'lg} \ dzak \ wan \text{ the deer is not dead yet (awa'lg not yet;}
\text{dzak dead; wan deer)}
\]

\[
a'\text{lg} \ dz \ h'\text{ts} \ w\text{alb} \text{ asg} \text{e gva'\text{sga}° there was no house there}
\text{(alge not; dį on its part; hētg to stand; wālb house; asge}
\text{at [see § 28]; gva'\text{sga that; -ga° [see § 20]}}
\]

\[
a'\text{lg} \ dz \ '\text{gul wan he did not kill the deer (dz\text{a to kill)
}a'\text{lg} \ \text{am} \ \text{dmt wula'\text{idel} g'at it is not good that the people}
\text{should know it (ām good; \text{dmt future, nominal particle;}
\text{wula'i to know; g'at people)}
\]

In interrogative sentences:

\[
du \ nā\text{t} \ \text{dmt dedu'\text{ols edel txālpxaxedel wul k'\text{l}pk'\text{a'pt sa}
\text{al m\text{e}la-k'\text{er}edel g'\text{amk a txð-k'\text{a'olet? who will live}
(with) forty days each month throughout the year? (du}
\text{demonstrative; nā\text{t who; dmt future; dedu'\text{ols to live;}
\text{txālpx four; wul being; k'\text{l}ap ten round ones, k'\text{l}px-k'\text{'olet? distributive; sa day; a at; m\text{e}la- each; k'\text{er} edel one round
one; g'\text{amk sun, moon; a at; txð-along, throughout; k'\text{a'o,
year)}}}
\]

§ 32. Suffixes of Numerals

In the Nass river dialect, only three classes of numerals have dis-
tinctive suffixes. These are:

- \text{-dl human beings}
- \text{-k°s canoes}
- \text{-a\text{lm} on fathoms (derived from the stem \text{on hand)}

In the Tsimshian dialect the corresponding suffixes occur also, and,
besides, another one used to designate long objects. These are:

- \text{-dl human beings}
- \text{-sk canoes}
- \text{-el\text{d}on fathoms}
- \text{-sxan long objects}

The numerals will be treated more fully in § 57.

§ 33. Contraction.

The Tsimshian dialects have a marked tendency to form compound
words by contraction which is apparently based partly on weakening
of vowels, partly on the omission of syllables. In some cases it can be
shown that omitted syllables do not belong to the stem of the word
that enters into composition; while in other cases this is doubtful.
Since my material in the Tsimshian dialect is better, I will give the
Tsimshian examples first.

\[\text{§§ 32, 33}\]
Contraction by weakening of vowels:

- *t!em-lá°n* steersman; for *t!á°m g'í-lá°n* sitting stern (*t!á° to sit; g'í-lá°n* stern of canoe)
- *negutshá°s* smart, frisky; for *negwá°s há°s* father of dog
- *sté°má°n* humpback salmon; for *stám hán* on one side salmon
- *láb° be ts!á°g°* kidney-fat; for *láb° be ts!á°g°* fat of stone (i. e., of kidney)
- *lebe-ó°n* biceps; for *láb° be an°ó°n* arm-stone
- *ts!ú-né l!i-hé°ty* he stands on the end of it; for *ts!uvá°n*

Here belongs also the particle *kse-* fluid; for *aks* water: *kse-gwá°nuks* spring of water.

Following are examples of contraction by omission of prefixes:

- *t!em-lá°n* steersman, for *t!á°m g'í-lá°n*
- *t!em-ts!dé°g* harpooneer, for *t!á°m g'í-ts!dé°g* sitting bow
- *ne-ksluní°sk* looking-glass, for *ne-g'íeks-lu-ní°sk* where backward in one looks. It seems probable that *g'il-* is a separable part of *g'íeks-
- *t!em-g'á°n* the one up river, for *t!á°m g'ig'il* ni, is not used, but is understood; also *t!em-hau'l* the one in the woods; for *t!á°m g'ilhau'l*.

Contraction with omission of syllables that are not known as prefixes seems to occur in—

- *sig'ídemnad°x* chieftainess; for *sig'idem hana°g* chief woman
- *ha-l!i-ta t!í°ben* when sea-lions lie on; for *ha-l!i-da t!í°ben*

contains also a material change of the stem-form. The name of the tribe itself is interpreted in a similar manner: *ts!em-sia°n*, for *ts!em-ksia°n* in the Skeena river. The latter word may possibly contain the element *ks-* fluid.

In the Nass river dialect the same kinds of contraction occur, but examples are not numerous:

- *anik'su-lo°galtl* looking-glass; for *an-gulik's-tó°l* galtl where back in one examines.
- *sig'ídemnda°y* chieftainess; for *sig'adém hänaya°g* chief woman
- *semb°g°t* chief, seems to contain *sem-* very; *g°t* person.

*Musensëet'sku* (a name); for *må°semst yó°-nsëet'sku* growing up having a grandmother (*må°* to grow; *-m* connective; *-st* [?]; *yó°* to have; *n-sëet'sku* grandmother)

*Xpí*yelek (a name); for *xpí-hayula°g* partly sea-monster.

In connection with this phenomenon may be mentioned the use of some elements as verbs and nouns in fragmentary form,—or without affixes, as particles. An instance is:

- *hasa°ga* to desire; *saga dém yá°gu* I desire to go.
§ 34. Incorporation

In expressions designating an habitual activity directed toward an object, the verbal stem and its object form a compound word, which is treated like a single verb, so that the object appears in an incorporated form. Examples of this form are the following:

Tsimshian:

- go'lts!Exgan to be a stick-carrier (go'lts!eg to carry; gan stick)
- go'lts!exl°ob to be a stone-carrier (l°ob stone)
- waliga'n to be a stick-carrier (wali to carry on back)
- g°lEr'la to be out harpooning seals (g°lg to harpoon; E'rla seal)
- bu'sqan to split wood (büs to split)
- büs'lag to split fire-wood (lag fire)
- g°lExl°smu I am a box-carver (g°lg to carve; xln°s box)
- se-yél-yd'yfrnu I am a paddle-polisher (se- to make; yélg smooth; wa'i paddle)

Reduplication (§§ 35-38)

§ 35. General Remarks

There are two types of reduplication in Tsimshian—one in which the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, is repeated; the other in which the initial sounds, including the first vowel, are repeated. The functions of these two methods of reduplication are quite distinct. The former is generally used to form plurals, and with a number of proclitic particles that imply more or less clearly the meaning of repetition or plurality. The second forms generally a progressive form, or, perhaps better, a present participle of the verb.

§ 36. Initial Reduplication, including the First Consonant following the First Vowel

This part of the word is repeated before the stem-syllable with weakened vowel. The accent of the word is not changed, and the reduplicated syllable remains separated from the word by a hiatus. This is particularly evident in words beginning with a vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dx·</td>
<td>bdx·dx·</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>emd'm</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ltg'io</td>
<td>rltg'io</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etk's</td>
<td>at'etk's</td>
<td>to name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 34-36
This method of reduplication may be considered as duplication modified by phonetic laws. Monosyllabic words terminating with a consonant cluster retain only the first sound of the cluster, thus avoiding a great accumulation of consonants in the middle of the word. The same causes probably affect polysyllabic words in such manner that the whole end of the word is dropped. This seems the more likely, as the repeated syllable has its vowel weakened. This process would easily reduce the terminal parts of polysyllabic words, when repeated, to consonant clusters.

The weakened vowels have a tendency to change to e or i. The great variability of the vowels makes it difficult to establish a general rule.

(a) Monosyllabic words, beginning and terminating either with a vowel or with a single consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ox'</td>
<td>ox'o'x'</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ës</td>
<td>ës'ë's</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âm</td>
<td>em'â'm</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ël</td>
<td>ël'ë'l</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dax'</td>
<td>dëx'da'x'</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëc</td>
<td>dëkë'dëc</td>
<td>to push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap</td>
<td>leplâ'p</td>
<td>deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal</td>
<td>belha'â'l</td>
<td>to spread out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap</td>
<td>hapha'â'p</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan</td>
<td>ganga'â'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'aq</td>
<td>t'aq't'a'q</td>
<td>lake (but also t'ët'a'q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzëg</td>
<td>dzëqdëz'ë'q</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tê</td>
<td>tê'tê'</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mël</td>
<td>mëlmë'l</td>
<td>to burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mël</td>
<td>mëlmë'l</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gëc</td>
<td>gëcgëc'ë'c</td>
<td>wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ldë'op</td>
<td>leplâ'â'p</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsap</td>
<td>tsëktsa'p</td>
<td>to make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'al</td>
<td>ts'âltsa'â'l</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsë'ip</td>
<td>ts'ëktsë'ë'ip</td>
<td>to tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qës</td>
<td>qësqë's</td>
<td>to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzëq</td>
<td>dzëqdzëq'ë'</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-dza'â'm</td>
<td>n-dzemdzâ'ë'm</td>
<td>kettle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel is apparently strengthened in

nô'       nônô'    hole

§ 36
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oy</td>
<td>ay'oy</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ām</td>
<td>am'ām</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā'ūs</td>
<td>hashā'ūs</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍā</td>
<td>dadā'</td>
<td>to place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍam</td>
<td>demda'm</td>
<td>to hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>dāldā'l</td>
<td>to fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍā'ūp</td>
<td>depū'ūp</td>
<td>foot of mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō'n</td>
<td>hänhō'ūn</td>
<td>to fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būō</td>
<td>bēbū'ō</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēl</td>
<td>bēbēl</td>
<td>to spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ā'ak</td>
<td>k'ēkk'ā'ak</td>
<td>to choke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ēl</td>
<td>ts'ēltsēl'ēl</td>
<td>to slice fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muk</td>
<td>melmo'l</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzāq</td>
<td>dzēldzā'q</td>
<td>to slide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ap</td>
<td>ts'ēpltsēp'ap</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāōh</td>
<td>leplā'ōb</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍā'ūn</td>
<td>dūdā'ūn</td>
<td>ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lū-sā'ōx</td>
<td>lū-sexsā'ōx</td>
<td>red-hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'āāi</td>
<td>q'āigai'</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Monosyllabic words beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, and terminating with a cluster of consonants, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sū'ēpku</td>
<td>sūpēpku</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ēpku</td>
<td>ts'épltsēpku</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍēkku</td>
<td>ḍēgēk'k'ku</td>
<td>stench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭēkku</td>
<td>ṭēspēck'k'ku</td>
<td>lean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēlpku</td>
<td>dēldēlplku</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō-dā'āltku</td>
<td>lō-dēldālplku</td>
<td>to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lantku</td>
<td>LantLantku</td>
<td>to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūtku</td>
<td>mūtmūtku</td>
<td>full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ītku</td>
<td>g'ītyg'ītku</td>
<td>to swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'īlkk'u</td>
<td>g'īlq'ālkk'u</td>
<td>to pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍanx'</td>
<td>ḍanx'</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāntx'</td>
<td>lāntx'</td>
<td>to be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ēpke</td>
<td>g'ēpge'ēpke</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēt̪qe</td>
<td>ēt̪qet̪qe</td>
<td>to end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētk'us</td>
<td>ēt̪qet̪qet̪qe</td>
<td>to name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa'āk'</td>
<td>maxma'āk'</td>
<td>meek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō-ya'āltku</td>
<td>lō-ylilya'āltku</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8t°pk</td>
<td>sepe8°pk</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álx</td>
<td>ala'lx</td>
<td>brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vălh</td>
<td>(vul'vălh)</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hă°°ck</td>
<td>hakhă°°ck</td>
<td>annoyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōskk</td>
<td>hakhōskk</td>
<td>to be with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'8°sk</td>
<td>g'isg'8°sk</td>
<td>to go past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaltk</td>
<td>yilya'ltk</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'elks</td>
<td>g'ilg'elks</td>
<td>to feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aulx</td>
<td>ax'a'alx</td>
<td>to attain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gă°°pk</td>
<td>gapgă°°pk</td>
<td>to scratch, to rake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwă°°tk</td>
<td>kuthkwa°°tk</td>
<td>to disappear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Polysyllabic words, beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>să'eh'en</td>
<td>sips'eh'en</td>
<td>to love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'da'xk'</td>
<td>hadha'da'xk'</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huvilă'x'</td>
<td>hvilhuvilă'x'</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bă'sick'</td>
<td>besbă'sick'</td>
<td>to separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huvă'lx'</td>
<td>hvilhuvă'lx'</td>
<td>to carry on back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dik'sk'</td>
<td>adă'dik'sk'</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ı'dex</td>
<td>g'tag'ı'dex</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aš'ar'x'</td>
<td>aš'asă'x'</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dë'lx</td>
<td>dildë'lx</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lŏ'laq</td>
<td>lëllo'laq</td>
<td>ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(qan)mă'la</td>
<td>(qan)elmă'la</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'lyr'x</td>
<td>al'dlyr'x</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malgōk'sk'</td>
<td>melma'lgōk'sk'</td>
<td>to speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haxda'k'</td>
<td>hxr'haxda'k'</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō'mts'lix</td>
<td>hamhō'mts'lix</td>
<td>bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hă'xy'at</td>
<td>haxha'xy'at</td>
<td>to kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sweet-smelling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'ınā'm</td>
<td>k'ink'ínā'm</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lep'g'ün</td>
<td>leplē'p'gün</td>
<td>to shuffle about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la'ok'ultk</td>
<td>lekal'ok'ultk</td>
<td>to wrap up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'okg'eltk</td>
<td>g'ikg'o'geltk</td>
<td>to roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ot'elen</td>
<td>p'etp'o'telen</td>
<td>to nudge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'wă'das</td>
<td>k'utk'wă'das</td>
<td>to miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'a'k'a</td>
<td>ts'ek'-ts'a'k'a</td>
<td>fire is out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'kleen</td>
<td>dekda'kleen</td>
<td>to drown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Singular | Plural | Meaning
---|---|---
*gilb* | *gilygb* | to look after
*da'mse* | *demda'mse* | downcast
*p'aylq'ix* | *p'elp'aylq'ix* | heavy
*wulib* | *wulwulib* | to rub
*su-wulib* | *su-wulwulib* | hunter
*go'it* | *gatgo'it* | to come

(d) A number of euphonic changes occur in this type of reduplication. They differ in character in the two dialects. In the Nass dialect, when the reduplicated syllable ends in *k*, *g*, and *l*, these are aspirated, and become *x*; *q* and *g* are aspirated and become *x*; *y* becomes *x*; *ts* becomes *s*; *dz* becomes *z*.

(a) *k*, *g*, *l* following the first vowel are changed into *x*:

| Singular | Plural | Meaning
---|---|---
t'ak* | t'ax'tak* | to forget
hak's | hax'ha'k's | to abuse
ok's | ax'o'k's | to drop
i'å'dok's | i'x'å'dok's | to wash
åk's | èx'åk's | broad
duk*L | dix'dak*L | to tie
sok*sk* | súx'su'k*sk* | clean
lè-g*a't | li'x'lè-g*a't | weak, sickly
mök* | méx'mo'k* | to catch fish
g'uk*ks | g'x'g'u'ks | fish jumps
hokck* | hax'ho'ck* | to be with others

(b) *y* following the first vowel changes to *x*:

| Singular | Plural | Meaning
---|---|---
hò'yx* | hix'hò'yx* | like

(y) *g* and *q* following the first vowel change to *x*:

| Singular | Plural | Meaning
---|---|---
magú'nsk* | méxmagú'nsk* | explanation
q*i'ck* | gexq*i'ck* | to sit
so'ugsk* | sexso'ugsk* | to dive
q'i'ql | q'exq'i'ql | to drag
aql* | ax'a'q*L | to succeed

(6) *ts* and *s* following the first vowel change to *s* and *z*:

| Singular | Plural | Meaning
---|---|---
yats | yis'ia'ts | to chop
q'ôts | q'esq'ôts | to chop a tree
he'ts | híshe'ts | to send
he'tsumex | hashé'tsumex | to command.
á'dziks | az'á'dziks | proud
(e) Sometimes a \( x' \) is introduced at the end of the reduplicated syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deda'leq</td>
<td>dix'deda'leq</td>
<td>to talk to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amo's</td>
<td>ax'amos</td>
<td>corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'o'tsk</td>
<td>tix'to'tsk</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinæ'tsex</td>
<td>yix'inæ'tsex</td>
<td>whip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-do'yen</td>
<td>ax'an-do'yen</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-sq'ist</td>
<td>ax'an-sq'ist</td>
<td>grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'alk</td>
<td>sxxsa'alk</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halæ'alst</td>
<td>hax'elæ'alst</td>
<td>to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-lebi'sk</td>
<td>hax'e-lebi'sk</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanlai'dik's</td>
<td>sxxsanlai'dik's</td>
<td>sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e esk</td>
<td>ax'e esk</td>
<td>debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax-yd'ok'sk</td>
<td>ax-xw'yd'ok'sk</td>
<td>to trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tq'al-hwε'lemlk</td>
<td>tq'al-hwε'thwε'lemlk</td>
<td>servant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here may also belong—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yōLMex</td>
<td>hxx'toLMex</td>
<td>to advise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems possible that these forms of reduplication should be considered as belonging to the class to be discussed in § 37.

The phonetic changes in the Tsimshian dialect do not agree with those found in the Nass dialect.

(\( \alpha \beta \gamma \)) The aspiration of \( g^*, k^*, g, \) and \( k \) does not seem to occur; only \( g \) and \( q \) are aspirated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzöq</td>
<td>dzexdzö'q</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y'aq</td>
<td>y'txy'a'q</td>
<td>to hang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\( \delta \)) The changes from \( dz \) and \( ts \) to \( z \) and \( s \) are also not regular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>godz</td>
<td>gadzgöl'dz</td>
<td>to tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō'ts</td>
<td>hash'yots</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'dz</td>
<td>yta'ndz</td>
<td>to chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ültsk</td>
<td>t'est'ültsk</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\( \epsilon \)) In many cases a \( k, \) corresponding to Nass \( x' \), appears inserted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa'olk'ensk</td>
<td>seksa'olk'ensk</td>
<td>dismayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōl</td>
<td>leklōl</td>
<td>to shove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūnūti</td>
<td>leklū'nūti</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō</td>
<td>leklō'o</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōmšk</td>
<td>wukwō'mšk</td>
<td>to suffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>neknı'ō</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō'ts</td>
<td>neknı'ōts</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 36
§37. Initial Reduplication, including the First Vowel

(a) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lātk</td>
<td>lsklāˈtk (better: le-lāˈtk) to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stūlt</td>
<td>steskūˈolt companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabaˈxs</td>
<td>gakgabaˈxs to splash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāˈulemx</td>
<td>yikyāˈulemx to advise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gałˈdˈd</td>
<td>gakgałˈdˈd to let go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Some words insert a t after the first vowel. Since a d or t occurs in some of these cases after the first vowel of the stem, the occurrence of the t may sometimes be due to an irregular treatment of the reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwāntk</td>
<td>gutgaˈntik to touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēˈredax</td>
<td>getgēˈredax to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāˈ</td>
<td>wutwāˈ to find</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§37
(b) In a number of cases the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is long and the accent is thrown back upon it, while the vowel of the stem is weakened:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leq</td>
<td>læ'leq</td>
<td>to wash body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wóq</td>
<td>wá'Iwóq</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak</td>
<td>sæ'ísak</td>
<td>to haul out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak</td>
<td>læ'Ilak</td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'íq</td>
<td>t'á'I't'éq</td>
<td>to scratch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leq</td>
<td>læ'leq</td>
<td>to wash body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wóq</td>
<td>wá'Iwóq</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak</td>
<td>sæ'ísak</td>
<td>to haul out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak</td>
<td>læ'Ilak</td>
<td>to bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'íq</td>
<td>t'á'I't'éq</td>
<td>to scratch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wóq</td>
<td>wá'Iwóq</td>
<td>to hold with teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'íq</td>
<td>t'á'I't'éq</td>
<td>to step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sæ'n-wóq</td>
<td>sæ'n-wá'Iwóq</td>
<td>to rebuke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Words beginning in hw (w Tsimshian) have a form of reduplication which is evidently of the same origin as the forms here discussed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hwá</td>
<td>hwá'Ihwá</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwílp</td>
<td>hwílp'Ihwílp</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wá</td>
<td>hwá'Ihwá</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wálb</td>
<td>hwá'Ihwá</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wái</td>
<td>hwá'Ihwá</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Words beginning with a consonantic cluster reduplicate in the Nass dialect by a repetition of the first consonant; at the same time initial w is transformed into q. In Tsimshian the consonantic cluster is treated like a syllable, and is repeated with insertion of a weak vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pto</td>
<td>ppto</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xíqó</td>
<td>qexíqó</td>
<td>to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xíkó'lux</td>
<td>qexíkó'lux</td>
<td>to scold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xítsa'é</td>
<td>qexítsa'é</td>
<td>thick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sqag</td>
<td>sæ'xíqó'g</td>
<td>to refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'æ'</td>
<td>t'áax'tæ'</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) A number of cases of irregular reduplication occur. Examples in the Nass dialect are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ali'sk*</td>
<td>ali'sk*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane's</td>
<td>ane's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la'g'axsk</td>
<td>laxla'g'axsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han'a'g</td>
<td>han'a'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>nEkn'o°nk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxn'o°x</td>
<td>naxn'o°nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu°wa'l</td>
<td>wul°wa'l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38. Reduplication of Words containing Proclitic Particles

As a rule, compound words containing proclitic elements reduplicate the stem only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo-a'm</td>
<td>lo-am'a'm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few examples of compounds of the type which reduplicate the initial syllables have been given in § 36, d, e.

§ 39. Modification of Stem Vowel

In a few cases modifications of length and accent of stem syllables occur. I am inclined to think that all of these have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms. The following cases have come under my observation. All of them belong to the Nass River dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an'ds</td>
<td>an'd'es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'in'a'm</td>
<td>g'in'am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ib'd'</td>
<td>k'ib'd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge'n'a'</td>
<td>ge'n'a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halu't'</td>
<td>halu't'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han'a'q</td>
<td>han'a'q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formation of Plural (§§ 40-47)

§ 40. Methods of forming the Plural

The plural is generally sharply set off from the singular, both in the noun and in the verb, and only a limited number of words have the same form in singular and plural. Including these words and those which apply different stems in singular and plural, the following methods of expressing the plural may be distinguished.

§§ 38-40
(1) Singular and plural have the same form.
(2) The plural is formed by reduplication.
(3) The plural is formed by diaeresis or by lengthening of vowels.
(4) The plural is formed by the prefix qa-.
(5) The plural is formed by the prefix qa- and the suffix -(t)ku.
(6) The plural is formed by the prefix I- with variable vowel.
(7) The plural and singular are formed from the same stem, but in an irregular manner, or they are derived from different stems.

§ 41. First Group. Singular and Plural the same

In this group are combined the words, singular and plural of which have the same form. Here belong the names of all animals except dog čas and bear čl, trees, and many words that can not be classified.

Parts of the body (see also § 43):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qēc</td>
<td>nīeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēpx</td>
<td>pīnāx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz'aq</td>
<td>body (plural also qa- pīnāx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan</td>
<td>mūds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'mq</td>
<td>thump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laqs</td>
<td>ndīg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban</td>
<td>q'ār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptn</td>
<td>la'ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēdz'k'š</td>
<td>t'em-la'nīx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēkō'x'</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miscellaneous:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>āt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axkʷ</td>
<td>ts'ak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ol</td>
<td>wūl'os</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakʷ</td>
<td>lē'p' est marmon blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak's</td>
<td>d'ū' ist bed-quilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēl't</td>
<td>yū'teskʷ animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iā'ns</td>
<td>wūc root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davč's</td>
<td>bela' halotis-shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>havč'l</td>
<td>mū'ks sweet-smelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bela'</td>
<td>xīqūm payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iāk'</td>
<td>lūm' em to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēl'ēmzkʷ</td>
<td>ēmt' to rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē'lekʷ</td>
<td>g'ū'dex to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lē'mīx'</td>
<td>bak' to feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ā'a</td>
<td>li-ya'q to hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasa'q</td>
<td>andā'q to agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 41
A number of stems with prefixes also retain the same form in singular and plural:

- g'uts-ma'k'skʷ white blanket
- g'uts-hala'it dancing-blanket
- lax-am'a'kus prairie
- huvl-dig'a't warrior
- lo-sanā'lkʷ to be surprised
- se-anuwo'b'q to rebuke

The same class occurs in Tsimshian. Here also all names of animals have the same forms in singular and plural except those of the dog (hās) and the bear (āl). Names of parts of the body appear also in the same form in singular and plural, although more often they have the prefix qa-.

Examples are—

- nē'tseks fish-tail
- sa day
- latse smoked split salmon-tail
- mag'a'sx berry
- had'a'x to desire
- ū to fish with line
- ma'k'!ul to drop down
- lshē'ul to forbid
- p'elō to break law
- ālks servant

§ 42. Second and Third Groups. Plurals formed by Reduplication and Vowel Change

In these groups are comprised the words the plurals of which are formed by reduplication or diaereses. By far the majority of words belong to this class.

The plurals of the second group, which are formed by reduplication, may be subdivided into the following groups:

(a) The plural is formed generally by reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, which method has been fully described in § 36.

(b) Only in exceptional cases is the plural formed by the reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first vowel. The following instances of this type of reduplication used for forming the plural have been observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'īn</td>
<td>g'īg'ī'n</td>
<td>to give food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'īkʷ</td>
<td>g'īg'ī'kʷ</td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ak'</td>
<td>ts'ets'ak'</td>
<td>dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ax</td>
<td>t'el'a'x, t'axt'a'x</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ép</td>
<td>ts'ets'ép</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ūt</td>
<td>g'ūg'ū't</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māl</td>
<td>mmāl</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 42
A special form of this reduplication is found in words beginning with *huw*, which take *huw* in the plural, probably originating from *huwhw* (see p. 372).

(c) The few cases in which the syllable reduplicated according to this method is long and has the accent, while the vowel of the stem is weakened, have been described in § 37 b (p. 372).

(d) In some cases the singular is formed from a certain stem by the second type of reduplication, while the plural is formed by the first type of reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dëls</td>
<td>dëdëls</td>
<td>dëlëdëls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qël</td>
<td>qëqëthu</td>
<td>qëqëthu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *mak'sku*, plural *nesma'k'sku*, *white*, may be mentioned here, since its stem seems to be *mas*.

In Tsimshian a number of cases occur in which irregular reduplications are used, or phonetic increments of the stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xxwâ'ks</td>
<td>xxwâ'dâ'ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!â</td>
<td>ts!âts!ext</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'âx</td>
<td>q'âlx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>txa-q</td>
<td>txa-âlq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâ</td>
<td>lâ'olq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laq</td>
<td>lâ'olq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 42
In the third group are combined a few words the plural of which is formed by change of the vowel of the stem and by change of accent. Examples of this kind have been given in § 39.

§ 43. Fourth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa-

In words of this class the plural is formed by the prefix qa-. It includes many names of parts of the body; adjectives expressing states of the body, such as blind, deaf; words of location; and a miscellaneous group of words.

(a) Parts of the body:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'Em-q'c</td>
<td>qa-t'Em-q'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'Em-mu'x</td>
<td>qa-ts'Em-mu'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'Em-á'y</td>
<td>qa-ts'Em-á'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'Em-qá'x</td>
<td>qa-t'Em-qá'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'sEm-lá'm</td>
<td>qa-ts'Em-lá'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuvé'en</td>
<td>qa-tsuuvé'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'ó'n</td>
<td>qa-an'ó'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plnáx</td>
<td>qa-plnáx and plnáx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qé'ly</td>
<td>qa-qé'ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gát</td>
<td>qa-gá't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgamá'q</td>
<td>qa-tgamá'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'é'ee</td>
<td>qa-q'é'ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagšt</td>
<td>qa-lagšt and lagšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smax'</td>
<td>qa-smax'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'é'</td>
<td>ga-b'é'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâte'</td>
<td>ga-dâte'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'Em ts'á'us</td>
<td>ga-ts'Em-ts'á'us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gá'd</td>
<td>ga-gá'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an'ó'n</td>
<td>ga-an'ó'n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Adjectives expressing states of the body:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-ibá'e</td>
<td>qa-k-ibá'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sín's</td>
<td>qa-sín's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'â'y</td>
<td>qa-ts'â'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-wo'tsx</td>
<td>qa-me-wo'tsx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xá'ósk'</td>
<td>qa-xá'ósk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax-gá'ót</td>
<td>ax-qa-gá'ót</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 43
Here may belong also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwâ'd'</td>
<td>qa-gwâ'd'</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hux-i'ô'nst</td>
<td>hux-qa-i'ô'nst</td>
<td>liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama hwiil</td>
<td>ama qa-hwiil</td>
<td>{ rich (literally, well-to-do)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ama wâ'l</td>
<td>ama qa-wâ'l</td>
<td>rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagau-sâ'o't</td>
<td>sagau-qa-sâ'o't</td>
<td>good luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lgusgë'r</td>
<td>qa-lgusgë'r</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Locations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dâx'</td>
<td>qa-dâ'x'</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax'o'</td>
<td>qa-lax'o'</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stô'ôk's</td>
<td>qa-stô'ôk's</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'â'u</td>
<td>qa-g'â'u</td>
<td>beach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Unclassified words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semô'tks</td>
<td>qa-semô'tks</td>
<td>to believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'dë'en</td>
<td>qa-no'dë'en</td>
<td>to adorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yîs-ug'ag'itk's</td>
<td>yîs-qa-ug'ag'itk's</td>
<td>to rejoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lë'lëks</td>
<td>qa-lë'lëks</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwîx'-silë'ënsk*</td>
<td>gwîx'-qa-silë'ënsk*</td>
<td>hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>qa-â'îs and vis</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'it</td>
<td>qa-qâ'it</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mën</td>
<td>qa-mën</td>
<td>butt of tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y'ëu'o</td>
<td>ga-y'ëu'o</td>
<td>berrying-basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gôk</td>
<td>ga-gô'k</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bû'o</td>
<td>ga-bû'o</td>
<td>to scatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xswô'o</td>
<td>ga-xswô'o</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lë'ks</td>
<td>ga-lë'ks</td>
<td>torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xâ'ik</td>
<td>ga-xâ'ik</td>
<td>to upset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nâ'ël</td>
<td>ga-nâ'ël</td>
<td>to fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kse-nâ'ël'lk</td>
<td>qa-kse-nâ'ël'lk</td>
<td>to breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má'mega</td>
<td>ga-má'mega</td>
<td>to smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xstô'o</td>
<td>ga-xstô'o</td>
<td>to vanquish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, this prefix conveys strongly the impression of being a distributive, not a plural; but in many cases its use seems to have become formal and fixed. It would seem that particularly terms for parts of the body that have no reduplicated plural may take the § 48
prefix qa-. The distributive character appears very clearly in one case where qa-ts.'a'p means the one town of each one, while the plural would be ts.'epts.'a'p, and also in k'ope-qa-tept'ek∗ all small pieces (of salmon) 56.1

§ 44. Fifth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa- and the Suffix -(t)k∗

Plurals formed by the prefix qa- and the suffix -(t)k∗ are confined to terms of relationship. The prefix is probably the same as that used in the preceding class, while the suffix seems to be related to the verbal and possessive suffix -k∗.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niā'</td>
<td>qa-niā'etk∗</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntsē'ets</td>
<td>qa-ntsē'etsk∗</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>négud'ōt</td>
<td>qa-négud'ōtk∗</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neb'p</td>
<td>qa-neb'pk∗</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak∗</td>
<td>qa-wak'k∗</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belongs also—

| me'en          | qa-me'enrk∗  | master                   |

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me'eh</td>
<td>qa-me'entk∗</td>
<td>master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neb'p</td>
<td>qa-neb'pg</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niā'n</td>
<td>qa-niā'nig</td>
<td>master</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words have qa—k∗ combined with reduplication, the reduplicated syllable being lengthened and the stem-vowel weakened:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nak's</td>
<td>qa-nak'slak∗</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōx</td>
<td>qa-nō'nek'k∗</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Without the prefix qa- are found—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wak∗</td>
<td>wak'k∗</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'i'mxe'dē</td>
<td>g'i'mxe'dētk∗</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naks</td>
<td>nēnksg</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular is—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huxdā'ek'en</td>
<td>lu̱x̱dā'ek'entk∗</td>
<td>grandson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undoubtedly the terminal -tk∗, -k∗, in these forms, is the same as the suffix discussed in § 17.
§ 45. Sixth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix 1-

Plurals formed by the prefix 1- are pre-eminently verbal plurals, as is illustrated by the following examples taken from the Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Nominal-Plural</th>
<th>Verbal Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak'·swater, to drink</td>
<td>ak'·k's waters</td>
<td>la-ak'·s to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'i paddle, to paddle</td>
<td>huwa'i paddles</td>
<td>lu-wa'i to paddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel connected with this prefix is variable, and many irregularities are found in this class.

(a) Singular Plural

- ak'·s la-ak'·s to drink
- yó·ka to follow
- gó·ka to be awake
- d'a to devour

(b) Reduplication or lengthening of vowel is found with 1-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xdax'</td>
<td>lu-xde'·dx' hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xbe'ta'x</td>
<td>la-xbe'ta'x' to be afraid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here may be mentioned Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka'pē</td>
<td>lu-kt'ed hungry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Initial g', k', and q drop out after 1-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gâ'k's</td>
<td>lak's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ibá'yuk</td>
<td>libá'yuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ënx</td>
<td>le'nx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also the reduplicated plurals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'amk's</td>
<td>lemla'mk's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'amq'il</td>
<td>lemla'mq'il</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'ë'ënks</td>
<td>lünk's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'na</td>
<td>lë'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ëk's</td>
<td>lak's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ëks</td>
<td>lak's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ëq'ëoks</td>
<td>lë'ëks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ëmg</td>
<td>lë'mg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'amq</td>
<td>lamks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ipá'yuk</td>
<td>lipá'yuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(d) Irregular, but related to this class, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaz</td>
<td>l'ł'ęx</td>
<td>to hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yixya'q</td>
<td>líst'sk'u</td>
<td>to hang [v. n.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṹdak'u</td>
<td>lũx</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ín-hé'k'ñu</td>
<td>l'ñ'ẽdénk'ñt</td>
<td>to arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'staqs</td>
<td>lukstšą'dęga</td>
<td>to leave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaksi</td>
<td>l'idakśk</td>
<td>to wake up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'a'ksen</td>
<td>l'idakšen</td>
<td>to awaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ses-á'exs</td>
<td>les-aã'xš</td>
<td>to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xstłog</td>
<td>laxstłęga</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 46. Seventh Group. Irregular Plurals

This last group is quite irregular. The following plurals are formed from the same or related stems, but in an irregular manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sem'dłq'it</td>
<td>semy'iq'd't</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sig'ídemna'x</td>
<td>sig'ídemhő'nax</td>
<td>chieftainness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuy楔'tk'u</td>
<td>siya'tk'u</td>
<td>to weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayawđ'tk'u</td>
<td>álauyvä't</td>
<td>to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'ämhe'</td>
<td>wud'æx al'ämhe'</td>
<td>to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lő'ñ'l'sa</td>
<td>lő'le'dik'sa</td>
<td>to wash cloths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'nq'sa</td>
<td>nnè'nek'šu</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'd'ö'x</td>
<td>d'ëk'dö'x</td>
<td>stout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ai-ma'ñ'ñ</td>
<td>q'ai-ma'qšit</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am'a-ma'ñ'ñ</td>
<td>am'a-ma'qšit</td>
<td>pretty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sem'dłq'id</td>
<td>semy'iq'a'd</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sig'ídemno'g</td>
<td>sig'ídemhő'naq</td>
<td>chieftainness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ñ'íñ'GTK</td>
<td>nani'øtk</td>
<td>to arise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the use of different stems for singular and plural belongs rather to the classification of nouns and verbs according to form of objects and actors, this feature is so prominent in the dialects of the Tsimshian that it deserves mention here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g'ëdak'ñu</td>
<td>hő'ut</td>
<td>to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'ẽ</td>
<td>lõ</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id'õrk'ñu</td>
<td>trő'õrk'u</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'a</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzak'u</td>
<td>yẽts</td>
<td>to kill (plural = to chop)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hëtk°</td>
<td>mak°-sk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwëtk°</td>
<td>bak°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gô</td>
<td>dôg°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg°-tik°</td>
<td>dôzk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k°-sax</td>
<td>k°-si-lo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magt</td>
<td>hwitlq°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqats'a'z</td>
<td>alisg°-i'°da°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâ'ux</td>
<td>sak°-sk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malk°</td>
<td>tzë'ld°et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazes't</td>
<td>cëntk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bax</td>
<td>gôl°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'qat</td>
<td>l'âl°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gë'l°</td>
<td>lâ'lu°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ën</td>
<td>la'mdzëx°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nô'ô</td>
<td>dax°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tsimshian:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k°-^2°oxk</td>
<td>hût°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iâ°</td>
<td>vâl°zex°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâ°</td>
<td>hab°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iâ°-oxk</td>
<td>txâ°-oxk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t°-â°</td>
<td>wan°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzag°</td>
<td>yacz°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hëty, batsg</td>
<td>maxsk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wäty°</td>
<td>amiâ't°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gô°</td>
<td>dôg°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayâ°-oks</td>
<td>maks°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>môzk°</td>
<td>sâ°ntk°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m°q'°an</td>
<td>sâ°n°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba°</td>
<td>g°ôl°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nô'k°</td>
<td>lâr'ôl°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts°-îv°n</td>
<td>la'mdzëx°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzag°</td>
<td>der°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo°</td>
<td>tilü'ng'at°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lgü̈r°g°</td>
<td>klgër°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôl°</td>
<td>sa'mi (i.e., meat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 40
§ 47. Plurals of Compounds

In by far the majority of cases the plural of compounds is formed, in cases of reduplication, by leaving all prefixes unmodified, and by forming the reduplicated plural of the principal theme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gā'wa</td>
<td>t̰x̰ḏ̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'ulk</td>
<td>b̰̂k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxl'a'x</td>
<td>t̰gi-kî̱l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'as</td>
<td>maxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-p'a's</td>
<td>su-ma'xs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tgu-</td>
<td>ḵa-be̱'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voi-</td>
<td>wut'la'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qal-t̰#a'p</td>
<td>qal-t̰#x̱pt̰#a'p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dax-g'a't</td>
<td>dax-g'ig'a't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-se'beṉ̂sk*</td>
<td>an-sepse'beṉ̂sk*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa-dzāgam-lu-ya'ltg</td>
<td>sa-dzāgam-lu-yī̊lyα'ltg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu-am g̱ḏo̱ḏ</td>
<td>lu-am'α̱m̱ g̱ḏo̱ḏ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, however, cases in which the whole word is reduplicated. Examples of these have been given in § 36, d (p. 370). The principal suffixes so treated are an- and ha-.

The position of the prefix ga- seems to depend upon the firmness of the compound. Generally it precedes the stem; as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guōix-si̱lê'ensk*</td>
<td>guōix-qua-si̱lê'ensk*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḵa-ḻu-ul-ga-lgu̱ns̱e're̱dst</td>
<td>they are for a while here and there happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Tsimshian dialect)

On the other hand, we find in the Tsimshian dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts'em-mūl</td>
<td>gu-ts'em-mūl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts'em-mūl</td>
<td>gu-ts'em-mūl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal Pronouns (§§ 48-54)

§ 48. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The personal pronouns have two distinctive forms, which, according to their probable original significance, may be designated as transitive and intransitive, or, better, subjective and objective. The former

§§ 47, 48
express, at least partly, the subject of the transitive verb; the latter, its object, and at the same time the subject of the intransitive verb. Their use is, therefore, to a certain extent analogous to that of the subjective and objective pronouns in languages like the Siouan, Iroquois, Haida, Tlingit, and others. The use of these forms in Tsimshian, however, is peculiarly irregular. The forms in the two dialects are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Objective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>-ég</td>
<td>-él</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>dp-</td>
<td>-m -ôm</td>
<td>-öm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>m -êm-</td>
<td>-êm</td>
<td>-êm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 49. Use of the Subjective

(a) The subjective pronouns are used most regularly in the subjunctive mood, where they appear as prefixes of the verb. It will be sufficient to demonstrate their use in one dialect only, since the rules are the same in both, and I choose the Tsimshian dialect for this purpose.

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me.</th>
<th>us.</th>
<th>thee.</th>
<th>you.</th>
<th>him, them.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n-n</td>
<td>n-êm</td>
<td>n-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dp-n</td>
<td>dp-êm</td>
<td>dp-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>m-m</td>
<td>m-m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m-êm-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>m -êm-u</td>
<td>m -êm-m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>m -êm-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>t-u</td>
<td>t-m</td>
<td>'t-êm</td>
<td>'t-êm</td>
<td>t-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

*ada wul me wā'yu then you (singular) found me*
*a wul m sem wā'yu because ye (plural) found me*
*ada wul wā'yu hā't̄̄s̄̄et then the dog found me*
*huwō't̄̄n̄̄i, n dem k'ā-lexul-wō'n wait until I shall for a while meet you (huwō't̄̄n̄̄i, wait until; n I; dem future; k'ā- for a while; lexul- against; wō to find; -n thee)*
*a demt wō't̄̄tu that he will bake me*
*ada me dem sem wul man-sā'k'-ut then ye will pull it up (ada then; me thou; dem future; sem ye; wul being; man- up; sā'k'-ut to pull; -t it)*
*a wul dp dī-šē-wō't because we, on our part, give them names (a at; wul being; dp we; dī- on our part; šē- to make; wō't name; -t it)*
dem-t ligi-la-ni'o'dzegø he would see somewhere bad luck (dem- future; t- he; ligi- somewhere; la- bad luck; ni'o'dz to see; -t it; -gaø absence [see § 20])
læ g'ik da'mka'tsgø when he squeezed it again (la when; t he; g'ik again; damks to squeeze; -t it; -gaø absence)

(b) In the indicative, the subjective pronouns are used when the object of the verb is a first or second person. The objective pronouns are used to express the subject of the transitive verb, in the indicative, when the object is a third person. The verb takes the suffix -d or -n described in § 17.

**INDICATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me.</th>
<th>us.</th>
<th>thee.</th>
<th>you.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n—n</td>
<td>n—n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dep—n</td>
<td>dep—n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>m—nu</td>
<td>m—n</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>m-sem—nu</td>
<td>m—n</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>t—nu</td>
<td>t—n</td>
<td>t—n</td>
<td>t—n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

m wa'yinu you (singular) found me
m dem dza'kdøu you will kill me (dzak to kill)
t wa'yinu hæ'o'set the dog found me
n dza'kden I have killed thee
n wa'o'm you have found me
me ay'b'yñem you (singular) have hit us
dep o'yin we hit thee

(c) The subjective pronouns are used with transitive and intransitive forms that take the objective pronouns for the purpose of emphasis.

me dem dza'kdønt gu'i

you (singular) will kill this one
or
me dem sem dza'ksënt gu'i

you (plural) will kill this one
or
t dza'k'døte hæ'o'sgaø

he has killed the dog
or
dza'k'døte hæ'o'syaø

I was eating
or
na la yã'wurgen*nu

you (singular) were eating
or
na la yã'wurgen*
(d) The verb *da-ya* to say so takes these elements always:

- *da-n-ya'nu* I say so
- *da-dep-ya'nuem* we say so
- *da-m-ya'n* you (singular) say so
- *da-m-sem-ya'nuem* ye say so
- *da-yat* he says, they say

Adverbs like *g'ik* again are placed here following the subjective pronoun, including *m-sem*.

- *da-m-sem g'ik ya'nuem* ye say so again

§ 50. Use of the Objective

(a) The objective is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb.

- *sî'opgenu* I am sick
- *dem al tgi-ks-qa'ganu* but I shall (go) down first (*dem* future; *al* but; *tgi-* down; *ks-* extreme; *qa*ga first)
- *ada dem l'i-o'ksen* then you will drop on (it) (*ada* then; *l'i-* on; *o'ks* to drop)
- *sa-o'kat* suddenly he dropped
- *da wul dzô-xsem* when you camped (*da* at [see § 28]; *wul* being; *dzô* to camp)
- *m'la hasa'ganu* tell that I wish
- *tslelem-ks-trulânu* I am the last one behind

(b) The objective is used to express the object of the transitive verb. Examples have been given in § 49, b.

(c) The objective is used in the indicative of the transitive verb when the object is a third person or a noun. When the object is a third person pronoun, the objective *-t* is added to the objective pronoun.

- *b'yut* I hit it
- *b'înt* you (singular) hit him
- *b'yînt* we hit it
- *ne lâ dza'kđemt gu'i* we have killed this one
- *dem dza'kđut* I will kill him
- *b'yu hâ's* I hit the dog

(d) The objective is used in a periphrastic conjugation of the transitive verb, in which the objective pronoun is repeated in the form of the independent pronoun.

- *nî'dzut n'ë'renu* I see thee (literally: I see it, thee)
- *dem dza'gwên nû'ëryu* you (singular) will kill me

§ 50
(e) The objective pronoun is used to express the possessive relation.

\[ \text{mi} \text{đ} \text{nu} \text{ my master} \]
\[ \text{ne-walben} \text{ thy house} \]
\[ \text{ne-si}^\text{o} \text{pensget} \text{ his friend} \]
\[ \text{ga-qâdenem} \text{ our minds} \]
\[ \text{ne-wânsem} \text{ what you have (wân for wâl, l assimilated by preceding n)} \]

§ 51. The First Person Singular, Objective Pronoun

The first person singular of the objective form has a second form in -i, which occurs also in the possessive pronoun (see § 55). It is used in all cases in which the event is conceived as unreal.

(a) In negative sentences.

\[ \text{a'lgEdl ha-dza'gI} \text{ I do not die from it} \]
\[ \text{a'lgEhasa'gail dem dza'gen} \text{ I do not want thee to die} \]

(b) In sentences expressing potentiality, but with reference to the unreality of the event.

\[ \text{ada a'lyet naél dem l'in-l'i-glan-a'dygI then there is no one who} \]
\[ \text{could get across me (a'lye not; nâo who; -l [see § 31]; dem} \]
\[ \text{future; -t he [trans. subj.]; in- nomen actoris (see p. 335);} \]
\[ \text{l'i-glan- over; adyg to attain)} \]
\[ \text{senegal bô'sendat òp dze dza'gi I am much afraid lest I may die} \]
\[ \text{(senegal much; bô's afraid; -n indicative; -n 1; òp lest; dze} \]
\[ \text{conditional; dzaq to die)} \]
\[ \text{me o'yig'in you might hit me! (m thou; òy to hit; -i me; -g'in perhaps)} \]
\[ \text{ada demt ho'dzîge na-râ'igesge demt gun-a'ksgigao;} \]
\[ \text{wi-qofe dem g'a'bu, dzedu la ts'i'onî, da ... then my master may} \]
\[ \text{send me, he may order me to get water; I shall take a large} \]
\[ \text{basket, when I come in, then ... (ho'dz to send; -ye [see} \]
\[ \text{§ 24]; na- possessive prefix [see § 55]; xîo slave; na-râl my} \]
\[ \text{master; gege preposition [see § 28]; gun- to order, to cause;} \]
\[ \text{aksy to get water; -qaô absence [§ 20]; wi- great; qof basket;} \]
\[ \text{g'ab to dip up; dzedu if; ts'i'en to enter; da then)} \]

(c) In conditional clauses.

\[ \text{ada dze la lu-ya'ltgi then, if I return ——} \]

(d) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -i in address.

\[ \text{lyôolgi my child!} \]
\[ \text{nâi my mother! (said by girl)} \]
\[ \text{negwôôli my father!} \]
(c) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -i in subjunctive and negative sentences, in which it designates potentiality of existence.

\[ \text{dei'p' e}x \text{di a n dze la tral-wā'sde lgū'bgida} \] I might remember when I met my child (\text{dei'p' e}x\text{ to remember; a at; n I; dze conditional; la past: tral- against; lgū'bg child})

\[ d'lg e \text{ di wālb} i \text{ I have no house (d'lg e not; di on my part; wālb house)} \]

§ 52. Remarks on the Subjective Pronouns

(a) The prefixed personal pronouns n-, m-, and t- may be considered true pronominal forms. The first person plural de\(p\) is, however, by origin, a plural of much wider application. It is used frequently to express the plural of demonstrative pronouns; for instance, de\(p\) gw\(i\)'i those. It seems, therefore, that its use as a first person plural may be secondary.

(b) The second person plural contains the objective element -sem, which remains separable from the transitive second person m-. Particularly the temporal elements wil, dem, la are placed between m- and -sem.

\[ \text{ada me dem sem wulā'i la gwā'ntgut} \text{ then you will know that I have touched it (ada then; me- 2d pers. subj.; dem future; -sem 2d pers. plural; wulā'i to know [singular obj.]; la past; gwā'ntg to touch; -n I; -t it)} \]

(c) The third person is placed following the temporal particles, while all the other persons precede them, except the -sem of the second person plural (see under b).

First person singular: \(n \text{ dem sū meā'ulget} \text{ I shall shake the rope (n I; dem future; sū to swing; meā'ulgy rope)}\)

First person singular: \(n \text{ dem na'kgyen} \text{ I shall marry thee}\)

First person plural: \(de\(p\) dem an\(w\)ul-\(m\)a'\(g\)an we will stand by you (de\(p\) we; dem future; an\(w\)ul- by the side of; mag to place; -n thee)\)

Second person: \(ada \text{ me dem kse-de-hā'o'lyga} \text{ then you will run out with her (kse- out; de- with; hā'o to run; -t her; -ya o absence)}\)

Third person: \(ada \text{ demt q'\(a\)'pegan leksā'gat} \text{ then he will close the doorway (q'\(a\)'pegan to close, fill up; leksā'q doorway)\)}

First person: \(a'lye \text{ n la dī-k'\(i\)inā'm del hanā'o'g I have not given it to the woman (a'lye not; n I; la past; di on my part; k'\(i\)inā'm to give; del [see §§ 28, 31]; hanā'o'q woman)}\)
First person: *ada ne wul nǐ° ne-wal'ipsye y.w°ta* then I saw the house of the man (*ada then; ne I; wul being; nǐ° to see; ne- possessive prefix [see § 55]; wāl house; -sye [see § 24]; y.w°ta man*)

Third person: *ada wul 6'ytga° adat wul 6'ytga°* and then he hit him

(d) A comparison between the use of the connectives [see § 24] and the personal pronouns shows a strict correspondence between these forms. We have seen that in the indicative, in forms with the third person object, the subjective forms are not used, but that the objective forms are used instead. This corresponds to the peculiar identity of the objective forms of the subjunctive connective (B 1, § 24) and of the indicative of the subjective connective of the transitive verb (A 2, § 24). It seems justifiable, therefore, to state that, in transitive sentences with nominal subject and object, the indicative takes the objective forms in the same way as in sentences of the same kind, in which pronominal subjects and objects only occur.

§ 53. The Personal Pronoun in the Nass Dialect

As stated before, the usage in the two dialects is very nearly the same, and a number of examples may be given here to illustrate the forms of the Nass dialect.

Use of the subjective (see § 49, a):

(a) Subjunctive forms.

\[ \begin{align*}
  & \text{ām me} \text{ dem we°ōl qal-tš'a'p good (if) you call the people 206.13} \\
  & \text{la ām me} \text{ na'k'sgue good (if) you marry me 158.2} \\
  & \text{ām dep d'isq̱'ul qa-dz'a'gam good (if) we strike our noses 103.8} \\
  & \text{at gwal'ḵ det for their drying them 169.7 (a preposition; t- 3rd per. subj.; gwal'ḵ to dry)} \\
  & \text{nig'ın h威尔'ẕt I did not know it (nig'ī not) (takes the subjunctive)} \\
\end{align*} \]

(b) I have not found any examples of indicative and emphatic forms (c) (see § 49, b, c).

(d) The verb de-ya TO say so (see § 49, d) has the following forms:

\[ \begin{align*}
  & \text{nē-ya'nē I say so} \\
  & \text{dep héidenōm we say so} \\
  & \text{mē-ya'an you (singular) said so 171.5} \\
  & \text{mesēm hé'ide you say so} \\
  & \text{de-ya he says so 65.5} \\
\end{align*} \]
Use of the objective:

Most of the objective pronouns of the Nass dialect are identical with those of Tsimshian. The only exceptions are the first person singular, which in the Nass dialect is always -če, and the third person plural, which is -det.

Examples of the third person plural are the following:

- sem-a-ba-be'q' ask-a-det 'če they were much troubled 195.14
- hal-a' dét they made noise 173.14
- tiqal-la'k' det al de'pl wi-sqač' st they reached (against at) the foot of the mountain 126.6
- wul'p' del they began to throw again 139.15
- hoč'čet their house 102.3

The objective pronoun is used in the same way as in the Tsimshian dialect.

(a) Subject of the intransitive verb (see § 50, a).

- ni'g'ideh halal'đče I am not a shaman 128.9 (ni'g' not; de on my part; halal' st shaman)
- dEi'w'txanyou will count 129.9 (DE future; wtx to count)
- hagun-ič'el he went in the direction (toward it) 129.14
- dem de-ba'gam we, on our part, shall try 114.16 (huč to try)
- hagun-lö' onom we go up 42.8
- g'ilö dčže haz huč' 'sem do not do so also 98.4 (g'ilö do not; dč person; haz also, again; huč to do; sem ye)
- la sem-deč-g'ig' def 'det they had become very strong 98.13 (La past; sem very; def strong; g'at person; -det they)

(b) Object of the transitive verb (see p. 389).

(c) Subject of transitive verb, indicative with third person object.

- dem lep-huč' yiml dem nā' em we ourselves will find our bait 56.6

(d) Periphrastic conjugation.

- dem neč'kshuč nē' en I shall marry thee 203.9
- la liksy' te' en nē' en thou hast taken notice of me 158.1
- sak' sta'yig'et nē' en gans nē' ech 'they have deserted thee and me 157.10
- hagun-lö' onom nē' en I shall carry thee 74.1

(e) Possessive pronoun.

- an-qal-d'gneB my playground 79.1
- ts'elbē my people 192.2
- negvč'ěden thy father 133.2
- lyč'ulgun thy child 205.5
- nak'st his wife 133.1
- la dem grč' 'den what was to have been our food 122.9
- qa-ts' em-a'q'et your mouths 84.10
- qa-ts' em-a'q'et their mouths 84.13

§ 53
§ 54. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun, which in its subjective form has also predicative character, is formed from the following stems:

Nass dialect: Subjective nê-; objective lâ-.

Tsimshian dialect: Subjective n'er-; objective k'â-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nass dialect</th>
<th>Tsimshian dialect</th>
<th>Nass dialect</th>
<th>Tsimshian dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I . . .</td>
<td>nê</td>
<td>n'esriu</td>
<td>lê'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we . . .</td>
<td>nes</td>
<td>n'esriu</td>
<td>lê'em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou . . .</td>
<td>nê'em</td>
<td>n'esriu</td>
<td>lê'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye . . .</td>
<td>n'es</td>
<td>n'esriu</td>
<td>lê'em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he . . .</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>n'esriu</td>
<td>lê'em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they . . .</td>
<td>[dep nê'det]</td>
<td>nesriu</td>
<td>lê'em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

nê'ë t'an mun't I am the one who caught it 4.48
nê'ën t'an dedo'qt thou art the one who took it 157.4
nël'ë pëp-ënél sëf'ë then he himself the slave 40.8
k'ëm-ëm only ye 83.6

Tsimshian: nèsrëm tänh walas negwë'den lâ'ë all that thy father will do to me 133.2 (xesriënaall; dem future; hwiil to do; -ë connective; negwë'den father; -ë thy)

dem dëp-k's-gaë nëë'ët lân I shall (go) down first to you 81.4 (dem future; dëp down; k'- extreme; gaë first; nëë I; -st emphatic [see § 20]; lân to thee)

lô-ëmëthël g'at lô'ët inside it was full of people in it 120.3 (lô- in; mëthël full; -l connective; g'at people)

gëp dë-lâ'sem go ahead, to you also! 83.10
dem na'k'skuë nëën I shall marry thee 203.9

In place of the oblique form, the subjective with the preposition as (containing the connective -s [see § 23.7]) is also found, particularly for the third person.

hwiil hwiël's dëp-bë'ëbë as nê'ën qins nëlë thus did my uncles to thee and to me 157.9 (hwiil being; hwiil to do; -ë connective; dëp plural [see § 52, a]; bëp uncle; bë my; qins and; -ë connective) a'ly'ixt . . . as nëlë'ë she spoke to him 157.1

Tsimshian:

n'esriu dënët in-nalsga lyâ'lqent I am the one who will marry thy child (dën future; t- he; in- nomen actoris; nals to marry; lyâ'lq child; -en thy)
n'esrent in-ô'ët thou art the one who hit him

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however, he (i.e., you) indeed, you are really more greatly supernatural than I (y'agai−however; nǐ̡d he [here with the meaning you]; sen indeed; g'ap−really; k'α−exceedingly, more; vi−greatly; naxnə'=g supernatural; n thou; da preposition [see § 28]; k'd'i me)

\[ ... \]

§ 55. Possession

In the Tsimshian dialect three forms of possession may be distinguished, while the Nass dialect has only two. In the former dialect, separable possession is always introduced by the prefix na−, which is absent in the Nass dialect. Both dialects distinguish possession of inanimate and of animate objects.

1. Nass dialect:

(a) All possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the suffix expressing the possessive pronoun (see § 53, e), or, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the addition of the connective (see § 23).

\[ ... \]

(b) All possession of animate objects is expressed by the same suffixes, but the noun is given the passive suffixes -k, -tk, -s (discussed in § 17). Exceptions to this rule are terms of relationship in the singular, which take simply the possessive suffixes, like nouns expressing inanimate objects. The occurrence of the endings -k and -tk in the plurals of terms of relationship (see § 44) may be due to the treatment of these like other nouns designating animate objects.

\[ ... \]

2. Tsimshian dialect:

(a) All inseparable possession, including nouns designating parts of the body, locations referring to self, and terms of relationship, are expressed by possessive suffixes, and, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the connectives (see § 27).

\[ ... \]
(β) Inseparable possession relating to space relations:

- awi'° proximity
- lax'° the place over
- te'al'°n the place behind

(y) Inseparable possession, expressing terms of relationship, in singular:

- neg'ilia'°d father
- lem'kdi'° sister

To this group belong also—

- mi'ia'°n master
- neg'ilia'°du my father
- lem'kdi'°yu my sister

(b) Separable possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the prefix ne- and the possessive suffix (viz., the connective suffix).

- wāl'b house
- lā'b stone

(c) Separable possession of animate objects is expressed by the prefix ne-, the passive suffix, and the possessive (viz., connective) suffix.

- k'elu seal
- hā'°s dog
- ōl bear
- hā'n salmon
- ske herring
- ap bee
- mel'°k steelhead salmon
- ts'ap tribe
- wāl'b house

§ 56. Demonstrative Pronouns

I have not succeeded in analyzing satisfactorily the forms of the demonstrative pronoun. It has been stated before (§ 20) that presence and absence are expressed by the suffixes -st (-t) and -g'è (Tsimshian -t and -ga). Besides these, we find independent demonstrative pronouns and peculiar demonstrative suffixes. In the Nass dialect there are two independent demonstratives: gön this, gös that.
gôn:
lep-nê' gane-hwîla gôn I am always doing this myself 52.3 (lep-
s elf; nêe I; gane-hwîla always)
nikâ'â tyônl su-gô'â nakâ't then she resolved this 7.5
gê-g'îpq'â'pse hûril daxdô'at gôn high piles these 42.10
tyônl hit: this he said 99.12

gôs:
sem-lik's-g'a'dem qu-gât depl go'sty'ô very different were the minds
of those 114.12 (sem- very; lik's- separate; -g'at person; -em
attributive connective; qa- plural; gât mind; depl- plural [§ 52, a])
sem-go'âskâ'âl qê'nex as go'sty'ô really he reached a trail there 126.7
(sem- very; qê to hit; -skâ'â intransitive [17.2]; qê'nex trail)
mênl ts'enîl'k' go'sty'ô that was the master of the squirrels 212.5
(mên master; ts'enîl'k' possessive connective; ts'enîl'k' squirrel)
ôl-sem- k'!â'sama màl tyô'sty'ô that was a large exceedingly good
 canoe 107.5 (ôl- large; sem- very; k'!â- exceedingly; màl, good;
-a connective [§ 22]; màl canoe)

In Tsimshian the demonstratives seem to be more numerous.
There are two independent forms: gweî this, gweô that.

gweî:
dô' du gweô they are here
adat plô'a redet Waxayâ'ôq depl gweî'ot then Waxayâ'ôq told them
lyn-sqa-ndâ' du gweî a little after this (sqa- across; ndâ' long)


gweô:
nin!ô' ksemâ's gal-ts'êfps.'a'be gweô those are the nine towns
(nin!ô' this; ksemâ's nine; gal-ts.'êp tông)
G'ukmt's/êntk wê' xô' gweô this slave's name was G.
k'a-sqô'ksem gweô we will stop here for a while
adat màx'de depl gweô'ô then these agreed

Derived from gweô is gwa'sqaô, which always refers to absent
objects:
ada al sqer lyn-dzä'yam u'uta gengça gwa'sqaô but then the little
dead porcupine lay there (ada then; al but; lyn- little; dzä
dead; u'uta porcupine; gengça at [see § 28])
a'le gê'êtqet wîllhêrsé gwa'sgayaô no house stood there

It would seem that gweô refers to locations near by, since it is
never used with the ending -ga; while gwa'sqaô designates the dis-
tance, and is always used with the corresponding connectives.

Derived from gwa is also gwaî, which seems to point to the part
of the sentence that follows immediately; while gwaô is almost
always in terminal position.

§ 56
Those were the houses that had come down

Possibly these two demonstratives are related to *gu*, which appears often with the function of a relative pronoun, but seems to be a demonstrative of another class. These appear to be made up of the demonstratives *d* and *g*, which have been treated in § 20, and the two vowels -ɨ and -ʊ. I have not succeeded, however, in gaining a clear understanding of these forms. I have found the series

-ɨ
-ʊ
-du
-gʊ

of which I shall give examples:

-ɨ:

*ttu* ɨ*kenį* this one hit thee

*nin.* ɨ*bä'lste gw* ɨ*se-wä'temį y* ɨ*old* ɨ* this is the star that we call y* ɨ*old*

*k* ʉ*du* ɨ*nenį* those around us

*gal-t* ʉ*de t.* ɨ*benį bt gw gw* ɨ* this is the town of the sea-lions

*a* ʉ*ld* ʉ*ve* ɨ*ld* ʉ*a gw* ɨ* much did this one here

*vi*-sq* ʉ*te k* ɨ*ty* ɨ*li a st!* ʉ*po* ɨ*l* ʉ* a large mountain stands here behind the house

-ʊ

*n* ʉ*b* ɨ*du* han* ɨ*q* this woman has been running

*n* ʉ*b* ɨ*du* aw* ɨ*n* the one near thee has been running

-du

*nin.* ɨ*gal-t* ʉ*se* ɨ*pts* a* ɨ*be du gw* ɨ* those are the towns

*du* n* ʉ* ɨ*dem ded* ɨ*ld* ɨ*sed* ɨ* ɨ* . . . who will live then? ZE 792

*gu* ɨ*du* gn* ɨ* ɨ*nt* ɨ*in* you were angry for something of the kind.

-gʊ

*gu* na-di-*g* ɨ*qa* n* ɨ*ga* n* ɨ*ga-ni* ɨ*ty* ɨ*em* those were the ones prayed to by our grandfathers

*da*-y* ɨ* ɨ*a se* ɨ*mi* ɨ*g* ɨ*iq* ɨ*a gw* ɨ*a* ɨ*mg* ɨ*em* dz* ɨ*w* ɨ*de* ɨ*ga* ɨ* thus said the chief, that sun

*ne* ɨ*rint* in-k* ɨ*il* ɨ*in* ɨ*an* ɨ*m* ya* ɨ*ts* e* ɨ*ga* du k* ɨ*wan* gu t* ɨ* ɨ*wa* ɨ*du* m* ɨ*rd* ɨ* ɨ*y* ɨ*n ɨ*i* ɨ*an* ɨ*em* the one who gave you the animals that you always found (t he; ne* ɨ*rin* I; in nomen actoris; k* ɨ* ɨ* ɨ*an* ɨ*m* to give; ya* ɨ*ts* e* ɨ*g* ɨ*a* animals; da to; k* ɨ*wan* you [dative]; t* ɨ*wa* ɨ*du* always; w* ɨ* to find)

Among the demonstratives may also be enumerated the element *n-*,

§ 56
which also may be contained in the stem nē- (Tsimshian n.'er-) of the independent pronouns. In Tsimshian it is found in the very frequent demonstrative nin.'l' that one.

**Numerals (§§ 57, 58)**

§ 57. **Cardinal Numbers**

The Tsimshian dialects use various sets of numerals for various classes of objects. In Tsimshian one of these classes is used for simple counting. The others designate flat, round, long objects; human beings; canoes; measures. In the Nass dialect round and long objects are counted by the same set of numerals.

These sets of numerals in the two dialects are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Abstract count</th>
<th>II. Flat objects</th>
<th>III. Round objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nass</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tsimshian</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nass</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k'äke</td>
<td>k'äkek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>t'ëpxä't</td>
<td>t'ëpxä'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>guá'nt</td>
<td>gwant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tx'alpx</td>
<td>tx'alpx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>k'estene</td>
<td>k'estuns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>q'ë'l</td>
<td>q'ë'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>t'ëpxä'l</td>
<td>t'ëpxä'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>qunad'l</td>
<td>qunad'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>k'estema'ëc</td>
<td>k'estema's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>k'ap</td>
<td>k'ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>k'ap di k'äke</td>
<td>k'ap di g'äk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>k'ap di t'ëpxä't</td>
<td>k'ap di t'ëpxä'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>k'ë'ë'ëlwul k'ap</td>
<td>k'ë'ë'ëlwul k'ë'ë'ëlwul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>gula wul k'ap</td>
<td>gula wul k'ap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. Long objects</th>
<th>V. Human beings</th>
<th>VI. Canoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nass</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tsimshian</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nass</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>q'aa'wutsxan</td>
<td>ky'ä'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>q'a'ëpxan</td>
<td>ba菖a'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gu'å'tgan</td>
<td>gu'å't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>txa'ëpxan</td>
<td>txa'ëpx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>k'to'ësxan</td>
<td>k'stemä'sk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>k'at'sxan</td>
<td>k'at'sk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>t'ëpxa'tltsxan</td>
<td>t'ëpxa'tlts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yu'khe'tsxan</td>
<td>yu'khe'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>k'stemä'sxan</td>
<td>k'stemä'sk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>k'ap'ë'tsxan</td>
<td>x'päl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>k'ap di k'ä'l</td>
<td>k'ap di k'ä'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>x'päl di ba菖a'd</td>
<td>x'päl di ba菖a'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>k'ë'ë'l</td>
<td>k'ë'ë'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>gula'ë'tk</td>
<td>gula'ë'tk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This system will appear clearer when the numerals are arranged according to their stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuss</th>
<th>Tsimshian</th>
<th>Nuss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'.'äl(ku)</td>
<td>k’älk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’.'èel</td>
<td>k’èrel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qamä(et)</td>
<td>g.q’amä, which may be the stem also for q’a’ontxan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’epxa(t)</td>
<td>t’epxä’(ad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’.'èl’èl</td>
<td>gü’èl’èl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagad(èl)</td>
<td>g.red, which seems to be the stem for galbô’tk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gôl(ā’nt)</td>
<td>gül- in gwaunt, gül’èn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’alè’ It seems doubtful if this is different from the preceding one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trälpx</td>
<td>trälpx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’slôns</td>
<td>k’slôns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q’èl</td>
<td>q’èl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’epxa</td>
<td>t’epxä the same as two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qan</td>
<td>q’an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuk</td>
<td>yuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’stemä’c</td>
<td>kstemä’s (containing más thumb?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ap</td>
<td>k’ap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x’pièl</td>
<td>kpièl probably related to the preceding one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that a multiplicity of stems belong to the first three numerals, eight, ten, and probably twenty. Not all these distinct stems are entirely independent, but evidently in part modifications of § 57
the same remote root. It would seem that the numerals one, two, three, ten, for the class of round objects, had a suffix -1, which has brought about modifications of the stems to which it has been attached. It seems plausible, therefore, that k'-āk and k'-e'rel, g!want and k'-ulē, k'-ap and k'pi!l, are derived each pair from one root.

In some of the other classes the suffixes are obvious, although their meaning is not always clear. The suffix -sxan, in the class for long objects in Tsimshian, may well be a contraction of the numeral with sgan stick. The class designating human beings contains the endings -āl, -dāl, which in the numeral three (gulā' n) has been changed to -ān by dissimilation. The class expressing measures contains the element -ōn hand.

In the numerals the process of contraction may be observed with great clearness. Examples are the weakened forms kste!nasāl five persons, and that for nine persons, which is probably derived from the same stem, kste!masāl. Here belong also the forms yuk.udlā', which stands for yukdeldāl; k'-el'ōn, for k'-e'rel'ōn; k'-ulgā'x', for k'-ēel ɡ̃x; one fathom.

§ 58. Ordinal Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, and Distributive Numbers

Ordinal numbers are not found, except the words k's-qā'ox and k's-dzō'x the first, and anid the next, which are not, strictly speaking, numerals.

Numeral adverbs agree in form with the numerals used for counting round objects.

n!l!k'-et lō-la'qskʷət lə gulā'alt then she washed him in it three times 197.11 (-t she; lō- in; ląqskʷə to wash; -t him)

Tsimshian:

| txālpxa haka'k!uxt four times it clapped together |

Distributive numbers are formed with the prefix mel-a- (Tsimshian mele-), which has been recorded in § 10, no. 87. Besides this, duplicated forms are found.

Tsimshian:

| txālprade wul k'-šph'ā'pt su al mel-a-k'!e'reldēl ɡ̃amk forty days to each month ZE 792.21 (sa day; ɡ̃amk month) |
Syntactic Use of the Verb (§§ 59-65)

§ 59. Use of Subjunctive after Temporal Particles

The method of forming the modes has been discussed before, but it remains to add some remarks on their use. By far the most common form is the subjunctive. All historical prose, every sentence that does not express the speaker's own immediate experience, is expressed in this mode. For this reason almost all introductory conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive mode. Possibly this mode can best be compared with our participles in so far as it often has a somewhat nominal character. This is true particularly of the verb when introduced by the temporal particles $hvi'l$, $la$, $lā$, $dem$ (Tsimshian: $kul$, $la$, $lāe$, $dem$). The following examples illustrate their use:

1. $hvi'l$ seems to indicate primarily an action or state, then the place where an action takes place. It occurs commonly after verbs like TO KNOW, TO HEAR, TO SEE, TO FEEL, TO COME, TO GO, and other verbs of motion, TO FIND, TO TELL, and after many adjectives when treated as verbs. After the preposition a (see § 67) it generally expresses causal relations.

After $hvi'l'$a'x' to know:

$hvi'l'$a'x' $nuksem el'r he knew the condition of being cooked of his seal 183.13 ($nuk$ done; $em$ attributive connective; el'r seal)

$at hvi'l'a'L $hvi'l$ $ha'd'x'ku'h hvi'l'ty'ë$ he knew the being bad his doing 37.6 ($ha'd'x'ku'd$ bad; $hvi'l$ to do)

(Compare with this $pi'x$h $hvi'l'a'x's Ts'ak' hë'ty'ë Ts'ak' did not know what he said 127.7)

After $ba'y$ to feel:

$ba'y$ $hvi'l$ $sa'd'āl$ $dā'syu'm$ el'r 183.10 she felt the piece of seal being across ($sa$- across; $dā'$ to sit; $dāsk$ slice; el'r seal)

$nlk'e$ $lat bage dem $hvi'il$ $al'e'sk'ë't$ then he felt himself getting weak

After $na'x'na'$ to hear:

$na'x'na'$ $hvi'l$ $a'ly'x'l$ $yāq$ she heard that the raven spoke 151.11

$t$ $na'x'na'$ $hvi'l$ $hah'i't$ $tan$ $mok'$ $i'd'ns$ he heard that some one was speaking who caught leaves 15.11 ($hë't$ to say; $mok'$ to catch with net; $i'd'ns$ leaves)

(Compare with this $t$ $na'x'na'$ $hēl$ $vi-dē'set$ he heard what the old man said 22.6)

§ 59
After *g'a* to see:

$t$ *g'a*\(\text{al} \text{ hwil} \text{ gôsk} \text{ melê'et} \text{ he saw a salmon jumping} \) 52.15

$t$ *g'a*\(\text{al} \text{ hwil} \text{ älg'ar} \text{ g'at} \text{ wi-x'pûot} \text{ he saw a man examining the large jaw} \) 52.6

$t$ *g'a*\(\text{al} \text{ Léling'it} \text{ hwil} \text{ La} \text{ ä'dik'sk}^\text{L} \text{ ilû'ê the slaves saw the blood having come out} \) 133.15

After *dîk'sk*\(^L\) to come:

*ädîk'sk*\(^L\) \text{ hwil mesâ'x} it came to be daylight 160.7

*ädîk'sk*\(^L\) \text{ hwil sig'atk*dat} it came that they cried 104.11

*ädîk'sk*\(^L\) \text{ hwil q'andâ'nul lax-ha' the sky came to be clear} 78.12

After *iâ'ê* to go:

*hagun-ïâ'ê \text{ g'at al hwil ts'le'm-nô'ot the man went to the hole being there} \) 201.11

After *gâ'ô* to go to:

*nlk*\(^ê\) \text{ gt ïô'ol hwil d'at} she went to where he was sitting 209.10

*k*\(^ê\) \text{ gt ïô'ol hwil sg*it he goes to where he lies} 218.4

After *hica* to find:

*nîg*\(^ê\) \text{ hicat hwil g'ôk'sl q*etty'ê he did not find his string of fish lying in the water} 117.8 (nîg*ê* not; g'ôk's to be in water; q*ê* a string of fish)

After *mal* to tell:

*t ma*\(^d\) \text{det hwil wîtk*detg*ê they told him where they got it from} 42.8 (wîtka to come from)

*t mâ'ls G'ix'sats'a'ntx*L \text{ hwil lê-hô'ksh*ul lgô'u*lk*ul g'atg*ê 90.15}

G'ix'sats'a'ntx*Î* \text{ told where the child of the man was on (lê- on; hôksh*ul to be with something; lgô'u*lk*ul child; g'at man)}

After adjectives used as verbs, and after numerals:

*nak*\(^L\) \text{ hwil iâ'ê long he went} 146.11 (long was his going)

*nak*\(^L\) \text{ hwil lô'ddet long they walked} 126.6

*wî-tô'sl \text{ hwil g'îtk*ty'ê he swelled up much} 90.12

*wî-tô'sl \text{ hwil ayawâ'lk*Êt he cried much} 123.4

*hux k*\(^ê\) \text{ lcill hwil hwil's T'x'msem T. did one thing more} 44.13

q'ayim-de'lk*Êt \text{ al hwil nanâ'ôl lax-ha' he was quite near to where the hole in the sky was}

Tsimshian:

*adat t*\(\text{!el-gô'oti wul wa'tseq} \text{ sqâ*ty'êt he thought about it that the darkness continued ZE 784.3} \) (t*!el-gô'oti to think; wa'tseg to continue; sqâ*ty darkness)

*adat n*\(\text{!axnu*Ê vul la g'ik ha't's!eksem gô'it'ekst then he heard him come again} \) (n*!axnu*Ê to hear; g'îk again; ha't's!eksem once more; gô'it'ekst to come)

*adat n*\(\text{!axnu*Êdet Waryâ'ok wul wî-sâ'ldzege ts*la-wô'lbet} \text{ Waxayâ'ok heard the people in the house groan much (wi- greatly; sâ'ldz to groan; ts*la- inside; wô'lb house)} \)

§ 59
ada sa-nôdëze ya'ts! esgevé wul kse-gwôwëntgë wi-gôep!â then the animals saw the great light rising ZE 785.6 (sa- suddenly; nôdëz to see, discover; ya'ts! esq animal; kse- out; gwôwëntgë to touch; kse-gwôwëntgë to rise; wi- great; gôep!â light)

ada t na'ašege wula ha'usge n-ts'a'ptgâ then he told what his tribe said ZE 786.8 (mal to tell; ha'u to say; ts'ap tribe)
adat plia'året ne-ts'a'ptgë waxâk'se wag'k'ya'tx!E then they told the tribe about their brother being dead (plia'år to tell; ts'ap tribe; dagak dead; waik' brother)
at k'!/otszan wul kse-gwôwëntgë g'a'mget and he showed the moon that rose ZE 791.17 (k'!/otszan to show; g'a'mg sun, moon) am dep dem iâ'oka wula ha'u a'uta good we follow what porcupine says ZE 792.22 (âm good; dep we; dem future; iâ'ok to follow; ha'u to say; a'uta porcupine)

The use of wul is not quite so regular in Tsimshian as in the Nass dialect. We find, for instance,
t n.'axnu'0ha'us waxayd'°k he heard what Waxayd'°k said

On the other hand, wul is used very commonly with the introductory conjunctions ada, da. In fact, in most prose the greater number of sentences begin with this combination:

ada wul k'si-lô'dëdet al la laxlâ'xkëdet they went out having finished eating 40.9

t g'ôal wunâx'x' la ax-g'ôbetg'á he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.4 (wunâx'x' food; ax- not; g'ôp to eat something)

The two forms wul and wula are apparently used without much discrimination. Both are generally admissible, and I have not succeeded so far in discovering any difference in their meaning.

2. La expresses a past state (Tsimshian: la).

sem-gwôwël ha'uit al gwa'sl guis-halâ'tgë he was very poor on having lost his dancing-blanket 38.14 (sem- very; gwôwë poor; gwa's to lose; guis- blanket; halâ't ceremonial dance)
k'si-lô'dëdet al la laxlâ'xkëdet they went out having finished eating 40.9

t g'ôal wunâx'x' la ax-g'ôbetg'á he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.4 (wunâx'x' food; ax- not; g'ôp to eat something)
al'g'ixs Loganô'xwa' ha'uit x'x'x'x'Lôgobolla' spoke when he knew that he had lost 20.10 (al'g'ix to speak; ha'uit x'x'x'x' to know; x'x'x'x' to lose)

ba'xtexdet al la xsdâit they divided upon his having won 21.1

la haw ju'këa, nêk'ë . . . when it was evening again 141.4

la le'skôt le-ia'ts'l as'k kô'ukat al lax-an-la'kô, after the porcupine had struck the fire with its tail 77.7
Tsimshian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| adat sem-lu-sanâ'lyetga a lat nî'o dudâ'u leplô'p then he was much surprised at it when he saw the ice (on the) stones (sem-
|       very; lu- in; sanâ'ly surprised; nî'o to see; dudâ'u ice; leplô'p stone) lu-â'm gâ'ots nâ'ot gesye lat nî'o'stygâ'o his mother was glad when she saw him (lu- in; âm good; gâ'ots mind; nâ'ot mother; nî'o to see) nin.'t gan-haldem-gâ'îlt gesye la gî'k ganlâ'ok therefore they arose when it was morning again (nin.'t that it is; gan-reason; haldem-
|       up; gâ'îlt to run [plural]; gesye at; gî'k again; ganlâ'ok morning) adat gî'lok's lat wul'am-suwa'n'de ba'sogyet then he felt when the wind had driven him ashore (gî'elks to feel; wul'am- landward; suwa'n to blow; ba'sog wind) la gî'k k.'relde la tgi-â'o sut when again one day went down (k.'rel one; tgi- down; â'o to go; sa day) de'da' la xqwa'thsen if you feel cold dze la gra'nksen you may have been cooked ada la gâ'dolge ha'utga'o when he had finished speaking ada lat sa-gâ'lenqa u'nkseyt when they had taken off the ashes 3. Lâ while (Tsimshian: Lâ').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| nlk'et ma'ldêtgy'â lâ metkâ'l qal-ts'â'p then they told him that the town was full 183.14 la sem-bag'uit-dâ'â'l loqs, nlk'ê . . . when really in the middle was the sun, then . . . 103.15 nî'g'î huq kwîlt la qâ'ôdet they did not do it again when they finished 179.10 Tsimshian: n.'în't wul wulâ'i lâ't wula si'o'p'ende na'kstgâ'o that was how she knew that her husband continued to love her (wulâ'i to know; si'o'p'en to love; naks husband) ada la'o wula ho'tge wul-qâ'sogyet then continued to stand the wise ones ZE 792.20 (ho'tge to stand; wul-qâ'sog wise) ada saqait-anâ'qasqetxâ a lâ'o dem wula ia'o g'amgem dzî'usdet then they agreed together that the sun should continue to go ZE 791.18 (sagait- together; anâ'qasq to agree; ia'o to go; g'amgem moon, sun; dzî'us daylight) 4. dEm future (Tsimshian: dEm).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xpets'â'xl lig'î'ensk'â'y'â al dem dé-hwîlt the grizzly was afraid to do it also 56.14 (xpets'â'xl grizzly bear) hêl qâ'ôdel xa'el dem t'ukst-t'ê'âses Ts'ak' the slave thought he would push out Ts'ak. 135.4 (hê to say; qâ'ôd heart; xa'e slave; t'ukst- out of; t'ê'es to push) nî'g'i dem huq a'dî'k'sqûq'ê I may not come again 165.14 dzul am-hâ'ts' dem gê'ëpty'ê the stump ate all he was going to eat 55.12 dem k.'ê men-ie'ên you shall go up 91.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsimshian:

*ada dem k'ul-man-gô'sen* then you will jump up and about ZE 790.15 (*k'ul* about; *man-* up; *gô's* to jump)

*gwai' i dem ha'nin* this will you say ZE 790.15

*da me dem kse-lô l sî'obet* then shove out the bone! (*me* thou [subj.]; *kse-* out; *lô* to shove; *sî'ob* bone)

*ma'le demt lêgû'olardet* she told she would burn it

§ 60. Use of Subjunctive in the Negative

The negative conjunction *nîg'-i* (Tsimshian: *algè*), and that used in interrogative-negative sentences *nê* (Tsimshian: *al*), are followed by the subjunctive or by the connective *-l*

*nîg'it mât'enl dem sqa-iât lât 107.1* it did not let go what went across the way of it (*mât'en* to let go; *sqa-* across; *iât* to go; *lât* to it)

*nîk'-ôt nîg'it da-d'galkmdet* they do not reach it 139.2

*nîgin dem dé-gô'ut* I will not take it

*nêll al'â'dik' sadeda?* are they not coming?

*nê mesem hwa'da?* didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian:

In the Tsimshian dialect the negative is generally used with the connective *-l*, as described in § 31; the first person singular following the negative is -i. (See § 51.)

*a'lgè n dem k'î'nâ'mt al hanâ'g* I shall not give it to the woman

*a'lgè di t!ä'orlgetga* it is not difficult

*a wul a'lgè di t wula'îl dem dax-yâ'ogul anî'ostga* because he did not know how to hold on to the branch (*wulâ'i* to know; *dax-yâ'og* to hold; *anî'ost* branch)

*a'lgè di hanâ'gai* I do not wish (to do so)

*a'lgèr nisagâ'otgetga sts!â'lga* the beaver did not mind it (*nisagâ'ot* to mind; *sts!âl* beaver)

Negative-interrogative sentences:

*al si'qedi yuga hanâ'oygâ?* is not this woman sick?

*al mes wula'idut in-wulâ'gun?* don't you know who has done this to you?

§ 61. The Subjunctive after Conjunctions

*nîk'-ôt g'â'al hvoîl leba'yuukl gê'wun* 103.5 then he saw the gulls fly (*g'â'al* to see; *leba'yuuk* to fly [plural]; *gê'wun* gull)

*k'ît gô'ul vohâ'st* then he takes a string 217.4

*voalk'-ôt lô'-d'ep-t'eklâ'alasant* then he breaks it down in it 217.8 (*lô-* in; *d'ep-* down; *t'eklâ'alas* to break)

*tes n dem suva'nt* I may cure her 123.7

*dat hvoîlâ'gut* when he has done this to him 217.6

§§ 60, 61
§ 62. Use of the Indicative

On account of the tendency of the Tsimshian language to express all narrative in the subjunctive mood, indicative forms are quite rare, and occur almost only in statements of self-experienced facts. It is remarkable that the particle na, which expresses the completed past, and which occurs in the Tsimshian dialect only, is always followed by the indicative.

Examples of the use of the indicative are the following:

nan k'ul-saq'ap-i'nu I have only walked about without purpose

Examples of the use of the indicative are the following:

dem ia'nèe al avo'an I shall go (to) near you 196.12
dem qal'qnom we will play 75.6
nîlne'l id'dee I roast that 121.9
lep-g'eb'dasæ dzè'edzè Lgo-lep-tq'al-me'nt grandmother ate her own little vulva 121.12 (lep- she herself; g'èb to eat something; dzè'edz grandmother; Lgo- little; tq'al- against; mèn vulva)

§ 63. The Negative

(a) The negative declarative is expressed by the adverb nî'g'î (Tsimshian a'g'ë), which evidently contains the stem nè (Tsimshian ał) and the suffix indicating absence. The stem without this suffix is used in the negative interrogative (see § 60). The negative adverbs are always followed by the subjunctive.

nî'g'î hril'â'x'î hril'â'x'î stèl he did not know where his companion had gone 15.2 (hril'â'x'î to know; dã'ull to leave; stèl companion)

nî'g'î t'est'èst they were not large 113.9 (See also p. 403.)

(b) The negative interrogative is expressed by nè (Tsimshian: ał).

nèl ał'd'èk-sleda? are they not coming?
nèl sq'il mè dem ha-men-sâ'g'ida? have you anything to pull it up with? (sq'il to lie; me thou; ha- means of; men- up; sâ'g' to pull)

§§ 62, 63
Tsimshian:

| ne-bāºdi? has he not been running? |
| al  me-wulāºidut in-wulāºgun? don't you know who did this to you? |

(c) The word no is expressed by nē (Tsimshian: a'yn). The form a'yn is also sometimes used in interrogative sentences.

"nē," dē yal g'atg'ē "no," said the man 87.11

Tsimshian:

| ne-gan-wāºsemi, nāºt?— "A'yn." Did you not get what you went for, my dear?"— "No." (a'yn not; ne- possessive; gan- reason; wāº to do; sem ye; nāºt my dear! [masc.]) |
| a hawāºlg a gôl dēdôºlet when not yet. anything was alive ZE 782.1 |

(d) havāºlq (Tsimshian) signifies NOT YET.

In subordinate clauses the negation is expressed by ax- (Tsimshian wa-). These prefixes have been described in § 11, no. 137, p. 328. This prefix must be considered to have a nominal character, so that the whole sentence appears as a verbal noun.

(f) g'ulô' don't! (Tsimshian g'ulô').

| g'ulô dze sôºsem, ana! don't take the rest out 181.9 (dze weakens the imperative) |
| g'ulô me dze sem ma'let don't tell about it! 181.11 |

Tsimshian:

| g'ulô bāºsent don't be afraid! |
| g'ulô' me dze gâºot don't go there! |

§ 64. The Interrogative

In the Nass dialect the interrogative seems to be formed regularly by the suffix -a, which is attached to the indicative pronominal endings (see § 48). In Tsimshian the most frequent ending is -i, but -u also occurs. It does not seem unlikely that these endings may be identical with the demonstrative endings -i and -u, which were discussed in § 56. After interrogative pronouns these endings are not used.

1. Interrogative suffix -a:

| nēl ts'èns K'ul-hāºtqun-q'èºsemq al ts'èm-hwîlba? did not Labret-on-One-Side enter the house? 191.12 (ts'èn to enter; k'ul- on one side; hāºtqun to stand; q'èºsemq labret; ts'èm-interior; hwîl house; -a interrogative) |
| nēl vo-llè'sda? is it great? |
| nē me sem hwa'da? didn't you find it? 106.7 |
The imperative of intransitive verbs is ordinarily expressed by the second person of the indicative or subjunctive, while its emphasis may be lessened by the particle DZE. Very often the personal pronoun is strengthened by the addition of the prefixed subjective pronouns. In many cases the imperative has the future particle, which suggests that the form is not a true imperative but merely a future which serves the purpose of expressing an order.

dem yu'kdenl t'em-l'd'ñè hold to my neck! 75.11
dem qalā'qnōm let us play! (literally, we shall play) 75.6
Weakened by *dze*:

*dze ama-g'ad'ab' 'sem* look well after her 191.15

*me dze k'-'ve* me to-*k'-'tese* then put in the finger 195.10

Tsimshian:

*dem k'ul-man-g'o'sen* then jump up and about!

*n.'ini* *dem dzagan-ha'otyengo* that one call ashore! (literally, that is the one you will call ashore)

*dem ćan ne-ama-wa'ls negwa'ōden* promise him the wealth of your father

Weakened by *dze*:

*ada dze mul ha'un "lar-lo'ob"* then say "on stone"

Transitive verbs may form their imperatives in the same way.

*tgōnl dem havi'len* do this! (literally, you will do this)

Tsimshian:

*me dem laga-r-nu-dā' nā' put ice on each side!*

*me dem se-wd'itl call him a name!*

More frequently the imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by indefinite connectives, or, when there is no nominal object, by the ending *l* (Tsimshian -l).

*gōnl lgo'ulgun* take your child! 205.5

*ha'tēn-d'a'l qa-t's'o'ol ts'ak* put back from the fire some dishes 207.2

*sā'lebel* steam it! 54.8.

Tsimshian:

*vai, ċi bā'oll you, on your part, try!*

*dex-wā'p'or wā'oset* hold on to the branch!

*t.'em-stu'0!la' nut* accompany my son-in-law to the fire!

*man-sa'ik'as' ost'ont* pull up your foot!

By far the most frequent method of expressing the imperative is by the periphrastic expression *ām* (it would be) GOOD (1f).

*āml dem guzt* take it! 141.6

*āml dem se-d'lynum* let us cut wood! 63.4

*āml dem dē-xsun* you gamble also! 29.1

*ām me dem wo'ol yul-t's'up* invite the town 206.13

Tsimshian:

*ām me dēm di bā'ollt try it too!*

*ā'mēn me k.'a-di-boa'gu n-di-na-beba'guan* just try my playground too (*ām* good; *-se'n* dubitative; *me* thou; *k.'a-* just; *di-* on (thy) part; *baq* to taste; *n-* possessive; *na-* place; *baq* to taste, play)

*ām dēm k'-'t'o'gent* escape!

*ām dze qēs dep negwa'ōden* go to your parents!

§ 65
The negative imperative is expressed by \textit{g'ild}. \\
\textit{g'ild} / nexma'iyt/\textit{g} al \textit{ts}/em-hw\textit{p} \textit{don't!} they might hear you in the house 91.10. \\
\textit{g'ild} me \textit{dx} sem \textit{sqa-yo} /\textit{zk} \textit{don't} pass in front of it 107.3 \\
\textit{g'ild}'l sem\textit{a'm esenem} don't keep your mouths closed 84.5 \\

\textbf{§ 66. Subordinating Conjunctions}

The use of the temporal particles and of the negative as subordinating conjunctions has been described before (§§ 59 et seq.). It remains to enumerate a few of the other important conjunctions.

1. \textit{k'ə} then; generally in connection with the demonstrative \textit{n-} \\
\textit{nle}'e a'd'ik'\textit{sk} \textit{then he came} \\
\textit{k'ə dqtl anna'sl qag} then he took the skins of ravens 39.2 \\
\textit{nl dem k'ə me-ts'el'dil smaw} then burn the meat 213.1 \\

2. \textit{da} when. \\
\textit{da la wogysl g'ad'g'd when the man is buried 218.4} \\

3. \textit{dzE \textit{(tsE}}} weakens statements. \\
\textit{nle}'e g'\textit{idaxl sem'ad'g'it tse hw\textit{il witht} \textit{then the chief asked where it might come from 183.13} \\
\textit{ nig'it hwilax's Wig'at tse hwil d'ep-a'xk\textit{L not knew Giant where he came down 15.1} \\
\textit{nle}'e wbrwa'det a tse hwil hwil'll e\textit{l} then they wondered at where was the seal 42.6 \\
\textit{dp tse no'dt, tse m'lk\textit{L ak's al ba'nt} lest he die, if his belly should be full of water 73.7} \\

The use of \textit{dzE} with imperatives has been explained before.

4. \textit{tsE} (\textit{da}) when, if. \\
\textit{tsE} has\textit{a'xl hald\textit{a'ug'it demt dza\textit{k} \textit{sel-g'a'tt, k'ə}, when a witch desires to kill a fellow-man, then 217.1} \\
\textit{tsE} h\textit{x} h\textit{wil'le}, \textit{nle}'e, when I do it again, then 165.12 \\
\textit{ts'et'et n\textit{t}, tse\textit{a'En enter, my dear, if it is you! 39.13} \\

5. \textit{dp} \textit{tsE} else, lest. \\
\textit{dp tse no'dt\textit{xe else I might die 74.4} \\
\textit{k'ə sem-i\textit{dk\textit{L lax-o'1 lō'qtp; dp tse g'utgy\textit{d}t\textit{sk} \textit{vk\textit{Gan-hw\textit{t}} 34.9 then the top of the stone was very slippery; lest the olachen might be lost was the reason of his doing so (sem- very; i\textit{dk} \textit{slippery; lax-o' top; lō'dp stone; g'ud\textit{d}k\textit{G} to be lost; sak\textit{G} olachen).} \\

6. \textit{ts'\textit{o}} although. \\
\textit{ts'\textit{ot h\textit{x} h\textit{wil\textit{a'xt} although he knows it} \\

§ 66
Tsimshian:

1. **ada** then.
   
   *ada ma'tede dep gua'° then these told*
   
   *ada* g'ik *sqa-ba'°t* he assisted him (literally, then he stood by him)

2. **da** when.
   
   *ne la dem gwä'ntge da n dem sū med'wulget* when I shall have touched it, then I shall swing the *rope* (*gwä'ntg* to touch; *sū* to *swing*; *med'wulg* *rope*)
   
   *da al ts' elem-ha'pās n'āoxdet, ada ...* when the *killer-whales* rushed in, then ... *(*ts' elem* into; *hap* to rush [plural]; *n'āoxp* killer-whale)

3. **dzE** weakens statements.
   
   *adat g'è'xāxtge a gō dzE gan ha'ut* then they asked why he might have said so
   
   *ēap'èxāt a n dzE txal-wā'sdē lgū'gida* I may remember when I may have met my child (*ēap'èx* to remember; *txal-wā* to *meet*; *lgū'gida* child; -ī I, my [see § 51])

4. **dzE da** when, if.
   
   *n dem wa'lint dzE da bā'°sen* I will carry you if you are afraid
   
   *(wa'li to carry on back; bā'° to be afraid)*
   
   *dzE da là ts'ī'nī da n dem sa-ða-ga'inat* when I enter, I shall fall with it (*ts'īnī* to enter; *sa- suddenly; ða- with something; ga'inat to fall)*

5. **ōp dzE** else, lest.
   
   *bā'°senut ōp dzE dzā'gī* I fear (lest) I fall

6. **ts'u** although.
   
   *ts'u nī'yeda tgi-ōksut, da g'ap-ō'ylgā-di-sqa'yīkgyī* although I (literally, this one) fell down, he (I) really did not hurt himself (myself) (*nī'yeda* he, this; *tgi-* down; *ōks* to *drop*; -ū I; *g'ap- really; ō'ylgā not; *di-* on [my] part; *sqa'yīkgyī to be hurt)*
   
   *ts'u wagaśit n'a g'ideganē'ōtsga* even though far to the Tlingit

7. **asī** while.
   
   *ada asī hi'ōksga lī'omitga* then while he began his song

8. **amī** if (event assumed as not likely to happen)
   
   *amī dzE la me g'ālkse dzE dem lu-da'kxan* if you should feel that you may drown (*g'ālkse to feel, lu-* in; *da'kxan to be drowned)*
   
   *amī dzE la k'ē'ēxgen* when you have made your escape

9. **yuōl** if (event expected to happen).
   
   *yuōl ne yō'dze* if I hit you

§ 66
§ 67. Preposition

The preposition a is used to express local, temporal, and modal relations. When used for expressing local relations, the particular class is often expressed by the local particles prefixed to the verb and substantive. The preposition always takes the connective suffix -l or -s, as described in §§ 23, 28.

The following examples illustrate the wide application of this preposition:

1. Signifying at:

   *hax lgo-ak's al awa'adetye* a little water ran near them 117.3
   *(bax to run; lgo- little; ak's water; awa'a proximity)*
   *iaga-ma'gat al g'ad' u* he put him down at the front of the house
   *46.8 (iaga- down; maq to put; g'ad' u beach in front of house)*
   *al g'z'leq outside 121.15*

2. Signifying in; generally with the verbal prefix ló- and with the substantival prefix ts'edm-

   *ló-ma'qsku, l'élx, al ts'edm-tz'ak* the grease ran in (into) the dish
   *46.4 (ló- in; maqsku to stand [plural]; l'élx grease; ts'edm inside of; tz'ak dish)*
   *ty'al-ló-dzo'qst al hwltpg'é he stayed in the house 64.11 (ty'al- against [i.e., permanently]; ló- in; dz'q to camp; hwltp house)*

3. Signifying on; generally with verbal prefix lé- and substantival prefix lax-

   *lé-iaq'loq al lax-ané' st a copper hangs on a branch 138.3 (lé- on; id'q to hang; ané's branch)*

4. Signifying toward; often with the verbal prefix hagun-

   *hagun-le' é, g'at al awa'at a man went toward him 138.14 (hagun- toward; le' é to go; g'at man; awa'a proximity)*
   *k'át al g'ile'lx he went into the woods 119.11
   *g'a'askst al lax-ha' he looked at the sky 137.6*

5. Signifying from:

   *wétk'st al awa'as nóżxt he came from near his mother 22.12 (wétks to come from; awa'a proximity; nóż mother)*
   *k'soxt al hwltp he went out of the house 166.11*

6. Signifying to; used like our dative:

   *hwl hwltp'ls dep b'ébée as n'é en thus did my uncles to thee 157.9
   *(hwl to do; dep plural; (n-)b'éb uncle; -ée my; n'é'en thou)*
   *g'inámt al lgo-thc'élk' he gave it to the boy 139.4*

7. Signifying with; instrumental:

   *la'lbél q'aldó'x al ha-q'ó'l she scraped the spoon with her fish-knife 8.9 (la'lb to scrape; q'aldó'x spoon; ha-q'ó'l fish-knife)*

§ 67
lē-ia'tset lax-a'k's al vwaqt he struck the water with his tail 75.15 (lē- on; ia'ts to strike; lax- surface; ak's water; vwaqt beaver's tail)
gux lak al lēt qanl daqL he took fire-wood with wedge and hammer 90.8 (gux to take; lak fire-wood; lēt wedge; qan and; daqL hammer)

8. Signifying on account of:
šįepkL qō'ts Wi-g'a't al xdaxt sick was Giant's mind on account of his hunger 69.4
sem-pla'k'skut al hwil'ig'ē he was very tired on account of what he had done 62.15

9. Expressing time:
al wi'sa' all day long 138.9 (literally, at great day)
al haš'ng'ē mesā'r'g'ē before daylight 151.6 (at not yet daylight)
al sint in summer 20.14

10. Used with various verbs:
lē-metmē'tkL al t'ēben they were full of sea-lions 108.8 (lē- on; metkL full; t'ēben sea-lion)
mētkL màl al lān the canoe was full of spawn 29.10
ansyu wtqut as net'yē they made fun of him 143.3
nīk'ēt g'en la hvindō'ō the man fed him with tobacco 90.10 (g'en to give to eat; g'at man; hvindō'ō tobacco)
g'ēkL liā'n al hauā'kskL he bought elk for coppers 194.11 (g'ēkL to buy; liā'n elk; hauā'kskL copper)
sa-hwā'det al X-ama'lgwaxdel Wā'se they called him Eating-Scabs-of-Wā'se 41.14 (sa- to make; hwa name; x- to eat; ama'lkL scab)
g'ō'tskL al hauā'q he was tired of the woman 126.1
vai-g'a'tkL as neguā'ōdet he longed for his father 203.13

The preposition a is used very often with hwēl and dem to express causal and final subordination, the subordinate clause being thus transformed into a nominal phrase.

11. al hwēl because (literally, at [its] being):
lápē'ets'e'x-dēt . . . al hwēl g'a'adet they were afraid because they saw it 207.10
al hwēl nīg'i di halai'ts Ts'ak' nīmē't qant-hwēl'kLdet'g'ē because Ts'ak' was no shaman, therefore they did so 123.12 (nīg'i not; di on his part; halai't shaman; nīmē't that; qan reason; hwēl to do)
lō-hwā'ntkL qō'ōdet al hwēl xstamkL its heart was annoyed because of the noise 95.15 (lō- in; hwantkL annoyed; qōōt heart; xstamkL noise)
lō-hwa'ntkʷl qd'ōdet al ḥwīl xstamkʷt he was annoyed on account of the noise 95.15 (lō-hwa'ntkʷl annoyed; qd'ōt mind)

aba'g'askʷt al ḥwīl si-kʷ-u-wi-yē'tkʷst he was troubled because he cried anew very much 21.12 (aba'g'askʷl to be troubled; st- anew; kʷa- exceedingly; wi-yē'tkʷl to cry)

12. al dem in order to, that:

tsaqam-wō'ot al dem dēdā'legt he called it ashore to talk with it 38.1 (tsaqam- ashore; wō'ō to call; dēdā'leg to talk with)

kʷ-ēt bōxt al dem nōōm-a'kʷst he waited for her to be thirsty 21.7 (bōx to wait; nōōm- to desire; ak's to drink)

lō-ya'ltkʷt al dem yō'ōkʷt he returned to eat 55.9 kʷsi-ba'x al dem gun-lu'kt he ran out to make move

13. Sometimes the connection expressed by a is so weak that it may be translated by the conjunction and. Evidently the verb following a is nominalized.

yō'ōkʷt al wi-yē'tsem yō'ōkʷt he ate, and ate much 36.10 dē'āt al wi-yē'tkʷt he sat and wept.39.7 (he sat down, weeping)
iqa-wā'l na'kʷstgē . . . al la gōō'dōtkʷl his wife went down, and he was lost 166.7, 8

Tsimshian:

The variety of forms which the preposition a takes in Tsimshian has been discussed in § 28. Here examples will be given illustrating its application.

1. Signifying at:

ada kʰa-tʰō't gesga gʰilhan'alli then he sat at the inland-side for a while

al di nādōk g'ad a awa' nakse ne-wai'g'u? does a person lie near my brother's wife? (al not; di- on his part; nādōk to lie; g'ad a person; awa' proximity; nakse wife; wai'g. brother)

2. Signifying in:

demt wō'dem a ts'ēm-lu'get he will bake thee in the fire (wō'd to bake; ts'ēm- interior of; lag fire)

3. Signifying on:

adat lʰi-se-gul'ge lā'ge da laxʰtyaqʷ then he lighted a fire on top of him (lʰi- on; se- to make; gul'ge to light; lag fire; laxʰ top)
mē dem tʰu'ont gesge stū'pʰelga make him sit in the rear of the house

4. Signifying toward:

ada hagul-iā'ot gesga awa' ne-wā'lbt then he went slowly toward his house

gun-iā'ot gesge wul nādkʷt he went to where he lay

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5. Signifying FROM:

\[ \text{vwa}'\text{otget gesge avwa' na'kstgao} \] he came from near his wife

\[ \text{haldem-ba}'\text{oget Astiwal gesge la'}\text{r-lo'opga} \] Astiwal arose from the stones

6. Signifying TO; used like our dative:

\[ \text{ada wul ha'us nego\text{v}'ot ges ni'}\text{otga} \] then his father said to him

\[ \text{adai wula k'}\text{'ina'mse ge da'u gesge lyu'olgetga} \] then he gave ice to his child (k'\text{'ina'm to give; da'u ice; lyu'olgy child)

7. Signifying WITH, instrumental:

\[ \text{dat wul lü-sqa'-ya'dze ts'a1lt gesge lì} \] then she struck him across the face with the feather (lü- in; sqa- across; yudz to strike; ts'alt face; lì feather)

\[ \text{dzab'bet al an'o'nty'ë} \] he made with his hands

\[ \text{lalbèt al ha-q'ùl she scraped with a fish-knife 8.9} \]

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

\[ \text{lü-q'i'g'àq gë'ote Astiwal gesge ne-twala'ndet Astiwal' was sad on account of those he had (left) behind (lü- in; q'i'g open, hollow; gë'd mind; txula'n behind)} \]

9. Expressing time:

\[ \text{a voi-gà'd'msem during the whole (great) winter} \]

\[ \text{a na-qà'qa in the beginning ZE 781} \]

10. Used with various verbs:

\[ \text{a wult se-q'an-q'adà'ula qa-gà'o'dà a gwà'deksem iënt because she refreshed the hearts with cool fog ZE 797.32 (q'an-dà'ul, literally, to go over, to refresh; gwà'deks cool; iënt fog)} \]

\[ \text{hë'lte wòl'bet a ts'ãq full was the house of fat} \]

\[ \text{adat wul plia'res nego\text{v}'ot gesget gïlks-ni'osge na'kstgao then she told her father that she had looked back at her husband (plia're to tell; gïlks- back; ni'o to see)} \]

11. a wul because:

\[ \text{a wult lu na'gedat n'axnu' hau because for a long time she had heard say (nag long; n'axnu' to hear; hau to say)} \]

\[ \text{asde wul wà-dà'lu'n-xa'qga because they, on their part, were even without a little foam (i. e., had nothing) (wa- without; di- on their part; lu'n- little; xà'q foam)} \]

12. a dem in order to, that:

\[ \text{txan/lì gà bà'old le'amsu a demt wula dzà'kènt everything tries my father-in-law to kill me (txan/lì all; gà what, something; bà'old to try; lams father-in-law; dzàk to kill)} \]

\[ \text{a demt ñe'kènt in order to bake me a demt na'ksege ne-sevi'opga in order to gather his bones} \]

13. a and:

\[ \text{ada wul wa'ndit a bà'okedet then they sat down and lamented} \]

\[ § 67 \]
TEXTS
NASS DIALECT

Txanė'tki.1 sa2 hís-dzo'qšI.3 klope-tk'lo'tšku.4 Wi-he'lt,5
Every day played camping little children. Many
Q'am-k'-čëll6 wi-ga'n.7 Wi-lo-nó'ótl.8 Wi-tša'wut.9 Wi-d'e'x10
only one great log. Great in hole great inside. Large
wi-ga'n.7 NL11 he'lt.12 gits'el-qâ'ôdel13 k'opE-tk'el'ku.4 Nîne'l.14
great tree. Then where in went little children. Then
hwi'lpedet'el15 wi-qal'k'si-nó'ólm16 gan.17 NLk'čet17 ló-si-me'ldel.18
their house large through hole of tree. Then In made burn they
laku19 lát.19 NLk'č17 hux txá'xk'det20 wi-he'lt.5 ts'elé'mdet.
fire in it. Then again they ate many their traveling provisions.

Hán ts'elé'ml22 gul-qané'tk'ul21 k'opE-tk'el'ku.4 Lá22 nakul23
Salmon the provisions of all little children. When long
hwi'lpedet24 al25 txanė'tk'ul21 sa2 NLk'č17 Lá22 hux t'čl ak's
they did so at every day, then when again large was water
Lá22 hux ló-dzo'qdet26 al25 wi-t'se'm-ga'n.27 NLk'č17 hux pta'lk's.
when again in they camped at great in log. Then again the water
rose.

1 tza- all (§ 10, no. 92); tramìk'w independent form; L-connective of numerals (§ 23.6).
2 Same form in singular and plural (§ 41).
3 Me- to pretend (§ 10, no. 79); dzóq to camp; -s suffix (§ 17, no. 6) required by Me- L-connective of predicate and subject (§ 23).
4 k'opE- small [plural] (§ 10, no. 113); tk'el'ku children [plural]; k'opE- only in the plural; Ló- is the singular of small.
5 We- great (§ 10, no. 73); hít many (almost always used with the prefix we-).
6 Q'am- only (§ 10, no. 118); k'-č one flat thing (§ 57); L-connective of numerals.
7 We- great (§ 10, no. 73); gaz tree, log.
8 We- great; Ló- in (verbal prefix § 9, no. 29); nō'ó hole; L-predicative connective.
9 To- chew the inside; In combination with nouns the prefix ts'ēm is used to designate the inside (§ 11, no. 152); t probably possessively its.
10 We- great; d'č- large.
11 U- demonstrative (*): L probably connective.
12 Verbal noun, here designating where something happens (§ 50).
13 The prefix gits'el is not known in other combinations; gits'el (singular), gits'ol (plural), to go: -det 3d person plural (§ 53); L-connective.
14 U- demonstrative (*): L probably connective. This conjunction seems to appear here doubled.
15 Hulp house: -dél their. -gí- invisible (§ 20).
16 We- great; qal'k'si- through (§ 9, no. 24); nō'ó hole; -m adjectival connective.
17 Mi- see note 11; k'-č then; t transitive subject, 3d person (§ 48).
18 Ló- in (§ 9, no. 29); ti- to cause (§ 13, no. 164); mel to burn: -det they; -L connects predicate and object.
19 Ló- 3d person pronoun, oblique case (§ 54).
20 Qal'zku (singular), zal'zku (plural), to eat (intransitive verb); -det they.
21 A compound the elements of which are not quite clear (compare tramìk'w all); also qane-hwila always (§ 10, no. 120).
22 Particle indicating that one action is past when another sets in; also verbal noun (§ 59).
23 Nakw long, temporal and local.
24 Hwi- to do; -det they.
25 A general preposition (§ 67); L indefinite connective.
26 Ló- in; dzóq to camp; -det they.
27 We- large; t'se'tm- inside of (§ 11, no. 152).
Then floated the great log. Then out to sea it drifted. Not they

Then he saw where when way seaward it drifted to

Then out went the little children. Then

Then out went one little boy.

Then he saw where when way seaward it drifted to

Then about went

Then again out was put the little being wise little child.

Then he told it: “Always

Then he told it: “Always

Then he told it: “Always

"heweapit": away (§10, no. 71); uke: seaward (§8, no. 6); da’ul: to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.

"heweapit": away (§10, no. 71); uke: seaward (§8, no. 6); da’ul: to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.

"heweapit": away (§10, no. 71); uke: seaward (§8, no. 6); da’ul: to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.
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The introductory t- of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; he.

For b7-t-.

dm good; used here as a periphrastic exhortative: IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WE (§ 65).

dep plural of transitive subject (§ 48).

t- (plural d'det's) to strike (§ 42).

d'ag nose; plural qa-dz'aq (§ 43); -m our.

lk- (note 17) appears here divided by the future particle d'gm.

me blood.

d'ap mant we rub it (§ 48) (subjunctive).

d'ap surface, outer side.

lk- against (§ 9, no. 35); b7l (plural halh'et') to stand.

blt oblique case, 3d person pronoun; -gr absent (because the outer side of the tree was invisible to the speaker).

huw to do: -det they: -gr absent.

d'd't'ik'sk (plural d'ik'sk) to come.

k'ilur around; man to rub (transitive verb).

lk- (plural lo'ndix) to enter.

wi-hal many (see note 6); usually used with adjectival connective -m, not with numeral connective -l (§ 22).

t- against; good'ik to dry.

ame' (plural am'ame') foot.

sem- very (§ 15, no. 168); baoa in middle; 'a to sit (used to express the idea of to be in a position, for round objects.

sun or moon.

k'esi to go out (probably related to k'si- out of [§ 8, no. 8]).

k'di; a little; k'd- really; wi- great; t'et large (almost always combined with wi-); -t probably close of sentence.

d'aqik; aqik to attain. The prefix d' may be the same as in de'na he' says thus (§ 49, d).

gim (plural d'gy) to take (§ 46).

b7- in; has along (§ 9, no. 60); t'aq (plural t'et'aq) to twist; -t connects predicate with object.

l'ma prefix indicating certain parts of the body; probably from l'm sitting (§ 53).

See note 21.

t- in; d'ap downward (§ 8, no. 4); d'at to put.

See note 8; nan'od is here plural.

l'- in; am (plural am'am) good (§ 42).

p'd'ot (plural gag'd'ot) mind, heart,
The little children. They ate the meat when they forgot what they did.

When they went out about they went at way out on ocean. Nigmiledetg's.

Not anywhere landward short they at some-where on edge of water.

The little boys. Behold the whirlpool.

Where when in down they went. Then came the sig'a'tkudet the children crying when in down stood the great tree to future swallow them.

The whirlpool.

Only one foot the man. Then he speared the log with great his harpoon. Then he ashore pulled it; he saved them the man.

Then "began he fed them Only-One-Foot. We should expect here to g'etipdet smax.'
Children played camping every day. There were many of them, and there was only one great log. It had a great hole inside. It was a large log. That is the place where the children went in. Then the large tree with the hole in it was their house. They made a fire burn in it, and they also ate [many] traveling-provisions. Salmon was the traveling-provisions of all the children. When they had done so for a long time every day, when the water was great (high) again, they again camped in the great log. The water rose again and the great log floated. It drifted out to sea. The children did not know it. They were playing inside of the great log while it was going out to sea and when it was far away from the shore. Then one boy went out. He saw that they had drifted seaward and that they were way off shore. Then the children went out. Then they cried. They cried all the time. Then the great log went way out on the ocean.

Then a little wise boy went out. He saw gulls flying about. He returned again into the great log, and he told them, "Gulls are always sitting on top of us. Can we not do anything?" Then one child said the following: "Let us strike our noses. Then they will bleed. Then we will rub (the blood) on the outside of the great log. Then the feet of the gulls will stand on it." They did so. They struck their noses, and blood came out of them. Then they rubbed it on the great log. Then they entered the inside of the great log. Many gulls came and sat on it. Then their feet dried against it. When the sun was right in the middle of the sky, the one who was really a little large went out again. Then the gulls flew. They did not succeed in flying. Then one boy took them. Then he twisted off the necks of all the many gulls. Then he put them down into the hole of the great log. Then the children were glad. They ate the meat and forgot what was happening, that they were going way out on the ocean.

They were not anywhere near shore or the edge of the water. Then one day they heard a great noise. The boys went out. Behold! there was a whirlpool in which they were going down. Then they began to cry when the great log stood downward in it, about to be swallowed by the whirlpool.

While it was standing downward in it, a man ran seaward. The man had one foot. Then he speared the great log with his harpoon. He pulled it ashore. The man saved them. Then the children went up into the house of the man. Then Only-One-Foot began to feed them.
TSIMSHIAN DIALECT

Ada'ogam¹, x'utaqa² (Story of Porcupine)

Ninill'sge³ la⁴ kṣu'otgga⁵ a⁶ la⁷ wa'ngsga⁸ txanll'sge⁹ ya'ts!esgesga⁹

That it was when fall, at when were sitting all animals in

na-ga-ts'em-ts'la'ptgga.¹⁰ Da'¹¹ wula¹² di¹³ tla'osge¹⁴ wi-medi'ok¹⁵

their towns. Then being on his part sitting great grizzly bear

gesga¹⁶ n di ts'la'pt¹⁷ A¹⁸ dza¹⁹ wi-ga'msemgga.¹⁹ Ada²⁰ ga'ni-wula²¹

in his also town at when great winter. Then always

gwa'ntgesga²² wa'otgga²³ da²⁴ g'i²⁵ lu-la'wa'³² na-ts'em-ts'la'pgga²⁰

touched the rain, then also in it dripped the town of

wi-medi'okga.²⁵ Ada²⁰ g'i²⁵ lō'gaksgesga²⁶ n-l'o'tgga²⁷ Ada²⁰

the great grizzly bear. Then again he was wet his fur. Then

semgal²⁸ lu-ha'o'xgesga²⁹ gə'ot³⁰ gesga³¹ sga-na'ksga³¹ wa'otgga.³²

very in annoyed his heart at too long rain.

¹ ada'og story: -sm connection (§ 22).
² a'uta porcupine: -gas absent (§ 20).
³ nin'il' that (§ 56): -gsx (§ 25).
⁴ la when (§ 59).
⁵ kṣu'o fall: -gas absent (§ 20).
⁶ a preposition (§ 67).
⁷ tla (plural lus) to sit (§ 46): -gsx (§ 24).
⁸ txanl' all contains the particle too entirley: -gsx (§ 34).
² From yats to kill many; yats'ek the killing (§ 17, no. 2); the terminal -sga stands here for sgag in.

¹ na- separable possession (§ 56); ga- distributive plural, the towns of the various kinds of animals; ts'em- inside (§ 11, no. 152); ts'ab town; -l his; gas absence.
¹¹ da conjunction (§ 66, no. 2).
¹² § 69.
¹³ di on (his) part (§ 15, no. 167).
¹⁴ L'do to sit: -gsx § 25.
¹⁵ wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); medi'ok grizzly bear.
¹⁶ a preposition (§ 67); absent conjunctive form (§ 28).
¹⁷ n- separable possession; di- on his part (cf. note 13); ts'ab town.
¹⁸ dza weakened statement, when it may have been (§ 66, no. 3).
¹⁹ wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); g't semm winter; -gas absence.
²⁰ Conjunction (§ 66, no. 1).
²¹ pan- all (§ 10, no. 120).
²² oonl'y to touch (i. e., here, fell); -gsx connection (§§ 24, 25).
²³ oonl'y rain.
²⁴ g'i again (§ 15, no. 189).
²⁵ lu- in (§ 5, no. 29); lo'vet to drip; no connective after l (§ 29).
²⁶ lō'paksg to be wet (fur, skin).
²⁷ n- separable possession; l fur, hair of body; -l his; gas absence.
²⁸ sem-gal very (§ 15, no. 173).
²⁹ lu- in (§ 9, no. 29), relating to ged mind; hdesg annoyed.
³⁰ ged mind.
³¹ gas across (§ 9, no. 36); nag long; here apparently a verbal subordinate construction: at across long being the rain.
³² oonl'y rain; the -l is a difficult directive ending, which is used very frequently, and for which no adequate explanation has been given.

419
Ninl'33 gan-kse-tlā'^t43 gesga16 ne-txas'gasga35 n-ts'la'ptga,10 at 28 That reason out he sat at the mouth of his town, at he
ni37 lig-i-lep-ga'o38 gesga16 k'di'ontga.15 Ada a'si40 detlā'^t,41 gesga16 seeing everything at around him. Then while sitting at
gwa'sga,16 gakstnā'^tga16 a'utaga44 gun-hē'ontget gesga16 awā'^tga.46 that, who behold who the porcupine toward stood at his proximity.
A'si40 sga-i'ont48 gesga19 n-leksa'gasga16 n-ts'la'psge10 wi-
When he across went at the doorway of the town of the
medi'okga,15 ada wul ha'usga50 wi-medi'okga,15 "Ts'!l'ona51 g'I_t53 great grizzly bear, then being said the great grizzly bear, "Enter here.
ns'ep!ensthg!53 Me dem kla-xdi'oyut.54 Ninl'33 gan da' wula
my friend! You shall a little eat with me." That it was reason then when
ts'!fongsa51 a'ut44 gesga awā'^tga16 wi-medi'okga,15 Ada' wula entered the porcupine at the proximity of the great grizzly bear. Then being
wi-se-la'ksesga55 wi-medi'okga,15 Adat sa-ga'gasga58 Igu'-a'utaga.57 great made fire the great grizzly bear. Then he suddenly took the little porcupine.
Adat dekda'klega58 ga-ses'i'tga59 cil50 ga-an'ontga.61 Adat then he tied his feet and his hands. Then hal-uge'rt62 gesga dzogasga36 la'ktga.64 Adat wul gwa'k'ensga55 alongside laid it at the edge of the fire. Then he burnt hak'sga66 Igu'-a'utaga.57 Ninl'33 ada' wul ha'usga50 wi-medi'ok15 asga16 the back of the little porcupine. He then said the great grizzly to the bear

---

82 ni that; n't probably demonstrative (§ 56)
83 gan- reason; following nin't, it means therefore; kse- out, generally directive, but here indicating the position outside; t/lo to sit; t' he.
84 n-st separable possession; tza- direction; dpg mouth.
85 a preposition (§ 67) with subjective (subjunctive) pronoun attached (§ 49).
86 to see; after is the connective is missing (§ 29).
87 ligi- somewhere, this or that (§ 8, no. 20); l!p- self (§ 10, no. 129); pte something, what; ligi-pte' anything; l!p-!p-pte' everything.
88 ki'wun the place around (a nominal expression). When used in the possessive, it is considered as inseparable possession (§ 55).
89 asi while (§ 65, no. 7), here followed by the progressive form.
90 d'at'dā' progressive form of t/lo to sit (§ 37).
91 gwa'w this; gwa'gasga that (§ 66).
92 an interjection, probably gakda behold; t he; m!e who.
93 a'ula porcupine; -ga connective (§ 25).
94 gun- toward (§ 10, no. 114); hōly to stand; t he.
95 atd proximity (a noun which corresponds to the particle gwa- [see notes 39, 46]).
96 t subject of intransitive verb, here emphatic.
97 sga across (§ 9, no. 36); i'lo to go; t he.
98 n- separable pronoun; t!s'!l' doorway.
99 ha'u to say.
100 tsa'm (plural, la'!mdzg) to enter by (imperative [§ 65]).
101 yel here.
102 n- separable possession; !ep'!en friend; -i my (in address [§ 51]).
103 me thou (subjective [§ 49]); dsm future (§ 59); k'n- a little while (§ 10, no. 107); x!d'lo to eat with some one; -w me; -l [see note 32].
104 wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); k' to make (§ 13, no. 164).
105 t subjective pronoun; sa- suddenly; gū to take.
106 iku-little (§ 10, no. 135).
107 dakl to lie (with plural object dekda'k3).
108 ael'lo (plural, guesi'lo) [§ 43].
109 di and; l connective (§ 30).
110 di'lo's hands; pa-an'ō'lo hands (§ 45).
111 hal- along (§ 9, no. 50); spe' to lie.
112 d!xly edge (noun corresponds to the particle hal [see note 62]).
113 lak fire (cf. note 32).
114 gwa'w to burn; gwa'k' to cause to burn (§ 17, no. 1).
115 hak'de back; has no prefix na- because, as a part of the body, the possession is inseparable.
When it was fall, all the animals were sitting in their towns. A great Grizzly Bear, on his part, was also sitting in his town in mid-winter. Rain was always falling, and it also dripped into the house of the great Grizzly Bear. His fur was wet. Then he was much annoyed because it was raining too long, therefore he sat at the entrance of his house and looked around to see everything. While he was sitting there, behold! Porcupine came near him. When he passed the doorway of the house of the great Grizzly Bear, the great Grizzly Bear said, "Enter here, friend! You shall eat with me for a little while." Therefore the Porcupine entered near the great Grizzly Bear. The great Grizzly Bear made a great fire. He suddenly took the little Porcupine. He tied his feet and his hands. Then he laid him near the edge of the fire. Then the back of the little Porcupine was burnt. Then the great Grizzly Bear said to the little Porcupine when

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[Translation]

When it was fall, all the animals were sitting in their towns. A great Grizzly Bear, on his part, was also sitting in his town in mid-winter. Rain was always falling, and it also dripped into the house of the great Grizzly Bear. His fur was wet. Then he was much annoyed because it was raining too long, therefore he sat at the entrance of his house and looked around to see everything. While he was sitting there, behold! Porcupine came near him. When he passed the doorway of the house of the great Grizzly Bear, the great Grizzly Bear said, "Enter here, friend! You shall eat with me for a little while." Therefore the Porcupine entered near the great Grizzly Bear. The great Grizzly Bear made a great fire. He suddenly took the little Porcupine. He tied his feet and his hands. Then he laid him near the edge of the fire. Then the back of the little Porcupine was burnt. Then the great Grizzly Bear said to the little Porcupine when
the fur on his back was burnt, "Duu, duu!" said the great Grizzly Bear. "I will do it," said the Porcupine. "Chief, untie my bands, then I will do what you say." However, the great Grizzly Bear did not mind what the little Porcupine said to him, because he was very strong. He is the strongest of all the animals, therefore he did not listen to what the poor little Porcupine said to him. He was very proud. Then he kicked him again into the fireplace.
KWAKIUTL

BY

FRANZ BOAS
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§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Wakashan stock embraces the languages spoken by a number of tribes inhabiting the coast of British Columbia and extending southward to Cape Flattery in the state of Washington. Two principal groups may be distinguished—the Nootka and the Kwakiutl. The former is spoken on the west coast of Vancouver island and at Cape Flattery, the latter on Vancouver island and on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia from the northern end of the Gulf of Georgia northward to the deep inlets just south of Skeena river. The outlying islands north of Milbank sound are occupied by a branch of the Tsimshian, while the coasts of Bentinck Arm are inhabited by the Bellacoola, a tribe speaking a Salish language. The neighbors of the Wakashan tribes are the Tsimshian to the north, Athapascan tribes to the northeast, Salish tribes to the southeast and south, and the Quileute at Cape Flattery. Among all these languages, only the Salish and the Quileute exhibit some morphological similarities to the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl language may be divided into three principal sub-languages or main dialects—the northern, or the dialect of the tribes of Gardner inlet and Douglas channel; the central, or the dialect of the tribes of Milbank sound and Rivers inlet; and the southern, which is spoken by all the tribes south and southeast of Rivers inlet. Each of these main dialects is subdivided into sub-dialects which differ somewhat in phonetics, form, and vocabulary. Their number can not be determined exactly, since almost every village has its own peculiarities. They may, however, be grouped in a number of divisions. Only the divisions of the southern dialect are known.
There are four of these. The most northern is spoken in the villages of the extreme northern end of Vancouver island and of Smith inlet; the second, in the region from Hardy bay to Nimkish river, including the islands which form the eastern coast of Queen Charlotte sound; the third is spoken in the neighborhood of Knight inlet; and the last, in Bute inlet and the region of Valdez island.

The second of these dialects, which is spoken by the Kwakiutl tribe of Vancouver island, forms the subject of the following discussion. The proper name of the tribe is Kwá'gúl; the name of its language, Kwá'k'wala. A treatise on the grammar of this language, by Rev. Alfred J. Hall, was published in 1889; but the author has not succeeded in elucidating its structural peculiarities. I have published a brief sketch of the grammar in the Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and another in the American Anthropologist. Texts in the language, collected by me, were published by the United States National Museum, and other series of texts, also collected by me with the assistance of Mr. George Hunt, will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. A series taken down without the assistance of Mr. Hunt from the lips of various informants will be found in the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. References in the following sketch refer to volume III of the Publications of the Jesup Expedition, if not stated otherwise; v and x refer to the respective volumes of the same series; U.S.N.M. to the paper in the Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1895; CS to the Kwakiutl Tales in the Columbia University Series. The first Arabic number of each reference indicates the page of the volume, the second the line on the page.

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3 N. s., ii, 708–721.
4 Annual Report for 1895, 311–737, particularly 665–731.
6 Kwakiutl Tales, by Franz Boas. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. II.
§ 2. Sounds

The phonetic system of the Kwakiutl is very rich. It abounds in sounds of the \( k \) series and of the \( l \) series. The system of consonants includes velars, palatals, anterior palatals, alveolars, and labials. The palatal series (English \( k \)) seems to occur only in combination with \( u \) articulations, or as labio-palatal. The anterior palatals may, however, also be explained as a \( k \) series with \( i \) position of the mouth; so that the two classes of palatals and anterior palatals may be considered as modifications of the same series. The anterior palatals have a markedly affricative character. In most of these groups we find a sonant, surd, fortis, and spirant. The sonant is harder than the corresponding English sound. The surd is pronounced with a full breath, while the fortis is a surd with increased stress and suddenness of articulation, and accompanying closure of the glottis. The sonant is so strong that it is very easily mistaken for a surd, and even more easily for a weakly pronounced fortis, since in many combinations the laryngeal intonation which characterizes the sonant appears like the glottal stop which always accompanies the fortis. Besides the groups mentioned before, we have a series of lateral linguals or \( l \) sounds, the glottal stop, and \( h \), \( y \), and \( w \).

This system may be represented as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Sonant} & \text{Surd} & \text{Fortis} & \text{Spirant} & \text{Nasal} \\
\text{Velar} & g & q & q' & x & - \\
\text{Palatal} & \{j(w)\} & k(w) & k'(w) & x_u(w) & - \\
\text{Anterior palatal} & g & k & k' & x & n \\
\text{Alveolar} & d & t & t' & s(y) & - \\
\text{Affricative} & dz & ts & ts' & - & - \\
\text{Labial} & b & p & p' & - & m \\
\text{Lateral} & l & l & l' & l, l & - \\
\end{array}
\]

The vowels are quite variable. The indistinct \( e \) is very frequent. The two pairs \( i e \) and \( o u \) probably represent each a single intermediate sound. The whole series of vowels may be represented as follows:

\[
i e \quad i \quad \dot{e} \quad a \quad \dot{a} \quad \ddot{o} \quad o \quad u \\
\ddot{i} \quad \ddot{e} \quad \dddot{e} \quad \dddot{a} \quad \dddot{a} \quad \ddot{\dddot{o}} \quad \ddot{u}
\]
By certain grammatical processes, consonants may be weakened, hardened, or aspirated. These changes take place in accordance with the phonetic table given before. The hardened surd becomes a fortis, and the weakened fortis or surd becomes a sonant. The hardened and softened sonants strengthen their glottal element to an e. Examples of these changes will be given in §4. By aspiration the series of k sounds and of l sounds are transformed into their corresponding spirants, while in the dental and labial series aspiration does not occur. The hardening and weakening of the spirants reveals a number of unexpected relations of sounds. We find—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x'</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x(w)</td>
<td>'w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ts!</td>
<td>y or dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar relations of consonants appear in cases of reduplication. Thus we have—

\[ \text{é'qa reduplicated é'sèqa (q and s)} \]
\[ q!ul'ya\text{k}u \text{ reduplicated q!ul'sq!ul'ya\text{k}u (s and y)} \]

The change of x' into n suggests that the n may belong rather to the anterior palatal series than to the alveolar series.

The nasals, l, y, and w, when weakened, become sonant by being preceded by the glottal stop. y and w are clearly related to i and u.

§ 3. Sound Groupings

The Kwakiutl language does not admit clusters of consonants at the beginning of words. Extensive clusters of consonants are rare; and even combinations of two consonants are restricted in number, their sequence being governed by rules of euphony. On the whole, a stop (i.e., a sonant, surd, or fortis) can not be followed by another consonant. This is carried through rigidly in the case of the palatals and laterals, while combinations of consonants in which the first is an alveolar or bilabial stop do occur. p followed by consonants is not rare; t followed by consonants is by far less frequent. The corresponding sonants followed by a consonant do not appear as often, because the intonation of the vocal cords tends to increase in strength, and an e is introduced which separates the sounds.

§ 3
Besides combinations with precedent palatal stops, a few others are rigidly avoided. These are t-s, l-n, l-kʷ, l-gʷ, l-xʷ, s-gʷ, skʷ. Combinations of t sounds followed by s do not occur, because they unite and form an affricative sound; ñ occurs only at the beginning of words (except in the imitation of the language of a monster), and does not enter into consonantic clusters. y and w are strongly vocalic, and are always followed by vowels, although they may be preceded by consonants. w following a k sound is assimilated by it, so that the k sound is pronounced with u position of the lips, as a labio-palatal.

Clusters of three or more consonants follow the same rules as combination of two consonants, so that clusters are possible as long as any two adjoining consonants tolerate each other. We find, for instance, xsd, xst, xʷst!, xʷdg′, nxˢ, nxʷq!, nxˢ, nₙL, nLt, nₙb, mxs, mxˢ, mx′d, mL, mLs, mLw, lₙL, lₓˢ, lₓᵈ, lₓ·l, lsd; and of clusters of four consonants, xsdx, mxʷst, nxˢt.

§ 4. Euphonic Laws

There are a considerable number of rules of euphony which govern the sequence of sounds. These become active when two phonetic elements come into contact by composition or by syntactic co-ordination. They are partly ante-active (i.e., working forward) or progressive, partly retroactive or regressive, partly reciprocal. The ante-active processes include laws of assimilation and of consonantic elision; the retroactive processes consist in the hardening and softening of consonants; the reciprocal influence manifests itself in contraction and consonantic assimilation. Since the rules of consonantic combination (§ 3) relate partly to the initial, partly to the terminal consonant of the combination, these changes are apparently partly ante-active, partly retroactive; but since they are founded on the mutual influence of adjoining sounds, they are better treated under the head of reciprocal changes.

1. Ante-active Changes

The u vowels do not admit of a following anterior palatal, which is changed into a palatal with following w, or, as we may say, k sounds with i tinge become k sounds with u tinge when following a u vowel; or k sounds following u vowels are labialized. Posterior palatais, when following a u vowel, also assume a u tinge.
Instances of these changes are the following:

\[(\text{tā'wayu-g'ila})\]
\[\text{tā'wayugwila}\text{ to make a salmon-weir 26.39}\]
\[(\text{sō'-g'anem})\]
\[\text{sō'gwanem}\text{ you perhaps 146.28}\]
\[(\text{tā'wayu-g'a})\]
\[\text{tā'wayugwa}\text{ this salmon-weir 26.39}\]
\[(\text{ō'-g'w-ē'})\]
\[\text{o'gwive}\text{ forehead 19.5}\]
\[(\text{ō'-g'g'a})\]
\[\text{o'gugē}\text{ inside}\]
\[(\text{mā'q̂es [āyahā] sō'-k'as})\]
\[\text{mā'q̂es(āyahā)sō'kwas}\text{ really thrown into my belly 478.1}\]
\[(\text{ō'-k'ūx'-ē'})\]
\[\text{o'kwāxē}\text{ knee 154.11}\]
\[(\text{ō'-k'zit-ē'})\]
\[\text{o'k'zite}\text{ body 61.13}\]
\[(\text{ō'-k'ūlq-ē'})\]
\[\text{o'k'ulqē}\text{ front of body}\]
\[(\text{bō'-x'ē}id)\]
\[\text{bō'xēwed}\text{ to leave}\]

Changes of velars following a u vowel:

\[(\text{mā'xulayu-ga})\]
\[\text{mā'xulayugwa}\text{ Potlatch-Present-Woman 142.1}\]
\[(\text{ts!ō-g-ē'})\]
\[\text{ts!ō'gwē}\text{ given away among other things}\]
\[(\text{yō-xa})\]
\[\text{yō'xwa}\text{ to say “yō” X 176.19}\]

When the vowel following the \(k\) after a \(u\) vowel is an \(e\), the timbre of the weak vowel tends towards the \(u\).

When a \(u\) vowel is followed by a consonant cluster the first sound of which is a \(k\) sound (according to § 3 these can be only \(x', x̂, \) or \(x\)), the \(x'\) changes to \(x̂\), while the others remain unaffected.

\[(\text{yū'-x'sā})\]
\[\text{yū'x̂sā}\text{ it is entirely this 102.18}\]
\[(\text{ō-x'siú-ē'})\]
\[\text{ō'x̂siwē}\text{ mouth of river}\]

On the other hand—

\[(\text{ō-x'tā-ē'})\]
\[\text{ō'xtā}\text{ head part}\]
\[(\text{bō-x'tē})\]
\[\text{bō'xtē}\text{ to leave a miserable person}\]

The \(u\) tinge of \(k\) sounds and the very short \(u\) do not seem to modify the following anterior palatal \(g\), at least not according to the usage of the older generation.

\[(\text{yōk'u-g'afi})\]
\[\text{yō'k'ugafīl}\text{ (not yō'k'ugwafl)}\text{ noise of wind}\]
\[(\text{meq'u-g'it-x'ē}id)\]
\[\text{mequg'i'tēd}\text{ to put things on the body 199.11}\]

Examples of change of the anterior palatal to the medial labio-palatal \(kw\) are, however, not absent.

\[(\text{dā'doq'u-k'ina-la})\]
\[\text{dā'doq'kwinala}\text{ to see accidentally}\

§ 4
I have recorded as equally admissible—

g'ō'xug' in and g'o'xugun my visible house here

g'ō'xug'a. En and g'6'xugw<n my invisible house here

While the rule just described is founded entirely on the phonetic influence of the stem element upon its suffix, we have also a class of phonetic changes which are due to etymological causes, and can not be brought entirely under phonetic rules.

When a word ending in a consonant is followed by a suffix beginning with another consonant, there is a strong tendency to elision of the initial consonant of the suffix, although the combination may be admissible according to the general phonetic laws. Thus the compound of the stem qās- to walk, and the suffix -x'tid to begin, would result in the phonetically admissible combination qā'sx'tid, which we find in a word like 'wālasx'ē' Lynx. Nevertheless, the resulting form is qā's'tid. The elision of the initial sound of the suffix is therefore not entirely due to phonetic causes, and must be treated in detail in a discussion of the suffixes. It is quite likely that the suffixes in question may be compounds of two suffixes, the first of the combination being dropped. The question will be discussed more fully in § 18 (p. 449).

Another ante-active change which is not entirely due to phonetic causes is the transformation of ă into wă after n and vowels, which occurs in a few suffixes: for instance—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Stem</th>
<th>Hardened Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tī'p-ă to step off</td>
<td>lā'-wă to be off (the right line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōp-ă'la to chop off</td>
<td>dā'wă to fail to hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'at-ă'la long thing on water</td>
<td>han-wă'la hollow thing on water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-x-ă'la canoe drifts on water</td>
<td>g'ī'-wă'la to be on water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Retroactive Changes

The changes just mentioned are best explained as an effect of the stem upon the suffix. We find, however, also others, indicating an action of the suffix upon the stem. These consist in a hardening or weakening of the terminal consonant of the stem, and can not be explained by phonetic causes, but must be founded on etymological processes.

The following examples illustrate these processes which were mentioned before in § 2. In the first column the stems are given, the terminal sounds of which are modified by the addition of suffixes. In the second column hardened forms are given, in the third weakened
forms. In order to make the changes more readily recognizable, the suffixes are separated from the stems by means of hyphens.

(a) Theme ends in surd or fortis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ĕp- to pinch</td>
<td>ĕp'-id to begin to pinch</td>
<td>ĕb-ayu dice 112.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qap- to upset</td>
<td>qap-ālōd to upset on rock 179.27</td>
<td>qab-č's upset on the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaā'p! cradle 53.42</td>
<td>xaā'p-ek* cradled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wat- to lead</td>
<td>ya'!-āla rattle sound 229.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yat- to rattle</td>
<td>ya'!-āla rattle sound 229.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| at!- sinew  | ad-č'i back sinew             |
| tēk'- to lie on back 256.38 | tēk'- to lie on back in house 259.12 |
| k'!ēlak'- to club | k'!ēlak'-éne' clubbing        |
| Lēm'- to wedge | Lēm'-exād to wedge neck, i.e., foot of tree |
| gēg'-wife | gēg'-a'! to try to get a wife |
| bēk'-man | bēk'-u's man in woods         |
| tēk'- to expect | tēk'-u's man in woods         |
| xunk'-child | xunk'- child                  |
| 'nem'k* one person  | 'nem'k!us one person on ground CS 212.11 |
| elq* to put out tongue | elq*-w-ēnoz* a person who removes cinders from eye with tongue |
| yāq*-to lie dead| yāq*-i's lying dead on beach |
| wung- deep | wung-i's deep floor 187.23    |
| k'!i'ml- to adze | k'!i'ml-āla noise of adzing, U.S.N.M. 677.19 |
| q'ulā'!-to hide | q'ulā'!-nā'kula to go along hiding 262.39 |
(b) Theme ends in sonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Dza'wad</em> Knight inlet</td>
<td><em>Dza'wad</em>ẽnoxu people</td>
<td><em>Dza'wad</em>ẽnẽ state of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>having a wife</td>
<td>of Knight inlet</td>
<td>having a wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'nā'x'ida</em> day comes</td>
<td><em>'nā'x'ida</em>enoxu a</td>
<td>condition in which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>day is coming regularly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- *mē'x'ba* to burn at end
- *qā's* to walk
- *meg* to caulk

- *mē'x'ba* ẽ burned at end 247.9
- *qā's*ida-as walking place
- *meg*ẽnẽ caulking

(c) Theme ends in spirant, continued lateral, or nasal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hardened</th>
<th>Weakened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>den</em> to sing</td>
<td><em>dā'den</em> to try to sing</td>
<td><em>dā'w</em> salmon-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lā</em> to stand</td>
<td><em>lā'w</em> to stand on rock</td>
<td><em>lā'w</em> salmon-weir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qam</em> to down of bird</td>
<td><em>qā'qam</em> to try to put on down of bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'max</em> to potlatch</td>
<td><em>'max</em> to potlatch</td>
<td><em>'mā'w</em> means of giving potlatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sē</em> to paddle</td>
<td><em>sē'w</em> paddle</td>
<td><em>sē'w</em> paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mīz</em> to strike with fist</td>
<td><em>mā'man</em> to try to strike</td>
<td><em>men-a'ts</em> striking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k'īs</em> not</td>
<td><em>k'īs</em> not being</td>
<td><em>k'īs</em> not being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>plēs</em> to flatten</td>
<td><em>plēy-a'yu</em> means of</td>
<td><em>plēy-a'yu</em> means of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qās</em> to walk</td>
<td><em>qās</em>ayem obtained</td>
<td><em>qās</em>ayem obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tōs</em> to cut</td>
<td><em>tōs</em>atō to cut ear</td>
<td><em>tōs</em>atō to cut ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsōl</em> black</td>
<td><em>tsōl</em> with black cheek</td>
<td><em>tsōl</em> with black cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k'īl</em> afraid</td>
<td><em>k'īl</em> fear</td>
<td><em>k'īl</em> fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gīl</em> to walk on four feet</td>
<td><em>gā'gīl</em> to try to walk on four feet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mel</em> white</td>
<td><em>mel</em> white</td>
<td><em>melbō</em> white-cheested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ham</em> to eat</td>
<td><em>ham</em> to eat</td>
<td><em>ham</em> to eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stems ending in s and xu present peculiar forms when the accent falls upon the semivocalic y and w, into which these sounds are transformed. The y becomes ə, the w becomes ɔ. Thus we have from—

x'is- to disappear
q'e's- to sink under water
'mens- to measure
t!ems- to beat time
səx'- to paddle
yix'- to dance

In some cases the preceding vowel, if accented, is contracted with the y which has originated from s.

gas- to walk
gàt'nākula to walk along
gà'nōdzet' to walk alongside of

The use of dz and y in place of s does not seem to follow any definite rules. Thus we find—

lə'ndzəm (la-ns-em) means of taking under water X 62.10
qā'dzas place of walking (considered not as good as qā'yas)
gwā'yəxsta (gwās-exsta) to bring mouth near to one III 71.33
'wāl'ayas (wālas-as) size X 161.25

A purely phonetic change belonging to this class is the palatalization of k and x preceding an o or u. q!āk'- slave becomes q!ā'k-ə; 'mek'- a round thing being in a position becomes 'mek-əlā round thing on water (island); pex'- to float becomes pex'ēlal to float on water.

(3) Reciprocal Changes

These are partly purely phonetic, partly etymological. Contact of consonants results in their adaptation to admissible combinations. Therefore terminal k and l surds are changed before initial consonants of suffixes into their spirants. This change is also made when, in a sequence of two words which stand in close syntactic relation,
the former ends in a $k$ or $l$ surd, and the latter begins with a consonant. On the other hand, $s$ following a $l$ becomes $ts$; $s$ following a $t$ forms with it $ts$; and $s$ and a preceding $s$ are transformed into $ts$. In some cases these changes persist even after the elision of the first consonant of the suffix, in accordance with § 4 (1). From han$-$ to shoot, and -x$^-\tilde{u}d$ to begin, we have ha$'n\tilde{u}d$. This phenomenon will be more fully discussed in § 18 (p. 449). In a number of instances $t$ before an affricative changes to $l$.

Surd $k$ stops changed into spirants:

- "nēk" to say
- nā"nak" to return
- wēq"- to shove a long thing
- mōk"- to tie

$L$ changed into $l$:

- yēl- to tie
- āl- to tear
- kwē'zalal-xwa

$s$ following $l$ changed to $ts$:

- (kwē'lsō$'$)
- (qōx-ts!ō-ēl-sa)
- (λgwi'ls-g ōk$'$)

$s$ following $d$ or $t$ forms $ts$:

- (tā'gwibend-sēs)
- (lē'temdsō$'$)

$s$ following another $s$ forms with it $ts$:

- (axā's-sen)
- (qā's-sēstāla)

The sounds $y$ and $w$, when interconsonantic, change to ē and ō:

- (meny-k$'$ [from mens-])
- (t!emdy-dzō [from t!ems-])

§ 4
On the other hand, e and o preceding a vowel become y and w.

The ending -ote, when preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel, changes to a'y.

Another class of reciprocal changes affect the vowels. It seems that there are no purely phonetic rules which restrict the sequence of vowels, but contractions occur which depend upon the etymological value of the suffix. Thus the suffix -a (p. 533), when following a terminal a, is contracted with it into a, o'ema-a that chieftainess becoming dnma; with terminal o it is contracted into 6, La'wayo-a that salmon river becoming r/Vwayo. On the other hand, we have, in the case of other suffixes, g'å'xaq'ös your coming, in which two adjoining a's are not contracted.

Similar contractions occur in a number of suffixes:

- (ts!ä-anem) ts!ä'nam obtained by drawing water
- (lå'wå-åmas) lava'mas to cause to be off from a line
- (ts!ä-ayu) ts!ä'yu instrument for drawing water
- (ts!å-anem) ts!å'nam obtained by giving
- (lålåyå-ap!) lålåyå'p! to exchange
- (låxå'-ålisem) læxå'ålisem to die of coughing

The consonants m and l have a similar effect upon vowels:

- (dë'gem-ayu) dë'gemyu means of wiping face
- (t!em-ayu) t!emyu thread, i. e., means of sewing
§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed by means of three processes. These are—
1. Composition.
2. Changes in the phonetic character of the stem.
3. Position.

§ 6. Composition

Kwakiutl possesses a large number of stems which occur seldom without word-forming affixes. The latter are numerous, and they are always attached to the ends of stems or of derivatives of stems. The number of stems exceeds by far the number of suffixes. The meaning of many of these suffixes can not be determined, and in their phonetic values they appear subordinate to the stems with which they firmly coalesce.

Two processes bring about the coalescence between stem and suffix: (1) Phonetic contact phenomena and (2) contact phenomena due to the individual character of the stem and of the suffix (see § 4).

The former of these processes is founded entirely on phonetic laws, and includes the transformation in the suffix of a k sound into the corresponding sound with u timber, after terminal u or o sound of the stem or preceding suffix; the change of a kʰ and ɾʰ preceding an o or u into k: and ɾ; modification of the terminal consonant of the stem or preceding suffix, and of the initial consonant of the suffix, which form inadmissible combinations; and contraction.

The second group of processes can not be explained by phonetic laws, but depends upon the individuality of the suffix and of the stem or preceding suffix. The phenomena involved are contractions of the terminal stem and initial suffix vowels, although the combination of vowels may be quite admissible; elision of consonants; introduction of connective consonants; and retroactive changes which affect the terminal consonant of the stem. In one case, at least, the reason for the introduction of a connective consonant may be traced with a high degree of probability to the retention of the terminal sound of a suffix when combined with other suffixes, while the same sound has been lost when the same suffix closes the word (see p. 532).

The modifications which affect the terminal consonant of the stem belong almost exclusively to a group of suffixes which usually follow §§ 5, 6.
the stem itself, and do not readily admit any preceding suffixes. Most of these either harden or weaken the terminal consonant of the stem, although there is also a considerable number of suffixes of this class which do not produce any changes other than those entailed by purely phonetic laws. In a few cases the changes produced by the suffix are very irregular. It is probable that no verbal or nominal stem ever appears without a suffix of this class. Therefore the terminal sound of a stem can not be determined unless it occurs with a suffix which produces no change.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Stem

Setting aside the secondary changes produced by the action of phonetic laws and by the mutual effect of stem and suffix, we find that reduplication and change of vowel are used to express grammatical concepts. In the verb we find complete duplication of the stem, with assimilation of the terminal consonant of the first repeated syllable with the following consonant; for instance, lōqʷ- to fish halibut, lōxʷloqua to fish now and again. True reduplication is, on the whole, restricted to the initial consonant. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable does not always depend upon the stem-vowel, but differs according to the function of reduplication. Vowel-changes in the stem are rare, and consist generally of a lengthening of the stem-vowel. In many cases they may be explained as modified reduplication.

§ 8. Position

The position of words in the sentence is determined by syntactic particles. The parts of the sentence are held together firmly, and their position is definitely determined by their coalescence with syntactic elements which indicate the relations of subject, object, instrument, and possession. By this means the whole sentence is knit together so firmly that a separation into words is quite arbitrary. The firmness of this word-complex is due largely to the complete phonetic coalescence of the syntactic particle with the preceding word, and to its function as determining the syntactic value of the following word. It is of course impossible to determine whether this is an original trait of the language, or whether it is due to a phonetic decadence of the syntactic elements, similar to the one that may be observed in French in the combinations between verb and pronoun. §§ 7, 8
§ 9. Character of Stems

Although the formal distinction of noun and verb is quite sharp, the great freedom with which nouns may be transformed into verbs, and verbs into nouns, makes a classification difficult. All stems seem to be neutral, neither noun nor verb; and their nominal or verbal character seems to depend solely upon the suffix with which they are used, although some suffixes are also neutral. I am led to this impression chiefly by the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that occur as nouns, as well as with others that occur as verbs. A separation of suffixes of nouns and those of verbs can be carried through only when the sense of the suffix requires its composition with either a verb or a noun, and even in these cases compositions with the opposite class occur which are sometimes difficult to understand. The neutral character of the stem may also be the reason why many suffixes are attached to the stem freed of all word-forming elements. Examples of the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that we should be inclined to class as either nominal or verbal are—

- **beklwa's** man of the woods (from *bek* man, -s in woods)
- **t!e'tes** to lie on back on ground (from *t!e'k* to lie on back, and the same suffix as before)
- **t!e'semx'tana** stone handed (from *t!e's* stone, -em plural, -x'tana hand)
- **axts!anâ'la** to hold in hand (from *ax* to do, and the same suffix as before)

It is difficult to understand the combination of a suffix like -ol to obtain with stems some of which we consider as verbal, while others appear to us as nominal stems. We find **qlâ'k'ol** to obtain a slave (from *qlâk*- slave), and also **lôl** to obtain (from *la*, a general auxiliary verb, originally designating motion). Lack of discrimination between the nominal and verbal function of words is also brought out by compounds like **begwânemx'êd** to become a man (from **begwânem** man, -x'êd, inchoative), and **mix'ti'd** to begin to strike (from **mix** to strike and the inchoative suffix).

A number of suffixes may also be used indiscriminately with nominal and verbal function; for instance, from **-naxwa** sometimes,
we have lā'naḵwa he goes sometimes and xˈiɣäˈsnaxwa place where something disappears from time to time (from xˈīs- to disappear, -as place of). For these reasons a strict classification into nominal and verbal suffixes does not seem admissible.

§ 10. Nominal Suffixes

Nevertheless many suffixes have assumed distinctly the function of giving to a stem a nominal or a verbal character. We find, for instance, many nouns ending in -a and -e£, others ending in -en or -enm, animate beings ending in -änem, and terms of relationship ending in -mp. Besides these, there are a great many which express place and time of an action or process, various forms of the nomen actoris, the results and causes of actions and processes, possession, instrumentality, material, etc.; in short, a wide range of verbal nouns. They retain, however, their neutral value. This is best expressed by the fact that most of these verbal nouns retain their syntactic relation to the direct and indirect object. The Kwakiutl does not say "the seeing-place of the canoe," but "the place-of-seeing the canoe."

Among purely verbal suffixes, there are a number which express actions affecting nouns, which for this reason are always (or at least generally) suffixed to nouns, as "to make," "to take care of," "to sound;" verbs expressing sense impressions, as "to smell of," "to taste like;" and words like "to die of." With these groups may be classed a number of suffixes which change the subject of the sentence, like the passives and causatives.

§ 11. Local and Modal Suffixes

Most important among the suffixes which are both verbal and nominal is the extensive group of local terms. These embrace a great variety of ideas expressed by our prepositions and by many local adverbs, and contain also a long series of more special local ideas (like "in the house," "into the house," "on the ground," "on the beach," "on rocks," "in the fire," "in water") and an exhaustive series of terms designating locally parts of the body (for instance, "on the hand," "on the chest," "on the thigh," "in the body"). A second group classify nouns according to form, and set off human beings as a distinct category. A third class of suffixes indicate time-relations, such as past, present, and future. With these may be classed the suffixes which indicate the modality of a process as

§§ 10, 11
beginning, gradual, continued, repeated, uncertain, simulated, etc. Many of these suffixes express the subjective relation of the mind of the speaker to the event. This is also true of the demonstrative suffixes indicating position in relation to the speaker, and visibility or invisibility. These, however, must be classed with the syntactic particles which will be found treated on pages 527 et seq. To the suffixes expressing subjective relation belong those expressing the source of subjective knowledge—as by hearsay, or by a dream. Quite numerous are the suffixes expressing ideas like "much," "little," "admirably," "miserably," "surprisingly." I am under the impression that all these have primarily a subjective coloring and a high emotional value. Thus, the ending -dē LARGE is used in such a manner that it conveys the impression of overwhelming size, or the subjective impression of size, while the word wū'las expresses size without the emotional element; -xōl indicates the entirely unexpected occurrence of an event and the surprise excited by it. The latter example shows that the subjective character of these suffixes may also be used to express the relations of a sentence to the preceding sentence. In a sense, -xōl is a disjunctive suffix. As a matter of fact, these suffixes are used extensively to express the psychological relation of a sentence to the preceding sentence. They indicate connection as well as contrast, and thus take the place of our conjunctions.

§ 12. Classes of Words

The classification of suffixes here given shows that a division of words into verbs and nouns has taken place, both being fairly clearly distinguished by suffixes. We find, however, that syntactically the distinction is not carried through rigidly; nouns being treated with great ease as verbs, and verbs as nouns. It must be added here that the forms of the pronouns as attached to the noun and as attached to the verb are distinct. Since the psychological relation of sentences is included in the process of suffix formation, conjunctions are absent. For this reason, and on account of the verbal character of most adverbs, there remain only few classes of words—nouns, verbs, and particles.

There is no clear classification of nouns into groups, although the grammatical treatment of nouns designating human beings and of those designating other objects is somewhat different, particularly in the treatment of the plural. The noun-forming suffixes, mentioned

§ 12
in the beginning of § 10, also indicate the occurrence of certain classes of ideas. The principle of classification, however, remains obscure. In syntactic construction a classification of nouns according to form—such as long, round, flat—is carried through in some cases, and runs parallel with a differentiation of verbs of position and motion for objects of different form.

§ 13. Plurality

The idea of plurality is not clearly developed. Reduplication of a noun expresses rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular object, than plurality. It is therefore rather a distributive than a true plural. It seems that this form is gradually assuming a purely plural significance. In many cases in which it is thus applied in my texts, the older generation criticises its use as inaccurate. Only in the case of human beings is reduplication applied both as a plural and a distributive. In the pronoun the idea of plurality is not developed. The combination of speaker and others must not be considered as a plurality; but the two possible combinations—of the speaker and others, including the person addressed, and of the speaker and others, excluding the person addressed—are distinguished as two separate forms, both of which seem to be derived from the form denoting the speaker (first person singular). The plurality of persons addressed and of persons spoken of is indicated by the addition of a suffix which probably originally meant "people." This, however, is not applied unless the sense requires an emphasis of the idea of plurality. It does not occur with inanimate nouns.

In the verb, the idea of plurality is naturally closely associated with that of distribution; and for this reason we find, also in Kwakiutl, the idea of plurality fairly frequently expressed by a kind of reduplication similar to that used for expressing the distributive of nouns. This form is applied regularly in the Bella Bella dialect, which has no means of expressing pronominal plurality.

Related to the reduplicated nominal plural is also the reduplicated verbal stem which conveys purely the idea of distribution, of an action done now and then.

§ 14. Reduplication for Expressing Unreality

Reduplication is also used to express the diminutive of nouns, the idea of a playful performance of an activity, and the endeavor to perform an action. It would seem that in all these forms we have the §§ 13, 14.
fundamental idea of an approach to a certain concept without its realization. In all these cases the reduplication is combined with the use of suffixes which differentiate between diminution, imitation, and endeavor.

§ 15. Pronominal Ideas

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of are each represented by formal elements. It was stated before that the inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural are distinguished, and that both are probably derived from the first person singular. This means that these two forms are not conceived as plurals. It was also stated that the second and third persons have no pronominal plural.

The demonstrative is developed in strict correspondence with the personal pronoun; position near the speaker, near the person addressed, and near the person spoken of being distinguished. These locations are subdivided into two groups, according to visibility and invisibility. The rigidity with which location in relation to the speaker is expressed, both in nouns and in verbs, is one of the fundamental features of the language. The distinction of proper nouns and common nouns, and that of definiteness and indefiniteness—similar to that expressed by our articles—is expressed by a differentiation of form of these demonstrative elements.

The possessive pronoun has forms which are different from those of the verbal pronouns, and by their use verb and noun may be clearly distinguished.

§ 16. Syntactic Relations

The fundamental syntactic categories are predicate, subject, object, possession (which is closely related to instrumentality), and finality (which is closely related to causality and conditionality). In other words, the syntactic cases, nominative, accusative, genitive (possessive or instrumentalis), finalis (causalis), may be distinguished, while all local relations are expressed in other ways (see § 11). Verbal subordination is expressed by means of forms which are closely allied to these nominal cases. Verbal co-ordination is expressed by verbal suffixes, and thus does not belong to the group of syntactic phenomena.

§ 17. Character of Sentence

The contents of the Kwakiutl sentence are characterized primarily by an exuberant development of localization. This is brought about

§§ 15–17
partly by the use of local suffixes which define the exact place where an action is performed, without regard to the speaker; partly by the expression of location in relation to the speaker. Thus the sentence "My friend is sick" would require in Kwakiutl local definition, such as "My visible friend near me is sick in the house here." Furthermore, the psychological relation of the sentence to the state of mind of the speaker—or to the contents of preceding sentences—is expressed with great care. The chief formal characterization of the sentence is the close connection of its parts, which is due to the fewness of syntactic forms by means of which all possible relations are expressed, and to the subordination of the noun under the verb by means of particles which coalesce phonetically with the preceding word, while they determine the function of the following word.

DESCRIPTION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 18-69)

Formation of Words (§§ 18-46)

Composition (§§ 18-39)

§ 18. SUFFIXES

Compounds are formed by the use of suffixes. There is no proof that the numerous suffixes were originally independent words. I have found only one case in which an independent word appears also as a suffix. This is -q'es to eat (p. 501), which occurs independently as q'esa' to eat meat 21.9. We may also suspect that the suffix -p!a to taste, and the stem p!aq- to taste, are related. It seems hardly justifiable to infer from these two cases that all suffixes must have originated from independent words; since the independence of these two stems may be a recent one, or their subordination may have been made according to analogous forms. It is perhaps also not fortuitous that the suffix forms for the idea "to eat" are exceedingly irregular.

The Kwakiutl language has very few particles, or words unable to be modified by composition with other elements. The suffixed elements coalesce quite firmly with the theme to which they are attached. Pronominal and syntactic suffixes must be distinguished from those forming denoting and predicing ideas, that, by themselves, are not sentences. Among the latter class we find a considerable number that may be designated as terminal or completive, in so far as they round off the theme into a complete word.
without any appreciable addition to its significance. Many of these are of rare occurrence. Almost all of them, except -a and -la, are denominative in character. We find for instance:

from the stem dzaxʷ-  
  hanxʷ-  
  gwāx-  
  mel-  
  met-  
  leq-  
  tsixʷ-  
  tseqʷ-  

The composition of these stems with various suffixes enables us to isolate them from their completive endings. It is not improbable that in some cases by analogy forms may have developed which are not true stems, but fragmentary phonetic groups derived secondarily from longer words. The stems are almost throughout monosyllabic, as will be shown on page 550. When, for instance, the word ge'was deer is treated as though it were a compound of the stem glxu- to hang and the suffix -as place, it is barely possible that this does not represent its true origin. The treatment of a few English loan-words makes it plausible that this process may have taken place. On the other hand, a number of polysyllabic Kwakiutl words are never reduced to monosyllabic elements in composition. As an example may be given the word me'gwat seal, which never loses any of its sounds. This process shows clearly that what has often been termed "apocope," or, if occurring initially, "decapitation," is merely due to a substitution of one affix for another one.

Most suffixes in Kwakiutl add a new idea to the word to which they are added, and these are generally attached to the theme. At the same time, phonetic modifications occur, either in the theme alone, or in the suffix alone, or in both. Examples of such compounds are the following:

- běkʷ- man  
- lap- to peg  
- xulə- to long  
- mel- sockeye salmon

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dzaxʷwu'n silver salmon} \\
\text{hanxʷnó'h humpback salmon} \\
\text{gwāxnis dog salmon} \\
\text{mel'ék' sockeye salmon} \\
\text{metlú'né large clam \textit{(Saxi-doms)}} \\
\text{leq!este'n kelp} \\
\text{tsix'i'nas elderberry} \\
\text{t!exwood's cinquefoil}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 18
When a significant suffix is added to a word provided with a significant suffix, the latter loses its formal, completive element, if it has one, and the new suffix is attached to the theme of the first suffix. For instance:

- t!sk-u- to move, -ax- down (no. 19), -g'alił in house (no. 46),
- t!skwa'zalił to take down in house
- hël- right, -k'ä'tö opposite (no. 12), -aq- crotch (no. 71), -ë nown (no. 161), hël'k'ä'odagë right side in crotch, i.e., right anal fin
- xunk-u- child, -ad having (no. 170); -x'ë'id to begin (no. 90),
- xu'ngwadex-x'ë'd to begin to have a child
- x!q-u- red, copper; -ë'st- around (no. 6), -g'alił in house (no. 46),
- ku- passive participle, l!q'wä'stalilik' made to be copper all around the house
- 'me]- white, -xlo hair of body (no. 76), -g'ëml mask (no. 54a),
- 'me]-xlo'gëml white body-hair mask, i.e., mountain-goat mask

Other suffixes are added to words which retain their formal, completive elements. Examples are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive suffix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q'ä'k'- slave</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-bido'</td>
<td>q'ä'k'-obido' little slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!wäs- to cry</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-bula</td>
<td>q!wäs'sabula to pretend to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>säs- children</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-nuk</td>
<td>säs'ëmnuk having children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In still other cases the usage is not absolutely fixed:

- hän]- to shoot, -bës fond of, ha'ni'bës fond of shooting
- e'ax- to work, -ala completive suffix, -bës fond of, e'azala'bës fond of work

or with slight differentiation of meaning:

- bek'- man, -änem completive suffix, -k'äla noise
  bek!wä'la man's voice
  begwä'änemk'-äla voice of a man

For convenience' sake those suffixes that are attached to the stem without its formal, completive endings may be called stem-suffixes; the others which are attached to the stem with its formal endings, word-suffixes. As indicated before, the line of demarcation between these two classes is not rigidly drawn. An examination of the list of word-suffixes shows that they include largely adverbial and conjunctural ideas possessing a strong subjective element, and implying a judgment or valuation of the idea expressed in the word to which the suffix is attached.

§ 18
While the word-suffixes modify the terminal sound of the stem and undergo changes of their own initial sounds in accordance with the rules of sound grouping, the stem-suffixes exert a more far-reaching effect upon the stem to which they are affixed. On the whole, these changes are quite regular and consist, on the one hand, in the transformation of surds into fortes, and the other in the transformation of surds and fortes into sonants, and other parallel changes described in § 4. I have called the former group hardening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation of the terminal sound is increased, and accordingly the acoustic effect of the sound is harder; while I designate the second group as weakening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation is decidedly decreased by their action. A third group of suffixes is indifferent and causes or suffers no changes except those occasioned by the laws of sound grouping. A fourth group loses initial sounds when the stem to which they are suffixed terminates in certain sounds. These are mostly indifferent, but a few are hardening or weakening suffixes.

The only sounds thus affected are anterior palatals (g', k', k!, x'), the sonant velar (g), x, and s. The loss of the initial palatal or velar never occurs after vowels, m, n, and l. It occurs regularly after labial, dental, palatal, velar, and lateral surd stops (p, t, k', k'', q, q'', l), and after s. The number of cases in which suffixes of this class appear attached to a sonant or fortis stop (except in cases in which terminal sounds are strengthened or weakened) are so few in number that I am not sure whether the initial sound is dropped in all cases. There are a few examples that suggest a certain variability of usage:

\[ \text{dze'dzönogotāla and dze'dzönogotāla Dzö'noq! was on top 118.29} \]
\[ \text{meguq'i'tišd to rub on 199.11} \]

Suffixes with initial g', x', and g lose these sounds also after the spirant palatals and velars (x', x'', x, x''), while initial k'! is generally retained in these cases:

\[ \text{sepe'lx-k'!ala-g'ilaë ringing noise on water 152.34 (nos. 144, 42)} \]
\[ \text{ax-k'!ala to ask 7.5 (no. 144)} \]
\[ \text{te!ex-k'!lq-end-ala to drop in lap 258.2 (nos. 70, 2, 91)} \]

This rule, however, is not rigid. We find, for instance,

\[ \text{genax-öt-stö-li left hand side of door X 76.6 (nos. 12, 59, 46) where the initial sound of -k'!öt drops out; and } \]
\[ \text{ex-k'!öt straight down, where it is retained} \]

\[ \text{44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—29} \]

§ 18
Possibly this difference is due to the fact that the x in the last-named form is changed by contact from the terminal q of ‘neq-staight.

Suffixes with initial -k lose this sound under the same conditions that govern the elision of g', x', and q. An exception is—

ge'k'wontd to lift by the top (ge'lq'-k'e-nd, nos. 38, 2)

Terminal l of the stem has the effect of eliding all initials. Only one exception has been found:

hêl-k'-t right side 81.2

It is interesting to note that the suffix -g'iu, which belongs to this class, behaves differently according to its meaning. It signifies forehead, front. Whenever it appears with the specialized meaning bow of canoe, it is entirely unchangeable, even after an o vowel, when, according to the general phonetic rules, it should be expected to assume the form -gwiu (see no. 57).

Among these suffixes the following weaken the terminal consonant:

-xtë head
-xta seaward
-x'sa away from

Strengthening is:
-k'-lala noise

The suffix -x-t'id (nos. 87 and 90), and the inchoatives in -g'al-, -g'il-, -g'a- (no. 197), lose the initial x', g'a, or g' after all consonants except m, n, l, and after sonants. At the same time terminal p and t are transformed into the fortés p! and t!, and all k and l stops are transformed into their spirants, while s and l remain unchanged.

The suffix -sgem round surface (no. 85), which is undoubtedly related to -qem face, follows the same rules as suffixes in g, but it always retains its s: We find, instead of

mê'x-sgem        mê'xsem to sleep on a round object
ma'tl-sgem       ma'lts'em two round objects

The suffix -ë'sta around has the form -se'ë'sta after vowels, m, n, l, and behaves, therefore, in a manner opposite to that of suffixes in g', x', and q.

The suffix -sqwap fire loses its initial s after stems ending in s, except when affixed to the stem t's-es- stone, in which case both s's are lost, and we find the form tël'qwap stones on fire.

The suffix -sx'á tooth seems to lose its initial s after stems ending in s and in k sounds. The number of available examples, however, is not sufficient to state definitely the mode of its treatment.

§ 18
One phonetic characteristic of the suffixes remains to be mentioned. It is the insertion of $l$ and the transformation of $s$ and $t$ into $l$. It is difficult to give satisfactory rules for the use of the $l$. Apparently in one of its uses it is related to the inchoative $-g'il-$, which has been referred to before (p. 450), and it is sometimes weakening, sometimes indifferent. Thus we find from the stem $qās- \text{to walk}$, $qādəlti'\text{sela}$ to begin to walk down river, and the theoretical form $qāsatī'\text{sela}$ to be walking down river. Here the $l$ weakens the terminal $s$ of $qās$, while in $sə'xulti'\text{sela}$ to begin to paddle down river (from $sə'x-$ to paddle) the terminal $x$ is not changed. This $l$ appears with particular frequency after the suffix $-o-$, which has a privative significance, as in $-wult'\text{a out of an enclosed place; -wultà out of a canoe; -wultös down out of; -wultsō out of}$ (no. 37). In the suffix $-stō$ eye, opening, the $l$ is substituted for $s$, perhaps on account of the cumbersome form that would result, $-lstō$. The terminal $t$ of the suffix $-k'!ōt$ opposite (no. 12) changes regularly to $l$ before $ts!$: $hēlk'!ōlts!āna$ instead of $hēlk'!ō-t-ts!āna$ right hand

It would seem that the $l$ before $ts!$ is sometimes a glide, at least I cannot offer a satisfactory explanation of its occurrence:

- $ō-$ something, $-ig'$- back, $-x'ts!ān-$ hand, $-ē'$ noun, form awi-
  $g'alts!ānē'$ back of hand
- $dā$ to take, $-ba$ end, $ts!ān$ hand, $-d$ inchoative, form $dā'bal-
  ts!ān$ end to lead by the hand
- $nēq$- middle, $-ts!ō$ in, $-la$ verbal ending, form $nēqēlts!ā'la$ to
  be in the middle

Similar phonetic groupings occur, however, without the $l$:

$'wāb$ water, $-ts!ō$ in, $'wā'bets!ō$ water in something

Following is a list of suffixes grouped according to their mode of attachment and effect upon the stem:

**WORD-SUFFIXES**

**Adverbial**

- $\text{-eṃskō}$ I told you so!
- $\text{-en'g'a}$ it seemed in a dream
- $\text{-āna}$ perhaps
- $\text{-azaa}$ also
- $\text{-ī}$ astonishing!
- $\text{-wist'la}$ very
- $\text{-ul}$ past
- $\text{-p'ēn}$ times

$=bōla$ to pretend

$=i'm$ indicating close connection in thought between
two sentences

$=i'm-wis$ and so

$=mā$ at once

$=t'$ but

$=nəx'wə$ from time to time
-nēšit, oh, if!
-ñośit, too much
-sōśit, passive
-dzē indeed
-g'anem perhaps
-k'as indeed
-k'asōt beautiful, beautifully
-k'inał miserably
-q'āmas for the reason that
-q'anak* quite unexpectedly
-q'alam to no purpose
-x' exhortative
-xēnt evidently

-xōśi, behold!
-x'ē transition from present to past
-x'sāla carelessly
-x'sā still
-x'ēt! as usual
-x'ē very
-x'ē miserably
-x't it is said

-lag'ī, meanwhile
-lax potentiality
-l future

-ō small
-bido* small (singular)
-menēz small (plural)

-dzē large
-qa female, woman

-ōstq!a to use so and so often
-sdēnà to die of—
-xa to say—
-lāl to dance like
-ts'ēs (-dzēs*) piece of

-sqxml mask
-
eg comparatively
-
-
eg the one among—, excellent
-
egwa's days

STEM-SUFFIXES

Indifferent Suffixes

-em nominal suffix
-élx'tis doing for others
-ax verbal and nominal suffix
-awil across
-ap! neck
-ap! each other
-āmas to cause
-atus down river
-ānem class of animate beings
-anō instrument, passive
-asdē meat
-yag'a returning
-aqa past
-arā down
-agō extreme
-āla continued position
-yāla to go to look for

-wēnom nominal suffix
-ōl to obtain
-ōlə continued motion
-bēta into, in

§ 18
-p!a taste
-þala smell
-p!altō with eyes
-bes expert, fond of
-p!eq tree
-pōl (Newettee dialect) into,
in
-manō head
-mis useless part
-mut refuse
-mp relationship
-d inchoative
-dems time of
-ènak direction
-nd inchoative
-ents!è̂s down to beach

-ènx edge
-saqō penis
-sta water
-ts!- with hands
-ts!aq long
-ts! in
-dzaqwa to speak
-k'α to happen
-k'ina accidentally
-q!es to swallow
-q!ege² meat
-q!ä to feel
-xsa flat
-xtä top of head
-xlö top of tree, hair on body
-la verbal and nominal suffix

Hardening Suffixes

-èm genuine
-èm'ya cheek
-ës expert
-a on rock
-a to endeavor
-aqa among
-èmas class of animals
-ënë abstract noun
-ènoxn nomen actoris
-ès body (?)

-èq in body
-ëxsō to desire
-ös cheek
-bō chest
-s on ground
-g'a'l to begin to make noise
-xō neck
-xsd hind end
-xɔa bottom end

Weakening Suffixes

-èm instrument
-èm diminutive
-èn nominal suffix
-ènx season ?
-èlk⁺ doing regularly
-èl̃sus down river
-āyu instrument
-ābō under
-āmāla along river
-ād having
-ābō ear
-ānem obtained by—
-äänō rope
-ās place
-ats!è receptacle
-ág crotch
-ālas material (?)
-nō side  
-k* passive participle  
-k* passive of verbs expressing sense perceptions  

Suffixes Losing Their Initial Consonants  

Losing Initial g-:  
-g'iu forehead  
-g'it body  
-g'ila to make  
-g'ustā up  

Losing Initial k-:  
-k'ā, -k'auē between  
-k'ē top of a square object  

Losing Initial k'-:  
-k'ēn body  
-k'éala noise  
-k'ét opposite  

Losing Initial x-:  
-x'sā away from  
-x'siap! arm  
-x'siuu mouth of river  
-x'sis foot  
-x'sila to take care of  
-x'silāna hand  
-x'la top  

Losing Initial g'a-:  
-all inchoatives in -g'al-, such as—  
-g'ālili in house  
-g'ale in canoe  

Losing Initial g:  
-gem fare  
-gemē mask  

Losing Initial x:  
-xtēa seaward  
-xstā through  
-xtēa head  

Losing or Modifying Initial s:  
-sēsēa around  
-sēā tooth  
-sēkā person  

§ 18
Although the use of these suffixes follows the rules laid down here with a fair degree of regularity, there are quite a number of exceptional compositions. A few examples will suffice here:

- stem *gēg*-: *gēns'ī* m wife
- stem *gwōg*-: *gwōyi'ī* m whale
- stem *g'īnl*-: *g'īnd'ī*n* m child
- stem *xunk*-: *xunōk*-a child
- stem *x'tis*-: *xā'x'a*yā* trying to disappear
  *(s weakened to *y*, instead of being strengthened to *ts!*)
- stem *p'e's*- to flatten: *plāp!a*yā* trying to flatten
  *(same as last)*

§ 19. CLASSES OF SUFFIXES

I have tried to classify the primary suffixes according to the ideas expressed. Classes of this kind are of course somewhat arbitrary, and their demarcations are uncertain. The general classification of suffixes which I have adopted is as follows:

I. Terminal completive suffixes (§ 20, nos. 1–2).

II. Primary suffixes (§§ 21–37, nos. 3–195).

1. Suffixes denoting space limitations (§§ 21–24, nos. 3–85).
   (a) General space limitations (§ 21, nos. 3–37).
   (b) Special space limitations (§ 22, nos. 38–52).
   (c) Parts of body as space limitations (§ 23, nos. 53–81).
   (d) Limitations of form (§ 24, nos. 82–85).

   (a) Purely temporal suffixes (§ 25, nos. 86–89).
   (b) Suffixes with prevailing temporal character (§ 26, nos. 90–97).

3. Suffixes denoting subjective judgments or attitudes relating to the idea expressed (§§ 27–32, nos. 98–135).
   (a) Suffixes denoting connection with previously expressed ideas (§ 27, nos. 98–104).
   (b) Suffixes denoting degrees of certainty (§ 28, nos. 105–107).
   (c) Suffixes denoting judgments regarding size, intensity, and quality (§ 29, nos. 108–126).
   (d) Suffixes denoting emotional states (§ 30, nos. 127–129).
   (e) Suffixes denoting modality (§ 31, nos. 130–131).
   (f) Suffixes denoting the source of information whence knowledge of the idea expressed is obtained (§ 32, nos. 132–135).
(4) Suffixes denoting special activities (§§ 33-34, nos. 136-155).

(a) Activities of persons in general (§ 33, nos. 135-143).
(b) Activities performed with special organs of the body (§ 34, nos. 144-155).
(5) Suffixes which change the subject or object of a verb (§ 35, nos. 156-160).
(6) Nominal suffixes (§ 36, nos. 161-194).
(7) Adverbial suffix (§ 37, no. 195).

III. Subsidiary suffixes (§ 38, nos. 196-197).

In the following list the influence of the suffix upon the stem is indicated by abbreviations. stem-s. and word-s. indicate whether the suffix is added to the stem or to the full word. ind. signifies that the suffix is indifferent and has no influence upon the stem except as required by phonetic laws. h indicates that the terminal consonant of the stem is hardened; w, that it is softened.

§ 20. TERMINAL COMPLETIVE SUFFIXES (NOS. 1-2)

1. -a [stem-s., ind.]. This suffix is of indefinite significance. It is the most common word-closing suffix of verbs, and is very often used with substantives. Generally it disappears when the stem takes one of the primary suffixes, and it is also often dropped before syntactic suffixes. It is even dropped in the vocatives of nouns. In both verbs and substantives it follows very often the suffix -l- (no. 91), which seems to have primarily a verbal continuative character.

(a) Verbal:

mix'- mix'a' to strike
qās- qā'sa to walk

with -l-

ts!ex'- ts!ext'la to be sick

(b) Nominal:

leq'a- leqwa' five
-qā female, as in Hā'la'mā'laq mouse woman 11.12 (but Hā'la'mā'laq O mouse woman!)

with -l-

'nā-la day, world
paxa- shaman paxa'la shaman

2. -d [stem-s.]. The first impression of the suffix -d is that it transforms intransitive verbs into transitive ones.

q!ōxts!ō' to have on
lá'ba to go to the end

q!ōxts!ō'd to put on
lá'bind to reach the end.

§ 20
A closer examination shows that both forms occur in transitive as well as in intransitive verbs.

-d intransitive:

- 'něxwa'xse'dend to begin to be near 107.17
- L'á'quaxod to hand down a copper 84.3

without -d, transitive:

- q!ö'xts!ála to have on 98.27
- ně'zsála to pull through 76.1
- dā'deņa to hold at end 254.36

On the whole, it seems that the suffix -d expresses the motions connected with the beginning of an action; and, since transitive verbs express much more frequently a passing act than a long-continued activity, it seems natural that the suffix should appear frequently with transitive verbs.

Generally the suffix -d is suffixed to a primary suffix. When it follows a terminal m, it is simply added; when the primary suffix ends with a short vowel, the vowel is dropped and the terminal -d takes the form -nd. After primary suffixes ending in -ö or â, and after -axa down (no. 19), it amalgamates with the terminal vowel and becomes -öd.

(a) -d:
- q!eně'pemend to cover face 299.21 (from -qem face; see no. 54)

(b) nd:
- džā'k'oxlend to rub hind end 96.21 (from -xl- hind end; see no. 15)
- t!ö'tśe'stend to cut around 138.18 (from -śe- around; see no. 6)
- ts!exbets'nd to throw in 365.16 (from -bets- into; see no. 28)
- dā'bend to take end 15.7 (from -b- end; see no. 31)

(c) -öd:
- ně'zsed to pull through 53.17 (from -zsâ through; see no. 3)
- L'á'sagöd to put farthest seaward (from -ago extreme; see no. 13)
- neqö'xyöd to move in middle 141.7 (from -öyö middle; see no. 16)
- ně'xzstöd to pull up 184.37 (from -ustâ up; see no. 20)
- q!ö'xts!öd to put on clothes 15.10 (from -ts!ö in; see no. 27)
- Lā'yaöd to push under 80.13 (from -abö under; see no. 29)
- lā'xtdöd to reach top 196.34 (from -xtâ on top; see no. 30)
- qix-ö'd to take off 16.10 (from -ö- off; see no. 37)
§ 21. General Space Limitations (Nos. 3–37)

3. -x§sd through [stem-s., ind.] loses the initial x.
   la to go
   k!umel- to burn
   qaš- to walk
   p!el- to fly
   sēx̂u- to paddle
   nēx- to pull
   ts!elq̂u- hot

   laxd̂ to go through
   k!umeml̂e to burn through
   qaš̂d̂ to walk through
   p!el̂a to fly through 165.22
   sēx̂ud̂ to paddle through
   nēx̂zd̂ to pull through 75.40
   nēx̂zd̂a to pull through 76.1
   ts!elq̂umzd̂a hot all through
   V 366.12
   kwx̂zd̂ hole 72.39

4. -x¢s¢ across [stem-s., ind.] loses the initial x.
   'wil- entirely
   g'āx to come
   saku- to carve meat
   sōp- to chop
   lem̂l- to split

   'wil̂e to cut up entirely X
   g'āx̂sa to come ashore 371.37
   sak̂u to carve across to pieces 31.40
   sōp̂e to chop across
   lem̂m̂e to split across, plural (see no. 196), 158.30

5. -ślā(ūa) about [stem-s., ind.].
   dōq̂u- to see
   q!wēs- to squeeze
   pex̂u- to drift
   ōdz- wrong

   dōd̂eq̂wil̂u to look about
   q!wēśil̂u to squeeze all over
   pāx̂wil̂u to drift about
   Aōd̂ziwil̂aĝil̂u Wrong all over
   the world (a name) 165.5

6. -ešt(a) and -eŝst(a) around [stem-s., ind.].
   (a) After vowels, m, and n; -ešt(a):
   ō- something
   k!wa to sit
   gelq- to swim
   mō'pl̂e four times

   awōśt̂a circumference 85.9
   k!wēśt̂ala to sit about
   gelqamēśt̂ala to swim around,
   plural (see no. 196), 153.22
   mō'pl̂enōśt̂a four times
   around 13.9
   lemēśt̂a to forget 25.3
(b) After k and l sounds, s, p; -se'et(a):

- qâs- to walk
- mix- to strike
- dезu- to jump
- k'i'ml- to adze
- x'ilp- to twist

- qa'tse'estâla to walk around 49.30
- mix'se'estâla to strike around 154.11
- dез'se'estâla to jump around
- k'i'l'mtse'estâla to adze around 153.19
- x'ilpse'estâla to spin around

7. -(E)g(a) AMONG [STEM-s., H].

- sëxu- to paddle
- yaq- to distribute
- o- something
- x'ilp- to turn

- sio'gwa to paddle among
- ya'q'uga to distribute among
- a'vagâ the place between, inside X 87.34
- x'ilp/eqsla to turn in something 92.28
- baxé't/eqsla pitchy inside V 490.1

- ndq- mind
- msk- a round thing is somewhere
- gi- to be somewhere

- nd'q'aga song leader V 433.36
- mâk'uga to be among X 29.21
- g'ge'la to be among X 81.35

There are apparently a few cases in which this suffix weakens the stem. I found the two forms qa'tse!ega and qa'ga to walk among, derived from qâs- to walk.

It is also used to express the superlative:

- g'tul- long
- g'tul'aga long among (i.e., the longest)

7a. -gamê. This suffix may belong here, although its use as a word-suffix and the indifferent action upon the last consonant make its relations doubtful.

- g't'gamê head chief (= chief among others)
- zwâ'k'unaga gamê excellent canoe (= canoe among others)
- 'no'last'eqamê the eldest one X 3.32

8. -kâ, -k'au BETWEEN [STEM-s., IND.] loses initial k- after s and k and l sounds. The original form may be kwâ (see § 4).

- k'ilm- to adze
- gens- to adze
- k!wêx- to devise

- k'ilmâla to adze between V 347.19
- gensâla to adze between V 363.10
- k!wê'k!waxâ'wê inventor 222.35

§ 21
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la to go
\( g'\alpha \)l- first
\( L!\alpha \)s- seaward
gwa- down river, north
\( 'n\alpha \)la south
\( xwe'\)l- back

In the following examples the terminal consonant is weakened:
\( g\alpha \)v\( \alpha \)- to turn to
\( \ddot{\varepsilon}t\)- again
\( x\)- to do

10. -\( x\)'s(\( u\)) away from [stem-s., W].
\( p'\varepsilon l\)- to fly
\( q\varepsilon s\)- to walk
\( h\alpha n\)- hollow object is somewhere
\( m\acute{a}\)x't- to be ashamed
\( \acute{w}i\varepsilon l\)- entire
\( s\acute{e}\varepsilon \)- to paddle

After \( x \) the initial \( x \) seems to be lost:
\( a\varepsilon \)- to do

10a. -\( yag\)'a returning [stem-s., ind.].
\( l\acute{a}y'ag\)'a to go back \( X 186.18
\( h\dot{o}x'yag\)'a they go back \( X 190.12
\( l\acute{a}x'yag'e\varepsilon \)- to re-enter house \( 386.11

11. -\( e\)m's near by [stem-s., ind.]. Possibly the terminal -s does not belong to the suffix, but signifies on the ground (no. 44).
\( 'wun\)- to hide
\( k\dot{w}e\)- to sit
\( l\varepsilon x\)- to stand

\( 'wun\)'e'm's to hide near by
\( k\dot{w}e\)'m's to sit near by
\( l\varepsilon x\)'e'm's to stand watching

\( 21 \)}
12. -k’!öt opposite [stem-s., ind.]. After s the initial k’ disappears.

la to go

lak’!ötend to go to the opposite side 271.8

aps- side

apsö’t the other side 96.28

gwës- far

gwë’söt the far opposite side

gwâ- down river

gwâ’k’!öt the opposite side down river 130.22

hêl- right hand

hê’lk’!ödnégwël the right hand corner in the house 81.2 (see nos. 18, 46)

Before the affricative ts, t changes to l.

hê’lk’!öltäna the right hand 15.11 (see no. 67)

While q before this suffix changes to z in ‘nx’zk’!öt (from ‘neq-) right opposite, the k’ drops out in gemxö’t left side (from gemx-)

13. -agö extreme [stem-s., ind.].

ëk’!- above

ëk’!agö farthest above X 179.32

L’äs- seaward

Lia’sagöd to put farthest seaward

gwa- north

gwâ’gawë’ extreme north end 218.9

14. -xsö behind, hind end, tail end [stem-s., h].

Leq- to slap

Leq!xsöd to slap behind

ts!ek’u- short

ts!ek’u’xsö a short person

q!ak’u- notch

q’ak’u’xsöö to have a notch for a tail 279.18

ëk’!a up

ëk’!axsdöla to have hind end up V 325.8

ö- something

ö’xsöö hind end V 490.28

nun wolf

nu’nasxöö wolf tail 279.13

15. -xl(a) behind, bottom, stern [stem-s., h].

’wâ’las large

’wâ’lass!exla (canoe) with large stern

ö- something

ö’xsöö stern of canoe 127.23

ö’xlax’sidzöö heel V 475.5 (see no. 75)

hanl- to shoot

ha’n!exländ to shoot stern of canoe

gwâl- to groan

gwâl’!exlâla to groan afterwards X 5.11

§ 21
16. -d'yō MIDDLE [STEM-S., W.]

mōk'u to tie mō'gwō't'yō to tie in middle 370.13
la to go lō't'yō to go to the middle U.S.N.M. 670.17
ō-something ō'yō 'éf the middle 273.23
k'īp- to clasp k'ībō'yōd to clasp in the middle, to embrace X 177.4
gōk'u house gō'kwō't'yō middle of house 248.28
da to hold dā'giwe to hold in middle V 325.7

17. -nō SIDE. The form of this suffix is variable. On the one hand, we have the word-suffix -nō, from which are formed ā'lanāē LANSIDE 20.1, 'nā'lanāē SEASIDE 272.3; and, on the other hand, we have -nō as stem-suffix, weakening the terminal consonant. From this form we have—

ax- to do anxō'tlīs to place by the side 177.39
laxʷ to stand tā'nō'tlīs to stand by the side 37.9
\( * ! e x - \) trail, door \( * ! e x ' n nōēt \) side door X 171.28

We have also -nus, sometimes indifferent, sometimes weakening the terminal consonant.

It weakens the terminal sound in the following forms:

hēl- right side hē'lk:īōdēnutesē right side 175.14 (see no. 12)
qās- to walk qā'dzenō'dzendāla to walk alongside qā'nō'dzendāla to walk alongside
sēxʷ- to paddle sī'wonudżeē paddling alongside
laxʷ- to stand tā'wunōdzelīl to stand alongside in house 31.34

It is indifferent in the following forms:
da to take dā'banusēla to take alongside 152.5 (see no. 31)
dzelxʷ to run dze'īrunu'dzēē running alongside

The ending -nulem (no. 54b) suggests a third form, -nul.

§ 21
18. **-néq** CORNER [STEM-S., IND. (w.?)].

- **o-** something
- **hé̱l-** right side
- **aps-** one side
- **han-** hollow object is somewhere

- **né̱q** corner in house 56.15
- **hé̱l-óné̱q** right-hand corner in house 81.2 (see nos. 12, 46)
- **aps-áné̱q** one corner of mind 260.40
- **han-é̱q** (kettle) stands in corner of house X 125.29

19. **-ax(e) DOWN [STEM-S., IND.]**

- **la** to go
- **wa** river
- **p!el-** to fly
- **ló̱x-** to roll
- **dzk!lx-** to run
- **la** to go

With **-ayu** (no. 174) it forms **-axo'yu**.

- **ts!eq-** to throw

With the inchoative (no. 2) it forms **-axó̱d**.

- **ax-** to do
- **wul-** in vain
- **lél-** to invite in
- **l!áq**- red, copper

- **axó̱d** to take down 48.24
- **wulá'xó̱d** to bring down in vain U.S.N.M. 727.10
- **lél-axó̱d** to call down 185.36
- **l!á'qwaxó̱d** to hand down a copper, i.e., to sell a copper 84.3

20. **-g!ustá UP [STEM-S., IND.]** loses g' after s, and k and l sounds.

- **qa-** morning, early
- **k!wá-** to sit
- **'nemp!en** once
- **q!óm-** rich
- **dó̱qè-** to see
- **dèxè-** to jump
- **né̱x-** to pull
- **qás-** to walk
- **p!el-** to fly

- **qág!ustá**' to rise early 61.5
- **k!wá'g!ustálil** to sit up in house 50.17 (see no. 46)
- **'nemp!eng!ustá** (to jump) up once 390.13
- **Q!ó'mg!ustális** wealth coming up on ground (name) 377.1 (no. 44)
- **dó'gustálá** to look up X 167.37
- **dèx̌o'óstá** to jump up X 179.17
- **x** changes before õ to x', see p. 436
- **né'xustód** to pull up 184.37
- **qá'sustálā** to walk up
- **p!elo'óstá** to fly up

§ 21
21. -nts!ës DOWN TO BEACH [stem-s., ind.].

la to go
qäs- to walk
lël- to invite in, to call
lo'gwala supernatural

lents!ës to go to beach 80.21
qäs'ents!ës to walk to beach
le'lents!ësela to call down to beach 80.17
lo'legvalents!ësela the supernatural ones coming down to the beach 159.18

22. -usdës UP FROM BEACH [stem-s., ind.].

qäs to walk
la to go
zäp- to grasp in talons
öxl- to carry on back

qäs'usdës to walk up from beach
lä'usdës to go up from beach 211.15
zä'pusdës to grasp and carry up the beach X 155.21
öxlösësela to carry on back up the beach X 162.15

22a. -xt!a OUT TO SEA [stem-s., w]. Loses initial x.

gelqt!a to swim out to sea X 144.27
dö'gut!ula to look out to sea X 117.26
kwadz!ö'd to kick out to sea X 111.1

23. -atüs and -Eltüs DOWN RIVER, DOWN INLET [stem-s., -atüs ind., -Eltüs ind. and w].

yäl- to blow
qelq- to swim
qamx- down of birds
qäs- to walk
lä to go

ya'latüsela to blow down the inlet 274.5
gelqatüsela to swim down river
qa'mzwatösela down coming down river 154.30
qä'dzëltüsela to walk down river
La'tösëlag'ilis going down river (westward) through the world (name) X 84.39
së'wultüsela and se'tultüsela to paddle down river

24. -usta UP RIVER [stem-s., ind.].

höq- to go [plural]
neq- straight
qäs- to walk
sëx- to paddle

hö'z'uesta to walk up river 62.31
'neq'uesta to continue up river 70.23
qäs'ustälala to walk up river
sëx'ustälala to paddle up river
25. -a'wil across [stem-s., ind.].
   *mō- to load  'mā'wil a canoe carrying load across 131.23
   gelq- to swim  gelqa'wil'ela swimming across 148.18

26. -ns(a) under water [stem-s., w].
   īl- again  ē'densa again under water 143.19
   'neq- straight  'neqe'nsela straight under water V 477.30
   k!wa to sit  k!u'nsa to sit in water 64.22
   wun- to hide (?)  wu'ns'īd to sink 143.32 (see no. 90)

27. -ts/ō in [stem-s., ind.].
   mā fish  māts/ō fish inside (i.e., in trap) 184.18
   'mēl- white  'mēl'ts/ō white inside
   ax- to do  axts/ā'la to put into 114.36
   ts/ix'- sick  ts/ix'ts/ā'la sick inside, headache
   māt' two  māt'ls/ā'la two inside, i.e., two in a canoe 147.15
   q!ōx- to dress  q!ō'xts/ōd to dress in, to put on garment 98.1
   g'ī- to be somewhere  g'ī'ts/ā'was place of going in (see no. 182)
   la to go  la'ts/ā'lit to come out of room in house 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46)
   'wil- entirely  'wil'ūts/ā (strength) gives out entirely 141.2 (see no. 37)

28. -bet(a) into hole [stem-s., ind.].
   dēx'- to jump  dēx'bet'a' to jump into 99.1
   la to go  lā'bedas place of going into (hole) 9.10 (see no. 182)
   l!ēnx- to shove  l!ēnx'bet'end to shove in X 224.17

28a. -pōl into hole, in hole (Newetee dialect) [stem-s., ind.].
   kul- to lie  kulpō'lit to lie down in a room in the house X 207.22 (see no. 46)
   o- something  o'pō'lit room in house X 207.23

4877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10—30 § 21
29. -atō UNDER [STEM-S., W.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lās-</td>
<td>to push</td>
<td>lā' yabōd to push under 80.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ő-</td>
<td>something</td>
<td>a'wā'bātē lower side 80.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'iquamī chief</td>
<td></td>
<td>g'i'gabāt chief under others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qelq-</td>
<td>to grasp</td>
<td>g'e'gabōsxā'ya to grasp the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under side of the bow of the canoe 127.28 (see no. 62)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. -xtā ON TOP OF A LONG STANDING OBJECT [STEM-S., W.] seems to lose x after all consonants, but may retain it after m, n, l.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ő-</td>
<td>something</td>
<td>ō'xtātē top of mountain 126.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'wā</td>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>k'wā'xtā to sit on top 182.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'us-</td>
<td>to sit, plural</td>
<td>k'udzetāyā to sit on top 415.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēp-</td>
<td>to pinch</td>
<td>ē'betōd to pinch at top end X 224.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē'mas</td>
<td>float</td>
<td>ē'madzetāla top float V 389.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mek-</td>
<td>round thing is somewhere</td>
<td>'meguto'd round thing begins to be on top X 121.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. -b(n) END OF A LONG HORIZONTAL OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dōq-</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>dō'xu'ba to see point 91.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lās-</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>lā'sbalala extending out to sea 162.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēx-</td>
<td>sea-lion</td>
<td>lēlē'xbalala sea-lions at ends X 71.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qanāy'yu lasso</td>
<td></td>
<td>qanā'yubala lasso at end 37.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā-</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>dā'bend to take hold of end 15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'n-</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
<td>hanha'ndbend to shoot at each end 153.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōdz-</td>
<td>wrong</td>
<td>ō'dzēbar'tid to turn the wrong way 227.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēl-</td>
<td>right</td>
<td>hēlēbar'tidā'mas to cause to turn the right way 227.28 (see no. 158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'iq-</td>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>x'i'xbālag'īls to burn at end on ground 251.29 (see nos. 197, 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>ā'labendāla to go from end to end 196.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 21
32. -x'L(n) ON TOP OF A ROUNDED OBJECT [STEM-s., IND.] loses x' after p, s, k, and l sounds.

This ending has assumed two specific meanings:

(a) ON THE FLAMES OF THE FIRE:

- ax- to do
- t'ẽ'qwap stone in fire
- han- a hollow object is some-

This meaning in this case is that the name is on top of the object, in the same way as the Mexicans and the Plains Indians, in their picture-writing, attach the name to the head of the person.

Dā' bendex'la named Dā'bend 22.6
Qa'mtalalla named Qa'mtalal 100.1.

(b) NAMED. The meaning in this case is that the name is on top of the object, in the same way as the Mexicans and the Plains Indians, in their picture-writing, attach the name to the head of the person.

Da'bEndEXLa named Da'bEnd 22.6
Qla'mtalalLa named Qla'mtalal 100.1.

a'ngwax'las? what is your name? 388.3

33. -(E)nE EDGE OF A FLAT OR LONG OBJECT [STEM-s., IND.].

da to take
dE'nxEnd to take by the edge
10.14

ō- something
awu'nxē edge
qās- to walk
qā'senxendāla to walk along an edge
temku'- to chop, bite out
tE'mkuxEnd to bite out the edge 197.21
k'ẽ'lenx knife 270.21
ama'tmuxē youngest child 45.34

34. -nt EDGE OF A ROUND OBJECT [STEM-s., IND.?].

qās- to walk
qā'dzxusentāla to walk along

35. -dzō ON A FLAT OBJECT [STEM-s., W].

ō- something
Lēx- to beat time with baton
alē'xu- to hunt sea-mammals

a'ngwax'las? what is your name? 388.3

§ 21
rus- hill on which fortified village is built
t̂išk̂- to lie on back
r̂užedžál'lis hill on flat on beach X 227.7
t̂iĝedžól'il to lie on back on flat thing in house (see no. 46)

* * * -sq̂em ON A ROUND OBJECT (see no. 85)
36. -ĝe Ẽĝa INSIDE OF A HOLLOW OBJECT [stem-s., w.] loses initial ĝ e.
  ď- something ő'guĝe' inside of hollow thing
  mōq̂w- yellowish mō'guĝa yellowish inside (= spoon of horn of the bighorn sheep) U.S.N.M. 680.2
 tŝ!o̕ x̂w- to wash tŝ!o̕x̂uĝ'ind to wash inside V 432.42

36a. -nul̵gr̵a HOLLOW SIDE (compound of -nō and -gr̵a, nos. 17, 36).
  ŏ- something ŏ'nul̵gr̵a'ėt groins

37. -ď OFF, AWAY FROM. This suffix does not seem to occur by itself, but is always combined with a following primary suffix. Nevertheless, on account of its significance, I have included it in the primary suffixes. In its simplest form it occurs with the completive terminal -d. It seems to have a secondary form -wul [stem-s., ind.] which may be formed from the inchoative -ĝil- (see no. 197) and -ő. It is not impossible that this suffix -ő may be identical with -wā, -ő (no. 124). This is suggested by such forms as t!ē'pā TO STEP OFF (from t!ēp- to step), but the identity of these suffixes is not certain.

(a) With the completive terminal -d:
až- to do ažo'd̂ to take out
qix'- to put around qix̂o'd̂ to take off 16.10, 39.29
e'k̂w- blood e'k̂w'-ōd̂ to bleed 197.21 (see p. 436)
t!ōs- to cut t!ō'sōd̂ to cut off 279.13
saq̂!- to peel saq̂!ō'd̂ to peel off V 473.27

(b) With other primary suffixes:
až- to do ažo'dala to take off
la to go lāw'eals to go out (see nos. 44, 197)
'wīl̵l- all 'wīl̵l̵ō'sta all out of water 21.8 (see no. 39)
la to go lā'sta to go out of water 356.6
le'ẑw- le'ẑuste'nḍ to take out X

§ 21
mo to load
la to go
ax- to do
la to go
grāx to come
qīō to well up
han- a hollow thing is somewhere

The following are evidently compounds of the suffix -ō or -wul, but the second elements do not seem to be free.

-wult!a out of an enclosed place:
\[\text{wi}'l- all}\]
\[\text{de}x^u- to jump]\n\[\text{xwe}'lq- backward]\n
-wultā out of canoe:
\[\text{wi}'l- all}\]
\[\text{mō- to load}\]

-wultōs down out of:
\[\text{de}x^u- to jump\]

§ 22. Special Space Limitations (Nos. 38–52)

38. -k'E top of a box [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial k'.

k!wā to sit
wē- not
lepi- to spread
nās- to cover
\[\text{ne}mā\text{'x} to be level\]
gelq'^u- to lift

k!wā'k'Eś' seat on top X 155.23
\[\text{wē}'k'Eś' not full\]
\[\text{lepi}'ndala to spread over top}\]
\[\text{nā}'ŝ̄y̆nd to cover top}\]
\[\text{ne}mā'k'Eś' level on top\]
gelq'^u- to lift to top of box
39. *'st(a) WATER [WORD-s. and STEM-s., IND.].

(a) Word-suffix:

- *q'ula' life
- *wuda' cold
- *g'ala' first

- *q'ula'ta water of life
- *wuda'ta cold water 141.17
- *g'ala'ta first in the water 62.13

(b) Stem-suffix:

- *ax- to do
- *dE Xu- to jump
- *k'ö Xu- lukewarm
- *gë long time
- *la to go

- *axysta'nd to put into water 21.5
- *dEXu'sta' to jump into water 34.28
- *k'ö Xu'sta lukewarm water 54.1
- *gë'stala long in water X 155.38 (see no. 91)
- *la'tsta to go out of water 356.6 (see no. 37)

- *axstaa'n d being put into water 155.36
- *teq'sta'to drop 100.10
- *qap'sta'nd to pour into water CS 216.7

40. *sqwap FIRE [STEM-s., IND.].

- *q'ë- many

* q'ë'sqwap many fires

With *t'ës- stone, this suffix forms *t'ë'sqwap stone in fire. With other stems ending in s, one of the s sounds is dropped, which would suggest a form *qwap.

- *ô'mas large (Newettee dialect)

*ô'masqwä'pëlag'illis great fire in world (see no. 45)

- *'wälas great

* 'wôlasqwapëlis great fire on beach (poetry; see no. 45)

41. *wäla, -âlu STATIONARY ON WATER.

(a) After n and vowels -wâla:

- *han- hollow object is somewhere

* hanvä'la canoe adrift on water 127.6
- *k'twä to sit

* k'twä'vâla to sit on water 143.41
- *tâ(ze)- to stand

* tâ'vâla to stand on water 143.41

- *g'ë- to be

* g'ë'swäla to be on water X 87.37
- *gë long time

* gë'swäla long time on water X 181.3

§ 22
(b) After p, t, and anterior and posterior k sounds -āla:

- k·āt- long object is somewhere
- yaqʷ- dead body is somewhere
- mex- hollow things are somewhere

Medial k(w) sounds are transformed by this ending into the corresponding anterior sounds (see p. 436).

- `mexʷ- round thing is somewhere
- pexʷ- to float

The inchoative form of this suffix is formed with -g'īl- (no. 197) and is -g'īlāla.

- k'wā to sit
- k'ād- long thing is somewhere

42. -lē' MOVING ON WATER [stem-s., w]. Inchoative form -g'īlē (see no. 197) loses initial g'ī.

- hanl- to shoot
- dōqʷ- to see
- dzexk·lā'la noise of splitting
- sepe'lx·k·lāla ringing noise of metal
- lař- to stand
- ŋ- ŋa

43. -a ON ROCKS [stem-s., h]. Inchoative form -g'āā'la, -g'ī'la (see no. 197) loses initial g'ā and g'ī.

- yaqʷ- dead body is somewhere
- ō- something
- ō- something, -ēnakʷ- direction
- k'wā to sit
- tārʷ- to stand
- gap- upside down

yā'q'wa to lie dead on rock
ō'nēq'wa corner on rock (see no. 18) 152.19
awē'nak'wa rocky place 148.30
k'wāa to sit on rock 102.31
tā'wa to stand on rock 148.30
qapālāq'od to pour out on rock 179.8
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44. -s ON GROUND, OUTSIDE OF HOUSE [STEM-s., h]. Inchoative form -g'aels, -g'els loses initial g'a and g'.

leq'- fire *

k'wa to sit

k'wō to sit down on rock X 105.25

45. -es, -is BOTTOM OF WATER [STEM-s., w]. Generally this suffix is used to designate the beach, but it means as well the bottom of the sea, which is always covered by water. If the latter is to be clearly distinguished from the beach, the suffix -ns UNDER WATER (no. 26) is added, with which it forms -ndes UNDER WATER ON THE BOTTOM. Inchoative form- g'a'lis loses initial g'.

k'us- to sit [PLURAL]  k'udzē's to sit on the beach 102.18

dōq'- to see  do'zdoqwēs to see the bottom 34.4

§ 22
good
han- hollow vessel is somewhere
qap- upside down
k'wa to sit
llâ's- seaward
qap- upside down

Here may also belong the very common suffix of names -g'ilis signifying IN THE WORLD:

'nemô'k" one person
ô'masqwâp great fire

46. -il IN HOUSE, ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE[STEM-s., w]. Inchoative form -g'ilil, -g'alil loses initial g.

leq*- fire
han- hollow vessel is somewhere
lax*- to stand
gâ- early, -g'ustâ up
kul- to lie, plural

yaq*- to lie dead
az- to do
lep- to spread
t!èk*- to lie on back

The very numerous forms in -nil are evidently to a great extent derived from continuative forms in -la.

k'wadzâ'la to sit on flat thing
qemxôtstâla left side of door
lep- to spread

§ 22
47. -EL INTO HOUSE [STEM-S., W.]

hoq to go pl.
dex to jump
g'ax to come
ax to do

ho'qwil to enter pl. 21.1
dewGil to jump into house 14.8
g'a'xela to be in the act of coming in 91.15
axela to put into 48.27

47a. -EL'SELA SHOREWARD [STEM-S., W.]. This is evidently composed of -EL (no. 47); -S (no. 45); -la (no. 91)
d'a'be'xela to tow ashore

48. -XN IN CANOE [STEM-S., W]. Inchoative form -g'aalex loses initial g'a.

hoq to go [pl.]
do something
da to take
k'ip to hold with tongs
mo to load
wV all, entire
gap upside down
aps other side

ho'qxela to go aboard 224.9
do inside of canoe
dae to take aboard 96.32
k'ixe'xela to put aboard with tongs V 366.3
mo'xela to load 78.38
k'wa'g'aalex to sit down in canoe 121.26
w'ly'g'aalex all is in canoe V 485.2
qep'lexex to pour into canoe V 473.15
apsadze other side of canoe V 361.22

49. -XLÖ ON TOP OF TREE [STEM-S., IND.](compare no. 76).

han a hollow thing is somewhere
gë to be somewhere

ha'nxlöd to put a box on top of a tree 278.31
g'ëxlö it is on a tree

50. -X'SIU MOUTH OF RIVER [STEM-S., IND.] loses initial x'.

ö something
wun deep

ö'x'siuwé mouth of river 29.3
wu'nx'siu deep at mouth of river

51. -GÄG- SIDE, BANK OF RIVER [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial g'.

mak next
k'wa to sit

mäk'äge next to bank of river 180.23
k'wagend to sit on bank of river 30.6
k'wä'gäels to sit down on ground by a river 64.29
§ 23. Parts of Body as Space Limitations (Nos. 53-81)

53. -xlǎ on head [stem-s., h or w?].

ō- something
ō'xlǎ'ě head of clam 134.10
něs- to pull
něts!e xлǎ'labend to pull by
the head X 171.30
‘mel- white
’melδe xлǎ'la having white
feather on head X 114.12
lek'- to throw
leg'ixlǎ'le to throw at head
outside X 116.20
něl- to show
něl'xлǎ'x'eđ to begin to
show head 143.10

54. -qem face. This suffix is probably related to -sgem round thing
(no. 85). After p, s, t, l, and k sounds, -em; after l, n, m,
and fortes, -qem.

‘mel- white
‘mel'qem white face
ěk'- upward, high
ěk'leゲ'malā'mas to cause
face to be turned up (see
nos. 92, 158)
q'wáx hemlock
q'wáx'amežě hemlock on face
(around head) 18.10
hap- hair
hap'em hairy face
zl/el- to push
zl/el'qem'x'eđ to push from
face 173.36
ax- to be
axamäl'a to have on face
271.24

Sometimes with the significance IN FRONT OF:

lăx'- to stand
lăx'uměž standing in front of

It occurs also as word-suffix:

ālanem' wolf
ālanem'qem with a wolf face,
§ 23
54a. -gEm mask [stem-s., as no. 54, or word-s.].

(a) stem-s.:  
- *kunx*- thunder-bird  
- 'mēl- white

(b) word-s.:  
- 'mēl- white

54b. -nulem temples (= sides of face; compound of -nō side [no. 17] and -gEm face [no. 54]).

- o- something  
- ma' two

hēl-kōt right side

55. -Em'ya cheek [stem-s., h].

- l'aq*- red  
- 'naq*- to cover with blanket

56. -ōn cheek [stem-s., h].

- l'aq*- red

57. -'tiv, -'giyu forehead [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial 'g'.

- o- something  
- wā'dzō broad

qe's- to shine  
- ēk' good

Before vocalic suffixes the terminal u becomes w.

- k'at- a long thing is somewhere  
- lās- to stick

- hō'x'hōk*- a fabulous bird  
- 'yix*- to dance  
- x'is- to show teeth

- q!elx- wrinkled

§ 23
58. -stö EAR [stem-s., w].

g̪'ilt!- long

g̪'es'mzöt left side

ehel- to hire

wäs- both sides

gwäs- to turn towards

59. -stö EYE, DOOR; more general, ROUND OPENING LIKE AN EYE

[stem-s., ind.]; loses initial 's.

(a) EYE:

da to wipe

dvēs- to spit

*naq- middle

džex- to rub

dvē'stō'd to wipe eye

dvē'stōd to spit into eye 95.30

*dāqō'stōd to middle between eyes 168.13

dzexdzestō'xwōd to rub eyes x 57.34

(b) DOOR:

ax- to do

ō- something

axstō'd to open door 15.6

ōstā'lit door of house 20.9

§ 23
wāxs- both sides

mix'- to strike

(c) ROUND PLACE:

lēq'- to miss

lē'xastō to miss a round place

(d) TRAIL. It would seem that in this case the form -lō, which weakens the terminal stem consonant, is also used.

'tnaq- middle

'texstā'ē middle of trail X 8.32

'negelō to keep on trail 19.9

lē'gultō to miss a trail

60. -ilib(a) NOSE, POINT [STEM-s., W; from -b(a) POINT (no. 31)].

ōt- to perforate

ōdi'tbend to perforate nose

āwī'tbē point of land 682.1

qwax'- raven

gwā'witbē raven nose 129.41

lā'gwitbend to shove to nose 349.20

This suffix occurs also as word-suffix.

qwē'sa far

qwē'saelbēdzā really far from nose 349.19 (see no. 119)

'nexwa near

'nexwælba near nose 349.21

61. -exst(a) MOUTH, OUTWARD OPENING [STEM-s., W].

'mek'- round object is somewhere

'meguzstalē's round entrance on beach 153.29 (see no. 45)

t!/ōq- gap, narrow opening

āwaxstē mouth of inlet 155.26, of bottle V 486.3

hā'm- to eat

hā'manōdzstə to eat at the side of some one 117.23 (see no. 17)

qet- to spread

qestā'ē sticks for spreading (mouth) of tree 99.3

qwās- to turn to

gwā'yast to turn mouth to 71.33

'maltlē- to recognize

'maltlē'xst to recognize voice 250.9

ga- early

gæy'- wife

gæ'xstə breakfast X 167.6

gæy'xst woman's voice

62. -sx'ā TOOTH [STEM-s., IND.]; loses initial s.

ō'xstē hind end

ō'xsstā lower jaw 166.6

a'wabō'ē lower side

a'wā'bōsx'āē lower side of bow of canoe 127.20

§ 23
'wäläs large
'nëq- straight
t!ë·s- stone

63. -xo NECK [STEM-s., H].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L!aq&quot;</th>
<th>red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ó- something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qix'- to put around</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!wës- to squeeze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'-!ip- to hold around</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōp- to chop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63 a. -II.xo IN MOUTH [STEM-s., W; compound of -i'I (no. 47) and -xo (no. 63)].

| 'wəp water |
| hël- right |
| ts!ex"- to wash |
| sek'- to spear |
| xwák!- canoe |
| ts!eq- to throw |

64. -ndzm throat [STEM-s., W; perhaps related to -ns- (no. 26)].

tōp- speck

tō' bendzm speck in throat

65. -ap! when followed by accent -ip! NECK [STEM-s., IND.].

| ó- something |
| az- to be |
| d!ex"- to jump |
| gë- to be somewhere |

Also with the meaning FOLLOWING, BEHIND, like -ëg'- (no. 69).

| lax"- to stand |
| han- hollow thing is somewhere |

Also with the meaning FOLLOWING, BEHIND, like -ëg'- (no. 69).

§ 23
66. -x•siâ'p! arm above elbow. Evidently a compound of the preceding suffix; loses initial x.

{o-} something
"x•siâ'p!t" shoulder and humerus

"'wèk'- to carry on shoulder
"'wèix•siâ'p!âla to carry on shoulder 57.16

67. -x•tsâ'ûn(a) hand [stem-s., ind.] loses initial x.

{t!ës-} stone
"t!ë'semântsâ'ûna stone-handed 131.32

{ax-} to do
"axtsâ'ân end to put on hand 198.19

{lemx'-} dry
"lê'mlemxântsâ'anax•'id to dry hands V 430.8

{pex'-} to scorch
"pè'pexântsâ'anax•'id to dry hands by fire V 429.18

After short vowels this suffix has the form -tânsâ'ân; with preceding t it also forms -tântsâ'ân.

{dâ'ba} to hold end
"dâ'baltsâ'ân end to take by hand X 4.31 (see no. 31)

{hè'lk'-}ôt right side
"hè'lk•ióântsâ'an a right hand 15.11

68. -bô chest [stem-s., h].

{q!âp-} to hit
"q!â'p!bô to hit chest

69. -èg'-(è) back [stem-s., w]. The terminal vowel of this suffix may be -a. It appears very often, however, as -è without any apparent grammatical reason.

{at-} sinew
"adè'g•ë back sinew V 487.4 (see no. 161)

{o-} something
"a•wi'g•ë back 144.21, V 475.6 (see no. 161)

{mix'-} to strike
"mëne'g•ùnd to strike back

{l!ës-} seaward
"lë'sig•âla being with back seaward 150.9 (see no. 92)

{g•ùl-} to walk on four feet
"g•ùl•g•ùnd to climb on back 279.5

{g•ùl•g•ùndâlap!a to climb on back of neck 279.7 (see no. 65)

{lë'g'a} to follow 47.41

{lë'g'alts•anë'ë backs of hands X 159.30 (see no. 67)
With ending -ê it appears in—

`wun- to hide
  `wunê'gê to hide behind 120.7
  ts!`lê-'kê'igê'ila feathers on back

ts'i- to hide ewune'ye to hide behind 120.7

It is often used to signify behind, as in the examples given before.

It is also used in a temporal sense, afterwards.

hêl- right  
  hêlê'gê'ind to serve a second course at a meal 156.18
  (i. e., right afterwards)

l!ôp- to roast
  l!ô'bê'yê'a to roast afterwards

nâq- to drink  
  nâ'gê'gê'ila to drink afterwards 41.25

Peculiar idiomatic uses of this suffix are—

`neq- straight
  `neqê'gê'ê midnight 85.27 (i. e., straight behind)

(naq- I)
  nâ'naqê'gê to obey 26.13

70. -k'îlq(a) FRONT OF BODY [STEM-s., IND.]

ô- something
  ò'k'îwulqê front of body

ô- to be somewhere
  ò'k'î'îlqênd to put in lap V 478.25

ôq- to drop
  ts!êk'î'îlqêndêla to drop in lap 258.2

71. -aq CROTCH [STEM-s., W.]

ô- something
  awâ'qê crotch of a tree, hollow in foot of a tree
  awâ'gôzêlâ small of back V 490.32 (see no. 15)

ô- to tuck in
  ts!ô'bâqê something tucked into crotch X 175.6

ô- tooth
  gê'ê'gê tooth

ô- crack, split
  ts!êô- crâkê split

72. -saqô PENIS [STEM-s., IND.]

ô- to tie
  môkê- with tied penis
  mô'x*ê'gê'êwakê (see no. 172) 138.11

73. -x*pleq'yg(a) THIGH (compounded of -x*pêê and -g'a inside [no. 36]).

ô- to put around
  qix- put around
  qix'ô'ê'gê'ind to put around thigh 89.37

74. -kôxê KNEE [STEM-s., IND.]

ô- something
  ôkôwôê'ê'ê'ê knee 87.12

ô- scab
  ômêkôê'ê'ê with scabby knees 154.11
75. -x'sis, -x'sidz(ē) FOOT [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial x'.

- something
  bēn- under
  hé that
  ēp- to pinch

76. -xLō HAIR ON BODY [stem-s., w] (compare no. 49).

- red
  'mel- white
  Lāq'- red
  'melLō red-haired
  'melLō mountain-goat (i.e., white-haired) 7.3

77. -q'Egē MEAT [stem-s.; probably from -q and -ga among (no. 7)].

- white (see 'melLō under no. 76)
  'mel- white (see 'melLō under no. 76)

78. ēs IN BODY [stem-s., w].

- long
  'mel'- round thing is
  'mel'- round thing in body
  ts'ix'- sick
  ts'ix'īla- is- la), ts'ix'ets' enē's sick in body

78 a. -k'-ēs is probably a secondary form of the last, which loses its initial k', and hardens the terminal stem-consonant.

- one.
  'nem one.
  'nemk'-ēs one down in belly (= swallowed)
  penL- stout
  pēnL-ēs stout belly 50.15

Here belongs probably also a form -k':aēs.

ō'k'waēdē branch side of tree V 344.15
lā'k'!aēdēnd to enter the body 77.20

79. -g'it BODY [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial g'.

- something
  gup- to sprinkle
  xōs- to sprinkle
  ēk: good
  tēk'- to hang
  dzēk'- to rub

ō'gwite body 202.24 V 366.13
qup'ite to sprinkle over body 112.19 (see no. 90)
zo'sit to sprinkle body 105.38
e'k'īšela well grown (tree) V 496.6
tē'k'vēt'ilēdayu to be hung to body U.S.N.M. 667.7
dzēk'it to rub body 199.20

§ 23
In a few cases -\textit{g'it} appears as word-suffix.

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textit{t!e'sem}] stone
\end{itemize}

In one case the ending \textit{-g'it} appears with its \textit{g} preserved after a \textit{q}.

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textit{mEg}*- to put on [PLURAL OBJECT]]
\end{itemize}

80. -\textit{k'-lin} BODY, CONSISTING OF (relating to the surface of the body)

\begin{itemize}
\item [STEM-S., IND., also WORD-S.]; loses initial \textit{k'-}, replaced by \textit{t}.
\item \textbf{(a) STEM-S.}:
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbar} something
\item \textit{\textbar} white
\item \textit{\textbar} yew tree
\item \textit{\textbar} dry
\item \textit{\textbar} to burn
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbar} cedar withe
\end{itemize}

Sometimes used to express LOG.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{k!w\textbar} to sit
\item \textit{\textbar} to cover with blanket
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbar} red
\item \textit{\textbar} real
\end{itemize}

81. -\textit{\textbar q} IN MIND [STEM-S., H, often with reduplication].

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbar} something
\item \textit{\textbar} good
\item \textit{\textbar} dead
\end{itemize}
§ 24. Limitations of Form (Nos. 82-85b)

82. -ök and -sök HUMAN BEINGS [stem-s., with doubtful influence upon stem].

-ök two persons 48.21
sök handsome 48.29
how many persons?
how many persons?
a few persons
many persons

83. -xs(a) FLAT [stem-s., ind.].

one

84. -tslaq LONG [stem-s., ind.].

one

85. -sgem ROUND SURFACE [stem-s., ind., and word-s]; loses s and q.

(a) stem-s.:

one

white

to sit

to wrap up

(b) word-s.: blanket.

mink
hemlock

dressed skin

§ 24
85a. -dEn FINGER-WIDTH [WORD-s., IND.].
‘ne’mđEnxišd one finger-width thick V 491.6 (see no. 3)
\(yaeyu'\text{du}x'dEn\text{ti}lala\) everywhere about three finger-widths (see no. 5)

85b. -xwa's day.
\(\text{he'l}o'p\text{en}xwa's\) the right number of days 355.26

This class of suffixes does not fit in the present place particularly well, since nos. 82–84 are used almost exclusively with numerals, indicating the class of objects. My reason for placing these suffixes at the present place is that suffixes denoting space limitations may be used in the same way as this class. We have, for instance, with \(\text{-ts!}\text{o}\) (no. 27), ‘ne’mts!\text{lo} ONE INSIDE; and with \(-\text{dla} \) STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41), a\(\text{leb'd}la\) SEVEN IN A CANOE AFOAT. Since, furthermore, \(-\text{ök}\text{u} \) HUMAN BEINGS is used with a number of intransitive verbs, and since \(-\text{sgem} \) is in its application quite analogous to all the other local suffixes, it seemed best to keep the whole series together. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that there is a distinct contrast between -džö ON A FLAT THING (no. 35) and -xsa A FLAT THING; the former indicating the place of an action, while the latter is used only as a classifier of nouns. Furthermore, the few suffixes given here are in a wider sense classifiers than the local suffixes. This is indicated by combinations like ‘ne’mxats!\text{lo} ONE FLAT THING INSIDE (-xsa a flat thing, \(-\text{ts!}\text{o} \) inside); and ‘ne’m\text{sgem}x\text{st}ö ONE DROP, literally “one round thing in round thing” (-\text{sgem} round, \(-\text{st}ö \) round opening [no. 59]).

Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86–97) (§§25-26)

§ 25. Purely Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86-89)

86. -ul REMOTE PAST [STEM-s., IND., and WORD-s.]. This suffix has the form -ul after words ending in a, m, n, l, x'; after p, t, s, k', x, it assumes the form -wul. At the same time terminal k' is aspirated as before a consonant. After e' it has the form -yul.

\(\text{'neq}a'p\text{'en}k'\text{tmöl}\) the dead ‘\text{neq}a'p\text{'en}\text{k}\text{fm}\) 283.9
\(Y'a'x\text{enul}\) the dead Y'a'x\text{len}\) 285.11  
\(\text{lo}l\) he went long ago (from la to go)
\(\text{e'ma'xöl}\) the dead ‘\text{e'm}a'xwa\) 470.36

\(q\text{e}' \)– long time
\(\text{ömp} \) father
\(\text{lens} \)– one day remote
\(\text{ds} \) thy father

\(\text{qe'yö'\text{l}}\) long ago 12.4
\(\text{ömp\text{wul}}\) dead father 113.16
\(\text{le'ns\text{ul}}\) yesterday 31.6
\(\text{öd\text{wul}}\) thy dead father 142.16

§§ 24, 25
hayō'twul former rival
'nemō'twul past friend 271.23

gāxwulen I came long ago 142.19 (gāx to come; -em I)
Ō'magāsemalyul the dead Ō'magāsemē 142.17

In a few cases this suffix modifies the terminal sound of the stem.
dā'g'inōlwul DEAD FELLOW-WIFE 142.18, which contains the
suffix -ōt (no. 167, p. 506) changes its terminal t to l (see also
p. 451)
wā'yl OLD DOG, from wa'ylā DOG, is treated as though the stem
were was- and the terminal s were weakened.

87. -x'tād RECENT PAST[stem-s., ind.]. The initial x' drops out after
p, t, s, l, and k sounds; p and t are at the same time
strengthened; l and k stops are aspirated.

ax- to be

la to go

88. -L FUTURE [word-s.].

xwā'k!una canoe

xwā'k'unāl a future canoe

le'gad having a name

le'gadēl one who will have a

name 11.1

89. -x'dē TRANSITION FROM PRESENT TO PAST, OR RATHER FROM EXIST-
ENCE TO NON-EXISTENCE [stem-s., ind., and word-s.]; loses the
initial x'.

g'il first

wā'ldēm word

wā'ldēmx'dē what he had said

25.4

x'isā'la to have disappeared

x'isā'larx'dē the one who had

disappeared and was no

more 85.32

yā'q!udzā's place of lying dead

yā'q!udzā'sdē place where he

had lain dead 61.8 (see nos.

44, 182)

k!wil to feast in house

k!wil'dē those who had been

feasted, but ceased to feast

22.4

§ 26. Suffixes with Prevailing Temporal Character (Nos. 90-97)

90. -x'tād inchoative. The initial x' is dropped after p, t, s, l, and

l and k sounds except the fortes; p and t are at the same

§ 26

§ 26
time strengthened; \( l \) and \( k \) stops are aspirated. This suffix is evidently compounded with the terminal completive -d (no. 2). It can not be used with all other suffixes, many of which have a different way of forming inchoatives (see no. 197). It can also not be used with all stem-verbs.

It was stated before (no. 2) that verbs with primary suffixes ending in -a generally form an inchoative in -nd. Nevertheless cases occur in which the full suffix -x'ilid is used. We have—

\( l\)a'st\( a \)x'ilid to begin to go into water 36.25
\( q\)u'ë't\( u \)x'ilid to begin to have a direction on top (= to steer)
\( d\)d'\( z \)ebax'ilid to begin to turn the wrong way
\( k\)')l\( p \)tsa'la'lax'ilid to begin to hold (in tongs) inside 192.38
\( k\)'la'st\( a \)lax'ilid to begin to place into water 95.8

Examples of the use of the inchoative with simple stems are the following:

\( g\)'il- to walk on four feet \( g\)'i'lx'ilid
\( l\)en- to forget \( l\)e'nx'ilid
\( k\)'lum- to burn \( k\)'lu'mlx'ilid
\( w\)un- to drill \( w\)u'nx'ilid
\( 'w\)un- to hide \( 'w\)u'nx'ilid
\( xek\)'!- to stay \( xek\)'ilx'ilid
\( l\)'e\( p \)- to climb (a pole) \( l\)'ep'ilid
\( 'l\)ap- to dig \( 'l\)'ap'ilid
\( x\)o's'ilid to sprinkle body (see no. 79)

\( q\)âs- to walk \( q\)â's'ilid
\( p\)'es- to flatten \( p\)'es'ilid
\( n\)èl- to tell \( n\)'el'ilid
\( g\)'ilô'l- to steal \( g\)'ilô'l'ilid
\( k\)'l'l'ml- to adze \( k\)'l'l'mlx'ilid
\( k\)'ë- to fish with net \( k\)'ë'ilid
\( dz\)è'k'- to dig clams \( dz\)è'x'ilid
\( dôk\)'- to troll \( dôk\)'x'ilid
\( dôq\)'- to see \( dôq\)'x'ilid
\( n\)âq- to drink \( n\)'âx'ilid
\( awu'\)lq- to want more \( awu'\)l'ilid
\( yâ\)'wix- to act \( yâ\)'wix'ilid
\( l\)ix- to turn bow of canoe \( l\)ix'ilid
\( qa'm\)'x- to put on down \( qa'm\)'x'ilid
\( ma\)'x- potlatch \( ma\)'x'ilid
\( de\)'nx- to sing \( de\)'nx'ilid

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It appears from the rules and examples here given that the inchoatives of stems in *k* and *x*, *k̂* and *x̂*, *q* and *x*, *q̂* and *x̂*, *l* and *l* can not be distinguished. The number of stems ending in a fortis is very small, but all those that I have found take the ending -*x̂*id preceded by a release of the vocal cords. I have no examples of stems ending in a sonant and taking the ending -*x̂*id.

A few cases are apparently irregular, presumably on account of secondary changes in the stem.

(₃₆₄') to stand ₃₆₄'xwīd
(₃₆₅') to go forward ₃₆₅'xwīd

Both these stems are often treated as though they ended in -ō, not in -x̂, but the relationship of these two sounds has been pointed out before.

91. -l(ų) continuative. In stems ending in a long vowel, it is added to the terminal vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, it is generally connected by an obscure ę, but also by a long ā. Terminal p and t sounds, including nasals in suffixes and stems, seem to require long ā, while s occurs both with ę and ā. In stems ending in a k sound with u or i tinge, it is added to the vocalized tinge. In all suffixes that may take a terminal -a (no. 1), it is added to this -a.

wul- to hear wul'la to hear 11.10
lae' to enter lae'lela to be engaged in entering 24.2
yā'-ōd to tie yā'lodāla to be engaged in tying 28.33

This suffix is evidently contained in the suffixes -'nākula (no. 94), -k'āla (no. 144), -i'āla (no. 5), -g'aaalela (no. 96), -ōlela (no. 93), -g'ōla (no. 136).

Examples of its use after various classes of sounds are the following:

After long vowels—
pā'la to be hungry 7.4 ʾmō'ela to thank 21.2
hamg'i'la to feed 7.6 ʾā'la meal 9.5
ʾwī'ela entirely 10.8 axk'ā'ela to ask 7.5

After stems ending in a k sound with u or i tinge—
gō'kula to live 7.1 tsix'īla sick 32.27
ʾnā'qula light 11.2 pī'xula to feel

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After consonants of \( k \) and \( l \) series—

\( \text{wu} \ell' \text{la} \) to hear \( 11.10 \)  
\( \text{wu}'nq \text{sl}a \) deep \( 11.1 \)  
\( \text{xe}'n \text{sl}a \) very \( 7.3 \)

\( \text{k}'\ell' \text{sl}a' \) to be afraid \( 10.2 \)  
\( \ell' \text{q} \text{sl}a \) to name \( 9.13 \)  
\( \text{d} \text{e}'n \text{sl}a \) to sing \( 13.2 \)

After consonants of \( p \) and \( t \) series—

\( \text{ax} \text{a}'p.' \text{sl}a \) to be on neck \( 19.6 \)  
\( \text{h} \text{e}'l' \text{o}' \text{m} \text{sl}a \) to be on time \( 15.10 \)  
\( \text{g} \text{e}' \text{i} \text{m} \text{sl}a \) to be on head-ring \( 18.4 \)

\( \text{h} \text{o}' \text{e} \text{m} \text{sl}a \) to obtain easily \( 7.3 \)  
\( \text{a}' \text{x} \text{o} \text{d} \text{sl}a \) to handle \( 32.41 \)  
\( \text{d} \text{a}'l \text{a} \) to hold \( 14.9 \)  
\( \text{t} \text{e} \text{n} \text{sl}a \) to forget \( 15.10 \)  
\( \text{g} \text{a}' \text{t} \text{s} \text{e}' \text{st} \text{sl}a \) to go around \( 23.13 \)

After \( s \)—

\( \text{m} \text{e}' \text{s} \text{sl}a \) to have a smell \( \ell' \text{stal}' \text{sl}a \) to go around on beach \( 12.7 \)

\( \text{q} \text{w} \text{e}' \text{s} \text{sl}a \) far \( 26.43 \)

After suffixes that may take terminal \( a \)—

\( \text{S} \text{a}' \text{g} \text{um} \text{b} \text{sl}a \) name of a place \( 7.1 \) (no. 31)  
\( \text{t} \text{sl}e's \text{sl}a \) tongs \( 21.3 \) (no. 32)  
\( \text{q} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a}' \text{y} \text{o} \text{b} \text{sl}a \) having lasso at end \( 37.13 \) (no. 31)  
\( \text{g} \text{e}' \text{s} \text{t} \text{sl}a \) long in water \( 155.38 \) (no. 39)

92. \( -\text{a}l \text{a} \) continuative [stem-s., ind.]. This differs from the preceding in that it indicates the continued position implied in an act, not the continued activity itself.

\( x' \text{o} \text{s} \text{sl}a \) to rest \( x' \text{o} \text{s} \text{sl}a \) to be in the position of rest \( 274.7 \)

\( '\text{wun} \text{s} \text{sl}a \) to hide \( '\text{wun} \text{sl}a \) to be in hiding \( 161.2 \)

\( g' \text{il} \text{s} \text{sl}a \) to move on four legs \( g' \text{il} \text{sl}a \) to be on four legs

\( '\text{ne}x' \text{sl}a \) to move near \( '\text{ne}x' \text{sl}a \) to be near \( 36.10 \)

\( \text{d} \text{a} \text{s} \text{sl}a \) to take \( \text{d} \text{a}'l \text{a} \) to hold \( 16.5 \)

\( \text{b} \text{e}k' \text{sl}a \) man \( \text{b} \text{e}k' \text{sl}a \) character of a person

With stems ending in \( \ddot{e}, \dddot{e}, \) and \( \dddot{i} \) it is contracted to \( -\dddot{a}l \) a:

\( \ddot{g} \text{e}' \text{l} \text{s} \text{sl}a \) long \( \ddot{g} \text{a}'l \text{a} \) being that \( 14.3 \)

93. \( -\dddot{t} \text{(E} \text{l} \text{a)} \) continued motion [stem-s., ind.].

\( \dddot{e}'k' \text{sl}a \) above \( \dddot{e}'k' \text{t} \text{o} \text{sl}a \) to continue to go up \( 126.40 \)

\( '\text{n} \text{a} \text{l} \text{a} \) south \( '\text{n} \text{a} \text{l} \text{o} \text{sl}a \) going south, down river \( 125.7 \)

\( \text{g} \text{w} \text{a}s' \text{sl}a \) direction \( \text{g} \text{w} \text{a}' \text{s} \text{o} \text{sl}a \) to approach \( 9.9 \)

§ 26
94. -'nākulan(a) gradual motion, one after another [stem-s., w.]

-teku- to hang
tē'gu'nā'kula to hang one after another

-penl- stout
pe'na'lē'nā'kula to grow stout 49.15

-qās- to walk
qā'nā'kula to walk along 115.3

95. -naxwan(a) sometimes [word-s.]

la to go
lā'na'xwa to go sometimes 11.3

x'ìdā's place of disappearance
x'ìdā'sna'xwa place where he disappears sometimes 28.8

96. -gra'aLEla, after k and l sounds -'alela, suddenly. Used often with verbs denoting sense-impressions (see p. 514).

-dōq- to see
dōxwalē'la to discover 19.10

-p'aq- to taste
p'etàxwalē'la to learn by taste 31.5

-qlal- to know
q'älalē'la to learn 135.4

-g'ax to come
g'āxwalē'la to come suddenly 33.41

The following is apparently irregular:

-wul- to hear
wułāxwalē'la to learn by hearing 35.23

The following probably belong here also:

-ax- to do
axalē'lōd to take out suddenly 38.13

-kwēx- to strike
kwēxalē'lōd to strike suddenly 99.3

-lās- to push
lāxalē'lōd to push in suddenly 19.5

97. -tā to do at the same time while doing something else, while in motion [stem-s., ind.].

dāl- to laugh
da'ltā'ya laughing at the same time 284.5

dēnx- to sing
dēnxtā'ya singing while walking 355.15

'yiix- to dance
'yiixtā'ya dancing as she came 435.20

With terminal -ē (see § 49, p. 530) this suffix has the form -tē'wē:

'넋'g'ite'wē he says while— 285.6

hā'malā'g'ite'wē to eat walking 134.2

ya'q'entlāalaxtē'wē to speak while— 374.9

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The elements -gi- and -x- preceding this suffix in the last two instances are not clear as to their origin.

Suffixes Denoting Subjective Judgments or Attitudes Relating to the Ideas Expressed (Nos. 96-133) (§§ 27-32)

§ 27. Suffixes Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas (Nos. 98-104)

98. -xaa also, on the other hand [word-s.].
   dā'xa'xidaza a he also took 8.13
   dā'emlaxaas and only you on your part 397.3 (-em no. 103; -l no.
   88; -s thou)
   lō'wadaxaen I on my part have supernatural power 399.3
   (-en I)

99. -x̣šā still, entirely [word-s.].
   lā'sivalax'sā it still stuck on his forehead 24.5
   dā'alax'sā still holding on 14.11
   l!e!lā'qex'sā entirely cedar-bark 86.24

99a. -q!āla perfectly, completely [stem-s., ind].
   ʻnā'q!āla it is full day 441.13
   nō'qlāla entirely uneasy

100. -lag'i Î in the mean time [word-s.].
   sēkā'lag'i to spear in the mean time CS 44.25

101. -tā but [word-s.].
   ʻnē'x̣tā but he said, it is said, 100.22

102. -rā but [word-s.].
   lā'rā but he went 14.10

The difference between -rā and -tā is difficult to define. On the whole, the latter expresses an entirely unexpected event in itself improbable; the former implies that the event, although not necessary, might have been expected.

qap!e'dēda ʻxwā'k'una la'tmē'stā hē'ldik'ama the canoe capsized
   but he came out well
qap!e'dēda ʻxwā'k'una la'tmē'stā hē'ldik'ama the canoe capsized
   and against all expectation he came out well (qap!e'd to cap-
   size; -ēda prenominal subj. [p. 530]; ʻxwā'k'una canoe; la to do,
   go, happen; -tēs no. 104; hē'ldik'ama to come out right)
la'tmē'stā wulekwa' it has antlers (although they do not belong
to it) (wule'm antlers; -kα passive participle, no. 172)
103. -m indicates that the subject has been referred to or thought of before.

\[ \text{gāx'em} \] he came
\[ \text{la'x'm'laē gwāl} \] then, it is said, he finished (what has been mentioned before) 141.34
\[ \text{le'x'ēm dāa'x's K.} \] and it was only carried by K. 403.28
\[ \text{yu'x'mēn} \]—this (what has been mentioned before) is my—211.20

104. -mēs [WORD-S.; compounded of -m-wis and so, indicating that a certain event is the effect of a preceding event].

\[ \text{hēx'ādēm'la'wis} \] and so, it is said, it began to be (passim) (hēx'ād it begins to be, -la it is said, -em-wis)
\[ \text{gi'gāmē'emzaa'wīsen} \] and so I, on my part, am also a chief

This suffix evidently contains -m (no. 103); the intimate connection between the expressed idea and the preceding idea being first indicated by -m, and their causal relation being indicated by -wis. In a few cases, when following -āna perhaps (no. 106), it occurs without -m.

§ 28. Suffixes Denoting Degrees of Certainty (Nos. 105-107)

105. -lax potentiality, used in all uncertain conditional sentences [WORD-S.].

\[ \text{a'mē'lalax} \] it might spoil 131.17
\[ \text{yī'lkwalaxōl} \] you might be hurt 29.35

106. -āna perhaps [WORD-S.].

\[ \text{'mā'dzā'na'wis} \] what, indeed, may it be? (see no. 119) 11.12
\[ \text{lā'g'uls'la'x'ā'navis} \] (what) may he perhaps be doing on the ground? 95.20 (-g'uls on ground [no. 44]; -lax [no. 105]; -wis [no. 104])

107. -g'wanEm perhaps [WORD-S.].

\[ \text{sō'gwanem} \] you perhaps 146.28

§ 29. Suffixes Denoting Judgments Regarding Size, Intensity, and Quality (Nos. 108-126)

108. -k'as really [WORD-S.]. In the dialects of northern Vancouver Island, particularly in that of Koskimo, this suffix is used throughout, and has lost its significance entirely.

\[ \text{gā'lak'as} \] really a long time 7.4
\[ \text{ne'nvalak'winēk'asōs} \] your real supernatural quality 479.11 (see no. 171)
\[ \text{gā'x'k'asden} \] really I came 478.4 (see no. 89; -en I)

§§ 28, 29
108 a. -k'as'o FINE AND BEAUTIFUL, used particularly in poetry [WORD-S.].

lő'gwalak•as'o a really fine magic treasure 111.1, 478.9

109. -o' UGLY, AWKWARD [STEM-S., W].

wā'yā'l a big ugly dog

'wī'd'vātivis'e where is the past, ugly, miserable thing? (wī-

where, -ul past [no. 86], -o' ugly, -wī's [no. 104], -xē miserabe

[no. 115]) 99.31
la'k'•adzō'l that really bad one X 207.16 (see no. 108)

110. -dzē LARGE [WORD-S.].

lā'g'qudadzē large copper 84.16
qā's'adzē•as' a great number of sea-otters (-k'as no. 108)

gō'z'•dzē large house 483.27

110a. -Em diminutive [STEM-S., W] always used with reduplication

(see § 45, p. 526).

neg'ē' mountain

na'neg'im small mountain

ts!edā'q woman

ts!ā'ts!edag'em girl

grōk* house

gā'g'ogum little house

gën• child

gā'g'inlem little child

In sā'yobem LITTLE ADZE (from sōp- to ADZE) the initial s is

weakened (see § 43.6).

111. -Em GENUINE, REAL [STEM-S. and WORD-S., H, lengthens vowel

of stem].

bā'k'um genuine man, Indian

bā'gwan'em•em full-grown man

K'kwā'k'um real Kwakiutl

wi'wāp'em fresh water V 365.33

112. -bidō' SMALL [SINGULAR, WORD-S.]; see no. 113.

qā'k'•obidō' a little slave 99.31

sē'wabidō' to paddle a little

ge'lwitlabidō' little hooked nose 271.29

begwed'obidō' ugly, little man (see no. 109)

Very common are the compounds—

amā'bidō' small one 18.10, 38.14

'nexwā'labidō' quite near 19.13, 107.20

With verbs this suffix, as well as the following, signify rather

that a small person, or small persons, are the subject of the

verb, than that the act is done to a slight extent, although the

latter is often implied.

ē'piēbidō' the little one pinched, he pinched a little CS 12.13

§ 29
113. -mEnëx" SMALL [PLURAL, WORD-S.]. Possibly this is etymologically related to the preceding, since m and n are the nasals belonging to b and d; and a similar relation of stops and nasals may be observed in the northern dialects of the Kwak iutl, where we have, for instance, -idez" corresponding to -ënox" (no. 162).

The little 'ne'mgës mEnëx" 135.34

114. -O SMALL [WORD-S.].

g'â'xe la elo little ones entering U.S.N.M. 670.14

115. -xILè MISERABLE, PITIFUL, TOO BAD THAT, loses the initial x after s.

më'xaz layin too bad that I was asleep!
lâ'xIè unfortunately X 162.39

116. -x'La VERY [WORD-S.].

tsi'lqwa x lâ it is very warm
q'lë'msq! emts! ex x tà very lazy 45.9

117. -wist'a VERY (perhaps a compound of -wis [no. 104] and -t'la [no. 101] but so).

tsi'õ'towist'la very black

118. -mâ AT ONCE, WITHOUT HESITATION [WORD-S.]. Used in the most southern Kwakiutl dialect, the Lë'kwilda'x", with great frequency. In this dialect the suffix has lost its significance entirely.

g'â'xmâ he came at once

119. -dzâ EMPHATIC [WORD-S.].

gë'ladzâ come, do! 13.3 (like German "komm doch!")
'tmâ'dzâ what anyway? 11.12

yu'dzâ'ment evidently this is it (see nos. 103, 135)
k'ë'dzâ'm not at all X 3.29 (see no. 103)

120. -k'ànal NICELY [WORD-S.].

de'njal ak'ínal singing nicely

121. -x'sa(la) CARELESSLY [WORD-S.].

'ne'k'ax'sala to speak carelessly

122. -k'ina ACCIDENTALLY [STEM-S., with reduplication].

dâ'dozkwinala to see accidentally
wâ'walk'ine obtained by luck CS 42.8

À'k'mak'inañálañé will be by chance very much CS 36.7

§ 29
123. -q'am(a) TO NO PURPOSE [word-s.].
  q'am'kulaq'am'la'ma walking along without object
  b'beqwaneq'am'am common men V 441.15

124. -wa, -a IN A WRONG MANNER, TO FAIL, TO MAKE A MISTAKE,
     off [stem-s.]. This suffix may be identical with no. 37.

After n and vowels, -wa; after p, t, and anterior and posterior k
sounds, -a (compare no. 41).
  là'wa to go off from road V 491.24
  dà'wa to fail to hold V 478.21
  t!ë'pa to step off
  sòpa'la to chop off V 345.18
  télo'la to have the bait off V 479.9
  k'ëx'layu to be scraped off V 487.12

125. -böl(a) TO PRETEND TO [word-s.]
  q'waböla to pretend to cry 155.34
  ts!'aböla to pretend to feel sick 278.26 (see no. 148)
  ha'mápöla to pretend to eat 257.23
  wi'laböla to pretend to pinch 260.33

This suffix occurs also with nouns:
  ha'mé'bolax'de past pretended food (what had been made to look
  like food) 260.36

126. -x'st! as usual; -x'st'aaku APPARENTLY, SEEMINGLY, IT
     SEEMS LIKE.
  la'tx'st'as you do as usual U.S.N.M. 670.7
  ladz'olisax'st'aa'z'maé apparently reaching up to the sky 238.5
  là'x'st'aa'k it seems to be 50.25

§ 30. Suffixes Denoting Emotional States (Nos. 127-129)

127. -q'anaék QUITE UNEXPECTEDLY [word-s.]
  là'q'anaék'kwae k'ëlav'id'eq he struck her, although you would
  not expect it of him

128. -él ASTONISHING! [word-s.]
  s'à'él it is you! 149.12, U.S.N.M. 725.11
  e'dzé'ják behold not this! 198.37 (é- not; -dzé no. 119; -ak-
     this [see p. 530])

129. -xôl ASTONISHING! O WONDER! [word-s.]
  k'ë'z'sól oh, wonder! not 17.7
  k'ë'ma'alaxôl oh, wonder! it was he 138.43
  ëalu'n'émaxôl behold! wolves X 57.15

§ 30
§ 31. Suffix Denoting the Optative (Nos. 130-131)

130. -nâ'sî. OH, IF! [WORD-s.]
   gâxnâ'sîle oh, if (he) would come!

131. -x'. LIKELY HE WOULD! exhortative (see § 66, p. 549).

§ 32. Suffixes Denoting the Source of Information (Nos. 132-135)

132. -l(a) IT IS SAID [WORD-s.]
   xe'nâ'le'l very much, it is said 7.3
   k'te'slal!a but not, it is said 8.10 (see no. 101)
   lâ'la'ë then, it is said, he—(passim)

133. -Emškâ AS I TOLD YOU BEFORE [WORD-s.]
   g'â'xemškâ he has come—as you ought to know, since I told you
   before

134. -Eng'ra IN A DREAM [WORD-s.]
   lae'ng'ra in a dream it was seen that he went X 173.40

135. -xEnt EVIDENTLY (as is shown by evidence) [WORD-s.]
   k'!ed'saxent evidently nothing 73.18
   k'!le'szent evidently not 148.15

Suffixes Denoting Special Activities (Nos. 136-155) (§§ 33-34)

§ 33. Activities of Persons in General (Nos. 136-143)

136. -g'ila TO MAKE [WORD-s. and STEM-s., IND.]; loses initial g'.
   l'te'nag'ila to make oil 37.5
   mo'masila to hurt 29.28
   lâ'wayuqwilà to make a salmon-weir 26.39
   leqve'la to make a fire 98.8
   gu'e'g'ila to do so (to make a certain kind of thing) 15.12
   sèxwila to make a paddle V 496.2

This suffix occurs also with neutral stems as an indifferent stem-
suffix.
   bekâ- man
   bekve'la to make a man 103.20
   lökâ- strong
   lôkwila to make strong 104.7

This suffix in its passive form -g'îlakâ is used very often to form
names of men, in the sense BORN TO BE—

Gu'nëzîlakâ born (literally, made) to be heavy
Neq'â'sisîlakâ born to be mountain on open prairie
Hâ'masîlakâ born to be a chief
Lâ'qwasqemg'îlakâ born to be copper-faced

§§ 31-33
Peculiar is the mythical name of the mink *Lle'selag'illa*, which retains the glottal stop of the passive forms, although it lacks the passive suffix *-ku* (no. 172), with which it would mean *BORN TO BE THE SUN*.

137. *x'sila* to take care of [stem-s. also word-s. Used with reduplication]; loses initial *x*.

- *ts'eq*- winter-dance
- *ndq*- mind
- *bek*- man (?)
- *g'iq*- chief
- *pana'yu* hook

- *ts'e'ts'e'sila* to take care of winter dance 16.12
- *nan'd'q'ex'sila* to resolve 184.2
- *b'abax'sila* to use 36.7
- *g'a'g'ix'sila* to treat like a chief 360.42
- *p'a'panayux'silats'e* receptacle (i. e., canoe) for fishing with hooks V 484.14 (see no. 184)

138. *-tal* to be occupied with [word-s., generally with reduplication or lengthened vowel].

- *mä* salmon
- *ö'ma* chieftainess
- *wil*x cedar
- *pe's*- to give a potlatch

- *häm'e'yalal* to be occupied with salmon (i. e., to dance the salmon dance) 84.5
- *a'ö'malal* chieftainess dance 84.8
- *hauwi'ku'lal* cedar dance
- *p'a'salal* potlatch dance

139. *-ëxst* to desire [stem-s., h].

- *ndq*- to drink
- *ax*- to do

- *nä'qëxst* to desire to drink
- *ax'ëxst* to desire to do 17.3

140. *-öL* to obtain [stem-s., ind.].

- *q'ë*- many
- *la* to go
- *q'äk*- slave

- *wi*- nothing
- *g'ë*- to be

- *më'gwat* seal
- *gwö'yö'* the thing referred to

- *q'e'yö'ë* to obtain many 139.36
- *lë* to obtain 59.34
- *q'ä'k'o'ënem* obtained by getting a slave 136.25 (see § 4, p. 436, no. 179)
- *wio'l* not to obtain 459.34
- *g'a'ëyës* place where one obtains something 26.22 (see no. 182)
- *më'gwatöL* to obtain seals
- *gwö'yö'iës* place where one obtains the thing referred to 45.31 (see no. 182)

§ 33
141. -a to endeavor [stem-s., ii, always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

dōqʷ- to see
dā'doqʷa to endeavor to see

x'is- to disappear
x'aːx'ya to try to disappear

nā'qō to meet
nā'naqwa to try to meet

yixʷ- to dance
yā'ya'wa to try to dance
dō'xʷwasəla to discover
da'doxʷwa to try to discover

tsā to draw water
tsā'tsa'ya to try to draw water

nē's to pull
nā'nē'sləaayu hook for pulling up red cod V 332, 18 (see no. 174)

This suffix is used very often with nouns.

ts'Ellʷ- feather
ts'ā'ts'elkʷa to try to get feathers 157.3

sās- spring salmon
sā'yatsə to catch spring salmon

g'ixʷ- steelhead salmon
g'ā'g'wa to try to catch steelhead salmon

xunkʷ- child
xwā'xunkʷwa to try to get a child

xwākʷ- canoe
xwā'xwakʷwa to try to get a canoe

It also occurs quite frequently with other suffixes.

lōl to obtain (see no. 140)
lā'lōlə to try to obtain 73.21

lae'z to enter (see no. 47)
lā'lae'z to try to enter

lā'weəs to go out (see no. 37)
lā'loveəs to try to go out

wı'wı'lōl to obtain all (see no. 140)
wı'wı'lə to try to get all CS 10.30

142. -yāla to go to look for [stem-s., ind., always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

tl'ei- stone
tlā'tl'eiəyāla to go to look for stones

xwakʷ- canoe
xwā'xwaku'yāla to go to look for a canoe

142a. -məla to go [stem-s., ind.].

q'elʷməla many walking 16.2

wa'd'xunməla to go in company with several 44.19

Hā'tlamələgə right going woman (mythical name of mouse) 11.12 (see no. 192)

142b. -s'əla deserted [stem-s., ind.].

kwəstəla to sit deserted CS 40.4

§ 33
142c. -qō to meet [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial q, used with reduplication or lengthening of stem vowel.

- la to go
- q'nl first
- k'q- to strike together
- q'ul- alive
- 'yq'- bad

le'qō to meet
g'gal'qō meeting the first time (i.e., newly married couple)
k'ā'qō canoes meet
g'wā'lqō to meet alive 193.29
'yá'k'āmas to vanquish 131.24 (see no. 158)

143. -ōstlqa to use, only with numeral adverbs.

- 'nemplēnōstlqa to use once.
- qēp'ēnōstlqa to use many times
- mōplēnōstlqa it happened twice 470.41

§ 34. Activities Performed with Special Organs of the Body (Nos. 144-155)

144. -k'āla continued noise, continued action with the voice [stem-s., h]. After t, ts, k stops, l, t, k'āla, with hardened terminal consonant; after s, generally k'āla.

- da to hold
dā'k'āla to ask for something 18.9
- dēnx- to sing
de'nxk'āla noise of singing 11.10
- sepelk'- noise of metal
- sepe'le'k'ālag'ile'ringing noise on water 152.34
- ax- to do
- tēk'- to joke
tēk'wā'la to joke 24.6
- lēl- to call
- ō'dzek'- wrong
ō'dzeklāa to say something wrong X 101.30
- sāl- love song
- sā'lāla to sing love song X 8.36
- ō'tmis curious
- ō'tmislāla curious sound 196.20
- g'nl- child
- g'nlāla noise of child

In a few cases -k'āla appears as word suffix.

- beguwā'nem man
- beguwā'nemk'-āla noise of a man 148.26
- ālā really
- ālak'āla to speak really X 5.24

Irregular is—

- yā'q'antlāla to speak (see yā'q'leγ'a'1 to begin to speak, no. 145)
144 a. -ālu to persuade to. I doubt very much if this suffix belongs with the preceding, since its rules of attachment are quite different. It is always used with reduplication.

-ālu to persuade to

145. -gʷaɬ, -kʷ:供图. Beginning of a noise, to begin with the voice [generally stem-s., h.]. No rule can be given for the use of the two forms of this suffix. The second form loses initial -kʷ.

-śu to feel

146. -xa to say [stem-s., ind.].

147. -dzaqwa to speak [stem-s., ind.].

148. -qʷa to feel [stem-s., ind.].
149. -qeEs to eat [stem-s., ind.]. This suffix seems to be very irregular.

\[\text{g'i'lg!es to eat first 193.4}\]

**149a. -g\* to eat [word-s., ind.; also stem-s.], always used with duplicated stem.**

\[\begin{align*}
g\hat{e}'\text{was} & \quad \text{dear} \\
L!\hat{e}'\text{z} & \quad \text{black bear} \\
\hat{a}\text{lan}\text{'m} & \quad \text{wolf} \\
l\hat{a}q & \quad \text{hemlock sap} \\
q!\hat{a}'\text{mdzek} & \quad \text{salmon berry} \\
\hat{g}\hat{a}'\text{weg\hat{a}nem} & \quad \text{clam} \\
m\hat{e}\hat{se}'\text{g} & \quad \text{sea egg} \\
k\hat{\prime}\hat{a}'\text{was} & \quad \text{dried halibut} \\
\hat{z}\hat{o}\hat{\ell}\hat{e} & \quad \text{mussel} \\
\hat{b}\hat{\ell}\hat{s}\hat{k}\hat{\prime}\hat{\prime}\hat{i} & \quad \text{biscuit} \\
\end{align*}\]

See also § 43, p. 525.

150. -pl\* to taste [stem-s., ind.].

\[\text{\hat{e}xp\* to taste}\]

150a. -pl\*ala to smell [stem-s., ind.].

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\hat{e}xp\*ala to smell} \\
Q!\hat{a}'\text{n\hat{e}xp\*ala it smells of} \\
\end{align*}\]

151. -(a)k\*a to happen [stem-s., ind.?]

\[\begin{align*}
o\hat{d}\hat{\text{ak}}\hat{\prime}\hat{a} & \quad \text{it happens wrongly (= to die).} \\
q!\hat{a} & \quad \text{to find} \\
\end{align*}\]

152. -\text{allisEm} to die of [stem-s., w].

\[\begin{align*}
q!\hat{w}\hat{\text{\hat{a}s}} & \quad \text{to cry} \\
x\text{uls} & \quad \text{to long} \\
\hat{m}\text{ek}\hat{\prime} & \quad \text{round thing is somewhere} \\
\end{align*}\]

153. -\text{sdana} to die of [word-s.].

\[\begin{align*}
p\hat{o}\text{\hat{s}dana} & \quad \text{to die of hunger 21.6} \\
\hat{n}\hat{a}'\text{l\hat{a}sdana} & \quad \text{to die of the weather (i.e., by drowning) 251.42} \\
\end{align*}\]

154. -\text{tsl\*E} with hands.

\[\begin{align*}
\hat{\text{w\hat{l}s}}\hat{\text{\hat{e}g}}\hat{\text{\hat{u}st\hat{a}}} & \quad \text{not able to climb up with hands (\hat{\text{\text{\hat{w}i- not, g\text{\hat{u}st\hat{a}}- up [see no. 20]})}} \\
\end{align*}\]
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155. -plāltō WITH EYES.

hēp!ā‘ltō to look at once 63.8
aw’lp!āltō to discover 154.16
’g’lpl!āltō to see first X 197.2

§ 35. Suffixes which Change the Subject or Object of a Verb (Nos. 156-160)

156. -ap!(a) EACH OTHER [STEM-s., IND.], with reduplication or lengthening of vowel.

qās- to walk
kwēz- to strike
sēx- to paddle
k!wē’las feast

gāqasaplā to race walking
kwā’kwēzaplā to strike each other 292.6
sāsēxaplā to race paddling
k!wā’k!wēlasaplā to give feasts 397.16

In the following cases the vowel is lengthened into ā:

wul- to ask
tek- to throw
mix- to strike
nep- to throw
(tō-) to attack
sek- to spear

wā’laplā to ask each other 162.6
tā’k’aplā to throw each other 215.10
mā’x’aplā to strike each other X 6.23
(nēm) to quarrel
la’xula to love

Long vowels remain unchanged:

wi’n- to make war
bē’nem- to quarrel
lā’xula to love
wi’naplā to make war upon each other 270.4
bē’nemaplā to quarrel together 121.13
lā’xulaplā to love each other 267.37 (see no. 167)

157. -ā(la) EACH OTHER, TOGETHER [STEM-s., IND.], with reduplication or change of vowel; original meaning probably JOINTLY.

*nemō’k friend
q’wās- to cry

’nā’muk’āla friends to each other 147.20 (see p. 436).
q’wā’q’usāla to cry together 157.8

After vowels it takes the form -sāla.

tsi’ā‘ya sister

tsi’ā’tsi’yasāla sisters to each other 47.42

§ 35
Frequently it appears combined with ga among (no. 7).

ho'lela to listen
hā'walelagāla to listen to each other 26.10

xā to split
xōzug'la broken to pieces among itself 27.7

158. -ānas to cause [word-s.]
a'mēlā'mas to cause to be spoiled 13.4
lēlā'mas to cause to die 39.1
q'ulā'x-t'idāmas to cause to come to life 48.14 (see no. 90)
qē'vas'tidā'mas to cause to become a deer (see no. 90)
ē'k!igemālā'mas to cause face to be turned up 144.20 (see nos. 54, 92)
lavā'mas to cause to be off 441.32 (see no. 37)
ēwt'lōltā'mas to cause all to come out of woods 40.17 (see no. 37c)

159. -sōt passive [word-s.]. A comparison between the use of -sōt and -ayu (no. 174) for expressing the passive shows that the former expresses the idea to be the object of an action, the latter to be the means of performing an action. This is brought out clearly by the forms qa'tstot to be pursued (literally, to be the object of going) and qa'stidā'yu to be carried along (literally, to be the means of going).

mēl- to tease
wul- to ask
'nek- to say
lēl'pa to roast
axē'd to take
q'almēlēd to sing
p!elxe'xāt'īdā'mas to cause to become fog (see nos. 91, 90, 158)
k!wēl feast (see no. 46)

With following -ē, this suffix becomes -sēwe (see § 4, p. 438).

160. -l, passive of words denoting sense experiences and emotions [stem s., w].

dōq- to see
dō'qul to be seen 8.10

dōtx'wale'la to discover by seeing
dōtx'wale'l to be discovered 41.34

q'lāl- to know
q'lā'l known 136.23

p'ēx- to feel
p'ēxul and p'ayō'l to be felt

ē'xul and ēyō'l to be desired

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*me'lqul* to be remembered
*me'lqul* to be remembered
*me'lqul* to be remembered

*vāl* to wish
*vāl* to wish
*vāl* to wish

*lēs* to hate
*lēs* to hate
*lēs* to hate

Here belongs also—

&q'a'yldl to talk (from qie qta'ydl to be spoken of much)

$qā'yōl$ to be spoken of much

§ 36. Nominal Suffixes (Nos. 161-194b)

161. *-e*[ word-s.]. This suffix serves to form substantives of neutral stems and suffixes. It occurs generally with a demonstrative $a$ or $e$ (see § 56), and then takes the forms *-a'ya* and *-a'e*.

- $xā$ to split
- $xā'ē$ what has been split
- $ax$ to do
- $axa'ē$ work
- $k'ē-lāt$ to paint
- $k-lā'ē$ painting
- $-x'ā$ hind end (no. 15)
- $ōx'ē$ stern of canoe
- $-g'iu$ forehead (no. 57)
- $lā'siwe$ what sticks on forehead

A number of nouns are also found which occur only with $ē$, but which are not known as neutral stems, except in composition.

- $l'ā'ē$ black bear
- *nāqē* mind
- *lē'we* mat

Here belongs the ending of abstract nouns in *-ēnē* (see no. 171).

- *lē'ēlānē* the calling

162. *-ēnox* A PERSON WHO DOES AN ACTION PROFESSIONALLY

-[stem-s., H].

- *sak* to carve meat
- *sak'wē'nox* meat-carver
- *alē'x* to hunt in canoe
- *alē'winox* sea hunter
- *sē'x* to paddle
- *sē'xwilaenox* paddle maker
- *tswi'x'a* to hunt goats
- *tswi'tēnnox* goat hunter
- *ma'x* to give potlatch
- *ma'winox* potlatch giver

This suffix is also used to designate tribal names, and place-names derived from these.

- *Aw'g*a country in back (?)
- *Aw'k'*ēnox*
- (Rivers inlet)
- *Gwa'dē* north
- *Gwa'ts'*ēnox*
- *ma'w* of what tribe?

The tribal name *Gō'sgr'umux* contains a similar suffix, although no reason can be given for the change from $n$ in *ēnox* to $m$ in *-imux*. A similar change occurs in the ending *-mp* (no. 168).
162a. (-\textit{edEx}^{u}) The suffix corresponding to the Kwakiutl \textit{-enox}^{u} in the Bella Bella dialect is \textit{-edEx}^{u}, which may be of the same origin, the \textit{t} and \textit{n} being related sounds.

\textit{He'staedEx}^{u} 429.33
\textit{A'wi'l\textit{edEx}^{u}} 431.26
\textit{No\textit{lowi}dex}^{u} 436.30

163. -\textit{bis} FOND OF, DEVOTED TO [STEM-\textit{s.}, IND.; and WORD-\textit{s.}].

(a) STEM-\textit{s.}:
- nāq- to drink
- wāx- to smoke

(b) WORD-\textit{s.}:
- e'x'ala to work
- e'x'lla to sweet

164. -\textit{is} capable of, used particularly with words denoting sense impressions [STEM-\textit{s.}, \textit{H}, generally used with reduplication].

- dōq- to see
- mēs- to smell
- Lēlk- to lie

Irregular seem to be—

- hō'laq!us with good power of seeing X 57.20 (from hō'Lēla to listen)
- dō'xts!es seer (from dōq- to see)

165. -\textit{kex} doing repeatedly [STEM-\textit{s.}, \textit{W}].

- nāq- to drink
- hā'm- to eat

166. -\textit{ys} one who does an act for others [STEM-\textit{s.}, IND.; and WORD-\textit{s.}].

- sē'x to paddle
- dā'dōq'wāla to watch
- zō's- to sprinkle
- lā'lawayux'sila to take care of salmon-weir
- xēk- to sweep

\textit{dā'dōq'wāle'ys} watchman 228.12
\textit{xō'selgy's} sprinkler X 4.8
\textit{lā'lawayux'sil'ylgy's} watchman of salmon-weir CS 6.10
\textit{xē'kulgy'sx'ml} sweeper mask 389.25
167. -ōt fellow [word-s., and stem-s., ind.].

(a) word-s.:
- g'okula to live in house
- yā'q!ant!ala to speak
- a'māl'ala to play together
- lä'xvalap! to love each other

(b) stem-s.:
- bexwōt fellow-man 113.12
- g'ēx*utf fellow chief
- hayō't rival 248.12
- kulō't person with whom one lies down X 5.16

168. -mp relationship [stem-s.].

- gag- grandfather gag'mp 134.2
- ab- mother ab'mp 35.76
- wa'lwump husband's sister, brother's wife
- neg- parent-in-law, child-in-law negu'mp

Here belongs also g'inp wife's sister. It may be that the m is here assimilated by an n of the stem. A change between m and n has been mentioned in the suffix -ēnoxt, which assumes in one case the form -ēmuxt (see no. 162). The stem for father appears in the possessive second person without this suffix.

169. -nuk" having [stem-s., ind.; word-s.].

- sā'sem children
- ax- to do
- wā'ldem word
- dō'x'walēl to be seen

170. -ad having [stem-s., w.].

- láw- husband
- læq- name
- k'īéd- chief's daughter
- xu'nk"- child

§ 36
This suffix has a secondary form in -id which seems to be more nominal in character than the form -ad. It is used in forms of address.

The same form is used in names.

171. -en(ʔ), suffix forming abstract nouns [stem-s., h, word-s].

Never used without possessive pronouns.

172. -ku passive past participle [stem-s., w].

173. -Em instrument [stem-s., w].

174. -ayu instrument [stem-s., w].
This suffix is also used to express a passive. The difference between this and -sə' (no. 159) is, that -sə' is the passive of verbs that have a direct object, while -ayu is the passive of verbs that are accompanied by an instrumental.

qə's'id to begin to walk  
qə's'idayu he was a means of walking (i.e., he was taken away)

dənz- to sing  
də'nz'idayu it was sung 13.14

175. -anə instrument [stem-s., ind.]. This suffix is used with a few words only, and is not freely movable.

wuxə'g'a to put on belt  
wuxə'g'anə belt

ha'nx'ənd to put on fire  
ha'nx'ənəo kettle

la'stanə to be put into water

It seems that suffixes in -nd (see no. 2) may take this form; but they take also the forms in -ayu; for instance,

axə'ndayu to be put on 43.14

176. -g'it reason of [word-s.]; loses initial g'.

lə'g'itl reason of going 14.3

gə'z'əəl reason of coming 16.7

177. -qələmas reason [word-s.].

nə'gwəqələmas I am the reason of U.S.N.M. 669.9

laqələ'məəqəs you were the reason of X 229.3

178. -lən cause of [stem-s., ind.].

yəq'ə to distribute  
yəz'ən len property (what induces one to distribute)

tə'kəwala to be famous  
tə'kəwəxən len fame (what causes one to be famous)

yə'laqwa to sing sacred song  
yəz'ən len sacred song X 69.30 (what induces one to sing sacred song)

179. -ənəm obtained by [stem-s., w, and word-s., w].

ha'ntənəm obtained by shooting 138.25

qə'k'əəl to obtain a slave  
qə'k'əəqənəm obtained by obtaining a slave 136.25 (see no. 140)

lə'əl to invite  
lə'ənəm guest (obtained by inviting) 163.9

sənə to plan  
sənənəm obtained by planning 278.75

§ 36
179a. -inët obtained by [stem-s., w].

\[d'õ'k^*\] to troll \[d'õ'gwinët\] obtained by trolling
\[k'ëz\] to scrape \[K'ëzïìnët\] Obtained-by-scraping X 179.9

180. -ns arriving unexpectedly [stem-s., w, and lengthens vowel of stem].

\[bëk^*\] man \[bå'guns\] visitor
\[k'ëx^*\] to escape \[k'ë'wuns\] obtained by escaping, runaway slave X 197.5

181. -mùt refuse [stem-s., Ind., with reduplication] (see § 43).

\[g'õk^*\] house \[g'õ'gaz^*mùt\] remains of a house 146.8

\[sõp\] to hew \[sõ'yapmut\] chips (with weakened initial s)

132. -ás place of [stem-s., w].

\[sûx^*\] to paddle \[së'was\] place where one paddles 129.32
\[læ'beda\] to go in \[læ'bedo\] place where one goes in 8.12
\[Llõp\] cormorant \[Llõ'bas\] cormorant rock 369.29
\[qâs\] to walk \[qâ'yasnapwa\] place where he would walk 38.39 (see no. 95)

\[læ'wayugwila\] to make a weir \[læ'wayugwili\]as place of making a weir 27.24
\[yâ'xyiq'wa\] to lie dead on rock \[yâ'xyiq'waa\]s place of lying dead on rock 40.12

183. -dëms place where something is done habitually [word-s., Ind.].

\[kwë'las\] feasting-place \[kwë'lasdëms\] place where feasts are held habitually
\[g'õk^*\] house \[g'õx^*dëms\] village site 51.22

183a. -enaku country lying in a certain direction [Ind.].

\[qwës\] far \[qwë'senak^u\] far side 11.2
\['nâla\] south \['nâ'lenak\] south side X 144.7
\[gwâ\] down river \[gwâ'nak^u\] country down river X 3.11
\[ô\] something \[avî'naqwis\] country 142.4 (see no. 45)
184. *-atsle receptacle [stem-s., w].

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{nāg}- & \text{ to drink} & \text{nāg'satsle} & \text{cup, bucket 20.10} \\
\text{win}- & \text{ to go to war} & \text{wit'natsle} & \text{war canoe 129.25} \\
\text{k!wē'las feasting place} & \text{k!wē'ladzatsle} & \text{feast house} \\
\text{lēl}- & \text{ to inviting} & \text{lēlatsle} & \text{inviting receptacle, i.e., feast house} \\
\text{ts!eq}- & \text{ winter dance} & \text{ts!eq'atsle} & \text{dance house 11.13}
\end{align*} \]

185. *-x'dem time of [stem-s., ind., and word-s.]. The initial *x· is dropped after s, k, and l sounds.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{qā'sdem time of walking 146.41} \\
\text{yīxwā'x'dem time of dancing 72.27 (also yīxud'Em)} \\
\text{begwā'nemx'dex'demōl time long ago of becoming a man CS 8.4 (see nos. 90, 86)}
\end{align*} \]

186. *-Enx season. The rule of attachment is not clear. There may be a secondary form *-Enx.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mō'x'unx four years 18.3} \\
\text{hē'Enx summer 194.20}
\end{align*} \]

In a few cases the suffix seems to weaken the terminal consonant.

\[ \text{mā's what mā'yEnx what season X 166.28} \]

187. *- alas material [stem-s., w].

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{se'x- to paddle se'walam material for paddles (se'xwālas V 496.5)}
\end{align*} \]

188. *-ts!Es or *-dzEs (?) piece of [word-s.].

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{xwā'k'unatslEs piece of a canoe} \\
\text{begwā'nemdzEs pieces of a man 32.42}
\end{align*} \]

188a. *-eśō remains of [stem-s., ind.].

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{xā'qēśō remains of bones 94.21} \\
\text{alā'kwisō blood from a wound U.S.N.M. 669.13} \\
\text{kā'pēśō pieces cut out with shears}
\end{align*} \]

189. *-mis useless part [stem-s., ind.].

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{denā's cedar-bark dsnā'smis useless part belonging to cedar-bark (i.e., cedar-tree [yellow cedar])} \\
\text{tselx- hail tselx'mis hail-stones 121.24}
\end{align*} \]

190. *-p!eq stick, tree [stem-s., ind.; also word-s.].

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tma'x'p!eq potlatch pole} \\
\text{yīl- to tie} \\
\text{yīl!pyeqנדָ''la to tie to a stick 158.32}
\end{align*} \]

Here belongs also

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{yē'q!ent!eq speaker's staff (from yē'q!ent!āla to speak) 186.39}
\end{align*} \]

§ 36
190a. **-aanó** ROPE, LINE [STEM-s., W.]

- **sek-** to harpoon
- **q!’eles-** to put under water
- **mák-** near to

190b. **-manó** HEAD [STEM-s., IND.]

- **dzex-** silver salmon
- **mel-** to twist
- **xulq-** rough

191. **-asdé** MEAT OF [STEM s., IND.]

- **bek-** man
- **sás-** spring salmon

192. **-g(a)** WOMAN [WORD-s.]

- **leqwá’ga** brain woman 48.23
- **Hálamálagá** right going woman 11.12 (see no. 142a)
- **k’ixelá’ga** crow 47.30

This suffix occurs in combination with **-ayu** MEANS OF (no. 174) very often in names of women.

193. **-Em, a frequent nominal suffix of unknown significance** [STEM-s., in some cases w.]

- **tłës-** stone
- **leq-** name
- **sás-** spring salmon
- **sás-** children of one person
- **k’ił-** tongue

193a. **-N Em**, an irregular nominal suffix, probably related to 193.

- **geg-** wife
- **q’élé-** many

193b. **-änEm**, irregular, apparently designating animate beings.

- **bek-** man
- **g’int-** child
- **g’räwég-** clam
193c. -ōlem, nominal suffix.

-ōlem — sickness
-ōlem — canoe-calking
-ōlem — death
-ōlem — ballast

194. -ōmas, -ēmas. This suffix is used to designate classes of animals, but occurs also in a few other words.

-ōmas — quadrupeds
-ēmas — shell-fish
-ēmas — weak
-ēmas — food

194a. -En, a nominal suffix [stem-s, w].

-En — sea lion
-En — silver salmon
-En — humpback salmon

194b. -ina nominal suffix [stem-s., w].

-ina — raven

§ 37. ADVERBIAL SUFFIX

195. -En times [word-s.]. I place this suffix with some reluctance in a group by itself, since it seems to form almost the only adverb that exists in the language. Perhaps it would be better to consider it a classifier of numerals (§24).

-En — four times
-En — one time (span) across
-En — four times around
-En — the right number of days

§ 38. SUBSIDIARY SUFFIXES (Nos. 196-197)

196. -Em-. The plural of all suffixes denoting space limitations seems to be formed by the subsidiary suffix -Em, which precedes the primary suffix.

-Em through
-Em across
-Em around

§§ 37, 38.
-axa down  lōx- to roll  lō'xumā'axa they roll down 19.12
-ts!ōd into  ts!em- to point  ts!em'e'mts!ōd to point into several things 46.37
-a on rock  g'il- to walk on four feet  g'il'e'mg'il'ālā to walk on rocks [plural] 42.4
-s on ground  yā'qū- to lie dead  yā'qumg'aelslying dead on ground [plural] 32.12
-<xícis in canoe  nēx- to pull  nē'zem'elalā to pull several into canoe 208.18
-x'sis foot  tīp- to step  tī'pem'x'sidṣend to step on feet 184.35

In purely distributive expressions reduplicated forms are used.

197. -g'it- MOTION, used in combination with a number of primary suffixes denoting space limitations of rest. To these they seem to add the idea of motion. Like other suffixes beginning with g', this suffix loses its initial g'. It seems to be indifferent. The following suffix modifies the terminal l of the suffix; and two forms appear, -g'it- and -g'ael-, which are not clearly distinct. The accent seems to change the vowel into ā.

With -āla STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41):

k'wā'wālā to be seated on water (from k'wā to sit)  k'wā'gil'tala to sit down on water
'mek'ālala round thing on water (from 'mek"- a round thing is somewhere)

With -lēś MOVING ON WATER (no. 42):

lāx'walēś to move about  ha'ng'aalēś canoe comes to be standing on water on water 130.10
dzex'lālag'īlēś sound of splitting comes to be on water 152.19

With -a ON ROCK (no. 43):

k'woa' to be seated on rock  axā'lōd to put down on rock 102.31
mē'x'a to be asleep on rock  mē'x'a'la to go to sleep on rock 171.22

g'il'e'mg'il'alā to walk on rock [plural] 22.10
taō'deg'aālōd to put on rock 153.28

With -s ON GROUND (no. 44):

qē's being a long time on ground 37.14
k'woā's to be seated on ground 61.8
k'wā'g'aels to sit down on ground 37.3

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With -es on beach (no. 45):

- ha'ne's canoe is on beach 102.34 ha'ng'atlis canoe comes to be on beach 101.40

With -il in house (no. 46):

- kwai'li to be seated in house 173.20
- yu'qumg'ail to fall dead in house [plural] X 110.34

With -xs in canoe (no. 48):

- hō'guxs they have gone aboard hō'zawalexs they start to go aboard 84.37

With -ga among (no. 7):

- dā'gilqala to carry among them 240.6
- gō'kulxLaee house following behind; i.e., house obtained in marriage 220.41

With -xt(a) behind (no. 15):

- dā'gilxala to take secretly 99.18

The explanation of these forms is not beyond all doubt. While in most cases the distinction of motion and position is quite clear, there are other cases in which the form in -gil- is not applied, although motion seems to be clearly implied. We have laxs to go aboard 147.38; dāxs to take aboard 114.25, while the two examples of hō'gaxs and hō'zawalexs 22.9 and 84.37, bring out the distinction with the same suffix. The same element is evidently combined in -g'āalela (no. 96) which may thus be a compound of -gil- and a suffix -le(la).

On the whole, -gil seems to serve as a kind of inchoative, and the suffixes which take this suffix do not often take -x'tid (no. 90), or the inchoative completive -d. Still we have axā'lts!ōd to put into 178.8.

§ 39. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUFFIXES

The following list of suffixes is arranged alphabetically, the letters following by groups the order here given:

- e
- a, ã, ê, e, ē, i, ĩ, y
- ā, ă, o, u, w
- b, p, pl!, m
- d, ð, l!, n
- s

- dz, ts, ts!
- g', k', k'!
- g̊, k̊, k̊u
- g, q, q̊
- x̊, x̊u, x
- l, l, l̊, L, L̊
-€m (for -q€m) face 54, 85
-€m genuine 111
-€m instrument 173
-€m diminutive 110a
-€m nominal 193
-€m plural of locative suffixes 196
-€m*ya cheek 55
-€msk* as I told you 133
-€ml mask 54a
-€n nominal 194a
-€n (for -€!/€n) body 80
-€ng* in a dream 134
-(*)€nx season 186
-€s capable of 164
-€sra mouth 61
-€lk* one who is in the habit of 165
-€lq*is one who does for others 166
-€ltus down river 23
-a verbal suffix 1
-a on rock 43
-a tentative 141
-aanö rope 190a
-a€ya nominal 161
-ayu instrument 174
-au (for -€!au) between 8
-a€wil, -a€wil across 25
-€p! neck 65
-€p! each other 156
-abö under 29
-€mas to cause 158
-ad having 170
-atu ear 58
-atu down river 23
-€nem obtained by 179
-€nem nominal 193b
-€na perhaps 106
-€nö instrument 175
-€s place of 182
-€sdö meat of 191
-€ts!€ receptacle 184
-aq crotch 71
-aqa towards, past 9
-aqö extreme 13
-aza down 19
-€la (for -€k!€la) sound of 144
-€la to persuade 144a
-€las material for 187
-€ls€m to die of 152
-€la€la (for -€g!€la€la) suddenly 96
-€la continued 135
-€€ nominal 161
-yag* a returning 10a
-(*)€la to go to look for 142
-iu (for -€g!iu) forehead 57
-€p! (for -€p!) neck 65
-€p! (for -€ap!) each other 156
-€mas classes of animals 194
-€m*s near by 11
-id (for -€k!€d) to begin 90
-id (for -€k!€d) recent past 87
-id having 170
-it (for -€k!€t) body 79
-€dex* people 162a
-inu nominal 194b
-€n€ abstract noun 171
-€nak* direction 183a
-€nat obtained by 179a
-€nox* skillful in, people 162
-€s in body 78
-€s beach, open place 45
-€sö€ remains of 188a
-€s€ta (also -€s€sta) around 6
-€q in mind 81
-€q!€ back 69
-€qa (for -g€qa) side of 51
-€x€d to desire 139
-€la (for -€gila) to make 136
-€ll€la about 5
-€l in house 46
-€l (for -€g!€l) reason 176
-€€, astonishing! 128
-€l into house, into mouth 47
-€€€ila ashore 47a
-€l!€l€ in throat 63a
-€lba nose 60
-€ (for -g€) meeting 142c

§ 39
-d (also -wà) in a wrong manner, off 124
-d small 114
-d off, away from 37
-wuqà out of a hole 37b
-weis out of house 37b
-wultìd out of 37b
-wultìa out of an enclosure 37c
-wultò out of canoe 37c
-wultòs down out of 37c
-wà (also -d) in a wrong manner, off 124
-wàla (also -dàla) stationary on water 41
-wiis and so 104
-wista very 117
-wul (also -ul) remote past 86
-òyo middle 16
-òmas classes of animals 194
-òd to begin 2, 37a
-ò (for -k'ìot) opposite 12
-òt fellow 167
-òs cheek 56
-usta up river 24
-ustìs up from beach 22
-ustà (for -g-ùstò) up 20
-òstqà to use (so and so often) 143
-òkù (also -sòkù) person 82
-òlem nominal 193c
-dàla (also -wàla) stationary on water 41
-dàla (also -sàla) each other 157
-òt ugly 109
-ul remote past 86
-òl to obtain 140
-òtela continued motion 93
-beta into a hole 28
-p'èn times 195
-ba point 31
-p'à to taste 150
-p'àla to smell 150a
-p'altò with eyes 155
-bìdòt small, singular 112
-bìs fond of, devoted to 163
-p'èg'a (for -x'p'èg'a) thigh 73
-p'èq pole, stick 190
-bò chest 68
-bòla to pretend 125
-pòl into a hole (Newettee dialect) 28a
-tëm and 103
-menèzù small, plural 113
-mànò head 190b
-mis useless part 189
-mës and so 104
-mà at once 118
-mùt refuse 181
-màla moving, walking 142a
-mp relationship 168
-ò to begin 2
-dèm (for -x'dèm) time of 185
-dèms place where something is done habitually 183
-dèn finger width 85a
-tìa (for -xtìa) out to sea 22a
-tìa but 101
-da'xù (for -x'da'xù) pronominal plural (see § 68)
-dè (for -x'dè) transition from present to past 89
-tò to do a thing while doing something else 97
-tò (for -sòtò) eye, round opening 59
-nèm nominal 193a
-nàkùlùa gradual motion, one after another 94
-naqva sometimes 95
-nè'sh oh, if! 130
-nègù corner 18
-nò too much, too often (see § 66)
-nò side 17
-nus side 17
-nukù having 169
-nulèm temples 54b
-nulg'à groins 36a
-nd to begin 2
-nt edge of a round object 34
-ns arriving unexpectedly 180
-nsa under water 26
-ndzem throat 64
-nts'ës down to beach 21
-nx edge of a flat thing 33
-s on ground 44
-s\* (for -x's\*) across the middle 4
-sem round surface 85
-saqō penis 72
-stāp! (for -x'siāp!) shoulder 66
-sīū (for -x'sīū) mouth of river 50
-sē'sta (also -ē'sta) around 6
-sts (for -x'sīs) foot 75
-sīla (for -x'sīla) to take care of 137
-sō (for -x'sō) through 1
-sō\* passive 159
-sōk\* (also -ōk\*) person 82
-sāla (also -āla) each other 157
-sē'āla deserted 142b
-sta water 39
-sdāna to die of 153
-stō eye, round opening 59
-sqem round surface 85
-squap five 40
-sx'ā tooth 62
-ts!e with hands 154
-dzēs, -ts!ēs piece of 188
-tsālāna (for -x'tsālāna) hand 67
-ts!aq long 84
-dzqwa to speak 147
-dzē large 110
-dzō indeed 119
-dzō on a flat thing 35
-ts!ō in 27
-g to eat 149a
-k's top of a square object 38
-g'a (for g'īg'a) inside of a hollow object 36
-(a)k'a to happen 151
-g'aaalēla suddenly 96
-k'ēs inside of body 78a
-k'au between 8
-g'anem perhaps 107
-k'ēs really 108
-k'asō beautiful 108a
-k'ēlā continued noise 144
-g'alil in house 46
-g'ał to begin to make a noise 145
-g'iū forehead 57
-g'it body 79
-k'ēn body 80
-k'ēna accidentally 122
-k'inal nicely 120
-g'ēg'a inside of a hollow object 36
-k'ēlā'āl noise 145
-k'ēs in body 78a
-gūga side of 51
-k'ēxē knee 74
-g'ila to make 136
-k'ēlāga front of body 70
-g'ilātāla following secretly 197
-g'il motion 197
-g'il reason 176
-g'itāla stationary on surface of water 41
-k'āla between 8
-k'ēt opposite 12
-g'ustā up 20
-k's passive participle 172
-g'sm face 54, round 85
-geml mask 54a
-q'ēs to eat 149
-q'ēqē meat 77
-ga, -qa among 7
-ga woman 192
-g'a to feel 148
-g'āmas reason 177
-gami among others, excellent 7a
-g'ānāk quite unexpectedly 127
§ 39
Modification of Stems (§§ 40-46)

§ 40. METHODS

Stems are modified by the phonetic influences of suffixes, by reduplication and change of vowels. The first of these phenomena was noted in § 18.

Reduplication and change of vowel indicate principally (1) an iterative, (2) distributive plurality, and (3) unreality. The manner § 40
of reduplication differs according to the function it performs, but great irregularities are found in some of the reduplicated forms.

§ 41. ITERATIVE

Duplication of the whole stem is used to express the idea of occasional repetition of an action. The accent tends to be thrown back to the first syllable.

- mē'xa to sleep  
- ha'nla to shoot  
- dzə'lxwa to run

Stems ending in vowels, and probably those ending in m, n, l, take in this form a suffix -k' which is included in the duplication and becomes x' before consonants.

- tsë to draw water  
- la to go  
- tō to attack  
- tsō to give  
- xō to split  
- nō to aim  
- te'nō to pole  
- q'wə to stand spread out [plu-
  ral]
- ha'm- to eat  
- kluməl- to burn

§ 42. DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY

Distributive plurality is expressed by reduplication of the first few sounds of the word, the form of reduplication showing great variations, according to the phonetic character of the word. In some cases modifications of the vowel take the place of reduplication; but it would seem that most of these cases are due to secondary modification, perhaps to phonetic decay, of reduplicated forms. Probably in all forms of these reduplicated plurals there remains a hiatus between the reduplicated syllable and the stem.

- List of words and examples

(1) Reduplication of the first consonant with e vowel is used when the accent of the reduplicated word remains on the word itself, and does not move back to the reduplicated syllable. To this class

§§ 41, 42
belong all words with monosyllabic stem and short vowel terminating in a single consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā'qē'</td>
<td>mind</td>
<td>nēnd'qē' 152.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā'nal!em</td>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>hēhā'nal!em 139.12 (compare ha'nal!enoxa § 41.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nō'last!egeme</td>
<td></td>
<td>nē'nō'last!egeme 176.14 (compare 'nō'la § 41.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām</td>
<td>post</td>
<td>lēlā'm 186.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ō'lates!e</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>q!ēq!ō'lates!e 20.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā'le</td>
<td>recent</td>
<td>ēlā'le 43.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xats'ē'm</td>
<td>box</td>
<td>xēzats'ē'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēl'ela'</td>
<td>dead</td>
<td>lēlēla' 157.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nemō'k'</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>'nē'emō'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ula'</td>
<td>alive</td>
<td>q!wēq!ula' 158.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ō'k'</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>g'ig'ō'k'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Reduplication of the first consonant followed by the first vowel, and shortening of the vowel of the first syllable of the unreduplicated word, takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, and the first vowel is long.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xwā'k'!una</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>xwā'xwak!una 222.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!ā'k'ā slave</td>
<td></td>
<td>q!ā'q!ēk'ā 209.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'ā'ya</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>ts!ā'ts!a'ya 47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nō'la</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>'nō'nēla 174.20 (compare 'nō'last!egeme § 41.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pō'sdana</td>
<td>to die of hunger</td>
<td>pō'pesdana 177.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Reduplication of the first syllable takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, when the first vowel is at the same time short, and when the first syllable of the stem has an m, n, or l following its vowel and as the first sound of a consonantic cluster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xu'mde otter</td>
<td></td>
<td>xu'mxundē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sēms mouth</td>
<td></td>
<td>sēk'msems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!s!m!em song</td>
<td></td>
<td>q!s!m!q!em!em 194.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'nal!enoxa archer</td>
<td></td>
<td>ha'nahal!enoxa 155.37 (compare ha'nal!em § 41.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ēlkula bloody</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ēl'ēlkula 46.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ūnā'fem child (stem g'īnl-)</td>
<td></td>
<td>g'īng'ūnān!em 134.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) A number of irregular forms are related to the last group. These contain words both with long and short initial vowel. They are characterized by the insertion of a consonant at the close of the reduplicated syllable, which may sometimes be explained as the terminal consonant of the stem modified by contact phenomenon, but § 42
which is often due to other causes. There is a marked tendency to introduce s.

(a) With s:

\( q'u'lyak^* \) grown up \( q'u'lsq'u'lyak^* \) (stem probably \( q'u'ls- \)) 145.18

\( g't'la \) long \( g't'sgilt'la \) 150.38

\( q'a \) witchcraft \( êq'é \) qa

\( k'le'dèl \) princess \( k'le'sèk'le'dèl \) 230.3

\( lë'za \) large round opening \( lë'sèza \) 199.28

\( ëk^* \) good \( ës'ëk^* \) 151.16

\( ëk^* \) thick \( ës'sëk^* \) 27.15

\( dà'la \) to laugh \( dà'sdala \) 244.25

\( lë'lënoz^* \) ghost \( lë'slëlënoz^* \) (also \( lë'lëlënoz^* \))

\( lëz^* \) to stand \( lëz'ta'la \) legs 43.36

(b) With l:

\( g'oul'ot \) tribe \( g'o'lg'oul'ot \) 135.43

\( n'em \) one \( nà'tnem \)

\( xäq \) bone \( xä'tlæq \) 324.22

\( dë'eg'a' \) grave \( dë'lædÈ'ke'ls \) 323.27

(5) Words beginning with \( m, n, l, ë \), except those the first syllable of which closes with a consonant of the same group, which have their accent on the initial or on the reduplicated syllable, reduplicate by repeating the initial consonant and the following vowel, while the first vowel of the stem is elided and the initial consonant voiced. At the same time \( ë \) in the weakened syllable is transformed into \( ël \).

\( më'ënoz^* \) killer-whale \( më'ëmënoz^* \)

\( më'gwat \) seal \( më'ëmgwat \)

\( 'më'k'ala \) island \( 'më'ëmk'ala \)

\( nëg'^* \) mountain \( nëg'ë \)

\( 'nëx'unë'^* \) blanket \( 'nëx'ënx'unë'^* \)

\( Lë'gwilda'x^* \) (name of a tribe) \( Lë'slgwilda'x^* \) (the clans of the \( Lë'gwilda'x^* \))

\( le'k!wä'ne'^* \) old woman \( le'k!lk!wanë'^* \)

(6) A number of words reduplicate the first consonant with short vowel, but no definite rule can be given for the application of this mode of reduplication.

\( dà'la \) to laugh \( dëdà'lsìal \) 231.23 (see 4 a)

\( dzets!ë'nd \) to tear across \( dëdzets!ë'nd \) 240.3

\( dà \) to hold \( dëdà'ësz'ë \) 243.40

\( sakwa' \) to carve meat \( sësäx^*s'ë'nd \) 23.9

§ 42
(7) The vowel a when initial, or when preceded by h or y, shows many peculiarities. When accented in the distributive plural, it takes the form ae.

hae'p!oma skins, animals
'yaes'yats!e 136.5
'yaes'zuml 226.7

Here may be grouped also forms like—
alk* attendant
a'mlala to play

In the same way e accented becomes a'ya:
ha'yla youth

A transformation of initial a into e takes place in—
abe'mp mother

The same, combined with change of a into e, is found in—
a'yasö' hand

Initial o and wa take sometimes the forms ao; viz, waö.
wa'ts!e dog

Among those forms in which reduplication gradually assumes the character of change of vowel, may be classed—
wöl'dem word
wöl'dem

Quite irregular, perhaps derived from a stem wo-, is—
ömp father

§ 43. SUFFIXES REQUIRING REDUPLICATION OF THE STEM

A number of suffixes are used either regularly or frequently with reduplicated forms of the stem or with stems expanded in other ways. The general and underlying idea seems to be that of extent in time or in space by repetition. In these cases reduplication is generally by repetition of the first consonant with a vowel; but in many cases the short stem vowel is expanded into ö or into other long vowels.

§ 43
Suffixes treated in this manner are, for instance—
-\(-ap!\) each other (§ 35, no. 156)
-\(-āla\) each other (§ 35, no. 157)
-\(-āla\) becoming more and more
-\(-aaqa\) motion in a certain direction
-\(-x'ila\) to occupy one’s self with something
-\(-ōt\) fellow
-\(-em\) genuine
-\(-alā\) always acting like
-\(-k'ina\) accidental result of an action
-\(-ns\) obtained unexpectedly
-\(-deqa\) only by the performance of an action
-\(-k'awē\) among; probably meaning one among a number of objects, with emphasis of the relation to other surrounding objects.

(1) Stems with long vowel are reduplicated—
-\(sē'xwa\) to paddle
-\(q'lâša\) to cry
-\(ts!ā'ē\) younger sister
-\(nō'mas\) old
-\(q'ē\) much
-\(l!ā'sa\) seaward
-\(ēt\) again
-\(l!ō'p\) to roast
-\(nd'nd\) mind
-\(ō'ma\) chieftain
-\(qā'sa\) to walk
-\(lāx\) to stand

Here belongs also—
-\(yîza'\) fast

(2) Stems with short vowel transform it into \(ā\).
-\(mix'a'\) to strike
-\(wuła'\) to ask
-\('nemō'k\) friend
-\('sek'a'\) to spear
-\('nēq\) straight
-\('mek\) round thing is somewhere

§ 43
Here belongs also—

\( hō'ī̪ləla \) to listen \( hā'wa̱lēlagāla \) to listen to each other 26.11

(3) There are, however, also reduplicated forms with short reduplicated syllable.

\( 'lāg^u- \) to wail, to cry
\( la \) to go

\( 'k'lqwala\)la to cry together 244.36
\( le'lgāla \) to go to each other (= to quarrel)

(4) Irregular reduplication or vowel modifications are not rare.

\( yā'q!entāla \) to speak
\( wā'ja \) sweetheart
\( ts!ē'qawinter dance \)

\( ya'q!Entalato \) speak \( ye'q!Entalato \) speak together
\( wō'ī̪lāla \) sweetheart
\( ts!ē'zts!ēsīla \) to use winter dance 16.12

\( g'ōk^u \) house
\( g'ō'g'ak'awē^t \) a house in middle of other things

\( g'ūlt!a \) long
\( g'ū'glartavē^t \) a long thing in middle of other things

(5) Forms without reduplication occur also.

\( lē'nfmap! \) to quarrel together 121.13
\( hā'nlap!a \) to shoot each other
\( ē'k'aqawē^t \) good among others

(6) A peculiar form of reduplication is found with the suffix \(-mut\) refuse (§ 36, no. 181). It expresses evidently the multiplicity of pieces left over. It would seem that we have here a reduplication with lengthened stem-vowel, or with \( ē \) and with softened initial consonant of the stem.

\( sō'pa \) to chop
\( sēkwa' \) to carve meat
\( k'ā'xwa \) to chip
\( xwā'la \) to cut salmon

\( sō'yapmut \) chips (\( y \) for softened \( s \))
\( sē'yaaxmüt \) what is left over from carving (\( y \) for softened \( s \))
\( k'ā'g'axmüt \) chips
\( xwā'xutmüt \) what is left over from cutting salmon

(7) The suffix \(-eqala\) in the mind (§ 23, no. 81) generally takes reduplication with \( ē \) vowel, which is quite analogous to the form of reduplication treated in § 42.1.

\( la \) to go
\( 'nē'k' \) to say

\( ē'k'!eqala \) to feel good 123.12

There are cases, however, in which this suffix appears without reduplication.

\( ē'k'!eqala \) to feel good 123.12

§ 43
(8) The idea to eat may be expressed by verbs denoting to chew, to break, to swallow, etc., with nominal object; by the suffixes -q'es and -q' (see § 34, nos. 149, 149a) or by reduplication. The last method is most frequently used with words with monosyllabic stem. This form of reduplication differs from those previously described in that the first syllable retains the stem form almost unmodified, except by contact phenomena, while the second syllable has always an a vowel, accented and long, when the stem vowel is short, unaccented and short when the stem vowel is long. Stems ending in a consonantic cluster have also the second syllable unaccented. The syllable loses at the same time all those consonants of the terminal cluster that precede the last one.

(a) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and short vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t!eq-</td>
<td>t!eq'a dried berries</td>
<td>t!ext!ä'q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bek-</td>
<td>begwá'ném man</td>
<td>bexⁿbák'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!eq'-</td>
<td>t!exⁿsö's cinquefoil</td>
<td>t!exⁿtä'q'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leq-</td>
<td>leq!este'n seaweed</td>
<td>lexlä'q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lek-</td>
<td>Lex'sem clover</td>
<td>lex'tä'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met-</td>
<td>metláné large clam</td>
<td>mextmä't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xet-</td>
<td>xete'm (a plant)</td>
<td>xetxä't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet-</td>
<td>peta' medicine</td>
<td>petpä't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nes-</td>
<td>nesusk'í'n (a plant)</td>
<td>nes/nsa'x'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mel-</td>
<td>mél'^k' steelhead salmon</td>
<td>mextmä'lk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-</td>
<td>ale'la dentalia</td>
<td>al'läl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and long vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>To eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lás-</td>
<td>la's small mussel</td>
<td>lá'sles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sás-</td>
<td>sá'tsem springs salmon</td>
<td>sá'sses (not sá'tses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!áx-</td>
<td>tsá'we beaver</td>
<td>tsá'xt'saxu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwád-</td>
<td>gwá'dem huckleberry</td>
<td>gwá'dgud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L!ex-</td>
<td>L!ex'en sea-lion</td>
<td>L!exL'ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!éx-</td>
<td>tsé'x'inas elderberry</td>
<td>tsé'xt'sax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!és-</td>
<td>t!esem stone</td>
<td>t!estlas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwéq-</td>
<td>gwéq'y'm whale</td>
<td>gwéq'x'gwak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!és-</td>
<td>q!ésena (a berry)</td>
<td>q!ésq'las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nö'x-</td>
<td>'nö'xwa (a berry)</td>
<td>'nö'x'naq'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>löl-</td>
<td>löl'çenox' ghost</td>
<td>löl'ltal to eat a corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L!ö!l-</td>
<td>L!öwl't's elk</td>
<td>L!ö!l'l'al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 43
Stem Noun To eat—

$k'!ōt$- to stand on $k'!ō'te'la$ fish, salmon $k'!ō'tk'w$ to eat salmon
dzās- dzāle' cockle dzā'sdzas
oxōl- xōle' large mussel xōlxwal

(c) Stems ending in consonantic clusters.

Stem Noun To eat—
xams- xam's dry salmon xam'sdzas
t'ehls t'ehls crabapple t'ehlst'ūs
tse'xl- (?) tsēlxutsaxu
g'ans- q'and'n large chiton q'and'nq'ūs
g'īnl- g'īnā' Em child g'īnlg'ūl

UNREALITY (§§ 44-46)

§ 44. General Remarks

The concept that a word approaches the idea conveyed by its stem, without really being that idea, is often expressed by reduplication. Two principal forms may be distinguished: (1) the diminutive, and (2) the tentative.

§ 45. The Diminutive

The diminutive is formed by the suffix -Em, which softens the terminal consonant (§ 29, no. 110a); and by reduplication with a vowel. Generally the stem is reduplicated, but in cases of ambiguity the whole word may be reduplicated.

Irregular is sd'bayu adze; sāyōbEm, which softens its initial s to y (see § 42).

The whole word is reduplicated, and takes the suffix -Em, in—

$mē'gwa't$ seal $mā'mēgwa'dEm$
$k'!ōlōt$ purpose $k'!ā'k'!ōlō'̄dEm$
ts!eda'q woman tsā'ts!edaqEm
gē'was deer gā'gēwadEm

The same forms with added a are used to express the idea of to play with.

sā'se'wuma to play paddling
hā'na'Em to play shooting

§§ 44, 45
§ 46. The Tentative

The tentative is formed by the suffix -a, which hardens the terminal consonant of the stem (§ 33, no. 141); and by reduplication with a vowel. These forms are used both with nouns and verbs. With nouns they signify to try to get.

- xunô'kʷ child
- gwe'gʷ whale
- qskʷ wife
- lâ'z to enter
- do'kwa to troll

These forms are used both with nouns and verbs. With nouns they signify to try to get.

- xwâ'xunk'wa to endeavor to get a child
- gdâqwâk'wa to endeavor to get a whale
- ga'gek'wâ to woo
- lâ'lä'lä'la to endeavor to enter
- da'dôk'wa to endeavor to troll

The forms in -'yâla to go to look for (§ 33, no. 142) are similar in form to the preceding.

- t!èś- stone
- g'ökʷ house
- han- to shoot

These forms in - 'yâla to go to look for (§ 33, no. 142) are similar in form to the preceding.

- t!ā't!èś' yâla to go to look for stones
- gdâ'g'ök'w' yâla to go to look for houses
- hâ'nhânle'yâla to go to look for a gun

Syntactic Relations (§§ 47-69)

§ 47. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

In the Kwakiutl sentence, predicate, subject, object, instrument, cause, and purpose are distinguished. Since pronominal representatives of all nouns that form part of the sentence are used for expressing their syntactic relations, the discussion of the syntactic structure of the sentence is essentially a discussion of the pronoun.

The following pronouns are distinguished:

- Speaker 1st person.
- Speaker and person or persons addressed Inclusive.
- Speaker and person or persons spoken of Exclusive.
- Person addressed 2d person.
- Person spoken of 3d person.

The strong tendency of the Kwakiutl language to strict localization appears very clearly in the development of the third person, which is almost always combined with the demonstrative pronoun. Three positions are distinguished—that near the speaker, that near the person addressed, and that near the person spoken of; and each of these
is subdivided into two forms, according to visibility and invisibility. Therefore we must add to the five forms given before the following forms of the third person:

- Demonstrative of 1st person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 1st person, invisible.
- Demonstrative of 2nd person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 2nd person, invisible.
- Demonstrative of 3rd person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 3rd person, invisible.

On the whole, the syntactic functions of the pronominal elements which are added to the verb—as subject, object, instrumental, final, causal—are determined by certain syntactic elements that precede them. The subject has no specific character; the object has -q, the instrumental -s-. The finalis is always characterized by q, the causal by qa-. The two last-named forms are evidently closely related. The objective character -q is found only in the third person and in its demonstrative development; and the instrumental is also regularly developed only in the third person. Subject, object, and instrumental coalesce with the verb to a unit, and appear in the order here given. For instance: he strikes him with it is expressed by the combination strike—he—him—with—it, where the short dash indicates that the equivalent in Kwakiutl is a single element, while the long dash indicates phonetic coalescence.

When nouns with or without possessive pronouns are introduced in the sentence, they are placed after the syntactic and pronominal elements which indicate their functions. In these cases the phonetic coalescence of the syntactic and pronominal elements with the preceding part of the verbal expression persists, but the pronouns are phonetically separated from the following nouns. We find, for instance, the sentence the man struck the boy with the stick expressed by struck—he—the man—him—the boy—with—it—the stick. The separation between the pronoun and the following noun is justified only by the phonetic character of the sentence. In reality the whole seems to form one verbal expression. The pronoun and the following noun can not be separated by any other words. The pronoun may, however, close the sentence, and thus perform the function of a nominal demonstrative. In a few cases it may be separated from the verbal expression; namely, when a number of subjects, objects, or instruments are enumerated.

§ 47
We may revert here once more to the lack of differentiation of verb and noun. In sentences like the one just described there is a perfect freedom in regard to the selection of subject and predicate. Instead of saying *came—he—the man*, the Kwakiutl may say as well *it was—the—man—it—the coming* (257.20). The words to come and *man* may be used equally as nouns and as verbs, and by syntactic means either may be made subject or predicate.

Whenever the pronoun is followed by a noun or when used as a nominal demonstrative, its form is modified. When the noun contains a possessive pronoun, this pronoun is also incorporated in the modified pronominal form. We may therefore distinguish between purely pronominal and prenominal forms. It must be borne in mind that both are verbal in so far as they determine the function of the complements of the verb, and also because they are firmly united with the verb. The prenominal forms belong, of course, exclusively to the third person, and have demonstrative significance. While in the pronominal forms visibility and invisibility are distinguished, this division is not made in the prenominal forms. In the possessive prenominal forms the second and third persons are not clearly differentiated.

The demonstrative idea expressed in these verbal forms is supplemented by a parallel postnominal form, which is suffixed to the noun following the prenominal pronoun. These postnominal forms are closely related to the pronouns and prenominal forms, but show a certain amount of differentiation in the demonstrative of the second and third persons.

§ 48. Table of Pronouns

We may summarize these statements in the following tables:

I. VERBAL SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal.</th>
<th>Prenominal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10 —34

§ 48
II. DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

§ 40. Compound Pronouns

From these fundamental series originate a great number of forms by composition and further modification. The pronominal demonstrative forms occur as subject, object, and instrumental, and are formed, on the whole, by adding the demonstrative suffix to the personal endings. In the objective series a number of secondary changes have taken place.

II (a). PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

The demonstrative pronominal forms show an analogous development. In this case we find, furthermore, a double form, a vocalic, characterized by a terminal -a, and another one which is used preceding proper names, indefinite nouns, and possessive forms of the third person when the possessor is a person different from the subject of the sentence. For brevity's sake we will call this form the consonantic.

II (b). PRENOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

§ 49
In the Dzi‘wadéenoxu dialect, the forms -xwa and -sa do not seem to occur; and in place of -xa and -sa, we find -xeda and -seda, which are analogous to -eda of the subjective. In the Koskimo and Newettee dialects, -xa and -sa are replaced by -xê and -sê.

The possessive suffixes are also formed from the fundamental series of forms.

### III. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

#### III (a). First Person, Inclusive, Exclusive, Second Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Prenominal.</th>
<th>Postnominal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person, inclusive, exclusive</td>
<td>2nd person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>-'ina, -'ins, -'ina</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>-'ina'axa, -'ina</td>
<td>-'a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, visible</td>
<td>-'axa, -'a</td>
<td>-'a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, invisible</td>
<td>-'axa, -'a</td>
<td>-'a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person, visible</td>
<td>-'e-</td>
<td>-'a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person, invisible</td>
<td>-'e-</td>
<td>-'a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three forms for the second person for the demonstrative of the second person seem to be used indiscriminately.

In place of the double use of prenominal and postnominal possessive forms, the prenominal or postnominal demonstrative possessives alone are also in use for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive.

#### III (b). Third Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative of—</th>
<th>Possessor subject of sentence.</th>
<th>Possessor not subject of sentence.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person, visible</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person, invisible</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, visible</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person, invisible</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person, visible</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person, invisible</td>
<td>-'a</td>
<td>-'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that in the third person, when the possessor and the subject of the sentence are the same person, the instrumental -s is added to the prenominal element, leaving the postnominal demonstrative to be added to the noun. When the possessor and the subject of the sentence are different persons, the instrumental -s is added to
the postnominal suffix, leaving the pronominal elements identical with the pronominal demonstratives.

The possessive pronominal forms for the objective and instrumental are formed from the forms given here in the same manner as the pronominal demonstratives from the corresponding table (II, § 48).

§ 50. Irregular Pronominal Forms

These endings give rise to all the syntactic forms expressing the relations of subject, object, instrumental (viz, genitive), and predicate. Evidently the history of the development of these forms is a long one. This is indicated by the irregularities described in § 49, and by others which appear as soon as these endings enter into combinations. The most important irregularities are as follows:

**PRONOMINAL AND PRENOMINAL SUFFIXES**

1. The first person, when followed by the objective or instrumental, takes the form -enl. This probably represents an older form of the first person. It is the ordinary form of the first person in the Koskimo dialect, where we find, for instance, gā'xenl i came. It will be noted (Table I, § 48) that the objective forms of the first person, and those of the inclusive and exclusive, have been lost. They persist in the Hē'ldzaq dialect of Milbank sound, where we find for these forms -enla, corresponding to the -enl of the Koskimo. Examples of the form -enl will be found below, under 2.

2. The first person, the inclusive, and exclusive, when followed by the objective or instrumental of the third person, take a connective -a-; so that we find the forms -enlaq i—him, -ensaq we[incl.] —him, -enuťwaq we[excl.] —him; and -enlas i—with him, -ensas we[incl.] —with him, -enuťwas we[excl.] —with him.

hāť’maswut'ëltsōx’denlas I was asked to eat with him 480.10
(kat'm- to eat; -s- [?]; -at companion; -t[?] passive; -x'de transition from present to past)
dō'qula’mesenlabax Gwē’telax and so I saw the Northerners 473.27 (dō’qula to see; -mēs and so; -xwa obj. 2d pers. dem.; Gwē’tela northern tribes; -x 2d pers. dem.)

ène’nē’kenlabax ‘nē’mgesē I said to the ‘né’mgesē 473.26 (‘nēk- to say) lawe’lganēk’asenlas lálaēnox I am the prince of the ghosts X 131, note 3 (lawl’ganē’ prince; -k’as real; lálaēnox’ ghosts) bō’lxsda’yinlas l’e’selag’ila I am the musk-bag of mink CS 158.22 (bōl- musk-bag; -xsd hind end; -ē’ nominal; l’e’sela sun; -g’ila to make)
3. The second person takes a connective -ʔ- before the objective and instrumental of the third person; so that we have -sèq thou—him, and -sès thou—with him. With the instrumental of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, the second person forms -sètes, -sètesetsènuʔ. Examples of this kind are very rare in our texts.

4. When a nominal subject is followed by an objective or instrumental, or when a nominal object is followed by an instrumental, it takes a connective -a- analogous to that following the first person (see under 2).

\[ \text{do'afwaLs'leDza'wadalalisaxatfUcwa Dza'wadalalils saw the blood} \]
\[ 99.7 \ (dōq- to see; -a'lesla see no. 96, p. 490; elk' blood) \]
\[ \text{kwē'x'ide Q'a'nèqelakwosə. l'āq'ut Q'a'nèqēlak' spit out the} \]
\[ 99.5 \ (kwēs- to spit; (x')'id to begin; l'āq'- red) \]
\[ 'nē'x'so'læ Q'a'mtalalal Q'a'nèqēlak' it is said, Q'a'mtalalal was} \]
\[ 100.19 \ (ts! ek'la'lelæxès tâ'wunemas wâ'demas she reported to her} \]
\[ 135.28 \ (husband (with) the word 135.28) \]
\[ \text{gwē'x'ide da begwā'nenmax Lā'qulayūgua the man woke} \]
\[ 251.4 \ (gwē'x'id to wake; begwā'nen man) \]

5. Verbs which have the future suffix -l (no. 88, p. 486) generally form the subjective by the suffix -a, which takes the place of -ëda. Evidently the process of contraction by which the objective -xa and the instrumental -sa have developed from the older -xeda and -seda has affected in this case also the subjective. The second person future, when the verb has a pronominal ending, is generally -lōl instead of -lōs, which is used only as a possessive form.

\[ \text{g'ā'xla g'ing'inānemē the children will come X 17.8} \]
\[ \text{la'mox q'āl'exuto'x'wīdla tsö'tsö'max the barnacles shall show} \]
\[ \text{their heads X 97.40} \]
\[ \text{laë'ms ba'nē'nxēlōl you shall be the lowest X 91.5.} \]

POSTNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

6. Nouns ending in -a, -ē, -ā, and -d, when followed by the connective -a- (rule 4), by the postnominal -a of the third person invisible, by -ax, -aq!, and -q! of the second person invisible, and by -q! of the second person visible (Tables II, III, §§ 48, 49), take the endings -ā, -āx, -aq!, -aq!, -aq!, in place of -a, -ē, -ā, -d, followed by the ordinary endings. In nouns ending in -a, the forms -a'ya, -a'yax,
-a*yaq!-, -a*yaq!, a*yaqq, are sometimes found instead of the forms in -ā-. The forms in -a*-ya- seem to be preferred in the case of many proper names.

"nē'x'laē Qwē'smōlidzē'mgāq said Qwē'smōlidzē'mga to him 116.1
nē'las'wē L'a'qwadzē's wāldē'mas 1.L'a'qwadzē was told of his word 116.21
lā'qalē dō'awalēlē Lā'qulayūgwa'axa gō'kwē then, it is said, Lā'qu-
layūgwa saw a house 251.8
"nē'x'laē Ha'mdzidāxēs ő'mpē it is said Ha'mdzid said to his father 55.19

7. Nouns ending in -ē take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -a*-ya-, -a*-yaz, -a*-yaq!, -a*-yaq!, a*yaqq.

g'i'g'ama'tyasa Bē'lxula the chiefs of the Bella Coola 223.33
(g'i'game chief)

8. Nouns ending in -ō take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -ā, -āx, -āq!, -āq!, -āq.

lā'x'mi'a qō't!ē *yā*t!yats!ās K!wā'qaxsānāxā qā'g'ikwē K!wā'qax-
sānō's canoe was full of heads 153.33 (*la but; qō't!ā full;
*yā*t!yats!ē canoe; qā'g'ik head cut off)

9. Nouns ending in -a and -ō, when followed by the demonstrative second person visible, take the ending -x instead of -ēx.

lā'xm'den lē'x'talidē'xela lā'x'ens *nālax I have been around this our world 12.7 (*em and; -x'd past; -en I; la to go; -ǣsta around; -la continuative; -is world; -la continuative; lā to go [here prepositional]; -x'ens our; *nāла world)
we'g'a *wē'x'tidwā *mē'm'zlōx go on, carry these mountain goats 41.5 (we'g'a go on!; *wē'x'tid to carry; *mē'm'zlōx moun-
tain goat)
LE*wō'x'dla halā'yux and this death-bringer 50.36 (*ōx and; halā'yu death-bringer, means of killing)

10. Nouns ending in -a do not take the postnominal -ē of the third person (see § 56).

11. Lō and never takes the form in -ēda, except in the Dzāw-rē'nox dialect, but forms LE'wa even before common nouns (see § 49, II).

LE'wa a't'y'ilkwasā g'i'game and the attendants of the chief 159.22
LE'wa lā'k'endē LL'ēl'agēm and one hundred bear-skin blankets 223.37
LE'wa *nā'x'wa ts'ē'ls!ék!wa and all the birds 295.2
12. The -s third person possessive, when followed by an objective or instrumental, takes a terminal ē.

t'ē'm'yāsēxēs zvā'k!una his means of sewing his canoe (see p. 555, note 62)
lā'laē dā'le k!wey'i'mašēza t'vā'lasē q'īldasa then his crew took the large box 226.39 (dā'la to take, carry; k!wey'i'm crew; t'vā'las large; q'īldas box)

13. The objective -g and instrumental is -s, when followed by the temporal subordinating elements, are followed by -ē. Examples will be found in §64 (p. 547).

§ 51. Sentences with Pronominal Subjects and Objects

In sentences with a single verb and with pronominal subject, object, and instrumental, the pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb in the order subject, object, instrument.

1. Intransitive sentences:

lā'dzālen indeed I shall go 146.7 (la to go; -dzā indeed [no. 119]; -l future [no. 88]; -en I)
lā'mens we do 179.35 (la to go; -'m [no. 103]; -ens [incl.])
gā'gak'!anuxu we are trying to marry 225.43 (gęk'- wife [reduplication with a vowel and hardened terminal, tentative]; -nu'xu [excl.])
hēm'enałamles thou wilt always 182.41 (hē'menala always; -'m [no. 103]; -l future [no. 88]; -es thou)
hōqawels they go out 179.17 (hōq- to go [plural]; -wels out of house [nos. 37, 44])
gā'xg'a he [near 1st person invis.] comes
lā'mōx qōs this [near 2d person vis.] will be thine 228.42 (la to go; -'m [no. 103]; -ōx [dem. 2d person vis.]; qōs thine; -l future [no. 88])
gā'x'mōt this [near 2d person invis.] comes 370.24 (gā'x to come; -'m [no. 103]; -ōt [dem. 2d person invis.])
hē'xmēq that is it 60.6 (hē that; -'m [no. 103]; -ēq [dem. 3d person vis.])

2. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal object:

gā'gak'!inlōl I try to marry thee 97.4 (gęk'- wife [tentative § 46]; enlōl I — thee [§ 50.1])
l'elē'wa'yinlag I forgot it 102.15 (§ 50.2)
wule'nsaq we [incl.] ask him (§ 50.2)
wulā'nu'twōl we [excl.] ask thee
In place of the object of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, which are not in use in Kwakiutl, periphrastic expressions are used (see § 61).

3. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal instrumental:

lā'wad en lasik: I have him for my husband 97.20 (lāw- husband; -ad having [no. 170]; -enlas I — of him (§ 50. 2); -k- [dem. 1st person vis.])

d'yad en los I have you for my father (dās- father; -ad having [no. 170]; -enlos I of you [§ 50. 1])
lā'xulanux sēt sen thou lovest me (lā'xula love; -nuk having [no. 169]; -sēt sen thou — of me [§ 50. 3])

4. Transitive sentences with a single verb and pronominal object and instrumental. These are rare, since periphrastic expressions are preferred (see § 61).

mix'vnololas I strike thee with it (see § 50. 1)

§ 52. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs

When the verb is accompanied by a co-ordinate verb and in a few related cases the more general verb, which precedes the special verb, takes the personal endings of the intransitive verb; and when the special verb is transitive, the latter retains its objective or instrumental endings, which are suffixed to the stem.

gä'xem enu'tx'x'le'talol we came to invite thee 66.17 (gä'x to come; -m [no. 103]; -enu'tx'x' excl.]; le't'ala to invite; -ōl thee)
lā'laxens xwê'x'idtsek' should we shake with it 57.40 (la to go; -lax uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]; -ens we, xwê'x'id to begin to shake; -sek' with this)
lā'les nā't'na x'meîq thou wilt answer him 264.28 (la to go; -l future [no. 88]; -es thou; nā't'na x'meîq to answer; -l future [no. 88]; -q him)

Also—
qen g'i'wā'lol that I may help thee (qen that I; g'i'wā'la to help; -ōl thee)
qen lā'wad esik: that I marry this one (S 72.11)
§ 53. Sentences with Nominal Subject and Object

When the sentence has a nominal subject, object, or instrumental, these are placed following the prenominal forms which take the place of the pronominal forms. The noun itself takes the required post-nominal demonstrative ending.

1. Intransitive sentence with nominal subject.

'ne'x'e'la Ta'sTa'e'tsat'seg'nê Tsal'e'tst'seg'in said, it is said 31.9 ('nêk- to say; -la it is said § 32, no. 132; -ê [subj. dem. 3d person consonantic])

g'â'x'laëda ma'tô'kwê two persons came, it is said 261.33 -(g'âx- to come; -la it is said § 32, no. 132; -êda [subj. dem. 3d person vocalic])

lâ'ë'x'ozda 'nax'n¹'una'ex these blankets will go (= be given) 213.11 (lâ to go; -l future [no. 88]; -ô'zda [subj. dem. 2d person voc.]; 'nax'n¹'una'ex [nom. dem. 2d person vis.])

gô'ê'môx Wulâ'se'wëx Wulâ'sôt has come 161.27 (g'ôx- to come; -m [no. 103]; -ôx [subj. dem. 2d person cons.]; -êx [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])

hê'ë'x'la'adaga x'is'a'lar'dg'a these who have disappeared make a noise 85.31 (hê that; -k'la to sound § 34, no. 144); -g'âda [subj. dem. 1st person voc.]; x'is- to disappear; -âla continuous [§ 26, no. 92]; -x'de past [§ 25, no. 89]; -g'â [postnom. dem. 1st person invis.])

2. Transitive sentences with nominal subject and pronominal object or instrumental.

nâ'ë'x'ma'tê Xâ'nâts!emg'i'vakwaq Xâ'nâts!emg'i'vak replied to him 131.7 (nâ'ë'x'ma'tê to reply; -ê, [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -q [obj. 3d person § 50.4])

bâ'wê Qî'â'neqë'vakwas Qî'â'neqë'vak left him 169.28 (bô to leave; -ê [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; [s instr., § 50.4])

k'ë'lê'dëda bê'bëgwâ'nmes the men became afraid of him 127.21 (k'ël- to be afraid; -x'ëid [inchoative, no. 90]; -êda [subj. dem. 3d person voc.]; bëgwâ'nm man; -s [instr., § 50.4])

3. Transitive sentences with pronominal subject and nominal object or instrumental.

dâ'ë'x'ë'dêla'axalaxa le'xà'tê I took the basket (da to take; -x'ëid [inchoative, no. 90]; -niq I—it [§ 50.2]; -xa [obj. dem. 3d person voc.]; le'xà'tê basket)

t'ë'x'ëwun'asabegwâ'nm I was told by the man ('nêk- to say; -sô [passive, § 35, no. 159]; -niqas I—it by it [§ 50.2]; -sa [instr. 3d person voc.]; bëgwâ'nm man)

mê'ë'dëza bëgwâ'nm he struck the man (mix- to strike; -x'ëid [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; -ê [§ 56]; -xa [prenom. obj.])

§ 53
4. Transitive sentences with nominal subject, object, and instrument.

\[ xu'ngwadê Q!e'xwaq'ananâkwas O'ë'mag'ilisse Q!e'xwaq'ananak'\] had \( O'ë'mag'ilis\) for her child 133.11 (\textit{xunk}- child; -\textit{ad} having [no. 170]; -\textit{e} [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -\textit{as} [instr., § 50.4])

\[ yo'sèda lë'lqwala\'a'ya_qa_gwâ'znisse the tribes ate the dog-salmon with spoons 133.34 (\textit{yö'sa} to eat with spoons; \textit{lë'lqwala} tribe; \textit{gwâ'znis} dog-salmon)\]

\[ kwëx'idedâ bégwâ'\'nemazes qâ'sása t!elwaqayô the man struck the sea-otter with the club (kwëx- to strike; -\textit{x}e'd [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; \textit{bégwà'\'nem} man; \textit{qâ'sa} sea-otter; \textit{t!elwaga} to club; -\textit{ayô} instrument [no. 174])\]

\[ § 54. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs and Nominal Subject or Object\]

When there are two co-ordinate verbs, the former takes the pronominal or nominal subject, while the latter takes the nominal object and instrumental.

\[ lâ'tlaë K\'waqaxsanë_ wule'la'x 'nemô'gwisë then, it is said, K\'waqaxsanë questioned 'nemô'gwis 153.39 (\textit{la} to go; -\textit{la} it is said; -\textit{e} [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; \textit{wule'la} to question)\]

\[ lâ'len axe'd\'lxat le'esema I shall go and get a stone (\textit{la} to go; -\textit{l} future [no. 88]; -\textit{en} I; \textit{axe'd} to take; -\textit{l} future [no. 88]; -x [cons. obj.]; \textit{le'esem} stone; -\textit{a} [indef., see § 59.2])\]

\[ lâ'tlaë qla'msëda mâ'k'ilôq than the one next to her was lazy 54.24\]

\[ § 55. Sentences Containing Possessive Elements\]

When the nominal subject, object, or instrumental contains possessive elements, these are expressed by means of prenominal and postnominal endings, which take the place of the simple demonstrative elements.

\[ lâ'g'yin k\'lë'sôx'desk: this my crest will go 209.31 (\textit{la} to go; -\textit{l} future [no. 88]; -\textit{g}yin [prenom. subj., dem. 1st person, § 49]; k\'lë'sô crest; -\textit{x}d'past [no. 89]; -k' [postnominal dem. 1st person vis.])\]

\[ wule'lashës ab\'em\'pë he questioned his mother 141.37 (\textit{wule'la} to question; -\textit{xës} [pronom. obj., dem. 3d person subj. and possessor identical, § 49, III]; ab\'em\'mp mother; -\textit{e} [see § 49, III])\]

\[ lâ'was'tidë ná'qâ'yas his mind became wild 142.38 (\textit{lâ'was'tid} to become wild; -\textit{e} [dem. 3d person indef.]; ná'qâ't mind; -\textit{as} [nominal subj., dem. 3d person subj. and possessor not the same person, § 49, III])\]

\[ §§ 54, 55\]
The following examples illustrate possessive forms:

1st person, dem. 1st person, visible:

la'e'ms a'xlexg'in l'é'gemx'dik' take my past name! 125.31
ló'gun g'ó'kulu'tg'in and my tribe 451.28

1st person, dem. 1st person, invisible:

'má's'á'nawiség'in tek'-l'é'g'ak'n? what may be the matter
with my belly? 172.20

1st person, dem. 2d person, visible:

wé'g'å dô'qwalaxwa g'ó'kwaqen look at this my house! 409.38
lå'xen gene'maqen to my wife 410.33
lå'xen a'wi't'nagwisèx to my country 259.30

1st person, dem. 3d person, visible:

k'è'ë'sen wiö'l'xen wá'ldemè I did not, obtain my wish 454.3

1st person, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lå'xen g'å'g'imáx'daen to my past loans 452.1
lå'xen g'ó'kwa to my house 409.12
qwä'gwâ'yaqasen geve'maan my wife's way of going 300.33

Exclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

hà'mèk'a'yâlajemtæzg'ænæx'g g'ë'gamèk'• the food-obtaining
mask of our chief 35.38

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:

alè'wats'læxsenæx'g g'ë'gama'æx the hunting canoe of our chief
U.S.N.M. 665.12

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:

nå'qâ'yæsenæs nô'læx the heart of our elder brother 325.11

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:

lå'sand'yæsenæx'g g'ó'kwë outside of our house 120.31

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lå'xenæx'g nô'sa a'wi't'nagwisa to our country 259.41

Inclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

dô'qwaxy'ada wä'g'îns look at our river 147.37
lær'mk'• wëi'l'al'g'îns në'nemó'kwigài now all our friends
are in the house 459.16

§ 55
Inclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:
ysëns g'v'gama'ëx of our chief 453.11

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:
hä'g'a, axk-lålaxëns g'õ'kúltax go and ask our tribe 310.8

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:
vwl'demëns *nemõ'kwë the word of our friend 461.40

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:
lålëns a'wë'nagwisaëns to our country 261.12
k'õ'telag'asëns wi'wõmpdäëns this salmon of our ancestors 451.40

2d person, dem. 1st person, visible:
lä'xg'as gëne'mg'ös to your wife 234.22

2d person, dem. 2d person, visible:
läxës g'o'qumä'yaqös to your face 306.20
lålës a'wë'nagwisaqös to your country 259.39

2d person, dem. 2d person, invisible:
gâ'gak'ëlnlaxës k'ê'delqëlös I will woo your princess 119.22

2d person, dem. 3d person, visible:
ë'mis vwl'demös good is your word 259.35

2d person, dem. 3d person, invisible:
dó'qwalaxës ax'ë'xsdesö'laös see what is desired by you 409.29
lålës xunö'xë'laös to your future child 51.36

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
—dó'x'widxös xunö'kwëx (let her) see her child 134.16
—lålës yâ'tyas!ëx in his canoe 230.18

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
edëdë'x'saxës le'k'wësë they held their bows 243.40

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
lâtënsen gëg'a'desöxda k'ê'delaxës and so I have married his princess 193.35 (-tës and so; gëg'a'd to have for wife; k'ê'del princess)

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
—á'xëx yâ'nëns he took his game 294.27
—ló'xumaxa lax ó'x'sidzä'yas they rolled down to its base 19.12

§ 55
§ 56. Irregular Forms

While this system of forms is quite clear, there remain a number of irregularities in the third person which somewhat obscure its syntactical functions. This is particularly true of the forms without ending. It is difficult to decide whether they are true verbs. Similar difficulties arise in regard to the postnominal forms in -a, without ending, and in -e (see § 48, II).

The postnominal -e is used particularly with nouns terminating sentences. It is used with nouns in subjective, objective, and instrumental construction, and signifies a special emphasis laid on the noun, or the contrast between that particular thing and others; for instance, mix-ti'dezës xunó'kwë he struck his child, because it is not expected that a man would strike his child. Examples from the texts are:

- la'laø yê'laqulaë Wà'xwidë then Wà'xwid sang his sacred song
- axk.'d'laxë Në'nemö'kwë he called his friends
- gâ'xlaëda ho'x'hökë the ho'x'hökë came
- qâ'sõdë Në'nengase Grizzly-Bear-Woman went

This suffix is postnominal, not verbal, as is proved by the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative:

- grâ'x'mõx Wulâ'së'wëx Wulâ'sõ came

It does not indicate absence or presence, but is merely an emphatic demonstrative.

In other cases the verbal demonstrative of the third person -ê is used in a similar position. On account of the weakness of the terminal glottal stops, it is difficult to distinguish this ending from -ë. Still, the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative prove its verbal character.

- yû'mës la bêk'lusõz this is the woodman

It seems, that when there are two forms, and the first takes a verbal demonstrative or a possessive, the terminal word is generally a noun.

- yû'mõs va'ldëmëx this is your word

When the sentence is opened by a verbal expression without demonstrative ending, the second term is a verb.

- yû'mës yê'laaxwidayusëyõz this is his secret song

It is doubtful, in this case, whether the first word is a noun or a verb, and whether the second word should be considered a separate sentence.

§ 56
§ 57. Irregular Forms (continued)

The same is true in all cases where the verb stands immediately before its object or instrument. In these cases, when it has no demonstrative, the objective -x and -s are suffixed to it.

la mix’tiv’dxa begwā’nem he struck the man
k’e’sōx mix’tiv’d g’ā’zen this one did not strike me
löx le’qades T’le’semg’itē this one had the name Tle’semg-it 225.18

The construction is similar to that in sentences in which nouns occur accompanied by qualifying terms.

mix’tiv’deda wa’lasē begwā’nemxa q’ina’nem this large man struck the child (literally, this tall one struck, man the child). If the noun stands by itself, the -a preceding the object (§ 50.4) is retained.

Temporal suffixes are treated in the same manner.

xu’mtelsēda wa’lasdē g’ō’d’sa begwā’nem the large house of the man was burnt on the ground (xumt- to burn; -els on ground [§ 22, no. 44]; -(x’)de past; g’ōk’u house); (but xu’mtelsē g’ō’d’dāsa begwānem the house of the man was burnt on the ground [see § 50.6])

There is still another case in which a similar absence of demonstrative elements is observed. The verb may be separated from the rest of the sentence, and its place may be taken by auxiliary verbs or by verbalized nominal ideas. Then it is placed at the end of the sentence, and has either no ending, or, better, the ending -a.

la’tēm qā’s’ida then he went
la’mōx qā’s’ida then he went
le’dā begwā’nem qā’s’ida then the man went

In this position the verb can not take the ending -ē, although it may be made a noun by the appropriate prenominal demonstrative.

begwā’nemtēda qā’s’idē the man went

§ 58. Remarks on Irregular Forms

It is impossible to give a satisfactory explanation for all the peculiar usages of these endings, although the rules for their use can be stated quite definitely. The endings -ēda and -x, which in Kwā’g’ul invariably have the function of determining subject and object, may have originally performed different functions. This is suggested by the following forms: The Dzā’wadeénoxu forms -ēda and -ēda (see § 49), and the analogous forms -xg’ada, -xōxda, -sg’ada, -sōxda, of the §§ 57, 58.
Kwā'g-ul, show that the endings -g'a, -ōx, -ē, and -da are not necessarily subjective. There are also indications that originally -da was not so exclusively prenominal as we find it now. This is indicated particularly in its use with the independent demonstrative g'a, yū, hē, and the interrogative wē when. These often take the ending -da either by itself or in connection with possessive pronouns: g'a'da, yū'da, hē'da, wē'dē; and hē'den g'ōkʷ that is my house (see § 55). On the other hand, -x is used to introduce appositions and temporal determinations (see § 61). In the form yīxa it may take the place of the subject, a construction which is used frequently in the dialect of Newette: g'ā'xē, yīxa bēgwā'nenem he came, that man. In the Awī'k'ēnōx dialect of Rivers inlet it is suffixed in the same manner to the subject as well as to the object.

lā'tē yā'x-īdēla g'ō'kulyayazai the people felt bad (g'ō'kula tribe; -zai' those)

On the other hand, it does not seem probable that this dialect should have retained older forms, since it shows considerable phonetic decay in other directions.

§ 59. Vocalic and Consonantic Prenominal Forms

It was mentioned in § 49 that the prenominal demonstrative occurs in two forms, as vocalic and consonantic. The latter is used in three cases:

1. Before proper names.
lā'tlaeyā'qileg'atē lē T!āqama'ē then Tś!āqame'ē spoke 193.26
   a'yīlkwas T!e'semg'ité the attendants of T!e'semg'it 222.30

2. When a noun is used (a) in a general sense, or (b) when the existence of an object is doubtful.
   (a):
   hē'em wā'ldēms bēgwā'nenem that is the word of mankind
   g'ō'kwas g'i'gigama'ya a house fit for chiefs
   la'men wulā'zg'a bēgwā'nenmēk I ask the men in present existence
   (b):
   ă'läso'we la'e'sasa ts!e'dāq mussels are searched for by the women
   sek'ă'LENAX gwō'yī'mlāxa I shall harpoon a whale, if there is one (-lāx uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]).

On the other hand, we have la'men sek'ă'za gwō'yī'm I harpooned a whale, because the whale, after having been harpooned, is definite.

§ 59
In these cases we find generally the suffix -a for the third person demonstrative invisible, because the object is necessarily conceived in this position.

3. When the noun is followed by the possessive -s of the third person.

\[
g'ax'e\, l\acute{a}x\, \dot{g}'\acute{ow}\acute{a}sen\, \prime n\acute{e}m\acute{o}'k\acute{w}\acute{e} \text{ he came to the house of my friend}
\]

§ 60. Objective and Instrumental

The use of the objective and instrumental with different verbs shows great irregularities. On the whole, the objective is used only when the action directly affects the object; while in other cases, where a direction toward an object is expressed, periphrastic forms are used. Whenever an action can be interpreted as performed with an instrument, the instrumental is used, for which the Kwâ'g'ul has a great predilection. In many cases, however, both instrumental and objective may be used, according to the point of view taken. We find, for instance, the following instrumentals:

\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{la}'\text{men}) & \quad \text{\l\text{e}'q\text{elas} \, t\text{l\text{e}'x}'\text{ila} \, \l\text{aq} \text{ I name it "door"}} \quad 9.14 (\text{\l\text{e}'q- name}; \\
& \quad -\text{s [instr.]}; \quad t\text{l\text{e}'x}'\text{ila} \text{ door}; \quad \l\text{aq going to it}) \\
\text{\l\text{e}'g\text{ad}e\text{S} \, D\acute{a}'\text{b\acute{e}nd}\text{e} \text{ having the name of D\acute{a}'\text{b\acute{e}nd}} \quad 15.8 \\
\text{\w\text{e}'g\text{a} \, \dot{g}\acute{ow}\acute{a}'s \, 'ets\acute{e}s \, \dot{g}'\acute{a}'x\acute{i}l\acute{a}\acute{o}s \text{ mention your reason for coming}} \quad 16.10 \\
& \quad (\text{\w\text{e}'g\text{a} go on}; \quad \dot{g}\acute{ow}\acute{a}'s \, 'i\acute{d} \text{ to mention}; \quad -\text{s\acute{e}s your[instr.]}; \quad \dot{g}'\acute{a}'x \text{ to come}; \quad -\text{g}'\acute{i}l \text{ reason [no. 176, p. 508]; -}\text{a\acute{o}s your}) \\
\text{s\acute{a}'b\acute{e}nts\acute{o}x} & \text{ he overdoes this} \quad 18.1 \\
\text{\'y\acute{a}'laq\acute{a}s \, \dot{g}'\acute{n\acute{a}}'n\acute{e}m} & \text{ he sent the child} \\
\text{l\acute{e} ts\acute{a}s} & \text{ then he gave it} \quad 18.11 \\
\text{la\text{\text{e}'m} \, t\acute{e}'q\acute{w}\acute{a}'\text{l\acute{e}nt\acute{s}a} \, t\acute{e}'s\acute{e}m\acute{e}} & \text{ he put on the fire the stones} \quad 20.8 \\
\text{\w\text{e}'g\text{a}}, \text{\d\acute{e}'n\acute{z\acute{e}t\acute{s}e}n q\acute{e}'\text{md\acute{e}ma}} & \text{ go on! sing (with) my song} \quad 451.25 \\
\end{align*}
\]

All passives are constructed with the instrumentals.

\[
\text{\q\acute{a}'s\acute{e}'day\text{us\acute{a}a} \, \d\acute{a}'\text{\text{e}'l\acute{e}n\acute{o}x\acute{e}}} \text{ he was walked away with by the wolves}
\]

§ 61. Periphrastic Forms

Whenever the activity does not influence the object directly, but is rather directed toward the object, periphrastic forms, which may be termed "the locative," are used. These are formed with the verbs \text{la to go}, and \text{\dot{g}'\acute{a}'x to come}, the former being used for the second and third persons; the latter, for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, these verbs being treated as transitive verbs with objects.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la\acute{e}} \, \text{\l\acute{a}'b\acute{e}t\acute{a} laq} & \text{ then he went in to it (-}\text{b\acute{e}t\acute{a} into [no. 28, p. 465])} \\
\text{\l\acute{e}'s\acute{t}a'\text{l\acute{e}nt\acute{s}e} la\acute{z}e\acute{n}e} \, \text{\prime n\acute{a}'l\acute{a}x} & \text{ he went around our world} \quad 12.7
\end{align*}
\]
These periphrastic forms take the place of the object of the first person inclusive and exclusive (p. 536). They are also preferred whenever the verb has both pronominal object and instrumental. Then the periphrastic form generally takes the place of the object. The verbal character of these forms appears with great clearness when the verb is la to go, since in this case the verb is directly composed with the object, and thus replaces the locative, with which it is identical. The objective form is also used for all determinations of time.

\[ hê gwê'g'ilaxa gâ'genulê \] he did so every night 249.24 (hê that; gwê'g'il to do so; -xa [obj.]; gâ'genulê night)

§ 62. Causality

Causality is expressed by the element qa, which is treated as though it were a verbal stem that might be translated by to be the cause of. This stem does not lose its terminal a. It takes pronominal, prenominal, and possessive forms, just like other verbs.

\[ â'lael le'ng'aa qa'z̄s lâ'la \] it is said, he longed really the cause is his (= on account of his) sweetheart 23.12 (â'la really; -la quotative; le'ng'aa to long; lâ'la sweetheart)

\[ (la'men) le'ng'aa qa's \] I long on account of you 25.1

\[ qa's wa'idlemôs \] on account of your words 285.42

\[ lae'mtâe 'ya'x'semê nâ'qa't̄yas K!wêk!waxâ'wa't̄e qaês 'nemô'kêwê \] then the mind of K!wêk!waxâ'wa't̄e was bad on account of his friend 291.34 (la auxiliary verb; -em and; -la it is said; 'ya'x'sem bad; nâ'qê' mind; 'nemô'ka friend)

\[ qa'ÎÎn wa'idlemôlik' on account of this my future word 115.31 qaü'xe multidêlaqêx on account of these four sticks 139.22.\]

§ 63. Finality

Closely related to the causalis is the expression for finality. This form seems to occur only in nominal construction analogous to the third person demonstrative of the possessive causalis, from which it differs in the same way as the forms for visibility differ from those for invisibility. The set of forms is—

1st person . . . . . . . . qa'ns—a

Inclusive . . . . . . . . qa'ns—a

Exclusive . . . . . . . . qa'nsu'x—a

2d person . . . . . . . . qa's—aôs

3d person . . . . . . . . qa—as (possessor different from subject)

3d person qa's—a (possessor and subject the same)
It corresponds to a verbal stem $q$ with the possessive forms for absence.

$k\cdot t\cdot lw\cdot n\cdot e\cdot n\cdot l\cdot a\cdot q \ q e\ n\ e\ m\ a$ I bought her to be my wife

This finalis is very frequently used with verbs, which, however, take certain suffixes. Most often they take the ending -e, which seems to nominalize the verbal term. When, however, the verb has another pronominal suffix, as in the second person or with the object of the second person, it takes the suffix -a before the pronominal suffix. In the first person, exclusive, and inclusive, the pronoun may be repeated suffixed to the verb. In this case the idea of finality is often so weak that it is hardly more than a connective.

$w\cdot d\cdot z\cdot d\cdot e\cdot n\cdot t\cdot s\cdot o\cdot s \ p\cdot e\ u\cdot x\cdot e\cdot d\cdot e$ go on that I may taste 37.32 ($w\cdot d\cdot e$ emphatic [no. 119, p. 494]; $p\cdot u\cdot x\cdot e\cdot d\cdot e$ to taste)

$q\cdot a\cdot n \ t\cdot n\cdot e\cdot k\cdot t\cdot e$ and I say so 453.24

$\cdot y\cdot a\cdot l\cdot a\cdot g\cdot e\cdot m\cdot e\cdot n\cdot l\cdot a\cdot s \ G\cdot u\cdot l\cdot d\cdot e\cdot m \ q\cdot e\ n\ g\cdot a\cdot x\cdot x$ I have been sent by Woodpecker to come 302.24 ($y\cdot a\cdot l\cdot a\cdot g\cdot a\cdot q\cdot a\cdot t\cdot o$ to send; -em instrument [no. 173]; -nlas I by him; $G\cdot u\cdot l\cdot d\cdot e\cdot m$ woodpecker; $g\cdot a\cdot x\cdot x$ to come)

$w\cdot e\cdot g\cdot a$, . . . $q\cdot e\ n\ s\ d\cdot o\cdot q\cdot w\cdot a\cdot l\cdot e\cdot x\cdot x\ q\cdot a\cdot p\cdot a\cdot l\cdot d\cdot a\ s\ e\ n\ s$ 453.24 $t\cdot n\ e\ n\ e\ m\ o\ k\ v\ w\ e\ x$ go on, . . . that we may see the hitting of our friends 296.31 ($d\cdot o\cdot q\cdot w\cdot a\cdot a$ to be looking; $q\cdot a\ p\cdot$ to hit; -ens of our; $t\cdot n\ e\ n\ e\ m\ o\ k$ friend; -ex postnominal dem. 2d pers.)

. . . $q\cdot a\ s\ l\ a\ o\ s \ a x\ e\ d\ e$ that you go and take 465.34

. . . $q\cdot a\ s$ tap! $e\cdot d a y\ o s$ that you eat (break the shells) 284.22

. . . $q\ e n \ L\ e\ x\ s\ a l\ e\ x\ e n s$ 290.13

. . . $q\ e n$ 290.13

. . . $q e n \ e k\ a w\ i s\ q u d a h\ e$ and I take this blanket 292.3

$w\ e\ g\ a$ L\ i\ o\ p\ e\ d\ e q\ a\ s$ hamx$t\ i\ d a o s a q\ a$ go on, roast this and eat this 38.7 ($L\ i\ o\ p$ to roast; $h a m x t\ i d$ to eat)

$L\ e\ e l a x e s\ g\ o k\ u l\ o t e\ q a\ g\ a x e s$ he called his tribe to come 23.2

$a x e d e x e s$ 290.13 $q a s$ g$a x e s$ he took his kettle and came 20.8

If the verb has the first form of the third person, and takes an object or instrumentalis, the final -s is followed by an -e.

$q a$ d$e n x i d$ i$e s e s a$ g$a gak$t a$t a$t l$ay u$ w e m d e m$ that they sing the wooing songs 82.3 ($d e n x i d$ to sing; $g a k t$ wife [no. 141, p. 498]; -k$ $i l a$ noise [no. 144, p. 499]; -ayu instrument [no. 174, p. 507]; $w e m d e m$ song)

Verbs with object of the second person take the ending -a$\tilde{a}l$, corresponding to -a$\tilde{a}s$ in verbs with second person subject.

Monosyllabic verbs in -a take -$\tilde{a}$ in place of -ae, and -ay$\tilde{a}s$ or a$\tilde{a}s$ in place of -a$\tilde{a}s$.

In the future the -e precedes the future suffix, and the endings are the same as usual, -$\epsilon L$, -$\epsilon L\tilde{a}s$, -$\epsilon L\epsilon s$.

§ 63
§ 64. Causal and Temporal Subordination

Causal and temporal subordination are expressed by forms related to the foregoing. They must also be considered nominal in their character. Here the relation between personal and demonstrative pronoun is very close, the noun which expresses the subordination always appearing with the possessive pronoun of the proper person combined with the demonstrative pronoun of the same person. Subordination is expressed by the suffix -x, which takes possessive endings combined with the proper demonstrative elements. This -x may be related to the objective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>Temporal Subordination</th>
<th>Causal Subordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-xg'in-</td>
<td>ek'</td>
<td>qaxg'in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>-xg'ins-</td>
<td>qaxg'ins-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>-xg'inu'x'-</td>
<td>qaxg'inu'x'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td>-xs-</td>
<td>qaxs-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td>-xs-</td>
<td>qaxs-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In place of the suffixed temporal forms, we find also yi'xg'in, etc.

q'a'taxs 'nē'k'aa'qōs indeed, when you said 16.11
dz'a'qwaxs la'ē it was evening when he— 30.4
qaxg'in ă'lex'dek' le'ng'aa for I really long 25.1
qaxs 'nē'k'aa'qōs for you said 16.13

When the verb is transitive, the subject is combined with the subordinating -x, while the object remains connected with the verb. The subject may, however, be repeated in the verb in the same way as in the possessive (§ 49).

qaxg'in wule'la'mēg'in laq for I heard it 16.1 (wule'la to hear)
lo'xgun ts!ā'wēg'asa 'wā'ts!ēx  행사 and that I gave you this dog 39.9 (lo! and; ts!ō to give; 'wats! dog)

The ending -x undergoes the same changes as those enumerated in § 50.4, 6.

Whenever these endings follow an objective or instrumental, they take a connective -ē.

țālāsēxs la'ē 24.1 (țālās his sweetheart)
dō'z'wal ęlaqēxs wunqelaedā xup!a' he saw that the hole was deep 11.1

§ 64
It is worth remarking that in these cases there is no differentiation in the third person when the subject of principal and subordinate clauses differ and when they are identical.

la'e'm  k'.i'es  q'a'lele  Mā'xulayūgwaxs  le'ma'e  lō'le  K'wā'kwax-sānāxa  halā'yuwe  then  Mā'xulayūgwa  did  not  know  that K'wā'kwaxsānō  had  obtained  the  death-bringer  144.39  (k'.i'es  not;  q'a'lele  to  know;  lōl  to  obtain;  halā'yu  means  of  death)  k'.i'eslat'a  qā'la  qā'saxs  la'e  lāg'aa  he  did  not  walk  long  when  he  arrived  27.2  (qā'la  long;  qā'sa  to  walk;  lāg'aa  to  arrive)

The  same  forms  also  occur  without  the  subordinating  suffix  -x.  In  these  cases  the  possessive  element  is  suffixed  to  the  postnominal  demonstrative.

1st  person  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  -ēg'ın
2d  person  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  -aqös
3d  person  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  -as

k'.i'esaa'qös  gānzaxwaxa  'nā'la  you  do  not  come  in  the  daytime  (k'.i'es  not;  gāz  to  come;  -narwa  from  time  to  time  §26,  no. 95;  'nā'la  day)
lā'alsē  qā'qulayūgwa  yā'qleg-ṛata  then,  it  is  said,  Crying-Woman  spoke  261.43

§ 65. **Conditional**

The conditional is formed from the same stem qa as the causal. It takes the ending ō. In this case the first person takes the same form n.l which has been discussed in § 50. 1. The principal verb may also take the suffix ō, and is often accompanied by the suffix -lax (§ 28, no. 105), which expresses uncertainty.

Following are the conditional forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2d person</th>
<th>3d person, demonstrative, 1st person</th>
<th>3d person, demonstrative, 2d person</th>
<th>3d person, demonstrative, 3d person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qanlō</td>
<td>qansō</td>
<td>qaqō</td>
<td>qaŋō</td>
<td>qō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>qanu'u'zō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>qasō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

qasō  hamxz'ī'dza  hamg-į'layula  lōl  if  you  eat  the  food  that  is  given  to  you.  258.33  (hamxz'ī'd  to  eat,  hamg-į'la  to  give  food,  -ayu  passive  §36,  no. 174;  lōl  to  you)  qasō  k'.i'eslax  ha'ma'plaxōl  if  you  should  not  eat  262.11  (k'.i'es  not,  -lax  uncertainty,  ha'ma'p  to  eat,  -lax  uncertainty,  ōl  you  §50.5)

§ 65
§ 66. Imperative and Exhortative

The imperative of inchoative verbs is generally formed with the suffix g:\-a; that of continuative verbs, with -la.

dā'sal\-g\-a dive! 461.23

The defective forms gē\-la come! hā\-g\-a go! belong here. We find also the double form gēlag\-g\-a come!

Often the imperative is introduced by a form derived from the interjection we go on! which takes the imperative ending -g\-a or (in the future) -g\-il. In other cases the we takes pronominal endings.

In constructions with we\-g\-a, the intransitive verb takes the ending -x.

we\-g\-a 'nā'xumālax go on, cover your face! 185.35
we\-g\-il la gwā'ala\-le\-x keep ready! 242.28
wd\-entsōs q'en wuł\-a'ol let me ask you (=you [exhortative] that I ask you) 145.22

Sometimes hā\-g\-a and gē\-la are used in the same manner as we\-g\-a.

hā\-g\-a xwā'nal\-e\-x go and get ready! 114.28

Exhortatives are formed with the suffix -x:\-

we\-x\-ins wē'nam K. let us make war on K. 301.25
we\-g\-ax\-i lā'k!wēmasēs nā'qa\-yōs strengthen your mind 13.8
gwā'la\-x\-i hē\-x\-idaem q\-i\-usēs nā'qa\-yōsaq don't believe your own mind at once 269.3

Negative imperatives are always introduced by gwā'la don't! which is derived from gwē TO CEASE.

gwā'la 'nēk: don't say so! 144.35

It is quite likely that the forms in -g\-a are related to the demonstrative endings, and that the imperative is less a modal form than an expression of the immediate nearness of action.

In many cases the imperative idea is expressed by the future, either alone or introduced by we\-g\-a and gwā'la. The transitive imperative seems to be expressed always by the future.

The ending -nō\-t forms a peculiar emphatic imperative:

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gwē\-nō\-t don't! 462.18

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§ 67. Interrogative

When interrogative pronouns—*ang*—who, *ma*—what, *wi*—when, *g'in*—how many—are contained in interrogative sentences, the ordinary verbal forms are used. When these are not interrogative pronouns, the verb takes the suffix *-a*.

*’mā’sas begwā’nem?* what kind of a man are you? 147.24
*’mā’sōs Li’g’ala’saqōs?* what is standing behind you? 37.21
*a’ngwax’las?* what is on you (=is your name)? 67.31
*wi’den *wa’tslā?* where is my dog? 44.24
*’wūdzā’s g’z’x’idē?* where do you come from? 123.26

gay’nsela’mex’na? did I stay under water long? 34.19 (ga-long; -ns under water [§ 21, no. 26]; -la [contin.]; -m [connect., § 27, no. 103]; -a [interrog.]; -en I; *a* [interrog.])
k’lēd’asas yā’nemaa? have you no game? 45.27 (k’-lēd’as none; -as thou; yā’nem game; -a absent; *a* [interrog.])

*p’lep’ā’sasa* are you blind? 95.26

In interrogative sentences the voice sinks at the end of the sentence.

§ 68. Plural

When the sense requires clear expression of the pronominal plural, the suffix *-xda* is used, which is treated like other suffixes beginning with *x*, and loses this sound after consonants.

This suffix must not be considered a pronominal ending. It is attached to interjections as well as to verbs.

*’ya’x’daxa* (address of several people) 219.17
*lā’x’daxwlae* they went, it is said 266.27

§ 69. Adverbs

From what has been said before, is appears that there are very few adverbs only in Kwakiutl. A great number of adverbial ideas are expressed by suffixes, while others are verbs. To this class belong, for instance:

*ēs, k’lēs* not
*d-* really
*hal-* quickly

The only independent adverbs that do not take verbal forms, so far as they are known to me, are *elā’q* almost, and the numeral adverbs formed with the suffix *-plen*.

§§ 67-69
§ 70. VOCABULARY

Most of the Kwakiutl stems are monosyllabic, and consist either of a consonant, vowel, and consonant; or of a vowel preceded or followed by a consonant. Only a few stems consist of a short vowel followed by two consonants. Apparently there are some bisyllabic stems; for instance—

\begin{align*}
\text{a}lê'z'\text{z} & - \text{to hunt sea-mammals} & \text{a}l'\text{l}â & \text{to search} \\
\text{m}ê\text{d}ê'\text{l}q & \text{to boil} & \text{g}'\text{d}\text{o}'\text{r} & \text{to steal} \\
\text{c} & \text{h} & \text{a} & \text{e} & \text{l} & \text{a}k & \text{to strike}
\end{align*}

Owing to the great number of nominal suffixes, most nouns are derived from verbs, so that the number of primarily denominative stems is small. Examples of nominal stems derived from verbs or neutral stems have been given in § 36. A few others may be given here.

\begin{align*}
\text{l}ô's & \text{tree} (= \text{standing on ground}) & \text{m}ê\text{n}a't's'ê & \text{drum} (= \text{striking receptacle}) \\
\text{l}a'\text{t}ê'ml & \text{hat} (= \text{hanging face-cover}) & \text{m}ê\text{k}u'\text{l}a & \text{moon} (= \text{round thing being}) \\
\text{q}ô's & \text{pond} (= \text{water in it on ground}) & \text{w}ô'\text{l}a\text{s}z'ê & \text{lynx} (= \text{big toothed}) \\
\text{x}u'\text{l}g\text{w}i\text{s} & \text{shark} (= \text{rough body}) & \text{L}ô'\text{w}a\text{y}u & \text{salmon weir} (= \text{means of standing})
\end{align*}

Furthermore, many local suffixes form nouns by being attached to the nominal stem $ô$- SOMETHING, and a few related stems. We find, for instance, $ô'bâ'ë$ CHEST, $ô'z'ë'sîdžë$ FOOT OF MOUNTAIN, $ô'nëq\text{w}i\text{l}$ CORNER. Before vowels, the stem $ô$- becomes $a\varepsilon w$-; for instance, in $a\varepsilon wëz\text{s}dë$ MOUTH OF A VESSEL.

A number of nouns are found, however, which are neither descriptive nor immediately reducible to the series of local suffixes. Among parts of the body we find some that do not occur as suffixes.

\begin{align*}
e'\text{l}d\text{z} & \text{- flesh} & yôm- & \text{thumb} \\
e'k\text{w} & \text{- blood} & k\cdot!'\text{id} & \text{- third finger} \\
hap & \text{- hair of body} & së\text{lt}! & \text{- fourth finger} \\
së\text{ty} & \text{- hair of head} & a\varepsilon\text{n} & \text{- eyebrows} \\
xaq & \text{bone} & xawë'q & \text{skull} \\
\text{l}ê\text{ss} & \text{- skin} & \text{n}â'z'ë & \text{vulva} \\
k\cdot!'\text{il} & \text{- tongue} & ts\!\varepsilon\text{y} & \text{- intestines}
\end{align*}

§ 70
Other names of parts of the body occur in two forms—as independent words and as suffixes.

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<tr>
<th>Part of the Body</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>xōms</td>
<td>-xtā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>sems</td>
<td>-xsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>p!esp!eyāt'</td>
<td>-atō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>gabelo'xtō</td>
<td>-sto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>gō'gumē</td>
<td>-gēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>x'i'ndzas</td>
<td>-ilba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>g'g'a</td>
<td>-sz'ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>tekst'e</td>
<td>-ēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>a'yasō</td>
<td>-x'ō'sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>gō'gwod'yā</td>
<td>-x'ō'sīs</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A few other nouns which appear among the suffixes also exist as independent nominal stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of the Object</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>leqū</td>
<td>-spwap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>vap-</td>
<td>-sta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one side</td>
<td>ap-</td>
<td>-k'!ot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classification of verbs according to form of object is well developed. Since there are but few classificatory endings, and since their use is primarily restricted to numerals, we find many different stems used for this purpose.

A list of stems will be found in my book “Kwakiutl Texts” (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. iii).

§ 70
G'o'kulvlTe1 Tsle'qlwalolTe1 l'a'x3 c'k'l4 a'wi'nagwis'a.5
Lived it is said Heat at the above world.

G'a'x'emlTe1 Ts'le'qlwalolTe1 Le'wis7 s'a'xem8 yix9 S'e'paxae10
Lived it is said Heat and his children, that Shining-down

Lö11 Ya'q'leNTm'ayaxa11 ts'xd'q Löö G'o'xden Le'wa13 u'le14
and First-Speaker the woman and G'o'xden and the last

xunö'x'së15 D'a'doqwanagësela.16 K'le'slaë17 g'a'xë18 gëne'mas19
child his Seeing-from-Corner-to-Corner. Not it is said came

TslE'lqwalolTe1, yix9 Lë'selaga20 qa hë'në'mas21 qa'samasë22
Heat, that Sun-Woman for that one being she go-making she

Lë'selaga23 Lë'sela. Hë'q'latla24 'neq'axa25 O'manis
Sun-Woman the sun. That it is said, straight-down Omanis,

yix9 Tsle'qlwalolTe1 Le'wis7 s'a'xem. Hë'x'idaeml'lë'wis26
that Heat and his children. That began referred to it is said

1 is 3d person demonstrative (§ 22, no. 103); -laë (see note 1).
2 is 3d person demonstrative (§ 22, no. 45). This word is derived from the stem G- SOMETHING, and the suffix -naë (no. 183 a). The terminal -laë indicates that it is one of many countries (§ 59).
3 gëz TO COME; -em connective (§ 27, no. 100); -laë (see note 1).
4 lë AND, with possessive 3d person, thing possessed belonging to subject (§§ 49, III b, 55).
5 së'ém CHILDREN [plural] (singular yunö'ks, stem yunö'k-); -em. (§ 56).
6 yix THAT, consonant form preceding proper name (§ 59), objective form for apposition (§ 58).
7 hëp-TO SHINE, RAY; -ës DON (§ 21, no. 19), -ës ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45).
8 lë AND, consonant before proper name (§ 59).
9 yipë'ëen-TO TALK; -em FACE (§ 23, no. 54); -em nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 161). This takes the form -ëya before objective -ë (§ 50.6); -em objective form introducing apposition, vocalic form before common noun.
10 Lë'sele AND, vocalic form before common noun (§ 50.11).
11 ël RECENT; -em demonstrative (see note 4).
12 yunö'ks, stem yunö'-; CHILD (see note 8); -ës HIS, placed after the noun, since the subject of the sentence Le'wa dë yunö'ksa is dëë, while the possessor is Heat (see § 49, III 1 b); -ë EM indefinite pronoun before proper nouns (§§ 49, 59).
13 dë'këe TO SEE; dëd'qëe TO ENDAVOR TO SEE. The rest of the name is not quite clear.
14 kë-ëë NOT; ëëa (see 1). This is a verbal form.
15 gëz TO COME; there is no ëm here, because this is a new idea that is introduced into the tale; -ëm consonant, pronominal (§§ 49, 59).
16 gëne'm, stem gëg-; WIFE; -ëm (§ 36, no. 193 a); -ëm possessive before proper name (§ 59).
17 Lë'le-HEAT; Lë'leis SUN; -ëm WOMAN (§ 36, no. 192).
18 që ON ACCOUNT OF; hë THAT ONE; -ën abstract noun, QUALITY OF; -ëm (§ 27, no. 103); -ëm possessive third person.
19 gës- TO WALK; -ëmas TO CAUSE (§ 35, no. 158); -ë EM demonstrative (§§ 49, 59).
20 -ëa definite object (§ 49).
21 hë THAT; -ëa IT IS SAID (§ 32, no. 132); -ëa HOWEVER (§ 27, no. 101).
22 yipë'ëm-Straight (i.e., to come straight down); hë is here subject; -ëa indicates the apposition explaining the hë THAT.
23 hë THAT; -ëd'ënd inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -ëm connective (§ 27, no. 103); after the inchoative this suffix requires always a connective -ëa (see note 1); -ëm-ëlS AS AND SO (§ 27, no. 104).
G'e'xden went walk-began to the Bent-Bay its name. 

Then it is said

He discovered the ten long canoes hollow things at it. Then it is said

He hid back of them, then referred to and so he went

at landward of the canoes.

G'e'xden dux'wult'lis. Then it is said jumped out of woods to them.

then referred to it is said and so he went

one person man: "What your work moving on G'e'xden?"

was told it is G'e'xden. Then it is said he replied: "I am trying to get a magical treasure

from you." Then it is said asked G'e'xden the man:

"What tribe are you?" Then it is replied the man to him:
"We are killer-whales. It split this this hunting canoe of our chief here."

Then it is said that the cedar-wipes was broken. Then it is told about his material for his canoe when it said:

"Go get the "

Then It is asked about his material for his canoe when it said sewing:

"Go get the "

Then It is told of cedar-wipes:

"Go get the withes."

Then It is started. Not it is said however,

"Go get the withes."

Then It is sent (with) the one person man that he go take the twisted-on-beach.
La'le'da 79 begwa'nem dze'lx'wida. 88 K'les'atlax 73 ga'laax 73 g'a'xa 74 Then it is said the man began to run. Not it is said, long when he came however, 
d'a laxa 75 se'lbes. 85 La'le'da begwa'nem te'lnx'zida 87 xwa'k'luna. 83 carried the twisted-on- 
beach. Then it is said the man began to sew the canoe. 
La'le'da 30 dz'a'semtse 88 gwel'e'k'g 89 la'xes 90 tle'ma'xe'c 91 Lae'm 92 Then it is said 
it was he rubbed on its gum on his sewing. Then 
gw'la'a. 88 La'le'da 30 g'gama'yasa 94 ma'x'eno'xu 97 yix 9 He'li'lag'ilis. 95 It was finished. Then it was the chief of the 
killer-whales, that Moving-all-over-the-World, 
he'em 96 Le'gema'sa 97 g'gama'yasa 94 maa'mx'eno'xu 96 "La'mox 99 that was the name of the chief of the 
killer-whales: "It here 
l'len 100 xu'g'halax 101 ma'st0 102 la'x0x 103 G'e'xden qa 104 sek'l'aso'xa 105 will go my 
quartz-pointed harpoon to this G'e'xden that he speared with 
gwo'yim; 106 he'mis 107 Le'legema'sa 109 Me'nose'las, 109 L0 11 lethal Me'nemen- 
whale; that (and the names of Place-of-getting-and 
Feeling) 
leqalas, 110 Le'wis 7 g'o'x'laos 111 ma'x'eseq'halas 112 g'o'x'laos. 111 Satiated, and (your) house (your) killer-whale on front house your will be (your) 
La'le' 113 ma'x'eno'xu'laos 114 lo'qullalaos; 116 he'mis 107 hal'a'yu 116 L0 11 lethal instrument 
will be your killer-whale will be future dish in that and killing and 
will be your 
house house your; so it is 
qula'sta 117 Le'wa 118 xu'e'lx'en 119 xuda'yu 120 qats 121 sex'xu'alaos. 121 life water and the quartz- 
toothed knife for butcher-knife."

---

86 dz'e'em- to run; -xEd inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
87 te'em- to sew boards; -xEd inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
88 dz'k- to rub; -g'mand rack (§ 23, no. 54; also § 24, no. 85; § 20, no. 2); -sE prenominal intransitive 
vocalic.
89 gw'le'k'- gum.
90 See note 3; -sE objective possessive 3d person; owner and subject name person.
91 te'em- to sew boards; -xEd (§ 26, no. 101); -t demonstrative.
92 la, see note 30; -em (§ 27, no. 103).
93 gwa'- stop; -o'a continuous (§ 26, no. 92).
94 g'gama' chief (see note 60); -sE possessive prenominal vocalic.
95 he' right; -i'la about (§ 21, no. 5); -e on beach (§ 22, no. 45); -g'mand in world (§ 38, no. 197).
96 he' that (see note 24); -en (§ 27, no. 103).
97 L0- NAME; -k'm nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 103); -sE definite possessive (§§ 49, 59).
98 Reduplicated plural (§ 42.5).
99 Prenominal 2d person visible.
100 L- future; -en I.
101 xu'ul quartz; -ba point (§ 21, no. 31); -la nominal; -x postnominal, 2d person, visible.
102 Harpoon.
103 Periphrastic, 2d person visible, consonant (§§ 48, 49).
104 The subject changes, hence the -s follows the verb.
105 sek'- to speak; -sE continuous; -sOx with this, 2d person, visible (§§ 48, 49); -sE object.
106 Stem -wix'.
107 -in-wis (§ 28, no. 104).
108 L0- NAME; -k'm nominal suffix; reduplicated plural.
109 men'- satiated; -ok'a (?) -sE place of.
110 Land satiated; -ok'a to feel like - (§ 23, no. 81).
111 g'o'k' house; -l future; -o'a thy, invisible 2d person possessive (§ 48).
112 xeg'a front of house (§ 23, no. 52); -l future; -sE 2d person, prenominal possessive (§ 48).
113 -l future; -sE demonstrative.
114 L future; -sE 2d person, prenominal possessive.
115 lo'qu- disiit; -in house; -o'a (see note 111).
116 hal'to kill (He'ldia'q' dialect); -ayu instrument.
117 q'ula life; -sta water (§ 22, no. 39).
118 See note 13.
119 xEd tooth (see p. 478, no. 62).
120 xEd to cut blubber; -ayu instrument.
121 sek'- to carve; -sEd tooth; -l future; -o'a thy, postnominal.
Heat lived in the upper world. Heat came with his children,—Shining-Down and First-Speaker, a woman, and G'e'xdEn, and his youngest child, Seen-from-Corner-to-Corner. The wife of Heat, Sun-Woman, did not come, for she is the one who makes the sun go. Heat and his children came straight down to O'manis. At once G'e'xdEn went to Bent Bay. There he discovered ten canoes on the beach. He hid behind them landward from the canoes. Then G'e'xdEn jumped out of the woods. Then one person spoke. "What are you doing on the beach, G'e'xdEn?" Thus G'e'xdEn was told. Then he replied, "I am trying to get a magical treasure from you." Then G'e'xdEn asked the man, "To what tribe do you belong?" The man answered him, "We are Killer-Whales. The hunting-canoe of our chief is split." Then G'e'xdEn was asked what he used to sew his canoe with when it was broken. He mentioned cedar-withes. "Go and get cedar-withes!" G'e'xdEn was told. He started, and it was not long before he came, carrying cedar-withes, which he gave to the man. Then the man tore to pieces the cedar-withes. "Why are they so weak?" Then the man sent a person to go and get "twisted on beach." The man ran away; and it was not long before he came, carrying "twisted on beach." Then the man sowed the canoe. He rubbed the outside of his sewing with gun. Then it was finished. Then the chief of the Killer-Whales, Moving-All-Over-the-World,—that was the name of the chief of the Killer-Whales,—(said), "This, my quartz-pointed harpoon, will go to G'e'xdEn; and the names Place-of-getting-Satiated and Feeling-Satiated, and your house with a killer-whale (painting) on the front, will be your house; and your dish will be a killer-whale dish; and the death-bringer and the water of life and the quartz-edged knife, which is to be your butcher-knife (shall be yours)." Then the Killer-Whale started. G'e'xdEn came and returned to his house. Then he speared whales and sea-otters. Therefore he became a chief.
CHINOOK

BY

FRANZ BOAS
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<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 53</td>
<td>Diminutive and augmentative consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Syntax</td>
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<td>§ 55</td>
<td>Syntax of Lower Chinook</td>
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<td>650</td>
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<tr>
<td>§§ 57–60</td>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>655</td>
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<td>§ 57</td>
<td>Onomatopoetic terms</td>
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<td>Verbal stems</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The Chinookan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects which were spoken along both banks of Columbia river from the Cascades to the sea, and some distance up the Willamette valley. The Chinook were neighbors of tribes belonging to many linguistic stocks. In Shoalwater bay and on the lower course of Columbia river, along its northern bank as far as the Cascade range, they came into contact with tribes of the coast division of the Salishan family. On the upper course of Willapa river they were contiguous to a small Athapascan tribe; farther to the east they were surrounded by Sahaptin tribes; in the Willamette valley they bordered on the Molala and Kalapuya. On the southern bank of Columbia river, opposite Cowlitz river, lived another Athapascan tribe whose neighbors they were; while south of the mouth of Columbia river they bordered on the Tillamuk, an isolated branch of the Coast Salish.

The language was spoken in two principal dialects, Upper Chinook and Lower Chinook. The former was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas which were spoken on the lower course of the Columbia river and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram which were spoken in the region of The Dalles. The Lower Chinook includes the Clatsop dialect on the south bank of the river (from Astoria downward) and the Chinook proper of the north bank from Grays harbor down, and on Shoalwater bay. The last-named dialect is discussed here.

The name Chinook (T'shinu'k) is the one by which the tribe was known to their northern neighbors, the Chehalis.
The grammar of the Chinook language has been discussed by Horatio Hale,1 Friederich Müller,2 Franz Boas,3 John R. Swanton,4 and Edward Sapir.5

Unless otherwise stated, references in the following sketch refer to page and line in Franz Boas, Chinook Texts.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-13)**

**§ 2. Vowels**

The phonetic system of Chinook is characterized by a super-abundance of consonants and consonant-clusters combined with great variability of vowels. Since practically all our information on the Lower Chinook has been derived from one single individual, the last survivor capable of giving intelligent information, there remain many uncertainties in regard to the system of sounds. My informant was in the habit of changing the position of the lips very slightly only. There was, particularly, no strong forward movement of the lips in the vowel u and the semivowel w. This tendency has been observed in many Indian languages and was probably characteristic of all Chinook speakers. For this reason the u and o sounds are very slightly differentiated. Obscure vowels are frequent and seem to be related to all long and short vowels.

The system of vowels and semivowels may be written as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthong</th>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
<th>Diphthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>u o ō ā ē (ē) ī ȳ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>u o (ō) ā ē (ē) ī ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ū ŏ ā ā̄ ā̄ ā̄ ā̄ (ū̄)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the o and u sounds are indistinct, owing to the similarity of lip-positions, the e and i sounds seemingly alternate in accordance with the character of the adjoining sounds. They assume a decided i tinge by contact with a following a, or when following an anterior palatal. There is no strong retraction of the lips, but a considerable

---

1 Wilkes Expedition, Ethnography and Philology, 562-564. See also Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, ii, xxiii-cxxxvii; Hale's Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.
linguo-palatal constriction. In the short vowel the i character is rather accentuated. In the long vowel the e character predominates, unless contact and contrast phenomena emphasize the i character. ø seems to occur only with k sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short a. å is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoetic words. ê and å are also of peculiar character. å seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of ê (as in å’ka for ê’ka), or an onomatopoetic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. The a series is related to the o and u series in so far as a may be transformed into o or u, while e and i can never be thus transformed. We will designate the o and u sounds as u-series and the e and i sounds as i-series. The only diphthongs that occur are au and ai. Doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short i and u when preceding vowels have always consonantic values.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonants consist of labials, dentals, and a very full series of palatals. There are also a number of l sounds. I did not succeed, however, in distinguishing these satisfactorily. There is also much confusion regarding surds and sonants, not only because the sonant has greater stress than our sonant, but also on account of the occurrence of a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lip-closure, which is therefore intermediate between b, m, and w, with prevalent m character. Between vowels the sound approaches a b. The occurrence of d is also doubtful. Each stop occurs as fortis and surd.

The series of consonants may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Spirant</th>
<th>Seminusal</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Semi-vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>(g?)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q!</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k!</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>(g'?)</td>
<td>k*</td>
<td>k'!</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>(d?)</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t!</td>
<td>s, c</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(l)</td>
<td>(y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dento-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p!</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l!</td>
<td>l, l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 3
The alveolar s, c, and the affricative ts, tc, are pronounced with open teeth. The two m's are not distinguished, since the former occurs only before vowels. It is doubtful if they represent two really distinct sounds.

The glottal stop and the velar surd are closely related, the former often taking the place of the latter. An omission of a q after a stop transforms the latter into a fortis. I have placed l and n in the same line, on account of their frequent alternation. Since the glottal stop, velars, palatals, and anterior palatales have certain peculiarities in common, we will designate them as k sounds. The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial palatal k and the velar q appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as kx and qx.

The language admits of extensive consonantic clusters, and I have not been able to discover any sequence of consonants that is inadmissible except that clusters consisting of a stop followed by m and n seem to be avoided.

§ 4. Phonetic Laws

Nevertheless we find complex phonetic laws. These may be classed in nine groups:

1. Effects of accent.
2. Laws of vocalic harmony.
3. Laws of consonantic assimilation.
4. Vocalization of consonants.
5. Vowel changes.
7. Dieresis.
8. Contraction.
9. Weakening and strengthening of consonants.

Only the first two of these laws are purely phonetic, while the others are restricted to certain grammatical forms. Groups 2–5 are changes due to contact phenomena.

Effects of Accent (§§ 5, 6)

The accent affects the character of the vowel upon which it falls and modifies consonants in so far as certain consonants or consonantic clusters are not tolerated when they precede the accent. On the whole, these changes are confined to the Lower Chinook, but they occur also in part in the western dialects of the Upper Chinook.

§ 4
§ 5. *Vocalic Changes*

1. Vocalic changes consist in the introduction of an e in an accented consonantic cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The e is inserted after the accented consonantic stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

   a-te'e'-l-a-x he made it (a- aorist; te- he; l- it; -a directive; -x to do)
   a-ge'e'-l-a-x she made it (a- aorist; ge- she; l- it; -a directive; -x to do)
   te'e'-kemôn ashes (t- plural gender)

2a. Accented short u, when followed by m, n, or l which are followed by vowels, becomes uā'.

   iā'gunat his salmon       iguā'nat salmon
   tqulipxunā'yu youths     iqulipx youth

2b. Accented e and short a, when followed by m, n, or l which are followed by vowels, become a. The short vowels i and u, when followed by vowels, have consonantic values and affect preceding e and a in the same manner.

   icā'yim grizzly-bear
   xā'pēnic giving herself in payment to shaman
   aqtā'witz he gives them to them 249.13

Accented i followed by an a or u vowel becomes āy.

   atciā'x he is accustomed to make him
   mlopiā'lx you will gather it aqiupā'yax she gathered him

Here belong also the terminal changes of e in plural forms:

   i'ck'alē clam basket       lck'alē'yuks clam baskets
   òcü'e'ē frog               tcü'e'yuks frogs

Compare with this the following cases, where n and l belong to consonantic clusters:

   nēce'lsōkō he awoke
   me'nx'i a little while

In one case e accented changes to ā before x:

   lla'lex bird       tla'lex birds

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.
§ 6. Consonantic Changes

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

1. A k following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative $\xi$.

$\xi$'tsekk middle
$\xi$e'ltcusk flint

2. When the vowel following the cluster $\xi$ is accented, the $x$ is dropped.

$\xi$'lxam town
$\xi$o'lxam he said to him
$\xi$k'o'lxul mouse

3. In words in which a q follows the accented syllable it changes to $\xi$ when the accent shifts to a syllable following the q. When the q follows the surds p and t, these are changed to the corresponding fortis:

$q$auwilqt its blood
$q$e'g'el creek
$q$uqaleptckix' his fire
$q$ana' its beavers

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the q, when the vowel following the q is short.

$q$o'q'al fish-weir

These changes mark a phonetic differentiation of Upper and Lower Chinook. In Upper Chinook the q is preserved almost throughout; while in Lower Chinook it tends to be replaced by the glottal stop $\xi$, when following p and t by the corresponding fortis,—whenever the accents stand after q, or when it is followed by a short syllable, or when it is terminal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chincuck</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vaw'yaq</td>
<td>o'ya'</td>
<td>his mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lia'paqa</td>
<td>lia'pa'a</td>
<td>his nape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isem'elq</td>
<td>isa'mel'e</td>
<td>nose-ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe'poqte</td>
<td>qe'poqte</td>
<td>beam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'a'qoit</td>
<td>ti'wit'</td>
<td>his legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqu'le</td>
<td>tlol'</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the q.

qotq head
q'elqelq porcupine

§ 6
Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal $x$ and $x'$, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

Here is an example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imō'leks'm</td>
<td>imō'leks'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqa'lema</td>
<td>tła'lema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā'lnē</td>
<td>mā'lnē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook $t$ to Lower Chinook $s$, as in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tqa'dotinikc</td>
<td>tqa'sosinikc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anix'ennemō'txēm</td>
<td>anix'ennemō'sx'ēm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and from Upper Chinook $s$ to Lower Chinook $t$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathlamet</th>
<th>Chinook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ē'mas</td>
<td>ē'matct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anō'suwulct</td>
<td>anō'tctuwulct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 7. Laws of Vocalic Harmony

When a $u$ vowel precedes a $k$ sound, and the $k$ sound is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be followed by a vowel of the $u$-series. The following special cases may be distinguished:

1. An obscure vowel following the $k$ sound is transformed into short $u$.

   $ō′pLʼike$ bow  $ōgu′pLʼike$ my bow (with prefix $-ge-$ my [§ 18])

2. A following a $k$ sound is transformed into $o$ or $u$.

   $ik′čč'ke$ boy   $ōk′očč'ke$ girl
   $ikani′m$ canoe  $ōkani′m$ canoes

3. An $e$ sound following a $k$ sound requires a $u$ before the $e$ sound.

   $alq′e′pxatē$ alder country  $ōgu′e′pxatē$ alder-bark tree
   $L′e′gil$ a woman         $ō′ōgil$ the woman

4. If the $k$ sound is a prefix, it is considered as a phonetic unit and an $o$ is inserted following the $k$ sound, even if it is followed by a consonant.

   $nā′xLxa$ she begins to burn  $nō′xōLxa$ they begin to burn
   $ē′ktc̕ama$ he sang       $ō′ktc̕ama$ they sang

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonantic clusters that form a stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>atcō′ktctamit</th>
<th>ēkt louse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(stem -ktct)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 8. Consonantic Assimilation

It is doubtful whether there is a single case of consonantic assimilation that is purely phonetic, not dependent on the grammatical value of the consonants involved. For instance, the assimilation of l by preceding and following n, observed in nō'pōnem IT GETS DARK (from ō'pōl NIGHT), finds no strict analogies in other similar sound groups. An assimilation of l by preceding n is found whenever the l is a frequentative suffix (§ 31).

\[\text{aksō'pena he jumps} \quad \text{aksō'penan he jumps about} \quad \text{(instead of aksō'penal)}\]

What is apparently an assimilation of l by preceding n is also found in cases of insertion which occur with the suffix -l (see § 31.8).

§ 9. Vocalization of Consonants

1. l and n show a peculiar behavior when occurring in the prefixes -gel-, -sel-, and -el; or the corresponding -gen- and -zen (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by o, the l and n become ē, so that the prefixes assume the forms -(o)goē-, (o)zoē-, -(o)wĕ.

\[\text{agīge'lxēm she called him} \quad \text{nōgoēxē'ma I shall call them}\]
\[\text{axēnō'tēn he helped sing} \quad \text{nōzoēxō'tēn they helped sing}\]

In other cases the combinations kul and kōl are admissible, as in

\[\text{ōkō'lēul mouse} \quad \text{ōkula'm surf}\]

2. The intransitive t of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes o before all k sounds, and also before adverbial l and n (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix -o- (§ 26), when accented and preceding a k sound or a w, becomes a.

\[\text{aniō'cgam I took him} \quad \text{aniā'wa* I killed him}\]

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

\[\text{igīō'waq (Kathlamet), agīā'wa* (Chinook) she killed him}\]

Unaccented o does not change in this position.

\[\text{ā'noxtk I steal her} \quad \text{ayowā'x̌'it he is pursued 261.1}\]

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, -ako and -l combined form -alukl (§ 30).

§§ 8–11
§ 12. Dieresis and Contraction

1. Dieresis is confined to the formation of a few verbal plurals, in which the vowel is expanded by insertion of the syllable -yu. Presumably the expansion is related to the dieresis of accented i (see § 5). It seems, however, quite possible that this is really a suffix -yu indicating the distributive. (See § 38.6.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-xö't</td>
<td>-xö'yut to bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-xelatch</td>
<td>-xeläyutck to rise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. A short a, when preceding or following å and ä, is contracted with these vowels, which remain unchanged. In the same way i is contracted with a following i or i.

āc she is (instead of a-āc)  ē'lpam country (instead of atciungō'mit he causes him to run (instead of atciungō'-amit)

§ 13. Weakening and Strengthening of Consonants

A modification of significance is brought about by a modification of consonants. This phenomenon was discovered by Dr. Edward Sapir in Upper Chinook, but it occurred undoubtedly also in Lower Chinook. The relation of consonants in Upper Chinook is as follows:

- b, p hardened become p! p, p! softened become b
- d, t hardened become t! t, t! softened become d
- g, k hardened become k! k, k! softened become g
- g, q hardened become k! g, q! softened become g

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

- tc! hardened becomes ts! s softened becomes c
- tc hardened becomes ts ts softened becomes tc
- c hardened becomes s, ts ts! softened becomes tc!
- ts hardened becomes ts!

The hardened x becomes x. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

According to their grammatical forms, Chinook words may be grouped in two large classes—syntactic words and particles. While the former, except in exclamations, always contain pronominal and other elements that define their function in the sentence, the latter occur as independent and isolated words. The elements of the syn-

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1 See Edward Sapir, l. c., 537.
tactic words are often phonetically weak, and consist sometimes of single consonants, of consonantic clusters, of single vowels, or of weak monosyllables. In combination these may form polysyllabic words. The particles are necessarily of such phonetic character that they can stand by themselves. For these reasons, both classes of words appear as fixed phonetic and formal units, so that in Chinook there can be no doubt as to the limits of words.

The grammatical processes applied with these two classes of words differ. Some of the particles may be duplicated, while duplication and reduplication never occur in syntactic words. Particles when transformed into syntactic words may, however, retain their duplications. Syntactic words are modified by means of prefixes and suffixes and by modification of the stem, which, however, is probably always of phonetic origin. Prefixes are much more numerous than suffixes, but are phonetically weaker, rarely consisting of more than a single sound. They appear in considerable numbers in single words. Six prefixes in one word are not by any means unusual. The number of suffixes that may appear in combination is more limited. They are phonetically stronger. More than two or three suffixes are rarely found in one word.

Word-composition is not infrequent. However, some of the elements which enter into composition rarely appear alone, or rather, combined with syntactic elements only. They represent principally a definite group of local ideas, and therefore give the impression of being affixes rather than independent stems. These words are, for instance, motion into, out of, up, down (see § 27). Setting aside compound words of this class, composition of independent stems, or rather of stems which are used with syntactic elements only, is infrequent. Nouns are, however, largely of complex origin, and in many of them stems and affixes may be recognized, although the significance of these elements is not known to us.

The position of the word is quite free, while the order of the constituent elements of syntactic words is rigidly fixed.

§ 15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

In discussing the ideas expressed by means of grammatical forms, it seems best to begin with syntactic words. All syntactic relations of these are expressed by pronominal and adverbial prefixes. Syn-
tactic words may be divided into three classes that receive different treatment—transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and nouns. All of these have in common that they must contain pronominal elements, which in the first class are subjective and objective, while in the other two classes they are objective (from the Indo-European point of view, subjective). The noun is therefore closely associated with the intransitive verb, although it is not identical with it. It retains, to a certain extent, a predicative character, but is in form partly differentiated from the intransitive verb.

The differentiation of transitive and intransitive is contained in the pronominal elements. The subject of the transitive differs in some cases from that of the intransitive, which is in form identical with the objective form of the transitive.

The relations of nouns are expressed by possessive pronouns, which seem to be remotely related to the subjective transitive pronouns. Owing to the predicative character of the noun, the possessive form has partly the meaning having.

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may contain indirect pronominal objects. These are expressed by objective pronouns. Their particular relation to the verb is defined by elements indicating the ideas of for, to, with, etc. The possessive relations of subject and object—i. e., the possession of one of the objects by the subject, or of the indirect object by the direct object, and vice versa—are also expressed.

All the syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of the sentence must be expressed by means of pronominal and adverbial elements incorporated in the verb, so that the verb is the skeleton of the sentence, while the nouns or noun-groups held together by possessive pronouns are mere appositions. Certain locative affixes which express the syntactic relations of nouns occur in the dialect of the Cascades; but these seem to have been borrowed from the Sahaptin.

The function of each pronominal element is clearly defined, partly by the differentiation of forms in the transitive and intransitive verbs, partly by the order in which they appear and by the adverbial elements mentioned before.

In the pronoun, singular, dual, and plural are distinguished. There is an inclusive and an exclusive in dual and plural, the exclusive being related to the first person. The second persons dual and
plural are related to the second person singular. The third person singular has three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and a single form each for dual and plural. These forms are not only true sex and number forms, but agree also with a generic classification of nouns which is based on sex and number.

The nominal stem itself has no characteristic of gender, which is expressed solely in the pronoun. The sex and number origin of the genders is clear, but in the present status of the language the genders are as irregularly distributed as those of Indo-European languages. These genders are expressed in the incorporated pronominal representative of the noun, and since there is generally sufficient variety in the genders of the nouns of the sentences, clearness is preserved even when the order of the nouns in apposition is quite free.

Besides the sex and number classes we find a classification in human beings on the one hand and other beings and objects on the other. These are expressed in the numeral, the demonstrative, and in plural forms of nouns.

It was stated before, that, in the pronoun, duality and plurality are distinguished. In the noun, a true plural, not pronominal in character, is found only in some words. These were evidently originally the class of human beings, although at present the use of this nominal plural is also irregular. Furthermore, a true distributive is found, which, however, has also become irregular in many cases. Its original significance is discernible in numeral adverbs (§ 38). A distributive is also found in a small number of verbal stems.

There are few nominal affixes of clear meaning, and very few that serve to derive nouns from verbal stems. There are only two important classes of verbal nouns which correspond to the relative sentence the one who—and to the past-passive relative sentence what is —ed; of these two the latter coincides with ordinary nouns, while the former constitutes a separate class. Still another class contains local nouns, where— (§ 40).

Demonstrative pronouns form a class by themselves. They contain the personal pronouns of the third person, but also purely demonstrative elements which indicate position in relation to the three persons, and, in Lower Chinook, present and past tense, or visibility and invisibility.

Only a few modifications of the verb are expressed by incorporated elements. These are the temporal ideas—in Lower Chinook those of § 15.
future and perfect and of the indefinite aoristic time, to which are added in Upper Chinook several other past tenses. In some cases these temporal elements express rather ideas that may be termed transitional and continuative. There is a series of semitemporal suffixes expressing the inchoative and varieties of frequentatives; and also a number of directive prefixes, which seem to express the direction of the action in relation to the speaker.

All other ideas are expressed by particles. A somewhat abnormal position among these is occupied by the numerals from 2 to 9 and by a very few adjectives. These numerals are nouns when they are used as ordinals; when used as adjectives, they are generally particles; when referring to human beings, they are nouns of peculiar form (§ 51).

Most remarkable among the particles is a long series of words, many of which are onomatopoetic and which are mostly used to express verbal ideas. In this case the verbal relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb which signifies to do, to make, or to be. These words exhibit a gradation from purely interjectional terms to true adverbial or, more generally, attributive forms. They are analogous to our English forms like bang went the gun, or ding dong made the bells, and merge into forms like he was tired. If we imagine the word tired pronounced with imitative gestures and expression, it attains the value that these particles have in Chinook. The number of these words is considerable, and they take the place of many verbs. Most of them can be used only with verbs like to do and to go. Other adverbs differ from this class in that they are used with other verbs as well. There is no clear distinction between these adverbs and conjunctions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 16-56)

Syntactic Words (§§ 16-45)

§ 16. Structure of Syntactic Words

All syntactic words contain pronominal elements which give them a predicative character. A few seem to contain only the pronominal element and the stem, but by far the greater number contain other elements besides. Most words of this class are built up by composition of a long series of elements, all of which are phonetically too
weak to stand alone. The most complex of these words contain all the elements of the sentence. Their order is as follows:

1. Modal element (transitional, participial).
2. Pronominal elements.
   (a) Subject.
   (b) First object.
   (c) Second object.
3. Following one of these may stand an element expressing the possessive relation between the subject and the objects.
4. Adverbial prefixes.
5. Direction of verbal action.
6. Verbal stem, single or compound.
7. Adverbial suffixes.

These elements are, of course, hardly ever all represented in one word. Following are a few characteristic examples of these words:

\[a-m-l-a-x-cg-d'm-x\] thou wert in the habit of taking it from her
- a- aorist (1, see § 17)
- m- thou, subject (2a, see § 18)
- l- it, object (2b, see § 18)
- a- her, second object (2c, see § 18)
- x- indicates that it belongs to her (3, see § 24)

Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.

- cg- stem to take (6)
- am completive (7a, see § 29)
- x usitative (7b, see § 32)

\[tc-t-a-l-ö'-t-a\] he will give them to her
- tc- he, subject (2a, see § 18)
- t- them, object (2b, see § 18)
- a- her, second object (2c, see § 18)
- l- to (4, see § 25)
- ö- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)
- ot- stem to give (6)
- a future (7, see § 32)

Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disappear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

\[l-ö-c\] it is
- l it, subject (2a, see § 18)
- ö- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)
- c stem to be, singular (6)

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Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

\[ te-n-x_{\text{E}}-l-\dot{a}'-x-\ddot{a} \] they will be on me

\( t(\ddot{e}) \) - they, subject (2a, see § 18)

\( n- \) me, indirect object (2c, see § 18)

\(-z(\ddot{e})\) - indicates that THEY belong to ME (3, see § 24)

\(-l\) - to (4, see § 25)

\(-\ddot{a}\) - direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

\(-x\) stem TO DO, TO BE (6)

\(-\ddot{a}\) - future (7, see § 32)

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have (or had) nominal (modal) prefixes. They have no directive elements. They may take possessive forms which do not appear in the verb.

The order of elements in the noun is the following:

1. (1*) Nominal (modal) element.
2. (2*) Pronominal elements.
   a. (a*) Subjective.
   b. (b*) Possessive.
3. (3*) Nominal stem, single or compound.
4. (4*) Suffixes:

   \( w-\dot{a}'-le\text{lem} \) rotten-wood (a place name)
   \( w- \) nominal prefix (1*)
   \( a- \) subjective feminine (2 a*)
   \(-le\text{lem} \) stem rotten wood (3*)
   \( \ddot{e}'-m\ddot{e}-qtq \) thy head
   \( \ddot{e}- \) subjective masculine (2 a*)
   \(-m\ddot{e}- \) possessive second person (2 b*)
   \(-qtq- \) stem head (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. Modal Elements

1. \( a- \). This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by TO BECOME. In transitive verbs it is always used when there is no other element affixed which expresses ideas contradictory to the transitional, like the perfect, future, or nominal ideas. In the transitive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an aoristic tense. The action passing from the subject to a definite object is in Chinook always considered as transitional (transitive), since it implies a change of condition of object and subject. In the Kathlamet dialect of the Upper Chinook the corresponding prefix is \( i- \).
Whenever the a- stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by n-. The masculine i- preceding a vowel has consonantic character, and retains, therefore, the a-. In Kathlamet n- is used under the same conditions: but, besides, a form occurs beginning with i-, which is followed by a -g-.

Intransitive, before consonant:

a-L-ff-k'im it said (a- transitional; L- it; -k'im to say)
a-n-ô'-tf-uit I began to stand (a- transitional; n- I; -ô- directive; -tf to stand; -uit to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

n-ô'-k'im he said (n- transitional; î- he; -k'im to say)

n-ô'-x-o-x they became (n- transitional; ô- they; -x reflexive; -ô- directive; -x stem to do, to be)

Transitive:

a-tcr'-t-a-x he did them (a- transitional; tc- he; t- them; -a- directive; -x stem to do)

The following examples are taken from the Kathlamet dialect:

Intransitive, before consonant:

i-L-ff-k'im it said: Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)
i-m-qa-t-k!oâ-mam you came home ibid, 132.15 (m- thou; -x (a)- reflexive; -t- coming; -k!oa to go home; -(m)am to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

i-g-ô'-x-k!oa he went home ibid. 169.6 (-î- he; -x- reflexive)
i-g-ô'-x-k!oa she went home ibid. 191.8

Transitive:

i-q-i-o'-lx someboby told him ibid. 169.7 (-q someboby; î- him; -ô directive; -lxam to tell)
i-g!x'-t-u-x she acted on them ibid. 217.16 (q!- she; t- them; -u- directive; -x to do)

2. ni-. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It takes the form nig- before vowels, like the preceding. It occurs in transitive and intransitive verbs. It expresses a somewhat indefinite time past, and is used in speaking of events that happened less than a year or so ago, yet more than a couple of days ago. (E. Sapir.)

ni-y-u'ya he went (ni- past; -y- he; -u'ya to go)
nig-u'ya she went (the same before vocalic element; -a- she, being contracted with -u- into -u)

ni-te-i-gil-kl he saw him (ni- past; -te- he; -i- him; gil- verbal prefix; -kl to see)

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3. \textit{a-}. This prefix is confined to the intransitive verbs of the Upper Chinook (Kathlamet), and indicates the future. When followed by a vowel, it takes the form \textit{al-}.

\textit{a-m-ō'-kEL-a} thou wilt carry her (\textit{a-} future; \textit{m-} thou; \textit{ō-} contracted for \textit{a-} her and \textit{ō-} directive; \textit{-kEL} stem to \textit{carry}; \textit{-a} future)

Before vowel:

\textit{al-ō'-meq't-a} she will die (\textit{al-} future; \textit{-ō-} contracted for \textit{a-} she and \textit{-ō-} directive; \textit{-meq't} stem to \textit{die}; \textit{-a} future)

In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).

\textit{a-tc-i-qEL-kEL-a} he will see her (\textit{a-} future; \textit{-tc-} he; \textit{-i-} him; \textit{-qEL} verbal prefix; \textit{-kEL} to see; \textit{-a} future)

4. \textit{ga-}, before vowels \textit{gal-}. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It expresses time long past, and is always used in the recital of myths (Sapir).

\textit{ga-y-u'y'a} he went (see analysis under 2)
\textit{gal-u'y'a} she went (see analysis under 2)
\textit{ga-tc-i-qEL-kEL} he saw him (see analysis under 2)

\textit{n-} may be used in place of this prefix.

5. \textit{na-}, before vowels \textit{nal-}. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It refers to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday. Its use is analogous to that of the preceding. (F. Sapir.)

6. \textit{k-, g-}. This prefix has nominal significance, and designates the one who is, does, or has.

\textit{k-tqEL-ka-l} those who fly (\textit{k-} nominal; \textit{-tqEL} they; \textit{-ka} to fly; \textit{-l} always)
\textit{k-ck-t-a-xo'-il} those two who always make them; (\textit{ck-} they two [transitive subject]; \textit{-t-} them; \textit{-a-} directive before \textit{-x}; \textit{-xo'-il} to work always)

This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating the one who has.

\textit{g-i-tā'-ki-kEL-al} those who have the power of seeing (\textit{i-} masculine, \textit{-tā-} their; \textit{-ki-} indicates that there is no object; \textit{-kEL} to see; \textit{-al} always)
\textit{g-i-Lā'-ma' the one who is shot (\textit{i-} masculine; \textit{-Lā-} its; \textit{-ma'} the condition of being shot)
\textit{k-Lā'qEWam} the one who has shamanistic power (\textit{-Lā-} its; \textit{-qEWam} shaman's song)

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7. *w-* This seems to have been at one time the prefix which characterized nouns. It is no longer in general use, but persists in a few terms like *we'wule* INTERIOR OF HOUSE, *we'koa* DAY (Kathlamet), *welx* COUNTRY (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like *Waplo'tci* SALAL-BERRIES ON STUMP. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form *wَ-* of all feminine nouns, which is probably a contraction of *w-* and the ordinary intransitive feminine pronoun *a*. In Upper Chinook the forms *wi-* and *wa-* are preserved before short words. There is no trace of the former existence of this prefix before the pronominal forms of neuter, dual, and plural, all of which are consonantic, while masculine and feminine are both vocalic (*wَ-* and *a*). It seems probable that its use, like that of *n-* was confined to vocalic pronouns (§ 17.1).

8. *na-* This is a nominal prefix indicating locality. It occurs principally in place names, *Nakötădt* (see § 40).

§ 18. Pronominal Elements

It has been stated that the pronominal elements in the verb are subject, first object, second object. The whole series occurs in some transitive verbs only. In form, the subject of the transitive verb is somewhat differentiated from the other forms, while the objective pronouns coincide with the subjects of the intransitive, and are closely related to the personal pronouns which appear attached to nouns.

The possessive has a series of peculiar forms. In the noun the order is personal pronoun, possessive pronoun. Thus the pronouns may be divided into three large groups, which may be called transitive, intransitive, and possessive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 18
BOAS]

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

Transitive Intransitive Possessive

| 3d person singular, masculine | tc- | i- | -i- |
| 3d person singular, feminine | g- | a- | -tc- -ga- |
| 3d person singular, neuter | l- | L- | -L- |
| 3d person dual | c- | c- | -ct- |
| 3d person plural | t- | t- | -t- -g- |
| Indefinite | q- | - | |

It will be seen from this list that most of the forms in the three series are identical. A differentiation exists in the first person and in the third person singular (masculine and feminine). In all these forms the exclusive appears as the dual and plural of the first person, while the inclusive seems to be characterized by the terminal -x-. n- may be interpreted as the first person, m- as the second person, t- as the characteristic of the dual, and c as that of the plural of these persons.

The third person plural exhibits a number of irregularities which will be discussed in § 21.

§ 19. The Post-Pronominal g

In a number of cases these pronouns are followed by the sound g, which, judging from its irregular occurrence in the present form of the language, may have had a wider application in former times.

(1) The transitive subject (except the first and second persons singular, the third person singular masculine and feminine, and the indefinite q) is followed by g or k, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

\[
\begin{align*}
a-L-k-L-\tilde{a}'-wa^t & \text{ it killed it (a- transitional; L- neuter subject; } -k- \text{ prefix giving the preceding L- its transitive character; } -L- \text{ neuter object; } -a- \text{ directive; } -wa^t \text{ stem TO KILL)} \\
a-t-k-L-\tilde{a}'-cg-am & \text{ they took it (a- transitional; t- they; } -k- \text{ [as above]; } L- \text{ neuter object; } -cg \text{ stem TO TAKE; } -am \text{ completion)} \\
a-n-L-\tilde{a}'-cg-am & \text{ I took it (same as last, but with n- as subject, which does not take the following -k-)}
\end{align*}
\]

When followed by a vowel (including e), the -k- sound is more like a sonant, and has been written -g-. When the subject pronoun is accented, the e, which carries the accent, follows the g, so that the transitive pronoun and the -g- form a unit.

\[
\begin{align*}
a-L-g-t-L-\tilde{a}'-cg-am & \text{ it took him (same as above, but with L- ir as subject, followed by -g- instead of -k- before t-, which is masculine object)} \\
a-tg-e'-l-ha, & \text{ they do them}
\end{align*}
\]
(2) The intransitive subject third person plural is followed by \( g \) in two cases.

(a) When the subject \( t \) would normally precede the directive element \( -\ddot{o} \) (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the \( t \) is followed by \( g \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-} & \text{y-}\ddot{o}'-\text{xen} \text{ he drifted 24.15 (a- transitional; y- for } \ddot{o} \text{ before } \ddot{o} \text{ he; -}\ddot{o} \text{ directive; -}\text{xen stem to drift)} \\
\text{a-t-g}'-\text{xen} \text{ they drifted 38.10 (a- transitional; t- they; -g- inserted after subject; -x carries accent [§ 5.1]; -}\text{xen stem to drift)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(b) When the subject \( t \) is changed to \( \ddot{o} \) before \( k \) stems (§ 9.2; § 21), the \( g \) follows it when the \( k \) sound is a stop. It seems, however, more likely that originally this element had \( \ddot{o} \) following the \( g \).

\[
\begin{align*}
n-\ddot{e}'-k'im \text{ he said 107.2 (n- transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; \ddot{e}- he; -k'im stem to say)} \\
n-\ddot{o}-g'o'-\text{koi} \text{ they say 266.5 (n- as above; -o- third person plural before k sound; -g- following third person plural before k stop; \( \ddot{o} \) inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; -koi, -k'im stem to say; o inserted according to § 7.3)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3) The possessive pronoun of the third person plural in neuter and plural nouns has the form \(-g-\), which probably stands for \( tg- \), the \( t \) being elided between the neuter prefix \( l \) and the plural prefix \( t \) respectively, and the \( g \). Thus we have

\[
\begin{align*}
t-\ddot{g}-\ddot{a}'-\text{qtq-a-kc their heads 165.9 (t- plural; -g- for } \ddot{g}- \text{ their; -}\ddot{a}- \text{ vowel following possessive [§ 23]; -qtq stem head; -a- connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; -kc plural suffix [§ 38.1])} \\
l-\ddot{g}-\ddot{a}'-\text{zauyam-t-ikc their poverty 13.18 (l- neuter; -g- for } \ddot{g}- \text{ their; -}\ddot{a}- \text{ vowel following possessive [§ 23]; -zauyam poverty; -t-ikc plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It appears that the \( g \) occurs most frequently following the third person plural. It seems probable that in these cases, at least, it is derived from the same source. Whether the \( g \) after the transitive pronoun is of the same origin, is less certain, although it seems likely. This \( g \) never occurs after objects. The rules given above have the effect that the \( g \) can not occur in intransitive verbs which contain a reflexive element and in intransitive verbs with indirect objects. It is possible that this may be explained as due to the fact that all intransitive pronouns in these cases are really objectives. The \( g \) never appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the noun.
§ 20. The Third Person Dual

The third person dual has two forms, c- and ct-. ct- is used—

(1) As intransitive subject preceding a vowel, except e and its representatives.

Examples of the use of ct-:

- c-xelâ'itx they two remained
- a-ce'x-a-x they two became (a-transitional; c-dual; x-reflexive; -a-directive before -x; x to be)

(2) As object of the transitive, when the accent is on the pronominal subject.

Examples of the use of ct-:

- a-tcE'-ct-u-Lk-\u2014he carried their two selves 26.20 (a-transitional; tc-he [transitive]; e-carries accent; ct-them [dual]; u-directive; kstem to carry)
- a-Lge'-ct-a-x it did them two (a-transitional; Lge-neuter subject; ct-they two)

(3) In all possessive forms.

- LE'-ct-a-qcô their two selves' hair 77.3 (l-neuter pronoun; e-carries accent; ct-their [dual]; a-vowel following possessive [§ 23]; qcôstem hair)

§ 21. The Third Person Plural

It has been mentioned before that the third person plural before single k sounds, and before adverbial l and n (§ 25), is ô-instead of t-.

This change occurs both when the pronoun is intransitive subject and when it is first or second object. The transitive subject is always tg-, tk- (see § 19).

Plural t-:

- a-tE'-x-a-x they came to be on him (a-transitional; t-they; e-him; x indicates that they belonged to him; a-directive; x stem to do, to be)
- a-te'-t-a-x he did them (a-transitional; te-he; e-carries accent; t-them; a-directive; x stem to do)
Plural ὄ-

\(n-\bar{o}'-x-o-x\) they became (\(n\)- transitional before vowel; \(\bar{o}\) they before \(k\) sound; \(x\) reflexive; \(o\)- directive; \(x\) stem TO DO, TO BE)  
\(a-c-g-\bar{o}'-xuina\) they placed them in the ground (\(a\)- transitional; \(c\)- they two; \(g\)- marks preceding \(c\)- as transitive subject; \(\bar{o}\)- them [before \(k\) sound]; \(\bar{z}\)\(\bar{e}\)na stem TO STAND [plural])  
\(a-q-t-\bar{a}'-w-i-tx\) somebody gave them to them (\(a\)- transitional; \(q\)- indefinite; \(t\)- them; \(\bar{a}\)- inserted in accented syllable before semivowel \(w\) [§ 5.2b]; \(w\) stands for \(\bar{o}\)- [between two vowels], them; \(i\)- stands for \(l\)- after preceding \(o\) [see § 9]; \(tx\) stem TO GIVE AWAY)

Before \(k\) stops, a \(-g\) is inserted after the subject third person plural, as described in § 19.2b.

In a few nouns the third person plural is \(n\) instead of \(t\); for instance:

\(nate'tanue\) Indians  
\(nauu'\)\(i\)\(t\)k net

Numerals take \(a\)- instead of \(t\)- for indicating the plural of human beings (see § 51).

§ 22. Pronouns of the Transitive Verb

The first person and the exclusive subject do not occur with a second person object. In place of these combinations we have the forms \(yam\)-, \(yam\)-, \(yam\)-, for the combinations \(i\)- THEE, \(i\)- YOUR TWO SELVES, \(i\)- YOU; and \(gam\)-, \(gam\)-, \(gam\)-, for the corresponding forms with dual and plural exclusive subject. The inclusive subject can not occur with second person objects, since this would be a reflexive form (see § 24). In transitive verbs with two objects the same irregularities occur when either the first or second object is second person while the first person is subject. In case the second object is second person, the forms begin with the first object.

\(t-am-l-\bar{o}'t-a\) I shall give them to thee (\(t\)- them; \(-am\) I — thee; \(-l\)- to; \(\bar{o}\)t to give; \(-a\) future)

The indefinite subject \(q\)- is peculiar to the transitive.

§ 23. Possessive Pronoun

All possessive pronouns are followed by \(-x\)-, except the first and second persons. The first person is always followed by \(e\), which, after the \(-tc\)- of the masculine, takes an \(i\) tinge, while after the \(o\)- of the feminine it becomes \(u\) (§ 7.1). The second person is followed by §§ 22, 23
When the accent falls on the possessive pronoun, the \( a \) is lengthened. If the accent precedes the possessive pronoun, the \( a \) remains short. In this case the consonant in the pronoun introduces an \( e \) before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by \( m \) and \( y \), this \( e \) is lengthened to \( ə \) in accordance with the phonetic rules given in § 5.2b. The \( g \) of the first person and of the third person feminine, when following the accent, becomes \( kx \) in accordance with the general tendency to make a \( k \) following an accent affricative (§ 6.1).

The possessive pronoun exhibits a peculiar modification in the first person and in the third person singular feminine. Masculine nouns have in both cases \(-tc-\), while all the other genders have \(-g-\).

For the insertion of \(-g-\) in the third person plural possessive of neuter and plural nouns, see § 19.3.

Examples of possessive forms with accent on possessive pronoun:

- \( i-tcE'-tel\) my wooden spoon 115.18
- \( o-gu'-xamukc\) my dog 16.11
- \( L-gx'-qac\) my grandfather 211.1
- \( s-gx'-xanim\) my (dual) toy canoe 115.21
- \( t-gx'-xawok\) my guardian spirits 211.4
- \( i-mE'-xal\) thy name 72.26
- \( o-mE'-xuc\) thy anus 114.1
- \( L-mE'-tata-iks\) thy uncles 10.12
- \( c-mE'-ktexfict\) thy nostrils 113.20
- \( tx-mE!-xeqtax\) thy hunter's protectors 234.10
- \( i-\alpha'-ok\) his blanket 74.14
- \( u-ya'-teinkikaka\) his head wife 74.16
- \( L-i\alpha'-nemcke\) his wives 74.16
- \( c-i\alpha'-kul gast\) his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5
- \( t-i\alpha'-xalaimata\) his arrows 10.16
- \( i-\tau\alpha'-yu\) her pride 74.11
- \( u-g\alpha'-cgan\) her bucket 115.11
- \( L-g\alpha'-cganx\) her buckets 115.12
- \( c-g\alpha'-xa\) her two children 14.4
- \( t-g\alpha'-pote\) her arms 115.24
- \( i-\tau\alpha'-qula\) their camp 73.15
- \( u-\tau\alpha'-xkux\) their eldest sister 73.15
- \( L\alpha'wuz\) their younger brother 74.15
- \( c-i\alpha'-amikct\) its double spit 93.10
- \( i\alpha'-ulema\) their houses 227.23
- \( i-\tau\alpha'-xikuck\) their bushes in canoe 47.10
- \( i-n\tau\alpha'-xanim\) our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4
- \( xe-n\tau\alpha'-mama\) our two selves' (excl.) father 76.12
- \( i-tz\alpha'-kikala\) our two selves' (incl.) husband 76.12
Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

\(\ddot{e}^\prime-tca-mxte\) my heart 12.26
\(\ddot{L}e^\prime-kx\ddot{e}-ps\) my foot 41.20
\(se^\prime-k-x\ddot{e}st\) my arrogance
\(te^\prime-k\ddot{x}u-q\ddot{L}\) my house 24.4
\(\ddot{e}^\prime-mi-la\) thy body
\(sa^\prime-m\ddot{e}-x\ddot{e}st\) thy arrogance
\(\ddot{t}a^\prime-m\ddot{e}-ps\) thy foot
\(\ddot{a}^\prime-ya-q\ddot{c}o\) his skin 115.24
\(\ddot{L}a^\prime-ya-qtq\) his head 73.13
\(c-\ddot{a}^\prime-ya-qtq\) his two heads 14.11
\(t-\ddot{a}^\prime-ya-qL\) his house 15.12
\(\ddot{e}^\prime-tca-qtq\) its head 223.8
\(se^\prime-k\ddot{x}a-x\ddot{e}st\) her arrogance
\(te^\prime-k\ddot{x}a-qL\) her house 89.7
\(\ddot{e}^\prime-la-te\ddot{L}a\) its sickness 196.6
\(\ddot{o}^\prime-la-qtq\) its louse 10.21
\(\ddot{L}e^\prime-la-ps\) its foot 191.20
§ 24. Elements Expressing the Possessive Relation Between Subject and Object

When there is a possessive relation between the subject and one of the objects, the element -x- is inserted.

(1) After the first object of the transitive verb, it indicates that the object belongs to the subject.

\[a-g-a-x-\ddash'pc-am\] she hid her own 216.5 (a- transitional; g- she; a- her; -x- indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; -d- directive; -pc stem to hide; -am completion)

(2) After the second object of the transitive, it indicates that the first object belongs to the second.

\[a-m-L-a-x-cg-am\] you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (a- transitional; m- thou; l- it; a- her; -x- indicates that it belongs to her; -cg stem to take; -am completion)

(3) After the intransitive subject, it has the force of a reflexive transitive verb; i. e., it indicates sameness of subject and object.

\[n-\ddash'x-a-x\] he does himself; i. e., he becomes (n- transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; -d- he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x stem to do)

\[a-m-x-\ddash'n-\ddash'lgw-l-tck\] you expressed yourself to me; i. e., you told me 97.10 (a- transitional; m- thou; -x- reflexive; connective k with secondary accent, becomes a- before n [§ 5. 2b]; n- me; -l- to; -gw stem to talk; -tck inchoative)

(4) After the object of a verb with intransitive subject, it has the force of a transitive reflexive in which subject and second subject are identical.

\[n-\ddash'L-x-a-x\] he does it in reference to himself; i. e., he becomes from it, 241.10 (same analysis as above under a- with the object or it inserted)
§ 25. Adverbial Prefixes

A number of adverbial ideas—particularly those defining the relation of the verb to the object, and corresponding to some of our prepositions—are expressed by prefixes which follow the pronouns. The adverbial character of these elements appears in forms like—
\[ a-q'-l-gi-tk \] somebody placed him near by (a- transitional; q- some one; e- him; l- to; gi- eliminates one object [§ 26.4]; tk stem to place)

The verbal idea is to place near, and the form is purely transitive. The same construction appears clearly in—
\[ a-l-g-i-g'e'-l-txem \] it sings for him 260.17 (a- transitional; l- it; g- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; i- him; g'e- on account of; txem to sing shaman's song)

These examples show that the prefixes do not belong to the objects, but that they qualify the verb. Following is a list of these prefixes:

1. -l- to, for.
   \[ l-\ddot{o}'-l-o-c \] it was to (in) her 71.6 (l- it; o- her; l- to; o- directive; c stem to be)
   \[ a-c-k-l-g-i-t-\ddot{o}'-k-l \] they two carried it to him 29.9 (a- transitional; c- they two; k- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; l- it; i- him; l- to; o- directive; k-l stem to carry)

The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this -l-, has the form o (§ 21). In this case the -l- changes to -e- (§ 9.1), and the o is then weakened to w.
\[ a-q-t-a-v-e'-m-aku-x \] they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (a- transitional; q- somebody; t- them; -a- probably connective; v- for o- them; e- for -l- after o; m stem to hand [?]; ako about; x usitative)

2. -n- in, into.
   \[ a-\ddot{a}'-a-\ddot{e}-n-g'\ddot{a}-n-ait \] he threw her into it 173.6 (a- transitional; \ddot{a}'- he; a- her; l- it; n- into; gen stem to place changed to g'an on account of accent [§ 5. 2b]; ait to be in position)
   \[ s-\ddot{a}'-n-p'\ddot{o}-t \] she closed her eyes 47.15 (s- they two; \ddot{a}'- her; n- in; p'\ddot{o} stem to close; t perfect)

3. -k- on.
   \[ a-l-g-\ddot{o}'-t \] she stands on it 191.20 (a- she; l- it; g- on; \ddot{o}'- direclusive; t stem to stand)
   \[ a-l-x-n-kw-\ddot{a}\ddot{e}-k \] it comes flying above me (a- transitional; l-x- it; n- me; kw- on; k\ddot{a}- coming; \ddot{a}\ddot{e}- stem to fly)
m-a-n-k-Ø'-tx-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (m-thou; a- her; n- me; -k- on; -Ø- directive; -tx stem to stand; -(u)mit to cause [§ 29]; -a future)

4. -gEl- on account of.
   a-L-gi-gEl-l-tcxem-x it sings on account of him 260.17 (a- transitional; l- it; -g- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; i- him; -gEl- on account of; -tcxem stem to sing shaman's song; -x usitative [§ 32.11])
   mc-g-a-n-gEl-Ø'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (mc- ye; -g-[§ 19.1]; a- her; n- me; -gEl- on account of; -Ø- directive; -tg stem to put; -a future)

4a. -xEl- reflexive form of -gEl- on account of. In many cases the translation for, on account of, does not fit in this case, although the etymological relation is clear.
   n-a'-L-xEl-a-x she makes it for herself 267.2 (n- transitional before vowel; a- she; l- it; -xEl- on account of; -a- directive; -x stem to do, to make)
   a-L-a-xEl-l-tciam it combed her for itself; i.e., she combed herself 13.2 (a- transitional; l- it; a- her; -xEl- on account of; -tciam stem combing)

5. -gEm- with, near.
   a-q-L-gEm-Ø'-tx-uit somebody stands near it 238.4 (a- transitional; q- some one, transitive subject; l- it; -gEm- near; -Ø- directive; -tx stem to stand; -(u)it to be in a state [§ 29])
   a-L-x-L-gEm-apko-x it steamed itself near it (a- transitional; l- it; -x- reflexive; l- it; -gEm- near; -apko stem to steam; -x usitative)

5a. -xEm- reflexive form of -gEm- with, near.
   n-i-n-xEm-l-tce'na he lays me near himself; i.e., I lay him near me (n- transitional before vowel; i- he; n- me; -xEm- near; -l-tce'na stem to lay)
   c-xEm-l-Ø'-it they two stood near each other 228.25 (c- they two; -xEm- near; -l- stem to move [l]; -a-it to be in a position)

6. -Ø- on the ground.
   Ø'-Ø-Ø-c he is on the ground 39.18 (Ø- he; -Ø- on ground; -Ø- directive; -c stem to be)

7. -'El-. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.
   -'El-kEl to see
   -'El-gEl-ako to uncover
   -'El-takc to leave
§ 26. Directional Prefixes

I use this term for a group of prefixes which are difficult to classify. One of them designates undoubtedly the direction toward the speaker, another one negates the direction toward an object, and a third one seems to imply direction from the actor. For this reason I have applied the term "directional prefixes," although its propriety is not quite certain.

1. -o-, a very frequent verbal prefix which seems to indicate motion away from the actor, although this significance does not readily apply in all cases. This prefix occurs with most verbs and immediately precedes the stem.

- o- changes to -a- before stems beginning with w.

a-te-i-o'-c-g-am he takes him 135.9 (-o- directive; -c stem to take; -am completive)

i-o'-c he is (-o- directive; -c stem to be)

When the stem begins with a velar, a glottal stop, or a w, the -o- changes to -a-, but, when not accented, it remains -o- before stems beginning with w.

a-te-i-a'-w-a the he killed him 23.20 (-a- directive; -w stem to kill)

tc-e-n-u-w-u'ya he will eat me 212.15

a-te-ex'-t-a-x he did them 9.5 (-a- directive; -x stem to do)

a-te-a'-y-a-q he bit him 9.9 (-a- directive; -q stem to bite)

a-q-i-a'-o nim some one laughs at him 184.3 (-a- directive; -nim stem to laugh)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which o was used in all cases, as we find it now in Upper Chinook—must have existed. This is proved by the persistence of o in place of all a vowels that occur after this stem, even when the directive o is changed into a.

te-i-n-l-a'-x-o he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal -o- for future -a, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive -a- before the stem -x had remained -o-)

a-te-l-a'-x-o m he reached them 191.12 (terminal -om for -am)

This explanation does not account for a form like naiga'tl!om she reaches him, in which the change from am to -om follows the fortis which stands for t. (See § 29.4.)

The directional -o- is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.
Intransitive imperatives:

\[ m_e^-t-x-\text{uit} \text{ stand up! 211.21 (} m^- \text{ thou; } -t \text{ to stand; } -\text{uit suffix} \] (§ 29.1)

\[ m_e^-x-a-x \text{ do! 15.25 (} m^- \text{ thou; } -x \text{ reflexive; } -a \text{ directive; } -x \text{ to do} \]

\[ m_e^-l-x-a \text{ go to the beach 175.16 (} m^- \text{ thou; } -l-x \text{ to the beach; } -a \text{ future} \]

Transitive imperatives:

\[ e^-c-g-am \text{ take him! 43.8 (} e^- \text{ him; } -c-g \text{ to take; } -am \text{ completion} \]

\[ a^-l-t-cL \text{ lift her! 15.7 (} a^- \text{ her; } -l-t \text{ to lift} \]

\[ a^-t-kL-a \text{ carry her here! 15.24 (} a^- \text{ her; } -t \text{ here [§ 26.2]; } -kL \text{ to carry; } -a \text{ future} \]

\[ sE^-pE-na \text{ jump! 16.3 (} sE^- \text{ them two, namely, the legs; } -pE-na \text{ to jump} \]

2. \(-t\) designates direction toward the speaker.

\[ a-k-L-e^-t-kL-am \text{ she brought it 124.24 (} -t \text{ toward speaker; } -kL \text{ stem to bring; } -am \text{ completion} \]

\[ a-L-e^-t-ga \text{ it comes flying 139.1 (} -t \text{ toward speaker; } -ga \text{ to fly} \]

\[ a-L-e^t-n-ka-t-ga \text{ it comes flying over me (} -k^t \text{ on} \]

3. \(-t\) potentiality, i.e., the power to perform an act moving away from the actor, without actual motion away. This prefix is identical with the preceding, but, according to its sense, it never occurs with the transitional.

\[ t-c-L-k-t-x \text{ he can do it 61.8 (} -t \text{ potential; } -x \text{ stem to do} \]

\[ q-tE^-t-piaL-x-az \text{ somebody can gather them 94.15 (} -t \text{ potential; } -piaL-x \text{ stem to gather; } -x \text{ usitative} \]

4.\(-ki\) negates direction toward an object, and thus eliminates one of the two objects of transitive verbs with two objects, and transforms transitive verbs into intransitives.

\[ a-q-i-L-gEm-o^-t-kE-x \text{ somebody pays him to it 261.23 (} -gEm- \text{ with, near; } -o^- \text{ directive; } -kE \text{ thing; } -x \text{ usitative} \]

\[ a-t-c-o-gEm-kE^-kE-x \text{ he paid her 161.9 (} -gEm- \text{ with; } -kE^- \text{ eliminates first object; } -kE \text{ thing} \]

\[ a-L-k-L-o^-kct \text{ it looked at it 256.8 (} -o^- \text{ directive; } -kct \text{ stem to look} \]

\[ a-L-e^-kE-kct \text{ it looked 218.9 (} -kE^- \text{ eliminates object; } -kct \text{ stem to look} \]

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element \(-t\) occurs also as the stem to come, and the forms \(a^-n-o, a^-l-o \), \(o \), \(i, o \) \(, o \), suggest that \(-o\) may be a stem of motion. If this is the case, the first and third prefixes of this class might rather form compound stems with a great variety of other stems. The potential \(-t\)
and the intransitive -ki-, on the other hand, do not seem to occur as stems that can be used with pronominal elements alone.

Attention may be called here to the analogy between the prefixes -gel- and -gem and their reflexives -zel- and -zem- (§ 25) and the two forms -ki- and -x-. However, since -ki- never occurs with following directive -o- or -a-, while -x- appears frequently combined with it, this analogy may be due to a mere coincidence.

It would seem that the directive -o- is always retained after l-, and sometimes after -gel-, -gem-, -zel-, -zem-, but that it never occurs with other adverbialelements.

§ 27. Verbal Stems

The verbal stems are either simple or compound. It was stated in the preceding section that what we called the prefixes -t- and -o- may be stems expressing to come and to go. There are a number of verbal stems which appear with great frequency in composition, and almost always as second elements of verbal compounds. All of these express local ideas. They are:

1. -pa motion out of.
2. -pl motion into.
3. -wulxt motion up.
4. -tcu motion down.
5. -lx motion from cover to open.
6. -ptck motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance—

n-\'e\'-t-p! he comes in 211.18 (-t toward speaker; -pl motion into)
a-L-o\'-pa he goes out 46.8 (-o- directive; -pa motion out of)
\'-k-L-o\'-kct-ptck she carries it up from the beach 163.11 (-kct- to carry; -ptck motion from open to cover, especially up from beach)
a-n-o\'-tct-wulxt I travel up in canoe (-tct motion on water; -wulxt motion upward)

There are a few cases in which these verbs appear in first position in the compound verb.

n-\'e\'-lx-lait he goes to the beach and stays there (-lx motion from cover to open, especially from land to sea; -lait to stay)

Compounds of nouns and verbs are much rarer.

a-tc-a-i-nx-mo\'k!-oya-k\'o he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; i.e., he chokes him (-n- in; -mok- throat; -oya to be between; -ak\'o around)
Here belong also the compounds with \( t!\ddot{o} \) well
\[ \ddot{e}-t!\ddot{o} '-cg-am \] hold him well! 44.15 (\( t!\ddot{o} - \) well; \(-cg\) to take, hold; \(-am\) completion)
The idea around \((-ak\ddot{o})\) does not seem to occur independently, and is therefore treated in the next section.

**Suffixes (§§ 28-33)**

### § 28. GENERAL REMARKS

According to their significance and position, the verbal suffixes may be classified in five groups:

First, generic suffixes:
1. \(-a-it\) to be in a position.
2. \(-amit\) to cause.
3. \(-x'it\) to be made to.
4. \(-am\) to complete a motion, to go to.

Second, local suffixes:
5. \(-ako\) around.

Third, semi-temporal suffixes:
6. \(-tck\) to begin.
7. \(-l\) repetition, so far as characteristic of an action.
8. \(-L\) continued repetition.
9. \(-em\) repetition at distinct times.
10. \(-a-itx\) habitually.

Fourth, temporal and semi-temporal suffixes, always following the preceding group:
11. \(-x\) customary.
12. \(-t\) perfect.
13. \(-a\) future.

Fifth, terminal suffixes:
14. \(-\ddot{e}\) successful completion.

On the whole, the suffixes appear in the order here given, although sometimes a different order seems to be found. In the following list the combinations of suffixes so far as found are given.

### § 29. GENERIC SUFFIXES

1. **\(-a-it\) TO BE IN A POSITION.** Followed by \(-amit\) (2), \(-x'it\) (3), \(-tck\) (6), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

\( a-y-\ddot{o}-L-a-it \) he sits, he is 212.16 (\( \ddot{o} \) directive; \(-L\) stem to sit)
\( a-k-L-a-q\ddot{a}n-a-it \) she laid it 44.9 (\(-a\) directive before \( q \); stem \(-qen\) [accented before vowel becomes \(-q\ddot{a}n\)] LONG THING LIES)

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§§ 28, 29
After k sounds with u tinge, this ending is -uit; after a terminal o, it seems to be -it.

- Amit to cause. Preceded by -a-it (1); followed by -ako (5), -l (7), -em (9), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

After a terminal o, the two vowels o and a are contracted to ō.

- X'it, with intransitive verbs, to BE CAUSED; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by -a-it (1), -tck (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.

When the directive -o- is changed to an -a- before k sound, and when, in accordance with the law of harmony, the a in am would have to be changed into -ō-, this change is made, even though the a before the k sound is substituted for the -ō.

This -ō- is retained even where the -t- is substituted for -o.

After l, n, a, ē, ĩ, ō, ū this ending takes the form -mam.

The form ayō'yan he arrives, from ā'yō he goes, forms an apparent exception to this rule. Presumably the verb to go contains a stem -y- which is suppressed in some forms.

§ 29
§ 30. LOCAL SUFFIXES

5. -ako AROUND. Preceded by -amit (2); followed by -x (11), -it (1).

With -l it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

-ako abound. Preceded by -amit (2); followed by -x (11), -it (1).

-ako abound. Preceded by -amit (2); followed by -x (11), -it (1).

With -i it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

m-i-t-el-m-ako you distribute him among them 154.4
n-e'-x-l-ako he goes around him 88.24
n-e-x-ko'ni-ako he wraps it around himself 138.9

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered
by the word AROUND.

a-n-e'-x-k-ako I get the better of him
a-q-i-ko'l-ako cover is taken off 329.6
n-i-x-ko'qaw-ako he dreams 22.11

Preceded by -amit:

a-q-i-xl-ako'mit-ako some one was made to be around him

Followed by -it:

a-L-aw-ako'y-aku-it he inclosed them

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. -tck TO BEGIN. Preceded by -a-it (1), -ako (5); followed by -am
(4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

n-a'-wi-tck she dances (a'-wi-l she dances always)
n-kle'wa-tck I begin to paddle (n-kle'wa-l I am paddling)

7. -l repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by -mam
(4), -em (9), -a-itx (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth
groups.

a-g-i-o'-ko'l-ako she shook him 72.24
n-e'-k-ko'l he crawled about 95.14
a-tg-i-o-ko'l-eko'mam-ko they went to buy him 260.15 (-al on
account of accent preceding l)

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

-ctzu-l what is carried on back
-e'tczem-al what is boiled 185.7
-k-tgx'-ka-l those who fly 60.5

After n as terminal sound of the stem, the l of this suffix becomes
n (see § 8).

8. -l continued repetition. This suffix exhibits a number of curious
traits in the manner in which it enters into combination with
words. It is only rarely suffixed without causing changes in
the preceding elements of the word. Often after t, m, x, u, it
appears in the form -nil.

k-e-il-ko'-ko'-om-nil always arriving
a-eq-i-ko'-eq-im-nil they two took him here and there

§§ 30, 31
In certain cases, perhaps by assimilation or metathesis, an -t appears inserted in the syllable preceding the suffix -L.

a-lk-t-á'-wul it eats them a-Lg-i-o-pco'tet-Em-x he hides it everywhere 199.15
a-Lk-t-á'-wul it eats them i-k!é'-wulêlqI food 45.27

Following an m or n the inserted sound is generally n.

a-lk-t-á'-wul it eats them a-Lk-c-i-k-lkâ'n-akô it steps across 264.14

9. -Em distribution at distinct times, probably related to -ma (see § 38.2). Preceded by -amit (2), -l (8); followed usually by -x (11).

a-Lk-c-i-k-lkâ'n-akô it steps across steps across 264.14

10. -a-itx habitually. Always terminal; often preceded by -em (9), and -L (8).

a-L-x-'o'tdL-a-itxshe always bathes 256.14 (probably with -l [8]) a-y-d'-tx-uit-a-itxhe always stood 109.2

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

11. -x customary. Preceded by all prefixes except -é (14).

a-Lk-t-á'-wul it is customary that they carry them 267.16  
a-L-x-'tô'r-á-itx they are in the habit of digging continually 74.18

12. -f perfect. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by -é.

tq-i-á'-wa-t they have followed him 139.2  
tc-i-gs'-z'aó-l-té he has taken care of him 133.20

13. -a future. Preceded by all suffixes. This suffix draws the accent toward the end of the word.

n-i-o-cq-á'm-a I shall take him  
q-o-piá'lx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix -am takes the form -óm (see p. 605), namely, after k sounds, which would normally require o
in harmony with the directive -o- that has changed to -a-, the future is -o.

\[tc-i-n-l-\ddot{a}'-x-\ddot{o}\ he will make him for me\]

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally -ya.

\[m-\ddot{a}t-g\ddot{o}'-ya\ you will come back\]

\[yam-\ddot{a}f\ddot{onem}a'-ya\ I shall show you\]

In Kathlamet the future has also a prefix, a- or al- (see § 17.3).

\section*{33. TERMINAL SUFFIX}

14. -\ddot{e} SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION. This suffix is always terminal. Its significance is not quite certain.

\[n-i-g\ddot{o}'-ptcg-am-\ddot{e}\ finally he came up to the woods\]

It occurs very often with the meaning ACROSS.

\[a-tc-\ddot{a}'-k-xon\ddot{e}\ he carried her across on his shoulder\]

\[mc-i-g\ddot{o}'tc-t-am-a-\ddot{e}\ you will get across\]

\section*{The Noun (§§ 34-43)}

\section*{34. GENDER}

The pronominal parts of the noun have been discussed in § 18. It is necessary to discuss here the gender of nouns.

Nouns may be masculine, feminine, neuter, dual, or plural. It would seem that originally these forms were used with terms having natural gender, with sexless objects, and objects naturally dual and plural. At present the use of these elements has come to be exceedingly irregular, and it is almost impossible to lay down definite rules regarding their use.

In the following a summary of the use of gender and number will be given.

(1) Masculine and feminine respectively are terms designating men and women.

In all these terms the idea of indefiniteness of the individual, corresponding to the indefinite article in English, may be expressed by the neuter; like ik\ddot{a}'\ddot{n}ax THE CHIEF, Lk\ddot{a}'\ddot{n}ax A CHIEF.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textbf{Masculine} & \textbf{Feminine} \\
  i'kal\ddot{a} man & o\ddot{e}'k\ddot{u}l woman \\
  ik\ddot{a}\ddot{l}\ddot{a}sks boy & o\ddot{k}'\ddot{os}ks girl \\
  iq'\ddot{o}a'\ddot{l}ip\ddot{e} youth & oz\ddot{o}'t\ddot{a}u virgin \\
  e\ddot{p}'\ddot{t}\ddot{a}u widower & o\ddot{p}'\ddot{t}\ddot{a}u widow \\
  iq'\ddot{e}\ddot{y}\ddot{o}'q\ddot{x}ut old man & oqloey\ddot{o}'q\ddot{x}ut old woman \\
  \ddot{e}la'\ddot{e}tix male slave & ola'\ddot{e}tix female slave \\
\end{tabular}

\section*{§§ 33, 34}
(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

- **badger** -penpen (-p̓e'cwa, Kathlamet) L; feminine **skunk**
- **bear, black** -i'tszwut (-sg̃'ηntzoa, Kathlamet)
- **bear, grizzly** -c̓a'qim
- **beaver** -énə, -qoa-inənə (-q̃a'nuk, Kathlamet)
- **bird (sp. ?)** -te'num
- **bullfrog** -q̣altəxəx
- **deer** -mə'cən (-lə'lax, Kathlamet)
- **coyote** -ṭa'lapas
- **rat** -q̃a'lapas (Kathlamet)
- **crane** -qoq'sqoas
- **crow (mythical name)** -laq!o'
- **duck (sp. ?)** -w̓e'guic
- **eagle, bald-headed** -ninəxə̣də
- **elk** -m̩o'lak
- **a small fish** -q̃ale'zlex
- **fish-hawk** -lteap
- **grass-frog** -q̃enənəq̃ən
- **gull** -q̃onəq̃onə
- **hawk** -te'itə'
- **heron** -q̃oəxsk!oi, -'qulqul
- **horse** -k̩ə'tən
- **humming-bird** -tsentsen
- **blue jay** -q̃e'c̃eć
- **kingfisher** -po'tsəxəl
- **lizard ( ?)** -kinəpət
- **mallard** (duck (male))-ciməwat

mink -'galəlx,-p̓o'sta (-k̩o'sa- it, Kathlamet)
mountain-goat -ci'xq
mussel, small -ṭgụ (-matk)
mussel, large -niə' (-matk)
otters -nanə'muks
owl -goqloel
oyster -ṭo'zloz
panther -k̩oə'yawə
pike -'q̃oqo
porcupine -celqelq
rabbit -skə'epəəo (-k̩anaəmə -nəm, Kathlamet)
raccoon -qoala's (-latət, Kathlamet)
raven -kəələ'zoa
salmon, fall -q̃elema
salmon, summer -gu'nat
salmon, steel-head -goanəx
sea-lion -q̃e'p̃əx
sea-otter -lə'k̩ə
shag -'paowə
shark -k̩ə'yicə
skate -aiə'tu
snake -te'can
sperm whale -'mok*txi
squirrel -k̩ə'utən
sturgeon -nəṭən
sturgeon, green -kalə'na
swan -gelə'q
turtle -'lazəa
whale -'kolə
lynx -puk
wolf -lə'q!am
woodpecker -qstə'konən

(3) Small animals are feminine, as:

- **beetle** -b̓ic
- **bird (sp. ?)** -p̓e'qciuc
- **sea-bird (sp. ?)** -ḷqekə
- **sea-bird (sp. ?)** -c̣xulə'x
- **chicken-hawk** -n̓pîtc

chipmunk -'tsikin (-gusgu's, Kathlamet)
mud clam -'ṭe
fresh-water clam -'sala
cormorant -'wəntə
crane -q̃ucpalə

§ 34
crow -'k!unô (-t!ä'nts'a, Kathlamet)
killer-whale -qalâ'mat
dogfish (see shark) -q!oä'icx
eagle -tc!aktc!â'k
fawn of deer -q!ê'xcap
fish (sp. ?) -nä'van
fish (sp. ?) -k!otaqê'
fish (sp. ?) -'Lëlo
flounder -'p!kcî
frog -cuê'eê
halibut -tc!alô'c (said to be borrowed from Quinault)
louse -'qct
maggot -'moa
mallard-duck (female) -goë'x-goëx
mole -cë'ntan
mosquito -'p!lonts'ëkts'ëk
mouse -kô'txul (-cô, Kathlamet)
newt -qosâ'na,-latsë'menmen
screech-owl -'cxux

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:

- bird -lâ'lax (-p!s'cp!ec, Kathlamet)
- dog -kë'wisx (-k!u'k!ut, Kathlamet)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:

- nu'kstx smallness
- '(k!e)sîl sharpness
- 'zalx'të flatness
- 'p!k heavy weight
- 'ts!axan large belly
- 'wa expense
- 'q!latsal badness
- 'q!lêlatcx'ëna meanness
- 'lq!êlatcex'ila quiet
- 'yu'lll pride
- 'k!loac('ömît) fear
- kâ'kxul homesickness (subject of transitive verb)
- kanä'të life
- tsâ'tsa cold

pheasant (?) -ni'ctxuic
pigeon -qamen
porgy -qalxt!ë'mx
porpoise -kô'tckôlc
robin -tc!â'stias
salmon, calico -'laatçx
salmon, silver-side -'gawen
salmon, blue-back -tsøyeha
seal -'lxaîu (-që'sgoax, Kathlamet)
sea-lion, young -'zoë
skunk -pënpen (masculine BADGER)
snail -ts!emën'xnan
snail -ts!emô'ıkxan
snail -L!ê'xtan
snipe -ê'xa
teal-duck -munts!ê'kts!ëk
trout -p!â'lô
trout (?) -q!ê'xonê
woodpecker (female) -k!ulpa
woodpecker (male) -ntciawî'ct
wasp -'pa

shellfish (sp. ?) -kîla'ta
crab -qalxt'a (= one who crawls much)

- 'lâ'külî similarity
- 'tukîltx good luck
- 'tc!a sickness
- 'p!lonëkan blindness
- 'kunanëm diligence
- (kî)ma'tct(ami1) shame
- 'l!k!in bow legs
- kltöp being squeezed out (= one-eyed)
- që'wam sleepiness (subject of transitive verb, and possessive)
- 'tc!pux round head (= forehead)
- 'p!aqà flat head

§ 34
-’menukt blackened face
-(ki)’match spots, painted face
-tcck stench
-’q’es sweet smell
-’t’s’emn sweetness
-’L!L bitterness
-’L’elam ten
-’k’lamonak hundred
-’t’owit experience (from t!ô good)
-(ke)t!ôi skill
-’t!ôzôtskin

-’t!ôzakamit (= good mind) cleverness
-’L!m’e’nuzt lie of a male (subject of transitive verb)
-’gô’lgele lie of a female (subject of transitive verb)
-’ma’ act of hitting (= to hit)
-’kakamit mind (= to think)
-’qalqta a wail (= to wail)
-’k’ux smell (= to smell)

The following are exceptions:

Feminine

-’x’ti smokiness (= cataract of eye)
-’lô hunger (subject of transitive verb)

-’m’ô what is chewed
-’qôtk salt in head

Neuter

-’x’az sadness
-’patseu red head

-’x’auyam what excites sympathy

Plural

-’k’u’lo custom
-’k’i’lau taboo

-’(k)’pâ’lau witchcraft
-’k’atkoz cleverness

(6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle is generally masculine, as:

-’Lxalemaz what is eaten
-’tcxemal what is boiled
-’ctxul what is carried

-’k’l’wulal what has been picked
-’zôtkkin work

Exceptions to this rule are—

-’m’el purchase money

-liâ’pôna what has been brought to him

(7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:

-’yul’l pride (from yul’l)
-’k’l’wax flower (from wax)
-’wax’omi copper (from wax)

-’g’i’lmen!men syphilis from l’men rotten

(8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns.

Masculine are, for instance:

-’m’aa pewter wort
-’L’qa body
-’q’iq head

-’qto hair, skin with hair
-’gô’l eye
-’katez nose

§ 34
-cql mouth, beak, bill
-mist beak
-tuk neck
-mtxe heart
-to breast
-wan belly
-ite tail
-pote arm
-pa'tpat net
-teitcal brass buttons
-ku'p short dentalia
-qal'gal gambling-disks
-lala gambling-disks
-qal'gal short baton
-qomzom cedar-bark basket
-!uwalkl!uwalk mud
-q'qotgot fever
-punz large round spruce-root basket (f. small round spruce-root basket)
-ctel clam basket
-mal bay, sea, river
-o'k blanket
-ikau cradle
-qel creek, brook
-ktem dance of shaman
-lq digging-stick
-am dish
-pqon down of bird
-qcil fish-trap

Feminine are, for instance,

-kta thing
-qat wind
-ekel polypodium
-cu'qeq pteris
-p'i'x'x'x elbow
-te'te lungs
-seq buck-skin
-klo'klo' finger-ring
-ga'egas sealing-spear
-wisgwits breaking of wind
-lken open basket
-lexlex scales
-llemlem rotten wood
-
ei'kc friend
-p'il grease
-lx ground, earth
-lan short thong, string, pin for blanket
-cyan cedar (f. bucket, cup; n. plank)
-tsol harpoon-shaft
-msta hat
-tol heat
-k'ik hook
-kapa ice
-paqc boil, itch
-kxon leaf
-mece log, tree, wood (f. kettle)
-lkui mat
-pakal mountain
-sik paddle
-apla roe
-pa-it rope
-.nzat plank
-gocax sky
-teza point of sealing-spear
-kawok shaman's guardian spirit
-eo horn spoon
-makte spruce
-qanakc stone (f. large bowl-
der)
Neuter are, for instance,
-\textit{ts} \textsc{e} \textsc{t} \textsc{ex} gravel, thorn
-\textit{gul} \textsc{u} \textsc{u} \textsc{a} egg
-\textit{paa} nape
-\textit{list} tail of fish
-\textit{wit} leg
-\textit{pc} foot
-\textit{ql} \textit{q} armor

The number of these words that appear only in the neuter gender is so small that we may almost suspect that the neuter was until recently indefinite and used to indicate both indefinite singular and plural.

\section*{§ 35. Dual and Plural}

(1) Nouns that are naturally dual are:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ckucku} testicles
  \item \textit{szöst} eyes, face
  \item \textit{ckulkul} sparrow
  \item \textit{cemtk} spit for roasting
  \item \textit{ck’qzx} double-pointed arrow
  \item \textit{cpa} blanket made of two
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{c} \textsc{t} \textsc{c} \textsc{a} \textsc{ma} \textsc{q} castorium
  \item \textit{c’olæ} ground-hog blanket, made of two skins
\end{itemize}

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ck} \textsc{a} \textsc{k} \textsc{e} \textsc{l} eel
  \item \textit{c} \textsc{n} \textsc{q} \textsc{t} \textsc{i} \textsc{g} \textsc{t} \textsc{e} \textsc{t} hawk
  \item \textit{s} \textsc{k} \textsc{e} \textsc{n} \textsc{t} \textsc{e} \textsc{p} \textsc{e} \textsc{t} \textsc{p} \textsc{e} shrew
  \item \textit{sq} \textsc{a} \textsc{l} \textsc{o} \textsc{l} \textsc{o} butterfly
\end{itemize}

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tqamila} sand
  \item \textit{t} \textsc{e} \textsc{p} \textsc{s} \textsc{o} grass
  \item \textit{tk} \textsc{t} \textsc{e} \textsc{ma} property
\end{itemize}
In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tā'′ta′is codfish</td>
<td>tkt smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmē′n′a flounder</td>
<td>t′skō tattooing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tttis′ləq grasshopper</td>
<td>tkmtē′tēma prairie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 36. SECONDARY SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Masculine and feminine have assumed the secondary significance of largeness and smallness. This feature appears most clearly in those cases in which a stem used as a masculine expresses a large object, while as a feminine it expresses a similar smaller object. Examples of this use are:

- ʻpenpen badger
- ʻpqunx large round spruce-root basket
- ʻcōgan cedar
- ʻm′ecx log, tree, wood
- ŵqā′nake stone
- ŵqō′nake large bowlder

In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

- ŵkani′m canoe
- ŵkuni′m canoes

There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form: 

- ŵkani′m canoe
- ŵamē′ksōs toy canoe

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally t- was the true third person plural, which was perhaps originally used for human beings only.

(1) Many plurals of words designating human beings retain the pronoun t-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>ʻvkala tkā′lauks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>tā′nemekc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>tqa′cōcinike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgin</td>
<td>ŵhōt!au thataunā′na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>iqleyō′qut tqleystāqikc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by l-. Thus we find for women both lā′nemekc and tā′nemekc; for common person lzlā′yuēma and tzlā′yuēma.

§§ 36, 37
(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are _t_ and _p_. Examples of these are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beak</td>
<td>ʔ'-mist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>ʔ = wan ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird (sp. t)</td>
<td>ʔ-pō'ʔpoē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>ʔ'-tā'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>i = melqtan¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>ʔ-quo'čgoac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>ʔ-mā'cën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bird</td>
<td>ent's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ʔ'-gqôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorsal fin</td>
<td>ʔ'-gala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>iqetxē lau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pectoral fins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>ʔ'-kulaitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td>ʔ-pū'wil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken-hawk</td>
<td>ʔ'-npitē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coat</td>
<td>ʔ-qloō'lzap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
<td>ʔ'-tś'ikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flounder</td>
<td>ʔ-lā'ta-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>ʔ-k!unxā'tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>board</td>
<td>LE'-cgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>Lā'cëlx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albatross</td>
<td>i-tā'mela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-work clam basket</td>
<td>ʔ'-čk'alāe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large cedar-bark basket</td>
<td>ʔ-qō'mxōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grizzly-bear</td>
<td>i-cā'yim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyelashes</td>
<td>o'-oēlēwtā lxtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bailer</td>
<td>o'-lēk!lēk'nx!kn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-work basket</td>
<td>ʔ'-pqu'nx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round basket</td>
<td>ʔ'-kumatk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long baton</td>
<td>ʔ'-koēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket</td>
<td>ʔ'-cgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antler</td>
<td>L-k'ēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain-goat</td>
<td>L-čēgen-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>L-ćēt'čam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L-qoa'q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The sign _t_ indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.

§ 37
(3) There are a few cases in which the article o- is used for expressing the plural, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coat</td>
<td>o'ltqêlc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>òknqûm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>utce!aktc!â'k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) A number of words whose plural was originally a distributive retain the masculine pronoun, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abalone</td>
<td>i-kte'lw-ita'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone arrow-point</td>
<td>i-gd'm(aka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short baton</td>
<td>i-q'â'ldqal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black bear</td>
<td>i-i'tsxut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buck-skin straps</td>
<td>i-t!âlq-ed'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedar</td>
<td>e'-cgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>e'-nêmckc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pronoun, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bay</td>
<td>e'-maL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small bluff</td>
<td>i-kak!â'lat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>e'-qêl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>e'-tc!a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine distributives do not seem to retain their gender, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>o'kulaitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunch of grass</td>
<td>ē'pâ'wil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>ē'nu'xin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38. PLURAL SUFFIXES

(1) Besides the use of pronominal gender for designating plurality, Chinook seems to have distinguished human beings from other nouns also by the use of a separate plural suffix -ike,-uks the use of which for human beings is illustrated by the examples given in § 37.1. At present the ending -uks is used for forming the plural of many words, including names of animals and of inanimate objects.

On the whole, this suffix is accompanied by a shift of the accent to the penultima. When the last vowel is the obscure e followed by an l, m, or n, it is lengthened to ã under the stress of the accent (see § 5); -ê changes in these cases to -ây.
The following are examples of the shift of accent without accompanying change of vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>owl</td>
<td>t-goelqo'eluks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>t-goaeqoa'cek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large cedar-bark</td>
<td>L-qomx'omukc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>Tillamook Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>L-kwe'wucx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>t-goeqoa'cek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fawn</td>
<td>t-goeqoa'cek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twine</td>
<td>L-anoe'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea-lion</td>
<td>i-q'oe'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>L-qoe'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>L-klem'enuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egg</td>
<td>L-klem'enuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>L-kwape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albatross</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead, corpse</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dusk</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>L-tawape'xuks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words are quite numerous in which the shift of accent produces a change of vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pigeon</td>
<td>o'namen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>t!amaniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>box</td>
<td>L-egsnuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-work basket</td>
<td>L-klenk'auks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>L-klenk'auks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>t-masaniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>t-masaniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squirrel</td>
<td>t-masaniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelican</td>
<td>t-masaniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grizzly bear</td>
<td>t-masaniks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lance</td>
<td>squillamcks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam basket</td>
<td>L-calkalayuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>t-caloatenxexayuks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>t-cueayuks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 38
The plural of *i-po'epoe* (a bird), is *t-poépó'yuks*. Here the accent remains on the *o*, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the *e* becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also *l-lá'lex bird*, plural *t-lalá'xuke*, in which word the lengthening of the *e* to *a* before *x* is irregular.

A number of monosyllabic stems are treated in the same manner, as those here described:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>ô'omé'cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flounder</td>
<td>ô-pké'cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round basket</td>
<td>ô'-pqunx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ô'-qót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyelashes</td>
<td>i-t!e'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinnamon bear</td>
<td>e-ô'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>ô'-npîtöe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken-hawk</td>
<td>ô'-npitc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well</td>
<td>ô-plx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a number of words the accent does not shift:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old person</td>
<td>i-q!eyd'qut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shag</td>
<td>i-pa'eowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>i'-kala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with possessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ear Ô'-utca</td>
<td>t-iá'-utcake his ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his belly ia'-wan</td>
<td>t-gá'-unakke their bellies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth i-cqL</td>
<td>t-gá'-eqlekke their mouths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head é-gtq</td>
<td>t-gá'-eqtqekke their heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek é'-mélqtan</td>
<td>t-gá'-mélqtanuke their cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fin é'-gala</td>
<td>t-iá'-gala-ike his fins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his father L-ia'-mama</td>
<td>L-mca'-mama-ike your fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his elder brother ia'-xk'un</td>
<td>ia'-xk'uniks his elder brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his younger brother ia'-wux</td>
<td>ia'-wuxtikke his younger brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his maternal uncle ia'-tata</td>
<td>L-iá'-tatayuke his uncles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lid i-sämEl</td>
<td>L-iá'-semElqaks their lids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five qu'ném</td>
<td>qu'nemiks five persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten of them i-tá'-lélam</td>
<td>i-tá'-lélamyuks ten persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six te'xém</td>
<td>i-tá'-k!a-tremiks six in a canoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ending -tike instead of -(i)ke is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all ka'nauwē  
few m£'nx'ka  
many (their number) lgā'pela  
several le'zawē

 Analogous are the forms of—
up river ma'ema  
poor (his poverty) ṭa'zawym  
his younger brother ṭa'wuy

Still a different connective element appears in—
man ṭ'-kala  
i-kā'lamuks men

Attention may also be called to the forms—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>t-gā'cōciniṅke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>t-gō'ma'tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gull</td>
<td>i-gonē'gonē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raven</td>
<td>i-gōalo'qoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>t-kōlonō'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last four forms occur in a wail in a myth (Chinook Texts, p. 40) and are not the ordinary plurals of these words.

(2) The frequent plural-suffix -ma (Kathlamet -ma[k]) seems to have been originally a distributive element. This appears particularly clearly in the words e'xt'emaē sometimes (e'xt' one; -ma distributive; -ē adverbial); kanā'mtėma both (kanā'm both, together; -ma distributive). Following are examples of this suffix. In most cases the accent is drawn toward the end of the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abalone</td>
<td>i-kte'luwa-ītk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone arrow-point</td>
<td>i-gō'matk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisels</td>
<td>i-gō'matk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>willow</td>
<td>e-lā'ītk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disease</td>
<td>e'-tec'la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geese</td>
<td>t-te'lama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>i-gēwī'gē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>l-iā'-mxtē (his—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whale</td>
<td>i'-kōlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>e'-lō'wule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pike</td>
<td>e'-gōqō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seal</td>
<td>0'-lząiū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother!</td>
<td>ka'prō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast (female)</td>
<td>i'-teč-tō (her—)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§38
A peculiar form is o xo'te nema, plural o xo xocema, which is a verbal form signifying they are on the ground.

In a few cases in which the suffix -ma occurs with obscure connective vowel, like the preceding ones, changes of consonants occur in the end of the word:

Irregular is also the change in vowel in t'-qé'te creek, plural t!á'lema.

---

1 Also Lá!p'laxe.  
2 These are particles without pronominal plural sign.
A number of words take the ending -ma with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel -o- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>e'-nèmekc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground-hog</td>
<td>c'okâ'le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>i-qalq'alô'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baton</td>
<td>i-qalq'alô'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>o-qö'nakc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>e'-cô'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandson!</td>
<td>qac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prairie</td>
<td>te-m'ta'èma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably -m'a.

Another series of words take -e as connective vowel, sometimes -we or -oë:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>a'-xoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young seal</td>
<td>a'-xoë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widow whose hus-</td>
<td>a-k'èlial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>band has been</td>
<td>t-k'èlià'lòwëma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead a long time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island</td>
<td>Lëx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister!</td>
<td>ìts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother!</td>
<td>a'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>town</td>
<td>e'lxam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>t!òl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>i'-kta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prairie</td>
<td>t-là'-ktema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a plant</td>
<td>i-q'alzoë'ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the irregular forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>log</td>
<td>e'-m'ècxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common man</td>
<td>L-zà'yal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrior</td>
<td>L-t!òzo'yal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In at least one of these words the origin of the -ë is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word house is -quše in Kathlamet, and would naturally form the plural tquše'ma, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form t!òże'ma.

(3) A considerable number of words have no plural suffix whatever, but differ only in the pronoun, or may even have the same

---

1 See above.
pronoun in singular and plural. Examples of these are contained in the lists in § 37. Additional examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>i-qoa-inë'në</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-qoa-inë'në</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>i'-potë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-potë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm-pit</td>
<td>i-kemelâ'pix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-kemelâ'pix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut of blubber</td>
<td>i-gitë'tcxala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-gitë'tcxala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>i-kamö'kxuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-kamö'kxuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dip-net</td>
<td>i'-qxacga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tx'-qxacga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buoy</td>
<td>o'-qxun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l'E'-qxun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh-water clam</td>
<td>o'-sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l'E'-sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coal</td>
<td>o-gö'lxatsx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l-qä'lxatsx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab-apple</td>
<td>o-pâ'utc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l-pâ'utc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>o-kci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-kci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>i-kani'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ö-kuni'm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in -nana, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parent-in-law</td>
<td>ö'-qsix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tx'-qsix'-nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister's son</td>
<td>i'-latx'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-latx'en-nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's sister</td>
<td>ö'-pötszan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-pötszan-nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>ö-lak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-lak-nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (children of brother and sister)</td>
<td>L-qa'mgë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-qa'mgë-nana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>virgin</td>
<td>ö-höt'!au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-hät'!au-nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>i-ci'kc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-ci'kc-nana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few terms of relationship have plural forms in -iks or the distributive -ma, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>l-mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l-mama-ikc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>i-žk!un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-žk!un-ikc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>i-wuz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-wuz-ikc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>i-tata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-tata-ikc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother!</td>
<td>a'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(address)</td>
<td>a'oema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter's child!</td>
<td>qäc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(address)</td>
<td>qä'cöma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) A number of words have peculiar plural suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>i-känax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-kanä'x-imct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>L-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L-atct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth</td>
<td>i-qöölipx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-qlilipx'-unä'yu (see under 6) §12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweetheart</td>
<td>L-göliz'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t'-göleyü</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable -yụ- which may be either an affix or may be considered as an expansion of the vowel of the stem by dieresis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to bathe</td>
<td>-oṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rise</td>
<td>-xalatck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to notch</td>
<td>-ts'lɛlx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>-witck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to awaken</td>
<td>-ọtc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in -c.

x'i'ta these things  x'i'tac those men
qo'ta those things  qo'tac those men

(8) Several nouns and verbs form singular and plural from distinct or distantly related stems, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>ò'-ò'kuil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>L-k!a'sks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (some one's)</td>
<td>L-xa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>L-ičx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slave</td>
<td>è-la'itix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>è'-qot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be</td>
<td>-ó-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>-gt'isax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>-t'ruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to die</td>
<td>-ō-m'gt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>-ā-wa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to bathe</td>
<td>-ōọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rise</td>
<td>-xalayukc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to notch</td>
<td>-ts'ā'yulx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>-wāyukc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to awaken</td>
<td>-ọyute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

aọ younger brother!  mā'ma father!
āts younger sister!  āq son!
'kā'pxō elder brother! elder sister!  āc daughter!
qāc grandchild! (said by man)  cike friend!
ka'ē grandchild! (said by woman)

§ 40. DERIVATION OF NOUNS

On the whole the derivation of the numerous polysyllabic nouns in Chinook is obscure. Evidently a considerable number of nominal affixes exist, which, however, occur so rarely that their significance can not be determined. Examples are the derivatives from the stem ēlx LAND, COUNTRY—ile'e COUNTRY (the i disappears because the vowel following ēx carries the accent) lgōlē'zēmk PERSON, ēlzmam TOWN, §§ 39, 40
télxem people. From the stem xé we have iqoate’xéxé bullfrog; from the stem kon, iqtó’konkon woodpecker.

A few affixes only occur fairly frequently, but even in these cases it is sometimes impossible to classify the words satisfactorily.

1. -ke-. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix -ki, -gi, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

- o’gi’iuq’up a cut
- igé’L’meNl’men something rotten
- igilé’ma’tek store
- ogué’xraté alder (= wood for dyeing)
- ik’i’wuléxql food
- é’kit payment for a wife
- Lk’i’vax torch, flower
- tkipalá’wul word
- tkimó’ex’em toy
- ik’éte’naz game

2. -qe-. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive -x-.

- oqogu’nq’atk club (from -x-gunk to club)
- Lqé’taméte comb (from -xé-tciam to comb one’s self)
- Lqé’ilé’tcuwa hat (from -xenlé’tcuwa to hang a round thing on top of one’s self)
- iqatslé’l’xak panther (from -xtse’l’xakò to have a notch around
- oqotsíá’yul’xak ants one’s self)

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with -gi-, -ki-, -ké-, -qé-, -qè-, contain these prefixes, for instance:

- igé’lux’tcutk arrow-head
- igé’mxatk burial
- igé’l’oté elk-skin
- ogué’nxak plank
- oék’twél’lak dried salmon

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

- oqewi’qe knife
- oq’vela’wulz maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)
- iqleyó’qzut old

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by—

- iqék!’é’s brass, but
- ik’l’è’sa gall (both from k’è’s yellow)
- iqé’p’al doorway (probably from -p’al into [ = that into which people always enter])
3. *na-* is a local prefix.
   - *nala*za*p* hole (from *lzoa*p to dig)
   - *nate*lim the country of the Tillamook (from *'elim*)

4. **-tê** a suffix signifying tree, wood.
   - *ogue*’pxatê alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. **-tk** is a nominal suffix the significance of which is quite obscure.
   In a few cases it indicates the point of an object, but in many cases this explanation is quite unsatisfactory. It seems possible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem **-tk** to put down, to deposit, so that its meaning might be something on the ground, or something attached to something else, or a part of something else. This explanation would be satisfactory in words like—
   - *i’potik* forearm
   - *igê*luxxcULK arrow-head
   - *iwa’nemat* belly-cut of a fish
   - *ilmê’tk* bed may be derived from **-êlx** ground, and may mean put down on the ground
   - *ikalxê’lemat* may mean put down to eat from (= dish)

The following list contains some stems with their nominal and verbal derivatives. It will be noted that in a number of cases the verb is derived from the noun.

- **pxa** ALDER-BARK.
  - *ô’-pxa* alder-bark
  - *ô-gue’-pxa-tê* alder
  - *l-gê’-pxa-tê* alder-woods
  - *-al-ô’-pxa* to dye in alder-bark
  - *l-q-l-al-ô’-pxa* dyed cedar-bark

- **-ts!êlx** TO NOTCH.
  - *i-qa-ts!êlx-ak* what has a notch around itself (= panther)
  - *ô-go-ts!êlx-yu’lu-ak* those with notches around themselves (= ants)
  - *-s-x-ts!êlx-akô* to make a notch around a thing

- **-klunxa’** DRIFT-NET.
  - *ô-klunxa’* drift-net
  - *-xen-klunxa’tê-mam* to go to catch in drift-net

- **naud’itk** NET.
  - *-xe-naud’itge* to catch in net

- **-wiuc** URINE OF MALE.
  - *l-ô’-wiuc* urine
  - *-xa-wiuc* to urinate
  - *o-wiuc’-mat* chamber

§ 40
-kxamit to pay attention.
  i-ka-kxamit mind
  -a-kxamit to pay attention

-gunk to club.
  ō-gō-qn'k-la-tk club
  x-gunk to club

-tciam to comb.
  L-qē-tciam-ë-tē comb

-Lxē to crawl.
  L-qa-Lxē'-la one who crawls much (= crab)

-utca ear.
  ō'-utca ear
  x-wu'tca-tk to hear

-Lxe(Em) to eat.
  i-ka-Lxe'l-mak dish

-ōic to break wind.
  Lxe'ōic-qc to break wind (perhaps for -ōicqoic)
  ō'-wic-qc wind broken

-Lx around neck.
  Lx-ōt it is around the neck
  i-q!e'-Lx-ōt necklace

-tēwa to bail out.
  -x-tēwa to bail out canoe
  o'-i-tēwa'-Lx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-kamōt property.
  -x'emōta to barter
  t-kamō'ta property

-kema(tk) baton.
  ō'-kumatk baton
  xematk to beat time with baton

-Lē to catch with herring-rake.
  -x-Lē-n to catch with herring-rake
  i-qa-LĒ'-ma-tk herring-rake

-mōcx'em to play, to fool.
  t-ki-mōcx'ema toys

-mēcx wood.
  ē-mēcx tree
  ō-mēcx'kettle
  xēl-mēqēti to gather wood

-pla to enter.
  i-qē'-plal doorway

§ 40
-Lëtcwva to put hollow thing on top of something.

   L-që-Lëtcwvâ'-ma hat

-qct louse.

   ò-qct louse
   -gë-qcta to louse

-këck to net

   c-këck-mâ'tk net-shuttle
   -xél-gë'-këck to net

-teiakt to point.

   -gë-tciaktë to point at something
   gi-teâ'aktë-l pointer (= first finger)

-mq to spit.

   -ò-mqo-it to spit
   -ò-m's-a to vomit
   L-mx-të saliva

-kta thing, something, what.

   i-kta thing, something, what
   -gem-ò-kti to pay

§ 41. Nouns and Verbs Derived from Particles.

Many particles (see § 46) can be used as stems of nouns. I have found the following examples:

i-yuL'l pride 74.11 (from yuL'l proud)

tk!'waxema torches 27.22 (from wax light, to shine)

ik!'wac' flower 165.27 (from wax to bloom)

ëwax'omi copper (from wax light, to shine)

ik!'wac'omi fear 213.10 (from k'wac afraid)

ig'!q!up cut 46.2 (from Lq!up to cut)

igé/l'mên!mên syphilis (from L'mên soft, rotten)

nats!'x piece 69.3 (from ts!x to tear)

nalxoa'p hole 23.7 (from Lxoa'p to dig)

nalö'lo something round (from lõ'lo round)

-xâ'penic a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from pâ'nic to give in payment for services of a shaman)

-gë'staq!oam to go to war 270.1 (from staq! war)

L-xq!am to be lazy (from q!am lazy)

ne-âxaxome to notice 40.14 (from zâx to notice)

cë'kpe!pt it boils (from Lep to boil)

-xâ'qîq!up to cut one's self (from Lq!up to cut)

Nevertheless this series of stems is sharply set off from all others, since the latter never occur without pronominal elements, excepting a few vocatives that have been mentioned in §39.

§ 41
§ 42. COMPOUND NOUNS

There are only very few examples of nouns compounded of two independent elements, as:

- c-ge-mōlak-tekti my elk nose 193.19 (c- dual; -ge- my; -mōlak elk; -tekti nose)
- t'agēlak'tke woman's utensils (t- plural; -t'agēlak woman; -ktē things)
- i-k'ani-y-i'lxammyth town 216.8 (i- masculine; -kanam myth; -i'lxam town)

A number of nouns, particularly names of animals, are descriptive in character. These were probably used as alternates in case one name of an animal became tabued through the death of a person bearing its name, or a name similar to it. Examples are:

- iqats'e'lxak having a notch around itself, i. e., with a thin belly (= panther)
- oqots'iā'yuLxak those having notches around themselves (= ants)
- itcă'yau a'qaqtq snake's head (= dragon fly)
- č'galixlz going into the water (= mink)
- otcō'itzul dip-net maker (= spider)
- egē'wam the sleepy one (= a fish [sp.])
- okō'lxul thief (= mouse)
- ik'ut'ik'ut the one who always breaks (bones) (= dog [Kathlamet dialect])

§ 43. SUBSTANTIVES AS QUALIFIERS

Substantives are often used to qualify other substantives. In this case the qualifying substantive takes the gender of the one qualified:

- ő'kξola ő'owun a male silver-side salmon 109.3
- eč'kił imōlak a female elk 264.3
- č'kξala imōlak a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix ő-, which is characteristic of substantives.

§ 44. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

(1) Demonstrative Pronouns of Lower Chinook. The structure of the demonstrative pronoun of the Chinook proper is analogous to that of the noun. It consists of a modal element, which seems to express visibility and invisibility; the personal pronoun which expresses gender; and the demonstrative element, which expresses position near the first, second, and third persons.

§§ 42-44
(1) Modal element.
Visibility, or existence in present time $x$-
Invisibility, or existence in past time $q$-

(2) Gender.
Masculine -i-
Feminine -a-
Neuter -l-
Dual -ct-
Plural -t-

(3) Demonstrative element.
Near first person -k
Near second person -au (-i-a)
Near third person -x (-o-a)

In the forms with consonantic pronoun (-l-, -ct-, -t-), the demonstrative element is represented by a secondary character— -i- (-e-) preceding the pronoun for the demonstratives of the first and second persons; -o- for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present, Visible</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural, human beings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>$x'ik$</td>
<td>$x'ak$</td>
<td>$x'ilik$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>$x'iau$</td>
<td>$x'au$</td>
<td>$x'ila$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>$x'ix$</td>
<td>$x'aix$</td>
<td>$x'ola$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past, Invisible</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural, human beings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>$qiau$</td>
<td>$qaix$</td>
<td>$qela$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>$qix$</td>
<td>$qax$</td>
<td>$qola$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>$qicta$</td>
<td>$qeta$</td>
<td>$qeltac$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms for past or invisible near the first person do not seem to occur. Besides these, emphatic forms occur in which the initial elements are doubled. Of these I have found the following:

§ 44
Present, Visible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'i'k</td>
<td>x'axă'k</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'iau'</td>
<td>x'axă'u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ix'i'x</td>
<td>x'axă'x</td>
<td>x'ix'ơla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Plural, human beings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vast, Invisible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qiqoa'x</td>
<td>qaqau'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiqe'x</td>
<td>qaqă'x</td>
<td>qiqo'la'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Plural, human beings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, these doubled forms are used more frequently in a predicative sense than the single forms. Apparently they are often substantival forms, but I think they are better characterized as predicative. Quite often these forms may be translated this one, who.

x'ix'e'ka algē'ikulam x'ila igleyō'qo't it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6

ōqlo'zl xarau' o'ilat Oqlo'xol, this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (ō- she; -lx to the beach; -t perfect)

x'ix'iau amigä't!ôm this one whom you met 185.12 (a- transi- tional; m- thou; i- him; -gatq to meet; -am completive)

aniā'wà'qiqiau'x ktcenxgă'luk. I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (-wa to kill; qiqiau'x probably for qiqiau'; k- the one who; tce-—he me; -xgado to go about; -l with suffix -ako by metathesis -alukl)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

naltē'ma ẓak ok!u'ltcin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (nalt- I her to her; -ēm to give food; -a future; ok!u'ltcin fish head)

atciel'tēm ikamō'kxuk qō'la lgē'wusx he gave a bone to that dog 187.12 (atciel- he him to it; ikamō'kxuk bone; lgē'wusx dog)
k̓cu'ala x'ik nē'mal up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found tikc, tik, tik instead of the same elements with the prefix x'i, but I am not certain whether in these cases the beginning of the word was not slurred over.
Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in -k. At least this is a possible explanation of the form x'ix'e'kik.

\[ x'ix'e'gik \]
\[ MK\'ANAX TCEM\'AXO \]
\[ This \ here \ is \ what \ will \ make \ you \ rich \]
\[ 218.1 \ (M- \ thou; -KANAX \ chief, \ rich \ man; TCEM- \ he \ thee; A- \]
directive \ before \ x; -x \ to \ make; -O \ future \ after \ x)\]
\[ E\'KTA TCE\'W\'AYA X'IX'E'KIK \ what \ can \ this \ one \ do! 134.25 \]
\[ IA\'L \ X'IX'E'KIK! \ oh, \ this \ (miserable) \ one! 41.10, 147.1 \]
\[ TG\'AMA \ x\'U\'E\'KIK \ these \ are \ shot \ 213.20 \ (TG\'A- \ their; -MA- \ being \ shot) \]

To this form may belong the demonstratives o'kuk, yo'kuk, ya'xkuk, x'ix-o'kuk, qiqo'k, but all these seem to be demonstrative adverbs.

(2) **Demonstrative Adverbs of Lower Chinook.** These are very numerous and it is difficult to present them in a systematic way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before. The forms expressing present have the element x-, those expressing past q-. Both occur with the two vowels -i- and -o-, which, in this case, seem to express this and that. Their locative character is expressed by the suffixed locative element gō. Thus we find—

\[ x'igō \]
\[ qigō \]
\[ qōgō \]

\[ A\'LA \ A\'LØ IA\'U\'A X'IGŌ NA\'XOA\'P ALGĀ\'YAYAX ILÉÉ \ now \ they \ went \ thus \]
\[ to \ this \ place \ where \ they \ had \ dug \ up \ the \ ground \ 23.7 \ (A\'LA \]
now; A- \ transitional; L- indefinite; -O \ to \ go; IA\'U\'A \ here \ thus; NA- \]
\[ place; XOA\'P \ to \ dig; A- \ transitional; LQ- \ indefinite \ transitive \]
\[ subject; A- \ for -\i- masculine \ object; A- \ directive; -X \ to \ do; ILE\'E \ ground \ masc.) \]

\[ x'igō \ NAGAÎ\'MAT, GŌ TG\'ĀKU\'LIL QŌ\'TA-YÉ\'KA \ here \ at \ GAŁ\'MAT \ is \]
\[ their \ custom \ thus \ 240.25 \ (NA- \ place; GŌ \ there; TG\'A- \ their; KU\'LIL \]
\[ custom; Ē\'KA \ thus) \]

\[ İA\'ZKĖWA TAL! X\'OK Q\'AT AQĀ\'NAX \ nevertheless \ there \ I \ am \ loved \ 39.5 \]
\[ (IA\'ZKĖWA \ there \ thus; TAL! \ nevertheless; Q\'AT \ to \ love; A- \]
\[ transitional; ĀN \ me \ [accented ā]; A \ directive; -X \ to \ do) \]

\[ TC\'A\'A, QA\'DA X\'OGU N\'ZAX \ see! \ how \ I \ became \ here \ 178.8 \]
\[ A\'LA LPIL QIGŌ LK\'A N\'ZAX \ now \ it \ was \ red \ where \ it \ was \ broken \]
\[ 185.20 \ (LPIL \ red; LK\'A \ to \ break) \]

\[ PÅL IK\'A\'PA QIGŌ MÅ\'LNE \ it \ was \ full \ of \ ice \ there \ seaward \ 44.24 \]
\[ (PÅL \ full; IK\'A\'PA \ ice; MÅ\'LNE \ seaward) \]

\[ AL E\'ZELACGUQ QIGŌ NOPŌ\'NEMX \ he \ would \ arise \ when \ it \ was \ night \]
\[ 165.6 \]

\[ QŌGU UTC\'A\'QATZALA AYĀ\'XELAX UTCĀ\'NIX \ there \ the \ wedge \ was \ bad \]
\[ 161.8 \ (I- \ masculine; TCĀ- \ feminine \ possessive; Q\'ATZALA \ badness; AYĀ\'XELAX \ hers \ is \ on \ her; UTCĀ\'NIX \ wedge) \]

§ 44
a'ctōp! gō gōgō gitanō'kstx t!ōl they entered that little house
(a'ctō they two go; -p! into; gō there; gitanō'kstx having their smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea in this manner are ya'kwa,
yau'a, ē'wa, qēwa, ya'xkēwa.

Related to these is the interrogative qā'xēwa. All of these contain the element -wa. They designate nearness and distance, but I am unable to tell the difference in their use, which is rather indefinite. According to their form ya'kwa (= yak-wa) probably belongs with the series designating position near the speaker, yau'a (= yau-wa) position near the person addressed. The form ē'wa seems to correspond to the demonstrative position near the third person, while ya'xkēwa always refers back to a place previously designated: thus just at that place.

iakwa' gōyē' ā'te'ax here he did thus 65.21 (gōyē' thus; ā'te'ax he her; -az to do)
nēkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17
nē'k'ikst ē'wa wē'wułē he looked there into the house 130.17 (nē-he, intransitive; -k'i designates lack of object; -kst to look; wē'wułē inside of house)
iā'xkēwa nē'xankō there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17
iā'xkēwa ayuqunā'itix't there (where he was shot) he fell down 62.22

The forms in -wa are used often to express the idea here—there:
ē'wa ē'nata, iau'a ē'natai here on this side,—there on that side 201.12
ia'kwa nō'ix ē'xat, iau'a ta'nuta nō'ix ē'xat here went the one (feminine); there to the other side went the other 75.14

But we find also forms in -uk used in the same way—
iō'kuk aqā'yutk iqē'sqēs, ia'kwa ē'natai aqā'yutk kā'sa-it here on one side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4
lā'yapc iakwa',—iō'kuk iā'melk his foot there,—here his thigh 174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different directions or places.
iā'ma iau'a mō'yima; nākct iau'a mai'emē ittā'yim only there (upstream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.

iauu'a aegixa'luketgux, iau'a aegixa'luketgux here they two threw him down, here they two threw him down; i. e., they threw him down again and again 26.8

§ 44
yauá' actik!élá'pruitxë, yauá' actik!élá'pruitxë there they turned over each other again and again 127.4

iá'koa-y-éxt, ia'koa-y-éxt kanā'mtema one here, one here, both;
i.e., one in each hand 45.10 (see also 157.22)

As stated before, the forms in -uk seem to have adverbial meaning. Following are examples of their uses:

- o'kuk kía'gewam iké'x imé'xanátxe (with that) shaman is thy soul 199.23 (kía'gewam one having a shaman's song; i- he; -ké- indicates absence of object; -x to do, to be; -mè- thy; -kanátxe soul)
- ió'kuk agá'yu'tk go i'tcá'xemalap'ix' here she put him in her arm-pit 50.4 (-tk to put; -kemalap'ix' arm-pit)
- aqá'nu'kct x'ix'o'kuk someone one looked at me here 30.8 (-kct to look)
- Lónas yaxku'k ltxa'mama lo'c may be our father is there 29.14 (Lónas may be; -mama father; -c to be)
- tcintuwa'x'ómx qíqó'k antsaúwi'p' éná'nanma-itx te'k'léql he comes to kill me when I always jump in my house 64.25 (tc-he; n-me; t-to come; -wo'to kill; -am to arrive; -x habitually; a-transitional; n-I; ts-probably for s- both [feet]; -auwi' for -ón into them [see § 9]; -pEn to jump; -án assimilated for -ál always [§ 8] -a-itx always [§ 31.10])

Quite isolated is the form ia'zkati, which appears with great frequency. The ending -ti is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the parallel Kathlamet form gípá'tix' there, and nö'likatìx' for a little while. It signifies the position near the third person, there.

- ia'zkati mó'p'laya! enter there! 24.5
- ia'zkatë ayo'ta-it there he stayed 76.14

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in -uk, is ia'zkayuk here.

- ia'zkayuk ayo'yam here he arrived 64.24
- ia'zkayuk ni'eltá'qia I shall leave it here 186.1

Related to this form may be yukpá' here and yukpá't to this point here. These contain the locative suffix -pa at, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, but does not occur in Lower Chinook, while the ending -t is directive and related to the Upper Chinook -ta (see § 55).

- yukpá' iá'ma't atcélax here he hit him (his shooting he did to him here) 62.22
- yukpá' ayaqeltá'mex'it here it hit him 153.22
- yukpá't lâ'yaqso aqélax iúá'qta his hair was made that long (to here his hair someone made it on him its length) 156.17
- yukpe't níce'la-it ltoq up to here he stood in (it) the water 225.8

§ 44
It will be noticed that the element iax (yaż) occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in x'ix:o'yaż, gő'yaż and the interrogative qa'xeyaż.

As initial element it occurs in ya'xkuk, ia'xkayuk, ia'xkewa, ia'xkati. It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal yaż of the Kathlamet demonstrative and with the first element in ia'xka he alone, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(3) Demonstrative Pronouns of Kathlamet. In Kathlamet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Kathlamet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Kathlamet has the same form for masculine and feminine), while all the other genders are designated by their characteristic sounds. In Wishram this prefix is invariable. The location near the second and third persons is expressed in both dialects by invariable suffixes.

Kathlamet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>tayax</td>
<td>tavā'x</td>
<td>lata'x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>yā'xaue</td>
<td>d'xaue</td>
<td>lā'xaue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>yax'i'(yaż)</td>
<td>wax'i'(yaż)</td>
<td>lax'i'(yaż)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural, persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near 1st person</td>
<td>ctactā'x</td>
<td>lata'x</td>
<td>lata'ikc taata'ikc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 2d person</td>
<td>ctā'xaue</td>
<td>tā'xaue</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near 3d person</td>
<td>ctax'i'(yaż)</td>
<td>tax'i'(yaż)</td>
<td>la-itci ta-itci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these forms, Kathlamet has two very short forms, gi and tau. Both are used for positions corresponding to here, but their exact relationship has not been determined. They occur with all genders and numbers. The form tau is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram dau, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

its!ā'ts!emōm gi a'mēqwest her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Kathlamet Texts)

sā'ema gi LE'cin lā'tgatecz only this stump drifts down 92.5 (ibid.)

gātcqi k!ā iɡō'zoaız gi tgu'nat? why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (ibid.)

gā'mta iō'ya dau iɡizatk!oā'mam? where went he who came home? 162.7 (ibid.)

ikzōlā'mit tau aqagē' lak this woman carried him away 163.1 (ibid.)

The element gi appears also presumably in tānki SOMETHING.
(4) **Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet.** The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

\[ \text{gipā'} \text{ here} \quad \text{gōpā'} \text{ there} \]

both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix \(-\text{pa}\).

\[ \text{gipā'} \text{ gi } \text{txā'-qeyemapa ayam}'\text{lgē'tga here to these our wedges I shall put you} \text{ 114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (txā- our; -qeyem wedge; -ma plural; -pa to; ayam'- I to thee; -gi- indicates absence of object; -t to put; -a future)} \]

\[ \text{gipā'} \text{ cxy!oā'\text{-qōx here the two were grown together} 17.1 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{icxē'la-tt̄x kō'pa they stayed there} 10.6 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{kōpa' igix'go-\text{-tq then he awoke} 21.8 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{imō'\text{lək gōpā'} \text{ cō'xālīx an elk is up there} 71.5 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

In place of gipā' the stronger form gipā'tīx' is found.

\[ \text{gipā'tīx' siā'xōstopa right here on his face} 76.14 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

Compare with this form—

\[ \text{i\text{lō'yam ilxpadiə they arrived in that land} 17.14 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{i\text{oque'wulrt iqā'menopā'tīx' he climbed a pine there} 11.14 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

Corresponding to the forms yukpē't, yukpē'temə, in Lower Chinook, we find here gi\text{pe't}, gi\text{pe'temax}.

\[ \text{gi\text{pe't} \text{ā'yaiqt up to here its thickness} 189.5 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{lxp!\text{octemtx }le'laqcə' gi\text{pe'temax braided was his hair to here} 131.10 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

Often yaxi' (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

\[ \text{yaxi' ayax\text{ū}'x there (was) the sun} 109.3 \]

\[ \text{ya'xi mā'ni+nix igē'kta there seaward he ran} 172.11 \]

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in \(-\text{wa}\) is represented by ā'koa, ē'wa.

\[ \text{iqcex'\text{la}u ā'koa itcō'\text{zoa here thus he made her a monster} 224.3 \text{ (ibid.) (iqcex'\text{la}u monster; itcō'- he her)} \]

\[ \text{iān lāxi ā'\text{kua lxō'la' who is that here thus talking?} 51.9 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

\[ \text{iān who; lxō'- it by itself) \]

\[ \text{ictō'\text{\text{-la}ca} \text{\text{-wa ikak}!ō'\text{-lttx the two went down there thus to the lake} 18.95 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive \(-\text{ta}\).

\[ \text{māket ā'wimax itcē'\text{-ytax two these thus their length} 189.4 \text{ (ibid.)} \text{(māket two; itcē'- her; -ytax length)} \]

Another adverb is found in this dialect, \text{tē'ka thus here}.

\[ \text{tē'ka gi atxōgō'yə! here we will sleep!} 109.4 \text{ (ibid.)} \]
\[ \text{tē'ka atrx\text{\text{-a}yā'wulalemə here we will play!} 167.17 \text{ (ibid.)} \]

§ 44
(5) Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wishram (by E. Sapir).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near 1st person</th>
<th>Near 2d person</th>
<th>Near 3d person</th>
<th>Near 3d person (formed from ya’xdau)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Neuter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’u ya(x)</td>
<td>da’u a(x)</td>
<td>da’u a(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’ya(x)</td>
<td>da’wa(x)</td>
<td>da’la(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’xdau</td>
<td>a’zdau</td>
<td>la’zdau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’xda(x)</td>
<td>a’zda(x)</td>
<td>la’zda(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’xia(x)</td>
<td>a’xia(x)</td>
<td>la’xia(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya’xdau</td>
<td>ak’xdau</td>
<td>la’xdau</td>
<td>yak’a’xdau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near 1st person</th>
<th>Near 2d person</th>
<th>Near 3d person</th>
<th>Near 3d person (formed from ya’xdau)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da’ucda(x)</td>
<td>da’uda(x)</td>
<td>da’uda(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’cda(x)</td>
<td>da’da(x)</td>
<td>da’da(x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cda’xdau</td>
<td>da’xdau</td>
<td>la’zdauaite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cda’xda(x)</td>
<td>da’xda(x)</td>
<td>a’zdauaite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’xda(x)</td>
<td>da’xda(x)</td>
<td>da’xiaite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cda’xia(x)</td>
<td>da’xia(x)</td>
<td>la’xiaite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cdaka’xdaa</td>
<td>da’xdauaitc</td>
<td>la’xdauaitc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cdaka’xdauaitc</td>
<td>da’xdauaitc</td>
<td>la’xdauaitc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td>da’da-itc</td>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’uva-itc</td>
<td>da’uva-itc</td>
<td>da’uva-itc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near 1st person</th>
<th>Near 2d person</th>
<th>Near 3d person</th>
<th>Near 3d person (formed from ya’xdau)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td>da’da-itc</td>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td>da’uzdauaite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td>da’uda-itc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaka’xdau</td>
<td>ak’xdau</td>
<td>la’xdau</td>
<td>yak’a’xdau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.**—It is somewhat doubtful whether ya’xdau should be so read or as ya’xdau. (x) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is deictic in value.

-ka may be added to demonstratives in -ite.

Elements -tla and -tlite are perhaps “diminutive” forms of demonstrative pronominal stem da this and personal plural-dite.

Following is a list of the demonstrative adverbs of the Wishram dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>up to</th>
<th>towards, on ... side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem da(u)</td>
<td>da’ba</td>
<td>dapt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem kwó</td>
<td>kwó’ba</td>
<td>kwópt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem ia’xí</td>
<td>ia’xíba</td>
<td>ya’xpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem di’ka</td>
<td>di’ka</td>
<td>di’gat (18.17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, Wishram Texts (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnolog. Society).
§45. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun is formed from the objective pronoun by means of a number of suffixes of unknown origin and the terminal suffix -ka only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>na'ika</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>maika</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ia'xka</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st feminine</td>
<td>a'zka</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd feminine</td>
<td>la'iska</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd feminine</td>
<td>la'ska</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nteika</td>
<td>we two (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>lzaika</td>
<td>we two (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>mcaika</td>
<td>your two selves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st feminine</td>
<td>eta'zka</td>
<td>their two selves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd feminine</td>
<td>ta'ska</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

nā'mka I alone
mā'mka thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form mī'ca you occurs in the texts (23.1)

In the Kathlamet dialect an emphatic form na'yax I, ma'yax thou (Kathlamet Texts 114.11) is found, which occurs also in Wishram.

The forms for I, thou, etc., alone are:

na'ëma I alone
txa'ëma we alone 134.16

These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

na'-ima I alone
ma'-ima thou alone
lxa'-imadike we (incl.) alone

§45
Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following:

Shortest form:

- **na**(x) I **ya**(x) he **da’-itc** they
- **la’-itc** they (Wishram Texts 48.4)
- **a’-itc** they

Inclusive:

- **nai’it’a** I too **ya’xtla** he too **la’-it’ikcthey too**
- **ixai’Uikcwe** too **da’-it’ikcthey too**
- **a’-itUlccthey too**

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person (**ya’xia**) seem morphologically parallel to first and second personal emphatic pronouns (**na’ya**); that the demonstrative element -i- is characteristic of the first and second persons, -x- of the third; as in

- **na’-i-ka** I **ya-x-ka** he
- **na’-i-t’a** I too **ya-x-t’a** he too
- **na’-(i)-ya** I **ya-x-i’a** he

These elements -i- and -x- are probably identical with Chinook -i- and -x- in x‘i’za and x‘ix’, x‘ax.

**Particles (§§ 46-52)**

**§ 46. Attribute Complements**

It is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinook language that a few verbs of very indefinite meaning which require subjective and objective attribute complements are applied with great frequency. By far the greater number of these, and the most characteristic ones, are words that do not require pronominal prefixes. Many are clearly of onomatopoetic origin. In some cases it appears doubtful whether the words belong to the regular vocabulary of the language, or whether they are individual productions. This is true particularly when the words do not form part of the sentence, but appear rather as independent exclamations. Examples of this kind are the following:

- *oxuwiw’ayul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm* they danced, kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm, 167.5 (here *kumm* indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)
- *hömm, igu’nat èniù’kux* hömm, I smell salmon 67.3
- *a’lta, pemm, temòtsg’ai’nus gò ià’yacql* now pemm, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (*pemm* indicates the noise of flies)
- *tcx, tcz, tcz, tcz, gö lkameld’leq* there was noise of footsteps (*tcx*) on the sand 75.3

§ 46
In a number of cases onomatopoetic terms which undoubtedly belong to the regular vocabulary are used in the same manner:

\textit{tcxup, tcxup, tcxup, tcxup al'ezax lā'k!ēwax} the torch flickered (literally, made tcxup) 50.24
\textit{L!lāq, L!lāq, L!lāq, Lā'za nē'zaż iskē'proa, out, out, out, out came a rabbit} 113.6

These cases make it plausible that most terms of this kind belong to the regular vocabulary. The frequent use of such onomatopoetic words and the occurrence of new words of the same kind (such as \textit{ti'ntin clock, watch, time; tsikitsik wagon}) suggest that in Chinook the power of forming new words by imitative sounds has been quite vigorous until recent times.

Examples of onomatopoetic words of this class are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{hē'hē} to laugh
  \item \textit{hō'hō} to cough
  \item \textit{pō} to blow
  \item \textit{tī'eq} to slap
  \item \textit{tī'ak} to break a piece out
  \item \textit{tō'tō} to shake
  \item \textit{cīz} to rattle
  \item \textit{cāu} low voice
\end{itemize}

\textit{tēx} to break
\textit{tcxup} to flicker
\textit{tcxoap} to gnaw
\textit{k!ut} to tear off
\textit{xlē} to blow
\textit{L!lāq} to crackle
\textit{L!lēp} to go under water

It is difficult to say where, in this class of words, the purely onomatopoetic character ceases, and where a more indirect representation of the verbal idea by sound begins. I think a distinct auditory image of the idea expressed is found in the following words:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{iū'ltl} proud
  \item \textit{wāx} to pour out
  \item \textit{pāl} full
  \item \textit{teme'n} clear
  \item \textit{tell} tired
  \item \textit{tel'pāk} loud
  \item \textit{gu'tgut} exhausted
  \item \textit{ge'cgec} to drive
\end{itemize}

\textit{ku'lkul} light (of weight)
\textit{k!ā} silent
\textit{q!am} lazy
\textit{q!ul} fast
\textit{lō'tō} round
\textit{lel} to disappear
\textit{lāz} to appear
\textit{lxoap} to dig

Most stems of this class occur both single and doubled, sometimes they are even repeated three or four times. Repetition indicates frequency of occurrence of the verbal idea; that is to say, it is distributive, referring to each single occurrence of the idea. We have—

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{wāx} to pour out (blood) 68.1
  \item \textit{pō} to blow once 66.25
  \item \textit{tell} tired
  \item \textit{k!ut} to tear off 89.25
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{wā'zwax} to pour out (roots) 43.2
  \item \textit{pō'pō} to blow repeatedly 129.20
  \item \textit{te'ltell} to be tired in all parts of the body
  \item \textit{k!u'tk!ut} to tear to pieces 249.4
\end{itemize}
A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on account of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies repetition. Such are—

*he'he* to laugh

*ho'ho* to cough

*tōtō* to shake

*gu'tgu*t exhausted

*ku'lkul* light (of weight)

*lōlō* round

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending *-ma*. These are—

*pāl* full 39.1, distributive *pā'ma* 229.24

*wuk* straight, real 24.12, distributive *wuk'ma* 107.20

*cpEq* gray, distributive *cpEq'ma*

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

*teme'n* clean, empty

*tā'lena* to give up 61.18

*tq1ēz* to wish 129.27

*tāq* war 272.5

*k'wan* hopeful 134.8  *k'wa'nk'wan* glad 38.20

*läx* sideways 267.3  *lä'ldax* to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2

On the whole, it would seem that those least onomatopoetic in character lack the doubled distributive.

In a few cases the doubled form has acquired a distinctive significance.

*k'wan* hopeful 134.8  *k'wa'nk'wan* glad 38.20

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is *-x* to be, to become, to do, to make. *-ō(-i?)*, the general verb for motion, is sometimes used with stems signifying motion. It seems difficult to classify these words, except those that clearly express noises. Among a total of 126 words of this class, 44 express activities or processes accompanied by noises; 16 are decidedly imitative; 22 designate states of the mind or body which may be expressed by imitative sounds, such as cold, tired, fear; 7 are terms of color; 45 express miscellaneous concepts, but some of these may also be considered as imitative. It seems likely that, in a language in which onomatopoetic terms are numerous, the frequent use of the association between sound and concept will, in its turn, increase the readiness with which other similar associations are established, so that, to the mind of the Chinook Indian, words may be sound-pictures which to our unaccustomed ear have no such value. I have found that, as my studies of this language progressed, the feeling for the sound-value of words like *wāx* to four, *k'ē* noth-
ing, k'omm silence, lō calm, pā'ēpā'ē to divide, increased steadily. For this reason I believe that many words of the miscellaneous class conveyed sound-associations to the mind of the Chinook Indian.

It will be noticed that verbs of motion and transitive verbs, except such as are accompanied by decided noises, are almost absent from the list of these words.

In quite a number of cases these words seem to be rather adverbs than attribute complements:

cā'ucau nazayi'llk'ule she told him in a low voice 40.21
lux nu lá'tar it it fell down broken 49.2
ike'pìkep aci'ò'gam it took it in its talons 137.15

If I remember rightly the cadence of the spoken sentence, these words must rather be considered as standing alone, the auxiliary verb -x being omitted.

LIST OF ATTRIBUTE COMPLEMENTS

(1) Actions and processes accompanied by noises.

(wā a noise under water 217.15)
uthü' noise of an arrow striking a body 49.3
(hemm noise of wind 41.25)
hōmm smell 67.2
(hō noise of an arrow breaking 49.4)
hē'hē to laugh 12.22
hō'hō to cough
pēmm noise of flying 72.22
pō to blow 66.25; pō'pō 129.20
pā, pā, pā 175.3
(dell noise of bursting 49.19, noise of bear spirit 217.14)
tl'éq to slap 40.25; te'q'teq 26.8
tō'tō to shake 194.1
tumm noise of fire 45.16, noise of bear spirit 217.13
temm noise of feet 133.17
tlāk to break a piece out of something
cix noise of rattles 22.5
cil' noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; cil'cill rattling of breath of one choking 150.7
cā'ca to break, to wreck 198.7
cā'u low voice 162.11; cā'ucau 40.21
cxx noise of flying birds 137.14
ts!ex (tc!ex, tc!ux, ts!ex) to break a piece of wood, antlers, etc., with hands 60.7; to split wood 27.2; sinews 138.19; roots 95.14 (not used for splitting planks out of trees); to skin a bird 136.23; to bark a tree 164.16; ts!ëxts!xx 45.19; nats!ëx a piece of flint flaked off 69.3

§ 46
tcxup, tcxep to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; tcxep'ptcxep 28.8
tcx noise of footsteps on sand 75.3
tcxoa'p to gnaw; tcxoa'ptcxoa'p 175.23
gumm a noise under water 217.16
güm noise of something heavy falling down 27.9
kumm noise of dancing 167.5
gsc' yuce to drive 15.5
k'ut to tear off 89.25; k'w'tk'ut to clear up (sky) 249.4
ku'tcxä to sneeze 64.24
qull noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground 65.13
q!a'lxal to beat time
q!e door creaks 66.14
xx to blow 113.20
xa'xa to rub 65.9
xwe to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13
lek' to break 165.19; le'k lek 68.16
le'k lek to burrow 95.13
lez to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; l!e'x lex to tear 145.20
le'x lex noise of scratching 153.7
lap noise of shooting 272.20
lux to come out 49.2, 201.1; lu'x lux to pull out (of ground) 138.9
lek'p lep to grasp in talons 137.15
lk!öp to squeeze 9.8; lk!ö'plk!öp with eyes run out 29.20
lq!öp to cut 114.3
lxoa'p to dig 23.5; lxoa'plxoa'p 115.15
l!l! to titter 177.15
l!eq to hit, to strike 156.23
l!q, l!ä to crackle 38.1, 185.8
le'p under water 14.8

(2) Descriptive words.
pâl full 39.1; pâ' lma 229.24
wâz to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; wâ'xwax 43.2
wâz to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26
klömm no noise
klö'ya no, none
k!è no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28
q!el strong; q!e'lxel hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12
tem'e'n empty, clean
tse'te to stop doing something
tuwâ'z to light, shine 12.1 (see wâz)
kullkull light of weight 199.9
k!am, k!ém no, none 37.15
lep to boil 173.1

§ 46
(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.

- iž’l’l proud 93.16
- p’et quiet 177.24
- p’alá’ quietly, safe 198.4
- t’el, t’il tired 62.14; t’e’llt’eII tired all over (= rheumatism)
- t’el’éx to like 129.27
- t’avá’ well, healthy 165.21
- t’së cold 41.9
- t’se’t’se’x unwell, feeling uncomfortable
- t’exap to hesitate 27.15
- q’lat to love 41.6
- x’ax to notice, observe 75.17
- l’ek!, l’ák! weak 212.21
- t’el’é’k’el’ék almost choked 151.1
- l’áx lonesome 22.3
- gu’l’gu’t exhausted
- k’el’éx cloyed 46.24; k’e’l’èx!èx grease smell 137.7
- k’l’a silent 37.9, 129.2
- k’’w’an hopeful 134.8; k’wa’n’k’wan glad 38.20
- k’wac afraid 211.15
- k’l’é stiff in joints
- q’l’am lazy 138.4
- l’t’lé’ya stingy (?) 139.11
- l’l’a to fear 212.11
- l’t’p’á’q to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.

- l’é’e’l black 25.11
- k’t’üs yellow
- c’l’éq gray (dry?) 109.10
- t’k’ép white 124.25
- p’t’èx green 30.21
- l’p’é red 185.20
- t’s’!ém várégated

(5) Miscellaneous words.

- i’b’c to let alone 187.13
- u’x to take a chance
- w’uk’! straight 24.12; w’uk’èm’á’ 107.20
- p’é’n’ka afoot 217.8, 107.6
- p’a’n’ic to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7
- p’a’k to divide; p’a’t’pá’ 248.4
- p’a’x unlucky 264.13

§ 46
§ 47. Adverbs

The dividing line between attribute complements and a number of adverbs can not be drawn very definitely. I am particularly doubtful how t'aya' well should be classed, and a few others which are placed in parentheses in the preceding list.
A considerable number of temporal and modal adverbs occur, the latter expressing certainty, compulsion, intention, and a great variety of ideas which we express by auxiliary verbs or by separate clauses. These can not be derived from simpler forms. Such are:

ai'aq can
za'ozai can not
qōi will
qē'ztečē without reaching the desired end
ka'ltas in vain, only
qā'doxuē must
atsuwa' probably
lx may (implying uncertainty)
k'ōma perhaps
lō'nas I don't know (expression of uncertainty)
pōc contrary to fact
pest really
nākct not
na interrogative particle
lēqs almost
galā'texi hardly
ā'nqa(tē) already, before
a'ltta now
ä'lgē later on
kawa'ika soon
anā' sometimes
na'ui at once
lē, lē'lē a long time
ql'st n for the first time
tcax for a while
wixt again
kule'ts once more
alā'tewa again in this manner
guā'nsēm always
wāx next day (wuxī to-morrow; kawīx early)
q'toā'p near
tc/pāk quickly
lawā' slowly
(ai'aq quickly)
txul too much
maniqlä' too much
tlā'qea just like
ā'la even

1 Evidently the original significance of this word is quickly; for instance, ai'aq no'ya (if you tell me to go) I go quickly, i. e., I can go.

§ 47
§ 48. Exhortative Particles

A number of exhortative particles form a peculiar group of words. They are applied so regularly and seem to be so weak, that I do not quite like to class them with interjections. It would seem that the meanings conveyed by some of these have very nice shades. Examples are:

\[ \text{wuska} \] a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—\[37.12 \]
\[ \text{nixua} \] please, just try to \[130.3 \]
\[ \text{tcux} \] since this is so, do (or let us) \[24.10 \]
\[ \text{tayax} \] oh, if he would! \[22.4 \]
\[ \text{hō'ntcin} \] be quiet

\[ \text{teal} \] well! introducing a new idea
(\[\text{qā'tlōćxem} \] look out!)
(\[\text{nau'itka} \] indeed!)
(\[\text{tgtlō'kti} \] good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: \[\text{qā'tlōćxem} \] is probably derived from \[tľ\] well; \[\text{nau'itka} \], perhaps from \[\text{nau'i} \] AT ONCE; \[\text{tgtlō'kti} \], from \[tľ\] well and -\[\text{kta} \] THING.

§ 49. Interjections

The line between the last group of words and true interjections is very indefinite. As might be expected, the number of interjections in this language which has such strong onomatopoetic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

\[ \text{ā}, \text{ā}, \text{ō} \text{ oh!} \]
\[ \text{adē' surprise} \, 29.13 \]
\[ \text{ē pity for hardships endured} \, 187.19 \]
\[ \text{nā pity} \, 116.15 \]
\[ \text{anā' pain, regret, sorrow, pity} \, 22.4, 161.13 \]
\[ \text{ahaha' pain} \, 177.16 \]
\[ \text{anā'x pity} \, 153.8 \]
\[ \text{hē call} \, 12.2, \text{indeed} \, 38.22, 186.8 \]
\[ \text{hē a long distance} \, 28.3, 123.13 \]
\[ \text{hō, hohō', ohō' surprise at the success of an action} \, 24.3, 25.22, 67.14 \]
\[ \text{lxuā' disgust} \, 46.26 \]
\[ \text{ha'ō'm, hāō' now I understand!} \, 39.27, 100.23 \]
\[ \text{nā disapproval} \, 145.12 \]
\[ \text{nāq! contemptuous rejection of an offer} \, 124.11 \]
\[ \text{hohū' derisive rejection of a remark} \, 23.25 \]
\[ \text{aḥā' ridicule, disbelief} \, 166.23 \]
\[ \text{ehehiū' derision} \, 45.1 \]

§§ 48, 49
le derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1
iä' reproach for foolishness 117.9
nâzâzâx anger 186.16
tçä that is nothing! 47.4
kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)
kic oh! (?)

As mentioned before, many of the imitative attribute complements may be used as interjections. This may, indeed, be their original function. Such are hemm noise of wind, kumm noise of dancing, kłommm silence. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

ha'lelelelele noise of flight of an arrow 62.21
wu'lelele noise of flight of cormorants 77.16
wa'tsetsetsetsetse cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25
qa'nowulewulewulewulek cry of gull 88.21
wö bark of dog 23.9
wä cry of child 185.24
hâ cry of a person weeping 118.8
wââââ voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19

In this group belong also the burdens of songs, a few of which occur in the texts.

§ 50. Conjunctions

A number of invariable words perform the function of conjunctions. The meanings of a few of these are not quite certain. The most important are the following:

ka and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18
cka and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4
k'/a and (connecting nouns)
tcix'a a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction qiâ'z if)
tcu or 276.1
tate!a although it is so, still 44.4
tai! although I did not expect it, still 74.9
d'olel although I did not intend to, still 13.3
take then 135.6
a'ltâ now 135.5
taua'ltâ otherwise 134.8
manîx when 253.14
qiâ'z if 127.20 (qê, qêc?)

§ 50
§ 51. Adjectives.

Color-terms, the plural of small, the numerals from two to nine, and the indefinite numerals are used without pronominal prefixes. The color-terms were enumerated among the attribute complements, because they are generally used in that form. *gené'm small* 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aqlo'cgam ptcix le'luwelkluwelk green mud was taken 30.21
lōlo ikta something round 127.5

This is possibly due to the rarity of adjectives, except numerals and a few others in the texts. It would seem, however, that in most cases derivatives of these stems are used whenever the substantive or adjective is to be used, for instance:

ma'ñix kā'ltac iā'yul1 klā'q̕ewam when a shaman only has pride 203.18

More often nouns with the prefix *k-* THE ONE WHO HAS (p. 579) are used to express adjectival ideas.

gē'late ḥa a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronounceable Form</th>
<th>Common Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>si'namökct</td>
<td>ka'ñawwē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>kstō'zkin</td>
<td>kāpē't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>kuitst</td>
<td>qāmx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>tcē several</td>
<td>mānk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>tzhēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the cardinal numbers of this group when used as distributives take the suffix -mtga; when used as adverbs, they take the adverbial suffix -ē. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, ēlā'lōn ITS THIRD ONE (m.) 217.21, aitā'lōn (f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, ēlālōnē THE THIRD TIME 134.23. When counting human beings, all these numerals (cardinals as well as indefinite) take the prefix *a-* and the plural suffix -kc. mökct two may also take the dual prefix *c-*. To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form *kanēm* each, all, together, which occurs alone only in its distributive form *kanā'mtyema* 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: *kanēmqo'ārem* five together 201.22, *lkanēmqo'āremmiks* 176.8. With mökct two it seems to lose its *m:* skanasmökst both 76.14. In this form it appears also in ka'ñawwē all.

§ 51
§ 52. Adverbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs

Particles used as adverbs have been mentioned before. It has also been stated that numeral adverbs are formed from both ordinal and cardinal numbers by the suffix -e. This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

\[ i'\nu'\text{tqat} \text{ it is long; } i'\nu'\text{ltqat} \text{ long} \]
\[ e'\text{nata} \text{ the one on the other side; } e'\text{natai} \text{ on the other side} \]

**Diriminutive and Augmentative Consonantism (§§ 53-54)**

§ 53. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Very characteristic of Wishram, as also without doubt of all other Chinookan dialects, is a series of changes in the manner, and to some extent in the place, of articulation of many of the consonants, in order to express diminutive and augmentative ideas in the words affected. This peculiar process of "consonantal ablaut," though perhaps most abundantly illustrated in the case of the noun, is exemplified in all parts of speech, so that it has almost as much of a rhetorical as of a purely grammatical character. Of the two series of consonantic changes referred to, that bringing about the addition to the word of a diminutive idea is by far the more common, an actual change to augmentative consonantism hardly being found outside of the noun. The main facts of consonant change may be briefly stated thus: To express the diminutive, non-fortis stopped consonants become fortis, the velars at the same time becoming back-palatais (the treatment of velar stops, however, seems to be somewhat irregular); c and its affricative developments tc and tc! become s, ts, and ts! (s seems sometimes to be still further "diminutivized" to ts, ts to ts!, so that c, s, ts, ts! may be considered as representing a scale of diminishing values); x becomes t, in analogy to the change of velar stops to back-palatal stops just noted; other consonants remain unmodified. To express the augmentative, fortis consonants become non-fortis (generally sonant) stops, no change taking place of back-palatal to velar; s, ts, and ts! become respectively c, tc, and tc! (in some few cases ts and tc affricatives become dj, pronounced as in English judge, this sound not being otherwise known to occur in Wishram); other consonants remain unmodified.

§§ 52, 53
The following table of consonantic changes will best make the matter clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b, p</td>
<td>p!</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, t</td>
<td>t!</td>
<td>(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, k</td>
<td>g!</td>
<td>(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q, q</td>
<td>k!, (g, k)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kx</td>
<td>kx</td>
<td>(kx)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q!</td>
<td>k!, (kx)</td>
<td>(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p!</td>
<td>(p!)</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!</td>
<td>(t!)</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>(k!)</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>s, ts</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>(tc), (? d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc!</td>
<td>ts!</td>
<td>(tc!), d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>(ts), ts!</td>
<td>tc, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!</td>
<td>(ts!)</td>
<td>tc!, (? d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(? x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, there is a distinct tendency to have all the consonants of a word bear a consistent diminutive or augmentative coloring, though absolute concord in this regard is by no means always observed. In general it may be said that c and s sounds are most easily varied in accordance with our rule. Final non-affricative stops seem incapable of change. It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning; in such cases the form may be still further "diminutivized" if it is desired to give the word a more than ordinarily diminutive force. Thus -k!ac- in il-k!a'c-kac CHILD is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable -kac; LITTLE CHILD, BABY appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as ilk!a'skas (Wishram Texts 176.3).

The following table of body-part nouns will serve as a set of examples of diminutive and augmentative forms. The diminutives would naturally refer to the body-parts of a tiny child, the augmentatives to those of an abnormally large being, as a giant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-p!a'qxa flat-headed-ness (dim.)</td>
<td>i-p!a'qxa</td>
<td>i-p!a’qxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-qE'tc nose (aug.)</td>
<td>i-k!E'tc</td>
<td>i-k!E’tc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'l-pc foot</td>
<td>i'l-ps</td>
<td>i’l-ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 53
Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>it-qwu'teu</em> bones</td>
<td><em>it-qutsi'ixlem</em> dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(literally, eater of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small bones)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-teti'au</em> snake</td>
<td><em>i-tst!t'au</em></td>
<td><em>i-dji'au</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-tst!iktsik</em> wagon</td>
<td><em>is-tst!iktsik</em> buggy</td>
<td><em>i-dji'kdjik</em> heavy truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aug.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-cgi'lukc</em> wolf</td>
<td><em>il-sk!iluks</em> new-born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aug.)</td>
<td>wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a-da-ga'c</em> yellow</td>
<td><em>a-qx-k!i'e</em> gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-ga'n</em> cedar board</td>
<td><em>wa-ska'ni</em> box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i-k!a'lamat</em> stone</td>
<td><em>a-ga'munaq</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a-k!a'munaq</em> sir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>il-k!a'cakac</em> child</td>
<td><em>il-k!a'skas</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dim.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a-t!u'q-agilak</em> good, strong woman</td>
<td><em>a-du'q-agilak</em> strapping big woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In these lists, (dim.) and (aug.) mean that the words so designated are wholly or partly diminutive or augmentative in consonantism owing to their primary significance. In i-p!a'qxa, for instance, the diminutive notion implied by p! is easily understood if we remember that head-flattening is associated with infancy. In some cases a consonant change involves or is accompanied by a vocalic change; it seems that the change of a to u or e has in itself more or less diminutive force (cf. wa'-tsk!un from wa-ska' with ila-k!o'its very little [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily -k!aits small). The case of i-cga'n as compared with wa-ska'n and wa'-tsk!un illustrates the fact that the diminutive form of a noun often has a specialized meaning of its own. A few more examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-tc!i'non eagle</td>
<td>il-ts!i'non bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tc!i'laq cricket</td>
<td>i-ts!i'laq grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q!apa'lwac turtle</td>
<td>is-k!a'psalwas lock (of door)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-eca'la grindstone</td>
<td>a-tsa'la file</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that several nouns on becoming diminutive in form at the same time change to a more suitable gender, masculines often becoming feminines (e.g., wa-ska'n), neuters (e.g., il-sk'i!luk), or diminutive duals in is- (e.g., is-k!a'psalwas). Most examples of diminutives and augmentatives hitherto given have been formed from nouns that in themselves have no necessary diminutive or augmentative force. Other examples than those already given of words with inherent diminutive force, and hence with at least partial diminutive consonantism, follow:

- a-k!u'ksk!uks ankle
- a-p!u'xp!ux elbow-joint
- i-p!u'xe cotton-tailed rabbit
- a-t!ansa crow (constrast i-cka' lax raven)
- i-sk!u'lya coyote (cf. i-sk!u'laxraven)
- a-gu'sgus chipmunk
- a-p!una'tsektsekt mosquito

 Particularly instructive as indicating a live feeling for diminutive consonantism are such words as a-lik!u'k chicken and a-lap!u's cat borrowed from Chinook jargon (p in -pus would not be consistent
with diminutives). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

- **i-ga'nuk beaver**
- **i-gu'nat Chinook salmon (contrast is-qzu's EYES)**
- **ic-k-cu'ct testicles**
- **wa-tsu'ihα BLUE- i-guc'ax sky**
- **ic-gw'isalα gun**
- **ic-ga'kual eel**
- **ic-CE'lqcElq porcupine**
- **wa'-itc tail of mammal**
- **ic-ga'kwaleel ic-U'ct fish-tail**
- **ic-gwo'lalagun ic-li'ct TAIL OF BULB, DRIED FISH**

It sometimes happens that a change to diminutive consonantism implies not so much the diminutiveness of the object referred to as a sense of endearment. This seems particularly true in the case of certain terms of relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-diminutive</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-qce-n</td>
<td>man's son's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'c-u (vocative)</td>
<td>-k!a'c-u-c paternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gak-an</td>
<td>man's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'g-u (vocative)</td>
<td>-ga'k!-u-c maternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gi-an</td>
<td>woman's son's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k!i-c</td>
<td>paternal grandmother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interesting as examples of augmentative consonantism are the names of Coyote's four sons, all of which are derived from words denoting body-parts of the salmon. The augmentative consonantism implies the lubberliness of Coyote's sons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body-parts of salmon</th>
<th>Names of Coyote's sons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-k!la'tein salmon-head gristle</td>
<td>Sipa'-glatsin Big Gristle (Wishram Texts 66.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ksa'lk!uts backbone of fish</td>
<td>Sipa'-ksalguts Big Backbone (Wishram Texts 66.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q'wi'nan fin</td>
<td>Sapa'-gwinan Big Fin (Wishram Texts 66.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-k!a'tkutgwax adipose fin</td>
<td>Sapag-a'tkutgwax Big Adipose Fin (Wishram Texts 66.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has already been remarked, the noun is not the only part of speech that illustrates the consonantal play here discussed. Adverbs and particle verbs of appropriate meaning sometimes show diminutive consonantism: *ts'u'us A LITLLE; sāk! TO WHISTLE; sa'u sau TO WHISPER (contrast Lower Chinook cāu); Lower Chinook k!a and may be diminutive to *ka. The diminutive form of a particle verb denotes a less intense state of being or activity than its correlative form. Sometimes its meaning is considerably specialized:
Non-diminutive  

tic cold  

Diminutive  

(ts!u'nuis) a-itsá's just (a little)  

cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)  

ma'ca to spoil  

ma'sa to be ashamed  

gut to break up (earth) by digging  

Possibly also—  

wax to pour out  

wax to set on fire; to bloom  

lk!up to cut  

lk!up to shoot  

The dual in is- is not the only example of a diminutive form of a purely grammatical element. The diminutive stem -q!walasup fast running occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements -tea- her and -cda- of them two appear as -tsa- and -sta- in i-tsa-q!walasup she runs fast (Wishram Texts 66.9) and i-st!a-q!walasup they two run fast (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to is-p!i'ast tail of bulb, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element cd- and the post-positive local element -ba at appear as st-(? better st!-) and -p!a. Thus:

staimap!á' giskip!i'ast it-alone-at the-my-tail

Finally the verb may show diminutive consonantism, partly in the stem itself, partly in its local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes, partly and most frequently in its pronominal prefixes. Examples of verb stems in distinctly diminutive form are not exactly common, but certain cases seem clear enough. Thus gaqiulat!a'-ulxhe was tossed up (Wishram Texts 84.26) and gatiulat!a'melq he swallowed him by sucking him in evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem -lada- to throw away; silu'skwax it trembles (Wishram Texts 116.10) and gas!ximk!na-uk*atsk he looked around (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (-skw- and -k!na-u-) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual s-), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix -tsk, doubtless the diminutive form of -tck up from position of rest; gats(s)altsg!ma he laid her belly up (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (-tsgi) and incorporated pronominal subject(-ts-) and first object (dual -s-).

We have already given -tsk as an example of a derivative suffix with diminutive consonantism. Other such suffixes are -p!a slightly out (of position) (from -ba out) in ayulap!a'teguxwida it will tilt up, literally, it will spontaneously move out up from its sitting

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position (Wishram Texts 184.10) and tsu (from -teu down) in ililu’stsu (water) moved down into the (hollow place). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given -k’el- (from -gel- directed toward) in ga-tsei’k’elutk he looked at him and its reflexive correlative -tel- (from -tel-) in gasi’telutk he looked; -sk’em- under in iniaak!emla’datcu I threw it down under her is doubtless diminutive to -gem- next to (cf. -teu and -s-tsu above).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of ts (for tc, third person masculine subject transitive) and s (for c, third person dual subject intransitive and transitive and object transitive). Whenever the object of the transitive verb (or the apparent subject, really first object, of the “half-transitive” verb) is diminutive in form, the pronominal prefixes tc and c appear as ts and s; the ts by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. Examples are: i’wi gatssu’x isi’e’nqxoq he looked at his fish-line (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element -s- of gatssu’x refers to the diminutive dual object is-i’e’nqxoq his fish-line, while the pronominal subject -ts- he agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; galksu’klam (-lks- always appears for -skl-) the two (women) came home with the (baby) (Wishram Texts 2.12), the diminutive dual -s- referring to the grown-up women, not to the baby; gasengatk’agwā’x gas ktenak!wā’st it-waves-freely-over-me-my-feathered-cloak (Wishram Texts 142.5), where the first object -s- of the half-transitive verb refers to the diminutive dual noun s-ténak!wā’st (small) feathered cloak. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the idiomatic use of a diminutive dual object -s- referring to an implied, unexpressed noun of diminutive significance; there need not even exist such a diminutive dual noun to which reference, if desired, could be explicitly made. A good example is: gaksi’lutk she cradled him, literally, she put the-two-small (objects) down to him, where the two small (objects) refer to an implied word for cradle, though the word for cradle in actual use is a masculine (i’t-lkau). Similarly, verbs of jumping and somersaulting have an incorporated diminutive dual object -s- referring to the two small (feet), though the actual word for feet is plural (i’t-pc). Examples are: gaksu’bēna she jumped; gasixmi’lgwa he turned a somersault (Wishram Texts 82.18); and gats(s)altsgi’ma he laid her, belly up. The
most transparent example of the use of an incorporated diminutive dual object to refer to an unexpressed but existing noun is afforded by certain verbs of looking, in which the -s- has reference to is-qzu's the two eyes. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is gatssii'k!elutk he looked at him, literally, he put the two small (eyes) down toward him, the -tc- and -gel- appearing in their diminutive forms -ts- and -k!el- to agree with the object -s-; gasizim-k!na'ukatsk he looked around is another such verb.

As a rule, it will have been observed, a verb form tends to be consistently diminutive or non-diminutive in its consonantism. It is at least possible, however, to limit the application of the diminutive idea to some specific element of the action by "diminutivizing" only some corresponding element of the verb form. An example already published elsewhere will again do service here. The normal word for I struck him with it is inigs'Ticim. If the verb stem -tcim appears, with diminutive consonantism, as -tsim, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix -gel-, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced -k!el- the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: inigs'Tecim I hit him with it; inigs'Tcim I hit him (a child perhaps) with it; inik!Te'l-tecim I hit him with it (something small), and inik!Te'l-tsims I hit him (a child) with it (something small). To be sure, such examples are very uncommon and the one just given is perhaps little more than a linguistic tour de force. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly how thoroughly alive is the feeling for the significance of consonantal play.

§ 54. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Chinook and Kathlamet

So far as I am able to discover, the diminutive and augmentative consonantism of the p and t stops does not occur in Chinook; perhaps because the strengthening of these consonants in case of the dropping of a following velar counteracted this tendency. When the word !alé'ma creeks has a fortis t! on account of the dropping of q in the stem -qel, the same strengthening can not very well denote at the same time diminution.

There are, however, indications that the changes from c to s and the corresponding affricatives occurred, although the significance of § 54
the process does not seem to have been very clear in the mind of my sole informant, Charles Cultee, while my only Clatsop informant considered changes of this type as distinguishing characteristics of the Chinook and Clatsop dialects. For instance: Clatsop, ē'celqcelq: Chinook, ẽ'selqselq POCUPINE.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

*itsa'antca-y-ōgō'lal* the waves are too bad (too great)
*itsa'antsa-y-ōgō'lal* the waves are a little bad

I have also:

ē'cgan cedar

*i-sge'nema* young cedars

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

g*e'nem* isg*e'nema* small young cedars

without strengthening of the *g* of *g*e'nem. An examination of the texts and explanatory notes collected from Cultee makes it fairly certain that he did not use the diminutive changes of stops in Lower Chinook.

It seems possible that a relation like that between *c* and *s* may exist between *l* and *ts*.

>iā'qoa-il* large
>iā'qoa-its* small

>iō'lgat* long
>iū'lsqat* short

*L ex* to split large planks
*ts!ex* to split small pieces of wood

*lzoa'p* to dig
*tszoa'p* to gnaw

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

*ksemml* tæĩ tk!unã'temax 遒 xoaxt* small are those little salmon

(Kathlamet Texts)

Here the *s* in ksemml indicates smallness, and tgunã'temax SALMON has been changed to tk!unã'temax.

**Syntax (§§ 55-56)**

§ 55. Syntax of Lower Chinook

In the discussion of the morphology of the verb it has been shown that every verbal form contains incorporated pronominal representatives of the subject, and of the direct and indirect objects when these occur. Nominal incorporation is almost entirely absent. The nominal subject and the object are treated as appositions, without any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the
pronouns agree with the nominal gender. This agreement is, on the whole, one of form, but in the Lower Chinook texts cases occur in which the noun has indefinite (neuter) gender L-, while, according to its actual sex or number, the incorporated pronoun is masculine, feminine, or plural. I do not know whether this is an individual trait of the narrator of the available texts or not.

Generally the verb with its incorporated pronouns precedes the subject and objects, but there is great freedom of usage.

Sentences with intransitive verbs:

\[ ayo'maq t iM'xak! emâna dead was their chief 37.1 \]
\[ altê'mam lëgôle'le'mk it came a person 11.15 \]

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

\[ aLkto'p! ena lâ'êwam qô'la lâ'nêwa he utters his song that first one 196.7 \]
\[ tgi'g e'næaut itkanâ'te temêwâ'lema they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10 (tg- they it; i-kanâ'te soul; i-temêwâ'lema ghosts) \]
\[ algô'ctxoz lâ'gil qax òô'kuil she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21 \]

Examples of inverted order are the following:

\[ eqcte'te'lau atçungô'mit lemçâ'wux a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5 \]
\[ ka qô'la iau'at imta' aLktôp! enâ'x lâ'êwam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9 \]
\[ èmâ'cen algia'x kiâ'qêwam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i.e., the shaman) 199.11 \]
\[ aqui'nemikc tkalâ'mukc atqâ'qcz ò'le'kxul five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19 \]
\[ ò'o'k algè'Lełôtx kîtôp! enâ'n te'lx'Em a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25 \]

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

\[ lâq' atcâ'yarx he took him out 133.13 \]
\[ stux atcâ'yarx he untied him 135.13 \]
\[ ùku' nê'rax he made ùku' 49.3 \]
\[ le'xナ'rax it (fem.) broke 70.24 \]
\[ sâ'lap a'yô he went under water 14.16 \]

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

\[ ë'ka aLkâ'x thus it does 239.16 \]
\[ nau'it aLô'me'ptx it faints at once 239.6 \]
\[ nàkct algia'wa' they did not kill him 99.18 \]
\[ ya'zkatì atge'p!x there they entered 49.14 \]

The discussion of the prefixes in § 25 shows that the relation of indirect objects to the verb are expressed by verbal elements. In

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Lower Chinook prepositional elements are practically absent, but we
find the demonstrative gō, which is used almost like a preposition.

iō'c gō igē'p'al he was in the doorway 65.3
atca'yaq gō iā'tuk he bit him at his neck 9.9
nazalq'u'tiick gō ogō'xō she told her daughter 11.20
atcl'i'tklam gō we'wulē they brought it into the house 11.23
pō'pō age'īax gō ltcuq she blew on them with water 12.6
agio'ztkinema gō tē'lizim she searched for him among the people
13.8

The demonstrative character of gō appears in sentences like—
mō'ya mā'lxolē gō go there inland! 13.1
a'ltā gō-y-ō'īax now (when) there the sun 13.5
lo'nas gō lq̠etcamē'tē lkekē perhaps a comb is there 13.20
gō nō'yam ō'īax there arrived the sun 97.16

It will be shown in § 56 that Wishram possesses quite a number
of post-positional elements. In Lower Chinook a few of these appear,
clearly loan-words, taken from Upper Chinook:
yukpē't up to here 13.9
kapē't (go-ps't?) up to there, enough 98.4

In Kathlamet the number of post-positional elements is greater,
but only one or two are used with any degree of freedom:

-pa. This post-position takes the place of gō of the Lower Chinook.

It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).

igikxə'mam te'ctaqlpa he arrived at their two selves' house 91.13
ītcīōdə'etamī təkī lēxā't ltcuq'apa q'oā'p he placed it that one
at the water near 121.4
q'at igi'yux tētcamxtēpa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs—
kō'pa there 216.9
gipə' here 250.14

-pet. The post-position -pet is not quite free in Kathlamet.

gipe'tema to those places 131.10
ē'xpat as far as the ground 67.12
-ta toward.
iō'ya ē'wata ca'xalata he went there, then upward 219.2
-at from
ē'wa iā'pōtcāt lqā'wulq təkī lāx ilā'xōx then from his anus blood came
out 184.5.
-te like.
la lkak' emā'na te'cā'lkuile like a chief was her resemblance
247.6
sīā'xōst la lktemenā'kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

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1 References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boas, Kathlamet Texts.
In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the ordinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression deserve mention. The directional -o- (§ 26) occurs in many transitive and intransitive verbs. When, however, a stem, according to its significance, is transitive, it may be made intransitive either by means of the prefix -ki- (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, or by the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends in part on usage. In some cases the two forms are used for expressing different tenses. Thus i-kē'-x (i- he; -kē- prefix eliminating object; -x to do) signifies he is, the continuative tense, n-ē'-x-a-x (n- modal; -ē- he; -a- reflexive; -x to do) signifies he becomes, the transitional tense. The manner of eliminating objects has been discussed before (§ 26). It seems, however, desirable to call attention here to the frequent use of implied objects and to the peculiar intransitive verbs with indirect objects which occupy a prominent position in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{alksō'pena} & \text{ it jumped (literally, it jumped the two [feet])} \quad 9.6 \\
\text{atkcinēnā'xē} & \text{ they kneel (literally, they kneel them two)} \quad 270.6 \\
\text{sā'npōt} & \text{ she closed her eyes (literally, they two were closed in her)} \quad 48.10
\end{align*}
\]

They occur also with other verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mēlēleča'ma} & \text{ you will comb me (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)} \\
\text{atca-ī'lqemax} & \text{ he shouted at him (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him)} \quad 236.9 \\
\text{anlēltckō} & \text{ I oil him (literally, I oil it [namely, the oil] to him)}
\end{align*}
\]

Intransitive verbs with indirect object are used often in place of our transitives. These forms also contain often implied objects.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nē'nxlayu} & \text{ he deserts me (literally, he removes himself from me)} \\
\text{ayaxē'liōmegt} & \text{ she forgets him (literally, he on account of her forgets his own)} \quad 167.16 \\
\text{ninxē'lgilz} & \text{ I burn him (literally, he catches fire from me)} \\
\text{snēnpō'zuit} & \text{ I close my eyes (literally, they two are closed in me)} \\
\text{mcagetā'etā-ē} & \text{ you cure her (literally, you cure on account of her)}
\end{align*}
\]

Subordinate modes are not indicated in Chinook by changes in the form of the verbs. Subordination of sentences is indicated only by conjunctions which are followed by the usual verbal forms. The
most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle *ma’nix* which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

*ma’nix aqi’e’lga‘laz ik’e’utan* when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1

*ma’nix lte’mama, mitel’o’ta* when they come, give it to them 66.22

*mixenlk!a’yogo’imê’tuk ma’nix agenô’lekita* bend your neck when some one will roast you 107.21 (mi- you him; -xen reflexive; -lek’iik to bend, plural -lk!äyük; -tuk neck; -lekta to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms *qê, qêa, qiâ’x* occur, which perhaps express nearness and absence. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle *pôs* is used.

*qê nêkcx mait’kxa i’mê’lqatzala, pôc nêkct e’ka ate’laxaz* if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us 139.19 (nêkct not; mait’kxa thou; i-q!atzala badness; e’ka thus; tc- he; -lx us; -a directive; -x to do)

*qia nákct qa’x e’tô’kuil, pôc nákct aqiâ’wa* if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (qa’x that, feminine; e’tô’kuil woman; qi- somebody him; -a- directive; -wa* to kill)

*tlayâ’ qia’ mk’le’em en* good, if you dive 12.12

*qia’x qa’o’a’p iñe’te’ tcx’i pôs aml’o’xam algio’cga’* when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it 44.2 (qa’o’a’p near; iñe’te’ land; tcx’i then; aml- you it; -ô’- directive; -xam to say; alg- it him; -o- directive; -cga’ to take)

*qia’x itcâ’yan, tcx’i mi’axô* if it is a snake, then you shall eat it 194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle *na*, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

*telnâ’xo-ix na tge’ël’lgeu?* are (they) known to me my slaves? 117.10

*nêkct na tne’txiz?* do I not know it? 66.2

*e’ktalx lgiâ’xô?* what will he eat? 22.20 (e’ktas what; -lx may be; lgi- it him [masc. object corresponding to e’ktas])

*qâ’xe’wa a’lô?* where did they go? 23.14

*la’ksta x’i’x’ô’la?* who is that? 73.14

The imperative differs from other verbal forms in that it has no directive prefix. The imperative of the transitive verb has no subject of the second person. (See §§ 22, 26).

§ 56. Post-positions in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Wishram, differing markedly in this respect from Lower Chinook, makes rather considerable use of a series of post-positive particles
defining material case relations (chiefly local and instrumental). As most such relations can be expressed by means of local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes in the verb, the denominating parts of speech being in apposition to incorporated pronominal elements, this use of postpositions must be considered as un-Chinookan in origin; the fact that some of the postpositive particles are phonetically identical with corresponding Sahaptin case suffixes proves the whole process to be borrowed from the neighboring Sahaptin linguistic stock. As a rule such postpositive particles are used with denominating parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives), but some of them may also be suffixed to predicating words (verbs, particle verbs); in the latter case the predicate is to be considered as substantivized syntactically, though not morphologically, and is used subordinately to another predicate. Wishram thus utilizes its postpositions to some extent in the building up of subordinate clauses. Where a noun or other denominating part of speech has been already represented in the verb by an incorporated pronominal element, its relation to the verb and to other nouns in the sentence is necessarily already defined, so that no postposition is necessary; even here, however, it not infrequently happens that a postposition is pleonastically used (compare such English possibilities as "He entered into the house"). If a noun is modified by a preceding attributive word (demonstrative pronoun, numeral, noun, or adjective), the postposition is used with the modifying word. The postpositions, with examples illustrating their uses, are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. -ba (-pa) in, at. With this element should be compared Yakima -pa in. Examples illustrating its use with nouns and pronouns occur with very great frequency, so that only a few need here be given.

_cikza'-imat ci'!ix yak"cxatpa_ half of it lies in his mouth 4.3
_gaklakza'-ima ilk'a'ckae akni'mba_ she put the child in the canoe 2.11
_atgadi'mama da'uyaba wilx_ they will come in this land 6.17
_gayu'yaam ıstpọ' wilx_ he arrived at one land 6.28
_iteczemem aqqzatcpa_ I am sick in my breast 12.27
_gatci'upmt it!ö'xwatckpa_ he hid it in the bushes 18.25
_gatu'ya yaxka'ba_ he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say _galigu'ya_ HE WENT TO HIM with local prefix -gel-)

References are to Wishram Texts.
they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24
it floated in the great river 48.7
let us go on the tops of the grass 70.26 (literally, the-grass-at its-tops)

Observe that the first two examples illustrate its pleonastic use;
the nouns yak'cxa't and akni'm have been respectively anticipated in the verb by the pronominal elements -i- and -a-,
while their local relation to the verb is defined by the prefix -k- on following these elements. -ba is also used with demonstrative stems to form adverbs of place where: da'ba here; kwó'ba there; iā'riba yonder.

As subordinating element, -ba denotes where; less frequently it indicates cause. It is suffixed either to the verb itself, or, similarly to the case of the modified noun, to an adverb or particle preceding the verb. Examples are:

cā'xya i'nadix q'atsenba gatecg'łgęlx across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them 8.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)
galiktō'ptck gatecg'łk'lxpa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5
ē'wi gali'xoxgayaxa'limałxpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6
ma'sa gali'xox q'u'mba gagi'ux he was ashamed because she had disturbed him in his sleep 58.26 (literally, disturb-in-sleep at she-made-him)

2. -iamt (often with palatalized a as -iämt, -iëmt) to, from. This suffix is probably Chinookan in origin; it may be plausibly analyzed as verb stem -i- go + verb suffix -am ARRIVING + tense suffix -t. This analysis would explain its two apparently contradictory meanings. It tends to draw the accent to itself. Examples are:

icktō'lgwiptck wimatia'mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2
nigéliq'mba iciaqictia'mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)
gax'k'wa'x tetōqlia'mt the two returned to their house 2.12
gayuk'wiki'ilaixni'miämt he swam to the person's canoe 18.23
mx'ak'tecktCAM wimatia'mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18
(literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)
gatečů'k'oł itq'liiä'mt ilteqoa he took the water to the house 28.8

As subordinating element it may be translated as TO WHERE. An example of its use after verbs is:

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asemxelu'’ka a'tpxiamd aga' lax you shall look towards the east 188.21 (literally, she-comes-out to-where the-sun)

3. ba’ma FOR, BELONGING TO. This is evidently the Yakima suffix -pama FOR. Examples of its use with denoting words are:

na’ikabam’ amtklni’dama itqagi’lak for my sake you two will go and get me the woman 62.25

ya’ztav laxka’bama lgiubi’tema that (fish) he obtains for himself 186.4
gaqxo’gwigax its! ’nönks w’ilxpama animals were taken belonging to the country 16.13
cetm’ o’kct gactul’ix ntc’aikabama two of our men (literally, us-for) went on 216.16

da’nbama qx’ dau mxu’lal what for do you speak thus? 132.24
tuwa’n qa’xbabama he has come I know not where from from 128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)
k’la’ya kw’ babama id’l’ zam teduxt he had not made belonging to there 44.23

gi’ gwalbam’ itk!’ i’tit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)

Less commonly bama may precede. An example is—

bam’ irlx’ wulx akługwi’ ilka’ lamat he carries rocks for (i.e., in order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. irlx’ wulx bama 188.2)

When used at the beginning of a predication, bama gives it the meaning of a clause of purpose. Examples are:

ba’ ma la’ itcka a’lem’ atcludi’ na in order that he might kill them 54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)
bama capca’p qiu xu’nmit ika’ ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice (literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made the-ice)

When accented (bama’), it is used after predicates to mean ever since. An example is—

nak’a’ckacabama’ k’l’a’ya gationally itctyq e’m em ever since I was a child I have never been sick 190.9

4. (E)nEgi WITH, BY MEANS OF, less frequently MADE OUT OF. It seems to be the Yakima genitive case ending -ngi. Examples are—

azk’ e’n egi amo giu’xa 1q! ò ’ p with it you will cut it off 12.4
1q! ò ’ p galgi’ ux aq e n e k c e’ n e gi they cut it off with the stone knife 18.5

galkłò’q’l’ alakce’n enegi he counted them with his finger 18.19
it’la’ma ngi gayu’ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe 38.21
iga’benac e’n e gi gatelu’x he made them out of young oak 4.13

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Less frequently *ngi* may precede. Examples are—

- *ra'yu xau galzu'x ngi ilkee'n* they combed themselves with the hand 78.10
- *ayak'alamat ngi wa'nux* his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9

*a'meni* made out of, less frequently with. It is perhaps the Yakima -*nmí*. Examples are—

- *sā'q'it!a'lamat a'meni akį'xax* it is entirely out of stones 82.13
- *isk'u'ly' ameni isga'k'!aps aqsiuxwa* a hat is made out of coyote 182.7
- *alk!wa'dit a'meni aqsiuxwa* it is made of tule 182.9
- *itq'u'te' a'meni tse'xike'x gaqtux'itk!a'munaq* they split trees by means of antlers 182.14

6. *-pt* up to is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems: *dapt up to here; kwópt up to there, then, enough; ya'xp* up to yonder. Probably etymologically identical with this element is -*Bet*, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are—

- *gacsle'mquit lqa'wulgt gagula'dabót* he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11
- *galikta'ckpt p'ala igi'xox* when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18
- *le'p(b)et alaxuxwa anígelgā'ya* when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20
- *nk'akacb* when I was a boy 188.8
- *aga'lax alaxuxwa yaatadí'wi galí'lux galxó'qbet* the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27

When rhetorically lengthened to -*bāt*, this post-position has a general cumulative significance: with verbs it is best translated as many as. Examples are—

- *gwe'nenamabá'd ilgwō'mex antk!wa'laragwida* I shall be absent as much as five days 122.12
- *kwó'pt nacteduppenayabát* that many (ropes) as he had apportioned 188.6
- *qxa'ntcipt alkixatquay' atelulxam Rabát* he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19

7. *diwi* (emphatic *di'wi*) like. This element is very likely of demonstrative origin, and so does not perhaps belong here. It is freely used, however, as a post-position, and so may be included. Examples are—

- *ick!a'li diwi date!i'p* striped like a basket 166.2
- *iya'tix ilgwa'tilx diwi* his body (was) like a person's 166.17
- *naika dá'wi ite'x'igulí* exactly like my appearance 104.10

§ 56
§ 57. Onomatopoetic Terms

The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoetic terms.

There are many nouns of onomatopoetic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled. Since, in onomatopoetic words when used as verbs, duplication of the stem signifies repetition, the doubling of the stem in nouns may be interpreted as meaning that the particular sound is uttered habitually by the object designated by the onomatopoetic term. Some nouns contain other phonetic elements in addition to the doubled group of imitative sounds.

This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoetic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience.

(1) Birds.

From stem t겠다 is formed it겠다 t겠다 hawk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinook</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qoèl</td>
<td>iqoèl qoèl owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pöö</td>
<td>ipöö epöö (sp.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qès</td>
<td>iqès sqès, oècèc blue jay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoaś</td>
<td>iqoaś sqoas crane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qonè</td>
<td>iqonè qonè gull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsën</td>
<td>e'tsentsen humming-bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goëx</td>
<td>ogoèz goëz female mallard-duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc!ăk</td>
<td>utc!ak tc!ăk eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsias</td>
<td>otsiā stsiās robin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qul</td>
<td>e'qulqul heron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōt</td>
<td>iqsōo lōt (sp.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts!ëk</td>
<td>ömunts!ë kts!ëk teal-duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koaē</td>
<td>otcē nakoaē koaē (sp.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcxēn</td>
<td>tē!ē tcxentsc xēn sprigtail ducks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qēt</td>
<td>eŋqētqēt hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>iqsō'kon kon woodpecker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Mammals.

From stem pen is formed o'penpen skunk; i'penpen badger

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinook</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nam (?)</td>
<td>ēnamnā'mukē otter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōtē</td>
<td>ukōtē kōtē porpoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tep</td>
<td>se'ntētep shrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celq</td>
<td>e'celqcēlq porcupine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 57
(3) Other animals.
From stem qo is formed ʔqoqo pike
\[\begin{align*}
\text{lōx} & \quad \text{ilō'zloz oyster} \\
\text{lez} & \quad \text{iqale'lez a small fish (see lez scales)} \\
\text{xē} & \quad \text{iq'loate'zēxē bullfrog} \\
\text{men} & \quad \text{oatsē'menmen newt} \\
\text{lō} & \quad \text{seq'lādlō butterfly}
\end{align*}\]

(4) Plants.
From stem ma is formed emā'ma pewterwort
\[\begin{align*}
\text{qel} & \quad \text{o'sqlqel polypodium} \\
\text{cāq} & \quad \text{uca'qcaq pteris}
\end{align*}\]

(5) Parts of body.
From stem pōx is formed upōxpōx elbow
\[\begin{align*}
\text{tcōl} & \quad \text{utcōltecōl lungs} \\
\text{kuc} & \quad \text{ckucku'c testicles}
\end{align*}\]

(6) Terms of relationship.
From stem ga is formed iā'gaga his mother's father
\[\begin{align*}
\text{qac} & \quad \text{iā'qacqac his father's father} \\
\text{cga} & \quad \text{oys'cga his mother's mother} \\
\text{kāē} & \quad \text{oys'kēkē his father's mother} \\
\text{ma} & \quad \text{oys'mama his father} \\
\text{ta} & \quad \text{oys'tata his mother's brother} \\
\text{kāc} & \quad \text{ikā'kēc boy}
\end{align*}\]

(7) Miscellaneous terms:
From stem pāt is formed ipā'tpat net
\[\begin{align*}
\text{tcēl} & \quad \text{etcēl tecēl brass buttons} \\
\text{seq} & \quad \text{o'seqseq buck-skin} \\
\text{tsēx} & \quad \text{tsēx tsēx gravel, thorn} \\
\text{kōyē} & \quad \text{okōyēkōyē fingering} \\
\text{gac} & \quad \text{oqō'gac sealing-spear} \\
\text{kup} & \quad \text{i{kup'up'u'p short dentalia} \\
\text{qāl (1)} & \quad \text{iqā'l gamble-disks} \\
\text{l'al} & \quad \text{i{l'al l'al gambling-disks} \\
\text{qāl} & \quad \text{iqā'qalqal short baton} \\
\text{qwis} & \quad \text{oqwisisqwis breaking of wind} \\
\text{qōm (1)} & \quad \text{iqō'mzōm cedar-bark basket} \\
\text{lk!en} & \quad \text{o'lk!enlk!en open basket} \\
\text{qula} & \quad \text{loqula'ula egg} \\
\text{leq} & \quad \text{o'leqleq scales} \\
\text{l'uwalk} & \quad \text{o'l'uwalkl'uwalk mud} \\
\text{l'em} & \quad \text{o'em'em'rottenwood (-le'm rotten bark) \\
\text{got} & \quad \text{iqē'gotgot fever}
\end{align*}\]

A second large class of onomatopoetic terms, those used in place of verbs, has been discussed before (§ 46).

§ 57
§ 58. Nouns Expressing Adjectival and Verbal Ideas

In Chinook a great many adjectives and verbs are expressed by substantives. In these expressions the quality or action becomes the subject or object of the sentence, as the case may be. The Chinook will say, the man's badness killed the child's poverty, meaning that the bad man killed the poor child. It is true that such expressions are not entirely unfamiliar to us; for we can say, he went the whole length of the way, or he mastered the difficulties of the problem, in which we also treat a quality as objective. In Chinook this method is applied to a greater extent than in any other language I know. Many qualities are used only as abstract nouns, while others may be transformed into adjectives by the prefix $g$-, which expresses possession (see § 17.6); for instance:

\[
\text{iā'q!atxl}, \text{iā'q!atxl} \quad \text{his badness} \\
\text{giā'q!atxl}, \text{the one who has his badness (i.e., the bad one)}
\]

In the same way, verbs appear as nouns. This also is a mode of expression not unfamiliar to us, although the frequent application of such expressions and the ideas they express appear very strange. We can say, like the Chinook, he makes a hit and he has a sickness, instead of he hits and he is sick; we can even use the verbal idea as the subject of a transitive verb, or form analogous passive constructions; for instance, sorrow filled his heart, he was seized by a fit of anger; but the absence or rarity of the corresponding verbal forms and the strong personification of the verbal idea in the noun appear to us quite strange.

Most of the nouns of this class are always used with the possessive pronoun. The following examples illustrate their uses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a'lt}a & \quad \text{(1) itsanō'kstx} & \text{(2) ōlk!e'nlk!en} & \text{(3) agiā'lōtk} & \text{(4) ik!enā'tan} \\
\text{oho'} & \quad \text{(1) itci'qōqcin} & \text{(2) lia'xauyam} & \text{(3) !oho'} & \text{(1) my wife's relative's (2) poverty (3) ! i.e., oh, my poor relative!} \\
\text{taqē'} & \quad \text{(1) ee'tcxōt} & \text{(2) iā'lkviłē} & \text{(3) just like (1) a bear's (2) similarity (3) 275.11} \\
\text{qulx'tc} & \quad \text{(1) igō'lgêli} & \text{(2) tcāxt} & \text{(3) lō'i} & \text{(4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i.e., Ioi has lied again} \\
\text{o'lo} & \quad \text{(1) aktā'x} & \text{(2) tē'lx'em} & \text{(3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16}
\end{align*}
\]
ka'naunwe (1) te'la'xukc (2) o'tam'o (3) all (1) birds (2) their chewed thing (3) i.e., all birds eat of it 40.18

ta'ke (1) a'yate!a (2) niz'laax (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came to be on him (3) i.e., then he became sick

g'a'da (1) itz'alt (2) qti'xoo (3) how (1) shall we make (3) our wailing (2)?

A list of these nouns has been given on pp. 599-600.

It will, of course, be understood that these words, from the Chinook point of view, do not form a separate class, but that they are simply concrete or abstract nouns, as the case may be. They are in no way different from similar constructions in English, in which the quality of an object is expressed as its property. We find, therefore, also, that many ordinary concrete nouns perform the functions of adjectives. Ayā'pxla (1) icime'wat (2), literally, the duck (2) its fat (1) means the duck had (much) fat, or the fat duck. The only peculiarity of Chinook in this respect is, that certain ideas which we consider as qualities or activities are always considered as concrete or abstract nouns. A glance at the list shows clearly that quite a number of these words can not be considered as stems. Some are derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently compounds.

§ 59. Phonetic Characteristics of Nominal Stems

On account of the intricate derivation of Chinook nouns, and our unfamiliarity with the component stems, it is impossible to describe the phonetic characteristics of nominal stems. The lists of nouns given before (pp. 597 et seq.) contain a number of stems consisting of consonants only, while most of the others are monosyllabic stems. It is doubtful if the purely consonantic stems have originated entirely through phonetic decay. A comparison of the Upper and Lower Chinook dialects gives no decisive answer to this question.

On the whole I am under the impression that a considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, and perhaps a few of two syllables, may be considered as stems.

§ 60. Verbal Stems

The onomatopoetic stems which do not readily form true verbs, and the nouns used for expressing verbal ideas (so far as they are not derivatives) reduce the total number of true verbal stems considerably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single

§§ 59, 60
sound, often of a group of consonants, or of a single syllable. Stems of this character are relatively so numerous as to arouse suspicion that all disyllabic stems may be compounds.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the stem of the verb, because it remains often doubtful whether an initial -x, -k, and -g belong to the stem or to a prefix. The following list contains only such stems the phonetic character and significance of which appear reasonably certain. The stems are arranged according to their initial sounds—first vowels, then labials, dentals, palatals, and finally laterals. The beginning of the stem is marked by parallel lines: suffixes are separated by single lines; tr., signifies transitive; intr., intransitive.

-enux others, apart
-á'mka only, alone
-á'neva first
-áxt one (for animals and inanimate objects)
-á'xat one (person)
-o'i to go. The forms of this verb are irregular. Some are derived from a stem -i, while others seem to have the stem -ó. It may be, however, that the latter is only the directive prefix -ó. The stem -i (which is absent in forms like á'yó he goes, á'ló it goes) reappears in

ayó'ya I go
nó'ya I arrive
nó'yam I goes along it

-sel oí na other, different
-wa to pursue

-á|wa to pursue tr. 62.12
-xá|wa to run pl. intr. 276.9
-xe'l|wa|ko to follow around
-u|wa'|x'it to flee (= to be pursued) 223.10
-u|wa|ko to demand 157.19

-á|wa to kill sing. obj.
-a|wan belly 186.6 (= pregnant)
-á|wul to swallow 46.12
-á|wintsx to melt
-u|wés raw, unripe 93.26
-pena to jump

-o|pena tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13

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-palau to talk
  -o[|palawul to address some one tr. 213.15
  -ki||palau substantive TO BEWITCH (=word) 62.16
-o||pial lx to gather, to pick 245.5
-o||pela to scratch 26.21
-o||pel to stretch out 109.12
-pō to close, to shut
  -x||pōlē to be locked 12.3
  -ā||pō to shut a box
  -n||pōt to shut in (=to shut eyes) 47.18
-x|pōna to carry food to wife's relatives 249.7
-o||pōnit to put up 29.8
-pōl darkness, night
  -pōlakli dark 29.8
  no|pōnem it gets dark 23.5
-ō|pcut to hide 9.10
-o|pta to lead by hand 130.6
-o|ptex to mend
-o p!ena to pronounce, to utter 253.21
-o|mako to distribute, to give presents 98.8
  -l|mako 77.17
-o|mā'inx rotten 199.26
-o|mētek to find, gather up 162.21
-l|mē'ctx to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.
-o|mēqz to lick 42.8
-o|mēla to scold 93.24 (=bad? Kathlamet)
-mēxa one more
-o mēt to grow up 224.4
-ō|mēl to buy 94.20
-ō|mēqt to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6
  -ō|mēqtīt thirsty 71.1
-mēq to vomit, to spit
  -ō|mēqo-it to spit
  -ō|mēta to vomit 13.6
  e'|mētalqīl qualmish
-xen|mō|sz|em to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18
-ō't to give 164.6
-t to come
  -tē to come 15.18
  -tē|mam to arrive coming 161.14
  -x|takō to come back 28.21
-x'takōm to arrive coming back 16.17
-ga|tlōm (for -gatgōm) to meet 94.11

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-gel|ta to leave 250.8
-xml|ta to leave 250.10
-t|ta|qL to leave sing. obj. 123.15
-x|qaL to leave pl. obj. 128.7
-l|ta|tkc to leave to somebody 177.5
-k|ta to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
-l|tagt to meet 164.26
-o|tena to kill pl. obj. 23.22
-l|tigó to oil, to grease; tr. with two obj.s, the direct obj.
-L standing for grease
-xel|tôm to accompany 135.20
-o|tukc to suck
-tk to put down
-ö|tk to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
-xem ö|tk to stake 30.16
-ö|tg|akó to put down around (=to step) 240.29
-ö|tcin tk to put first (=to begin)
-ö|tz to give away
-tz to stand sing.
-ö|tz|uit to stand 184.20
-g ö|tz to stand on, to strike 191.20
-ö|tz|uit|tcu to fall down
-ö|tz|umit to place upright 48.5
-ö|tz|uit|ck to make ready 42.17
-xel|tz|uit|ck to get ready
-tcan to hear
-x|tcimaq to understand 165.16
-l|tcimaq to hear 24.18
-o|têna to lay down 98.6
-o|tt|eq|lk to be crosswise 266.13
-gel|tcim to strike, to hit 66.4
-tct to move on water
-o|ttctcu to go down river by canoe 277.3
-o|ttctamit to push into water 74.22
-o|ttctôm to finish 46.23
-nax|ttctôm to finish one's own (breath), to faint
-o|ttctke to wash 39.23
-o|tsqat short
-xelo|tcx to observe 25.1
-o|tcxem to boil 23.4
-c to be somewhere sing.
-o|c to be 219.7
-l|ö|c to be in 151.3
-k|ö|c to be on 39.12
-ö|ö|c to be on ground 39.18

§ 60
-o\ci to roast in ashes 185.4
-o\ctx to carry on back 114.20
-x|-cg to take
-\o\am to take 134.1
-\o\e|eg to take away
-\o\e|el to help 28.6
-x|-cg\il to play 17.4
-o\skoit warm 174.13
-\c|ta to search on beach 88.4
-o\k\nt to turn over fire
-o\|nata on the other side, across
-o\nax\l to miss something that is needed
-o\nax\latck to lose 43.17
-o\nax\l to wipe
-x|ni\l to tie ()
-k\l|ni\l to tie around 253.2
-x|ni\l to tie around 115.24
-x|ngo to run sing.
-x|a\|ngo to run 23.23
-x|\te\lngo to come running 28.3
-o\ng\l to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
-o\ng\l to flutter
-k\l to see
-x|\el\l to see sing. obj. 115.1
-x|\el\l to see pl. obj. 66.11
-k\l to fly
-a\l to fly
-t\l to come flying
-t\l to arrive flying and coming
-x|\l to say 127.17
-g\l\l to swim
-o\l to swim 14.15
-g\l\l to swim across 217.11
-g\l\l (-gu\l) to sweep
-o\l 172.5
-k\l to go home, to pass
-x|\l to go home 25.9, to go past
-x|\l to come home 212.2
\l (-\l)
-o\l to order 129.29
-g\l another
-x|\l to throw away 17.11
-o\l\l to look at 47.2
§ 60
-o|kula to sharpen 15.21
-o ktk to lie down on side 76.8
-kto'mit to take revenge on relative of a murderer 203.10
-ktuq to enslave
-o ktc to carry 66.4
-ktcx (-q'e'teax) to cry 275.2
-o, ktcx to hold in hand 271.10
-o, ktcx Roasted, done 134.10
-o ktektam to roast 93.26
-o 'kc to harpoon 92.9
-o kct to see 217.22
-o kctam to go to see 187.10
-o kct (probably the same as -ktc above) to carry 38.18
-xo keti to lie down, to sleep 76.20
-xal o kctgo to throw down 16.8
-o k'uxck to make net 95.4
-o, kuL to carry 129.19
-t|kuL to bring 127.13
-t kuLam to arrive bringing 67.6
-kuL to tell
-x'lu gu'Litck to tell 37.17
-x kuLel 41.4
-klewa to paddle 135.1
-o|klpa to miss 271.13
-k!a to haul, to pull
-x, k!a 117.19
-gat, k!a to haul here
-k!ol to glue
-a, q to meet
-ga|fom to arrive meeting 117.24
-a qamt (-a|qamit?) to look 218.11
-a gamst to drink
-l qamx to shout
-qana it to lie
-o, quna it to lie down 16.23
-k|qana it to lay on top of
-o|quná'itx'it to fall down
-qá'yagt between
-o|ga-il large
-qena orphan
-t'èm to give food
-l|t'èm to give food 22.10
-t|l'èm to come to give food
-gèl|goim 240.28
-ōya between
  -n|ōya to put between into 172.20
  -a|ōya mit to leave meanwhile 93.26
  -a|ōya time between (= days) 175.9
-a|wēwul to invite 176.18
  -t|wēwul to invite here 41.6
-a|wilx to hit, to strike 65.12
-a|ōptit to sleep 255.16
-a|ōpk to steam on stones 97.25
-a|gōt to bathe
  -x|gōt to bathe sing. 12.8
  -x|gōyut to bathe pl.
-a|ōtle! to awaken sing. 137.23
  -a|ōyute! to awaken pl.
-a|ōnim to laugh at 184.3
-a|ōqec to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
-a|qecti to be satiated 172.12
-qia to count
  -qia 2|ōx 2 to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20
-o|xun to drift
-o|xtk to steal 163.12
-o|x'tkin to search 12.5
-xgō to be transformed
  -xgōmit to transform 30.23
-a|x tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
  -|xōm to arrive
  -a|xotck to begin to do (= to work)
-xaunu many
-xāyal common man -(xal?)
xena to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
  -xena|x'it to stand pl. 235.19
-xomem to show 41.2
-gên|ō'ten to help sing 235.5
-o|xoqtc to invite 60.4
-xōltit dizzy
-xol! to finish
-o|xtk to swim (fish) 63.13
-xgako to surpass 245.13
-a|xs to cut
-l to move
  -o|la to move
  -x|ll to shake intr. 156.14
  -o|latck to lift 25.21
-lap to dig
ā -laxta next 60.8
-o|lektc to roast 124.19
-o|lam to say to tr. 13.17
-lemaat next to last
-la to sit, to remain
-0|lait to be, to sit 22.10
-ge|lait to wait for 128.5
-xek|lait dead pl.
-|k|lait to be in canoe
-o|lata to pull back 38.13
-o|lata|xit to fly about
-|k|ik crooked
-o|lgat long
-o|l (!-o|lg) to win, to surpass 30.15
-lqla to strike
-ge|lqla to stab 89.1
-xel|dlqla to hammer
-xel|leklem to eat
-lala foolish
-l|lelex lean

§ 60
THE SHAMANS

Gitā'kikelal1 atge'ix2 e'wa3 timēwā'lema.4 Ma'nīx5 ałō'nīks.6 Those who have power of seeing they go thus the ghosts. When three persons,

Lā'nēwa 7 aqlā'x 8 pāt9 gilā'xawōk;10 klīmta11 aqlā'x8 pāt9 that one first some one really one who has a guardian spirit; last some one really makes him makes him

gilā'xawōk;10 kā'tsek13 aqlā'x8 gianu'kstx13 ilā'xawōk.14 Aqē'ktaɔx15 one who has a guardian spirit; middle some one who has smallness his guardian spirit. Some one pursues it

ilā'xanat̓e16 Lkā'nax,17 ma'nīx5 e'Latk-e18 Lkii'nax.17 Ma'nīx5 his life the chief, when his sickness the chief. When

itcā'qlaxala19 ayā'xelax20 qax21 uo'xat̓k,22 alktō'plēna23 Lā'xwam24 its badness it is on it that trail, he utters it his shaman song

qōla25 Lā'nēwa.7 Ma'nīx5 e'wa3 k-'lmta11 itcā'qlaxala19 ayā'xelax20 that first one. When thus behind its badness it is on it

1 -k̓ to see, as a transitive verb used with the prefixed element -k̓- (§ 25.7); -k̓ is introduced to make the stem -k̓- intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal -l̓ (with connecting weak vowel a̓l) indicates an action characterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem kikelal is treated as a masculine noun, power of seeing (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive -l̓- (§ 23), and is transformed into a personal noun by prefixed a̓ (§ 17.6).

2 a-aorist (§ 17.1); -l̓- third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); a̓ vowel lengthened under stress of accent; -x intransitive (§ 32.11).

3 e'wa thus, then (§ 44.2).

4 - third person plural (§ 21); -mēnel ghost, a stem introduced after the older stem -mēnelat̓ had been tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; -mā distributive ending, always used with the stem -mēnel (§ 38.2).

5 ma'nīx, temporal conjunction when.

6 Lōn three; -ks plural indicating human beings (§ 38.1); -s special plural.

7 'd-neva first; L̓ neuter pronoun (§ 18).

8 a-aorist, q̓- subject some one (§ 18); L̓ object it (§ 18); -l̓- directive, for ő before k̓ sound (§ 10); -x stem to do; contracted with the intransitive ending -r (§ 32.11), which has drawn the accent to the last syllable. -l̓- really, adverb.

9 i'kawd̓ guardian spirit; -l̓- neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the k changes to r (§ 6.1); ŋ̓- transforms the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).

10 klīmta last, afterwards, behind. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

11 kā'tsek middle. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

12 i-ukə 'smallness, with possessive pronoun masculine third person, and personifying prefix a̓- (see notes 1, 10).

13 a-aorist; q̓- some one; -l̓- him; stem presumably -l̓-; the preceding k seems to be adverbial on (§ 25.3), because when accentuated it takes the form p̓E', and because, after ő, an ő is inserted following it: for instance, aguq̓-təł 197.15 some one pursues them; the verb has, however, only one object. It never occurs with directive -l̓-.

14 i-k̓-̓t̓̓-̓ life, soul. Neuter possessive (§ 23). See also note 10.

15 i-k̓'n̓-n̓-̓ chief, rich man; ḏō'na'̓-̓ chieftainness (§ 7); ḏō'na'̓ indefinite, a chief.

16 e'-tə' sickness. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.

17 e'-q̓-̓at̓ala badness. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun uq̓-̓at̓. Intransitive verb with indirect object; a-aorist; y for i between vowels (§ 17.1), he (namely, badness); -l̓- her (namely, trail); -l̓- indicates that the badness belongs to the trail (§ 24); -l̓- to (§ 25.1); -l̓- directive before k̓ sound (§ 10); -x stem to do, to be.

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Boas, 667

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

The morning comes and someone takes his life. They return his guardian spirits power of seeing. Sometimes twice are between, sometimes once is between and someone gives his soul as they return those guardian spirits.

Th’a’ya aLx’a’x 48 ge’Lat’lca. 35
Well he becomes one who has his sickness.

Ma’nix aqia’wax 49 ila’xanate 16 ge’Lat’lca, 35 atge’ix 4 a gitai’kikela.
When some one pursues his soul one who has his sickness they go those who have the power of seeing.

Ma’nix aqia’wax 49 ila’xanate 16 ge’Lat’lca; 35 aqia’wax 49 ila’xanate 16 ge’Lat’lca.
When some one pursues his soul one who has his sickness then to the left.

Demonstrative feminine, absent past (§44); the corresponding masculine is qir.

-u’e’xat’ Trail. Stem probably -e’x.

-q-aorist; -t indefinite (neuter) subject; -i indicates t as transitive subject (§19); -a them; -q- directive; stem p’l’ma (Upper Chinook -p’l’ma).

L-q’t’wam shaman’s song. Neuter possessive (§23); since the accent is thrown back before the q, it is weakened to t (§6.3).

qo’la, neuter demonstrative, absent invisible past (§44).

The connective conjunction appears as ka, k’a, and cka. It has not been possible to give a satisfactory explanation of their uses.

Then. Demonstrative adverb related to q’wa.

See note 23, with usitative suffix -x (§32.11).

mank a little; with adverbial ending -i, the k is always aspirated.

Irregular formation from the feminine stem -pl’. It would seem as though the directive -o had been inserted in the verbal form in which the aoristic n- appears before a vowel (§17.1). This n- has assimilated the -t of -opl’ (§8). The explanation is, however, not satisfactory.

-q-aorist; -i third person plural transitive subject; -q third person plural object before q: -q- prefix eliminating one object (7) (§26.4); -a and stem, perhaps -a and -a (§29.4).

Intransitive third person masculine singular before vowel, when the i- takes a consonantlike character, so that the aoristic a is retained; -a directive; stem -pl’ma.

-i third person masculine singular before vowel, -a.

-aorist; -q indefinite subject; -i third person masculine singular object; -a stem to pursue; -am for -am after k sound, to arrive (§26.4).

See e’ Lata’la (note 18); q personal noun (§17.6).

-aorist; -q indefinite subject; -i third person masculine singular object, -o stem to take; -am completion of motion.

n-aorist before vowel; -q third person plural before k sound; -r reflexive; -a probably short and introduced after o preceding z: -a stem to come; -ako around, back; -x usitative.

-i plural; -q third person plural possessive; t’kau’d guardian spirit.

-e’z one; -m distribution; -ad verb.

meko two; -i (= -e’) adverb.

-oarist; -l transitive third person neuter subject; -a directive, for -a before k sound; stem -tup between; -x usitative.

-ez one; -i (= -e’) adverb.

-oarist; -q indefinite subject; -a him; -t them; -q to; -a directive, for -o to give away; -x usitative.

This form is unusual in so far as the two terminal z’s are not contracted and the accent is not on the ultima.

Demonstrative adverb q; invisible; masculine, qe there.

See note 37; -am for -am after k sound and perhaps contracted with -ako; -x usitative.

See note 25, plural.

See § 46.3.

-oarist; -a neuter; -r reflexive; -i direct; for -o before k sound; -x stem to do.

-oarist; -q indefinite subject; -i third person masculine object; -a directive, accented before w; -a to pursue one; -x usitative.

qie’E’kta left; qie’E’kta’ right. Particles.
that trail it went; they say those who have the power of seeing.

When he will die, nonetheless! When there he goes to the right
tail! When the hole ground. There they always
his soul: Oh, well some one will make him.

Some one reaches it when the whole ground. There they always
drink it the ghosts. When he has drunk it the one who has there
his sickness

that water, then not (any) how well someone Endeavors makes him.

all their shaman songs they treat him, not well some one makes him.

Find some one does it his life that it has drunk it the water.

Some one takes it, it is large that life. They return their guardian spirits

who have it is large that life. Some one takes it near

water. Then not (any) how well someone Endeavors makes him.

some one makes him.

They return their guardian spirits

here Indians and itssmallness comes to on it. They say

668 BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY [BULL. 40]
The seers go thus to the ghosts. When there are three of them, the one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed first, and one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed last. One who has a small guardian spirit is placed in the middle. The soul of a chief is pursued when the chief is sick. When the trail is bad, the first one utters his shaman song. When the trail is bad behind, then the one there behind utters his shaman song. And it is night for a little while, and they treat him; but when the morning star comes, the soul of the sick one is overtaken. His soul is taken. The guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes his soul is given to him two nights, sometimes one night, after the guardian spirits return. Then the sick one becomes well.

When the soul of a sick person is pursued, the seers go, when the soul of the sick person is pursued. There it went thus on the trail to the left. Then the seers say, "Oh, he will die, anyway!" when the soul went there thus to the right, "Oh, he will become well!"

It is reached where there is a hole in the ground. There the ghosts are in the habit of drinking. When the sick one has drunk of that water, he can not be made well at all. All those who have shaman songs try to treat him, but he is not made well.

The soul of one who has drunk of that water is found. It is taken. That soul is large. The guardian spirits of the seers return. That soul is large. It is taken here, near to the Indians, and it grows small. Those who treat them say, "Perhaps it will not be one night before he will die." It gets daylight. The attempt is made to give him his soul. It is given to him. It nearly (fills) his body, and he dies.

His soul is too small.

See note 31. k - personal noun.
See note 41. Presumably with directive -tocome. which is strengthened by the elision of q (§ 6.3).

S - aorist before vowel; - masculine subject; - k is a prefix. The origin of the suffix is not clear.

d - retoric lengthening of l (see notes 43, 72).

l - masculine pronoun; - neuter possessive; - stem body.

n - aorist; - third person masculine intransitive subject referring to the soul; - neuter object, referring to the owner of the soul or life; - probably for - on account of (§ 25.4); - probably stem; -abound, or part of stem; - usitative.
KATHLAMET TEXT

Exa't1 ne'qatcem2 na'ka3 tge'q'leyuqtfc.4 Tqeq'lax5 qatciuxoa'- One he sang conjurer's  song. One hundred he owned
watcguix.6 Laxanake'ongut7 i'la'lxam.8 Noxua'koax9 ta-iteci10 te'lxam8 songs. They assembled those
that his house at that the one who sang
noxiwiy'uytckuax16 ta-iteci10 te'lxam8 A'qa17 nige'mx18 ya'xi13 songs. LaxanakcO'ngut histown. Theyassembled those
people. Then said that
iqe'qtxam:3 "A'qa17 Lxato'guala19 La'xi13 Lqleyo'qt,4aLxctElo'te-onewhosang "Then he will come to hear that old man, he will go to see
xama."20 IgoxuiiX/xoa-it21te'lxam:8 "Q'a'mta22 Lq23 al.te'mama24 the dances." They thought the people; "Whence maybe he will arrive

1 Stem -pit one; feminine a'pit; neuter Lxet; plural Lxet; forms indicating human beings T'at, a'tat, Lxat, Lxat.
2 Stem -tcam; the preceding -t- (heard here generally -q-) probably ON; n- transitional masculine (§17).
3 naika I. independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following noun.
4 a'pit old PERSON; t- plural; ge-my; -tc plural, human beings.
5 This form is otherwise known.
6 qa- a very frequent verbal prefix in Kathlamer, either transitional, or a slurred form of age then contracted
with transitional i-: te HE, transitive subject; a HIM; this verb may correspond to Chinook tcil'zuwaltec he helped her sing (Chinook Texts 144.3).
7 Laxanake'ongut is a Nehelim town, called in that language Nesd'ka; perhaps derived from ongut a
small bay with steep banks, and LaxanakcO'ngut a
8 i- masculine; -La- indefinite possessive; te'lxam TOWN, from stem -lx.
The neuter or indefinite possessive pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed
Lxat'lxam, with t- plural prefix.
9 Stem probably -koj (Lower Chinook -ko); no-transitional, third person plural; -rus reflexive after o vowel; -koj stem; -x ustative.
10 Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see §44).
11 Demonstrative plural, referring to iqu' L HOUSE.
12 Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem -quL: with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped.
13 It has always the plural prefix te-: La refers to the same person as the possessive in liXlxam (see note 8);
14 pa at (§55).
15 ya'pi, wu'pi, la'pi demonstratives (§44).
16 Numerical; for human beings the form la'ktec is used.
17 wo'pL night; L- indefinite pronoun; -pL night, dark; -max distributive plural.
18 no-, que- transitional third person plural (§17); -que reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in the plural;
the u is introduced after preceding s; stem -we to DANCE; always ending with -l expressing repetition;
or -tc expressing probably an inchoative (§31); -x ustative.
19 This is the most common connective AND THEN (see note 6).
20 ni- masculine transitional; -qrim, accented, qrim to say; -x ustative.
21 L- indefinite; -za- reflexive; the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.
22 -a future; -La- indefinite; -a reflexive; -t him; -la- to come; -am for -am after vowel to arrive (§20); -a future.
23 a-future; -L- indefinite; -a to come; -ina suffix expressing probably an inchoative (§31); -x ustative.
24 la- future; -La- indefinite; -te to come; -mta suffix, not free; whence, whither.
25 Lq enclitie particle, MAY BE.
26 a future; -L- indefinite; -te to come; -am for -am after vowel to arrive (§20); -a future.
Lax'13 Lxuan25 e'wa26 Naqe'lem27 att'e'mama24 alxite'lo'te'th.
Perhaps thus Nehelim he will arrive he will see the
xama,20 Lxuan25 e'wa26 Ti'a'kle'lakix28 att'e'mama24 alxite'lo'texama.20
dance, perhaps thus Clatso will he arrive he will see the dance.*

Igo'ponem.26  A'qa17 wit'ta20 iguxuiwi'yutek16 ta-itci10 t'elxam.8
It grew dark. Then again they danced those people.

Qe'q'layaq11 wa'polpa,33 a'qa17 tell23 igu'xoax4 ta-itci10 t'elxam.8
Middle night at, then tire became those people.

Igugoaq'e'lext'it.35 Leka'ti Lqeyo'qt4 Lqagc'elak38 as37 no'Li'x38
They rested. One old woman and a little

igo'ponem19 a'qa17 iro'tqpit.39 Qlo'a'p10 e'kte'Neill41 qilxe'qo-ity43
it was dark then she slept. Near morning star she arose

La'xi13 Lqeyo'qt4 Lqagc'elak.38 A'qa17 ta'nik94 ig'xox44 ic'qepa47 Llxlo'xoa-it21 La'xi13
noise of a crack opening something was the door at. She heard

q'a'Iq'a'Iq'a'Iq'a'q'a'q'atik43 iga'xox44 ic'qepa47 Llxlo'xoa-it21 that old woman.

Iguxoa'qo-ityq54 ta-itci10 t'elxam.8 Iguxoa'lal'a'yutek.55
They arose those people. They arose.

Perhaps related to -t'oa- to think (see note 21); compare mizlo'xuan tci q'od'piq do you think it is near?

Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).

na-locative prefix (§ 40); qe'lem stem for a place name south of Columbia river; Tq'le'make the people of Naqe'lem (Nehelim), the Tillamook.

l- plural; -o's his; k'elak roasted, dried salmon; -ix adverbial ending; where there are their roasted salmon, the native name of Clatso. In the Clatso dialect the name Ld'xam has the same meaning; Ld'- their; Lx-o'xoa'd, DRIED SALMON.

igo- transitional and directive; -t'o' night; -pem it is always night (see § 8).

Again corresponding to Lower Chinook wept.

q'leq'uqak the middle of a thing.

w-preliminary prefix (§ 17); -f feminine; -p'o' night; -pa at, in.

Onomatopoetic particle verb.

igo- transitional intraactive third person plural; -x reflexive; -oo changed from o after o; -t to do.

iguxoa- third person plural before k sound (§ 19); q'wo't to rest; -x suffix (§ 29).

L- indefinite; qe'galak woman.

as, ac connective conjunction, sometimes used for while.

no't! a little; no'Li'x adverb.

Ll- indefinite transitional; -it directive; qop'tit to sleep.

Nearly, near by; also q'od'piq almost.

stem-kxel.

pit- see note 6; -p reflexive; qo-ity to arise.

ual what; ual who; ual'ksi something.

igo- transitional third person masculine; -x reflexive; -o directive; -t to do.

Igup'it him; -t is probably the prefix to (§ 25); stem-t'xmaq to hear; the terminal -aq may also be a suffix.

An onomatopoetic particle.

i- masculine; c'tq'doorway; -pa at.

A particle verb (see p. 46).

i- transitional; -q some one; -ntc inclusive plural; -t to come; -t to do; -am to arrive.

niipa corresponds almost exactly to the German "doch;" here it might be translated anyway.

- future; -ntc i them; -u directive; qo'yuteq to awaken; -em distributive; each one (?); -a future.

Ilgit- them.

Perhaps q'ni quiet; distributive ganema; -kxar adverbial suffix; compare Chinook i'x'kxar right there; q'od'piq quite near.

igo- transitional third person plural; -qoo reflexive after o; -qo'ity to arise.

iguxoa see note 54; -ituck plural; -l'yutek to arise; this word contains the inchoative -tck, and may be the stem -t to move.
They took their arrows. He was told that one: "Light do it

They came the door at. Perhaps thus its largeness its face

Then something

They said those people: "A monster

he old one he came to see the dance. His shots they made on it,

Far up that town, nevertheless

Far up that town. Then they ate those

people, those who had come to see They saw the dance that song at.

Thus then supernatural long ago

I my ancestors.
WISHRAM TEXT

By Edward Sapir

COYOTE AND Itc\'xyan

Aga^3 kwó\'pt^3 gayu\'ya^4 iskul\'lya^5 wi\'t\'ax.\(^6\) Ná\'2wit\(^7\) gayu\'ya^3;

Now then he went Coyote again. Straightway he arrived going;

galixe\'itcmaq^8 iskul\'lya gwâ\'nîsîm\(^9\) qutul\'a\'me\'ltq^11 idel'xam\(^12\)

he heard Coyote always they (Indef.) are always the people
swallowing them down

---

A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, ii, 41, 43. The Indian text as here given has been very slightly normalized from its form as there published (pp. 40, 42).

Used partly with weak temporal force, partly as mere connective in narrative. It is frequently practically untranslatable into English.

kwó\'pt, then, at that time, is regularly used with preceding âps to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem kwó- (or kwá-) that (= Chinook go there) and local suffix -pt up to (so and so) far. Neither of these elements occurs freely. kwó- is not used to form demonstrative pronouns, only occurring stereotyped in several adverbs; besides kwó\'pt we have kwó\'ba there (note 39), and kwó\'daw and (note 46). -pt also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. dapi as far as this (related to da\'ba, this-in-here, as kwó\'pt is to kwó\'bc), and peppi, as far as that yonder, from pe\'pi off yonder. See also note 56.

ps- (pe\' before vowels) - tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. -pt - 3d per. masc. subj. intrans., referring to is\'ku\'ly\'a\'ps, before consecutum it would appear as -t, while gal- would then appear as tense prefix (ps- = gal-: see notes 9, 26, 42). -s- = direct tense prefix away from speaker. -ps- = verb stem to go.

-\(^1\) - masc. noun prefix with which -s- in gayu\'ya\'ps is in agreement. -skul\'lya = noun stem COYOTE, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Klickitat ep\'ila. Chinook has another stem, -i\'d\'ap\'as.

\(^2\) Composed of wi\'t\'a again and deltic particle -a: cf. da\'w\'y\'a\'s (note 54) and da\'w\'y\'a\'x this. wi\'t\'a is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from wi-\', masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 33), and /a, emphatic particle added to pronouns, too, also (see note 21). According to this analysis wi\'t\'a(x) was originally formed from *wi as pe\'t\'a\'la\'a\'x he too from pe\'-\'a\' this-in-here. Originally it must have meant that (masc.) too, but was later generalized in meaning.

\(^3\) Rhetorically lengthened form of nu\'it immediately, right away. When thus lengthened to na\'dit\'it, it seems to imply direct, unsawing movement without interference of other action; it may then be rendered as straight on or on and on.

\(^4\) As in note 4, except that instead of verb stem -ps- we have its shorter form -p- - (as in yu\'it he goes; cf. also note 61). To this is suffixed verb suffix -am arrive while -ing, go (or come) to do- - Several verb stems have two forms, one in -a, one without this -a (e.g., -ps and -p to go out; cf. galu\'pa she went out with aft\'s she comes out).

\(^5\) gal- = tense prefix -ps- before vowels. -\(^{1}\) - 3d per. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). -s-\(^{2}\) - indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element -x- and local verb prefix -t- to, into. -cmaq = verb stem to hear. galixe\'itcmaq means literally to himself hear. To hear some one by -x-cmaq with prefixed transitive subject and object pronoun.

\(^6\) Adverb not capable of analysis.

\(^7\) - indefinite transitive subj. -\(^{2}\) - 3d per. pl. obj. tr., referring to ide\'t\'ap\'am. -s- = direct tense prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" -s- even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). -\(^{3}\)\emph{e\'t\'i\'pa} - example of rarely occurring compound verbs. -\(^{3}\)\emph{e\'t\'i\'pa} is "diminutive" form of verb stem -\(^{3}\)\emph{e\'t\'i\'pa} - to throw down, away (in this case its meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate -\(^{3}\)\emph{e\'t\'i\'pa} - to pull back); -\(^{3}\)\emph{c\'i\'p\'a} is best explained as verb stem -\(^{3}\)\emph{c\'i\'p\'a} (or -\(^{3}\)\emph{m\'a\'p\'a}) to vomit with infix -\(^{3}\) of frequentative or continuative significance (that -\(^{3}\) is not really part of stem is shown by form icicula\'t\'a\'maq he swallowed him down); pull back + vomit may be construed as meaning vomit backward, draw to one's self and swallow. -t- = tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, he heard ... they swallowed them down. Verbs that are dependent on other verbs, chiefly of saying or perception, are always present in tense, no matter what tense is logically implied; cf. below galixe\'itc\'i\'e\'t\'i\'el ... iki\'az (note 43) he saw it ... it is.
itc'lxyan. 13 Qxa'damt'14 gayu'y'15 ikn'i'm16 nà'wit gatci'el'ga17 Merman. Whither it went the canoe straightway he got hold of it itc'lxyan; gatciulatla'melq18 ka'nawi19 dan.20 *Naits'21 a'g'22 Merman; he always swallowed it down every thing. "Me too now atcunlatla'meleqema.23 isklu'lya galixlu'xwa-it.24 Coyote he will swallow me down." Coyote thought. Now then gayu'y' isklu'lya; gatci'el'ga yag'ail25 6kla'munaq.26 Coyote said again. Now then 12 id- = 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with -t- in preceding verb. *qma (= -c is inorganic) = noun stem village (wilt'am village is formally masc. sing. of *id'c'lam people); *qma is evidently related to -tq (see note 33). 13 t- as in note 8. *t-c'lxyan = noun stem MERMAN, PROTECTOR OF FISHERMEN (see Wishram Texta, p. 40, note 2; p. 42, note 2; p. 256, no note 2), no etymology suggests itself. Syntactically *t-c'lxyan is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by -c- of preceding verb. This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, *t-c'lxyan should go with tetcunatla'meq. 14 From interrogative stem qsa-(or qa-), seen also in ga'za what-in? = where? ga'za of what kind? and qa'g'ul what-with? = how? -damt' = local suffix toward found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. ca'zaladami toward above, gipeca'ladam toward below). This -damt is evidently related to local noun suffix -amto, from. Qxa'damt here introduces indirect question, and may be translated as no matter where. 15 = gayu'y. Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel. For analysis of form, see note 4. 16 -kim = noun stem CANOE. This stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have *wit'kim (see note 33); its Chinook cognate -kim shows original disyllabic form. See also note 37. 17 ge- = tense prefix as in note 4. -tc = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following *it'c'lxyan as subject. -i = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *it'c'm of preceding clause as object. -qel- = verb prefix of adverbial force, TOWARD (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive -c- of most transitive verbs. -qem- = verb stem to GET HOLD OF, SEIZE; it is possibly to be identified with verb stem -qem- stick to, its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive pronominal prefixes and verb prefix -qel-. 18 ga'za = on. -to, -t-, here referring to following dan. -u-lat.'a'-mElq is see note 11. wka'nawiai, every is most probably compounded of kana- ALL TOGETHER (found in such numerical forms as *ka'nacmokect all-the-two = both and, with unexplained fem. sem., in ka'ka'nmiki all Three people) and old 3d per. masculine demonstrative pronoun *nei (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrified words as wil'a and ka'nawiai), but specialist, like its corresponding fem. sem., as 3d per. noun prefix (see note 33). These old pronouns *nei and *ne are best explained as substantivized from pronominal elements -n (masc.) and -a (fem.) by means of demonstrative element -c- (or -a-); this latter element is probably identical with -c- in demonstrative stem datc-; this (found also as da-; see note 54), and with Chinook -in in demonstratives near 3d per. (t'ta, t'cota, t'a). ka'nawiai must originally have meant something like all (of) that (masc.), but, like wil'a, was later generalized in significance. ka'nawiai is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to ka'nawi to emphasize its meaning of totality. 19 Interrogative and indefinite pronom refering to things, what, anything, something. Though not provided with any sign of gender, it is always construed as masculine, hence -t- in gatciulatla'meq. Its correlative can (Kathlamet law) referring to persons, who, anybody, somebody, is always neuter in gender. 20 na'itsu'na here every is probably compounded of datc- this (found also as da-; see note 54), and with Chinook -in demonstratives near 3d per. (t'ta, t'cota, t'a). ka'nawiai must originally have meant something like all (of) that (masc.), but, like wil'a, was later generalized in significance. ka'nawiai is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to ka'nawi to emphasize its meaning of totality. 21 Syntactically na'itsu'na here anticipates -t- in following verb (see note 23) as 1st per. sing. obj. 22 a'pa (see note 15). This particle is very frequently used before future verb forms in conversation. 23 = tense prefix of future time. -t- = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -a = 1st per. sing. tr. obj. -at-ta'na-mEqas as in note 11 (-c- before -q is inorganic). -t- = connective before future suffix -c- a verbs that are continuous or frequentative in form regularly use this connective -c- before certain suffixes (such as future-a, cessative-ec, utative-nil, -a = tense suffix of future time; in Wishram verbs regularly form their future by prefixing -c- or -c (before vowels) and suffixing -a. It is somewhat difficult to see why this form should be frequentative; one would rather expect atcunatla 'in Eqwa. 24 ga'l- as in note 9. -l- = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (to) MYSELF THOUGHT. -b(a)-t- = verb stem to THINK. -a-it- = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; it is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by -an (izla'wam he thinks). 25 ge- noun stem, masculine, noun prefix of noun stem -gi'l-. *pail = 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculine noun ik'a'munaq. -pail = abstract noun stem business. pail ik'a'munaq the tree's business may, like all other possessive constructions, be construed either attributively (the big tree) or predicatively (the tree in big). Its attributive character is here determined by presence of true verb (gatci'el'ga) as predicate. 26 *a as in note 5. -ka'munaq = noun stem TREE, STICK, WOOD. This word is difficult of etymological analysis, yet cannot be analyzed simply; *ka- is undoubtedly to be regarded as noun prefix (cf. ik'talamat rod rock, perhaps from verb stem -ka to MOVE). -ka- is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" form of verb stem -ga- to FLY, UP IN AIR (as first element in compound verbs); cf. ik'talamat he whetted it with t'c'ula he filed it and t'wugula da-ulz I threw it up on top of (something) with initial da-ulz I threw it up.
Ga'tcige'la itle'x'yan, gaqulut'a'me'eq.

Nā'wit itlcqo'ba
gi'gwal iskul'ya galixi'maxitamwil'xa.

They arrived falling on the ground.

Now then he saw them their multitude the people; their multitude the canoes.

They piled together below in the water.

Now then he saw it

iskul'ya itle'x'yan yagó'menil qxwórl ik'a.x.

Aga kwó'pt

Coyote

Merman

his heart

hanging it.

Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical form of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its form-giving auxiliary.

- gal-i- as in note 9. -x - reflexive element. - (modified from -u- because of preceding and following velar consonants) = directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive -x replaces directive -u-, but there are several verbs that retain it even when reflexive in form. -x = verb stem to do, make. -w-a to do to one’s self, make one’s self, regularly used to mean become. For other forms of verb stem -x see notes 43, 53, 64, and 66.

- go- as in note 4. -p = indefinite tr. subj. -i = 3d pl. masc. tr. obj. -u-ta-l'a-metx as in note 11. Forms with indefinite subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

- il- = 3d pl. neut. noun prefix. -i = inorganic consonant, serving as glide between l and c. -c-(-p-; a = velarized to d by preceding g) = noun stem water; its shorter form -c- is seen in le'ta'cy the water of the two (Wishram Texts 190.14). -a = local noun suffix in at (see also notes 33, 36, and 60).

- wi- = 3d pl. masc. noun prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require wi- (cf. note 55); those that have more than one syllable have i- (see notes 5, 13, 16, 26); for probable origin of wi- see note 19. In Chinook wi- has entirely given way to i-, except as archaism in some place-names and in songs. -t = noun stem land; seen also in wi'ta'm village, id'el'sam people (see note 12); probably also in wi'ti' fishing station and le'te' fishing station for fishing. -a as in note 30.

- go- as in note 4. -c- = 3d pl. masc. tr. subj. -u- = 3d pl. obj. referring to following id'ta'cam (before verb prefix -gél-3d pl. plural obj. -i is replaced by -u-, -gél then becoming -gél-); in other words, -i- before -gél- is treated analogously to what comes before -gél-. -i = plural form of -gél- (see note 40) out from enclosed space (cf. ga-l-a-gé'l-da it flowed out of her [Wishram Texts 94.4]; analogously to -gél- (see note 17) directive -i- is here replaced by -gél- -kél- verb stem to know (cf. l-k-a-d'al-kul he knows them [Wishram Texts 178.10]); -gél-kél- = to know from out one’s (eye), hence to see, get sight of.

- l- = 3d pl. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem -blad. -ga- = 3d pl. poss. possessive pronoun prefix, referring to id'x'am. -blad = noun stem multitudes, great number. Id'x'am is construed like pe'oil it'a'munac (see note 25).

As in note 35, except that -ga- = 3d pl. fem. possessive pronoun prefix (merely homonymous with -ga- of note 35), referring to ak'n'im.

- a- = 3d fem. noun prefix; though many fem. disyllabic stems have wa- (e. g., wai'a's pond), it is here replaced by analogy of ak'n'im (see note 16), as in related nouns i- and a-, wi- and wa- generally pair off respectively. -a as in note 16. Logically ak'n'im canons is plural, morphologically it is fem., being so referred to in awa'rt (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is wai'a's maggot, masc. wi'a's maggot.

- e- = 3d fem. intr. subj., referring to ak'n'im. -e- = verb prefix on ground, on bottom (?) -u- = directive prefix, -e- = verb stem to lie, sit, be placed, corresponding in use to Chinook <. This verb stem allows of no formal modification by means of tense affixes.

- Composed of demonstrative stem kwó-(see note 3) and local suffix -da (see note 33): THAT-IS-% THERE.

- As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. -i = 3d pl. masc., referring to yop'o'meníl, and that -x = unmodified.

- ga- = i-ga- as in note 25, i- defining heart as masc. in gender, while ga-refera to itle'x'yan. -x' = subject verb prefix, -émnil being inceptive suffix; yop'o'meníl may also be used predicatively to mean HE IS ALIVE.

- Particle verb, for which i'tax serves as auxiliary.

- l- = 3d pl. masc. intr. sub., referring to yop'o'meníl. -kontsé is another tenseless verb (cf. note 38). It is best, though somewhat dubiously, explained as composed of verb prefix -k-, which shows lack of
gaqiul’xam43a isklu’lya: “Ya’xdau43b ite’lx’yan yag0’menil.” Aga
they (indef.) told Coyote: “That Merman his heart.” Now
him
kwó’pt lqlo’p43c gatci’ux;43d lqlo’p43c gali’x0x43a ite’lx’yan yag0’menil.
then cut it he made it; cut it made itself Merman his heart.
Aga kwó’pt ká’nawi gatxíxeni’yutek44 sáq45 akn’i kwó’dau46
Now then all they each floated out entirely the canoes and
ide’lxam kwó’dau isklu’lya.
the people and Coyote.
Aga kwó’pt gali’kim47 isklu’lya: “Lga48 pu49 qá’m50 ma’ima51
Now then he said Coyote: “Perchance would how you alone
ite’lx’yan qxi’dau52 amdu’xwa53 ide’lxam54 Da’uya55 wì’gwa56 aga
Merman thus you will do to them the people? This day now
object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem -x to do (cf. Eng. he does well, i.e., gets along well); -a would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook ik-ke-z he is and Wishram ik-ke当地他 has become). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to patclix’Ikl, see note 11.

Aga kwó’pt ká’nawi gatxíxeni’yutek44 sáq45 akn’i kwó’dau46 ide’lxam kwó’dau isklu’lya.

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The text contains a page from a handbook on American Indian languages, discussing the forms and meanings of words in a particular tribe's language. The text is filled with linguistic analysis and discussion of grammatical structures and word meanings. It appears to be a detailed and scholarly examination of language morphology. The page is densely packed with text, typical of academic linguistic works.
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MAIDU

By Roland B. Dixon

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND DIALECTS

The Maidu (or Pujunan) stock comprises the various dialects of the language spoken by a body of Indians in northeastern California. The region occupied by these Indians is a continuous single area, lying partly in the Sacramento valley and partly in the Sierra Nevada mountains. It may be roughly described as extending from the Cosumnes river in the south to a line drawn from Chico, through Lassen's Butte, to Susanville in the north, and from the Sacramento river eastward to the eastern base of the Sierra. The neighboring languages are, on the north the Achomawi-Atsugewi (Shastan) and Yana, on the west the Wintun (Copehan), on the south the Miwok (Moquelumnan), and on the east the Washo and Paiute (Shoshonean). Of these the Wintun and Shoshonean show the clearest morphological resemblances to the Maidu.

The Maidu language is spoken in three dialects, differing from one another more morphologically than lexically or phonetically, although differences of this sort, of course, occur. In general these morphological differences are in the direction of the morphological type of the languages of the other stocks with which the Maidu are in contact; the northwestern dialect most resembling the Wintun; the northeastern, the Achomawi-Atsugewi; and the southern, the Miwok. The northwestern dialect is spoken in that part of the Sacramento valley occupied by the stock, which lies north of the Yuba river, and also in the foothills adjoining, up to an elevation of about three thousand feet. It shows some minor variations within itself in the way of subdialects, these differences being as a rule, however, very slight. The northeastern dialect is spoken in the region of the high, flat-floored mountain valleys extending from Big Meadows in
the north to Sierra valley in the south. It has fewer variants than the other two dialects. This dialect is the one whose grammar is here given. The southern dialect comprises a number of slightly varying subdialects occupying the remainder of the area covered by the stock. In most respects this southern dialect is closer to the northwestern than to the northeastern.

With the exception of a few general statements in an article on the languages of California,¹ no account of the grammar of the Maidu has ever been given. Its grammar is, however, of interest, in that it may be taken as to some extent typical of a considerable group of central Californian languages, which in many important particulars are quite different from the majority of American Indian languages.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)**

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Maidu is only moderately extensive. It possesses but one series of k-sounds, of which only the k is frequent, and is lacking in velars and lateral (l) sounds. The consonant system includes palatals, alveolars, dento-alveolars, labials, and laterals. The sonants and surds are as a rule not very clearly differentiated, and it is sometimes difficult to determine in a given case which is intended. Surds are more common than sonants in the pairs g-k and d-t, g in particular being quite uncommon. Although in most groups of consonants there is a sonant, surd, and fortis, yet the fortis is often by no means strongly marked, and is difficult to separate from the surd. The glottal catch is but little used. A peculiar feature of the Maidu is the existence of two weak inspirational sonant stops b and d. The exact method of formation of these sounds is not clear. However, it is certain that inspiration proceeds no further than the soft palate; the peculiar quality of the sound being produced by a "smack" formed by a slight vacuum in the mouth. The b and d occur only as a rule before ò, and the difference between them and the ordinary b and d is, in the case of some speakers and in some words, very slight; in other words, or in the same words by other and generally older speakers, the difference is strongly marked. The consonant system of the Maidu may be shown in tabular form as follows:


§ 2
The vowels are quite variable. One of the most characteristic features of the use of vowels is the fondness for the ö, ä, and ü sounds. The vowels are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ö} & \quad \text{ä} & \quad \text{ü} \\
\text{u} & \quad \text{i} & \quad \text{e}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{ö} \\
\text{ā} \quad \text{â} \quad \text{ō}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 3. Phonetic Character of Stems and Sound-Grouping

Stems are with few exceptions monosyllabic and consonantal, and consist as a rule either of (1) consonant, vowel; (2) consonant, vowel, consonant; or (3) vowel, consonant. Words may begin with a vowel, h, y, or w, or with any consonant except x or n. By far the greater number, however, begin with a consonant, most commonly t, k, b or p, with Ti and w also very common. The most frequent initial vowels are a, o, and e. Whereas initial combinations of two consonants are impossible, such clusters are common in the middle of words. Groups of more than two are, however, unknown. In combinations of two consonants, sonants, except l, are never found as the first member of the group. Except for this restriction, the possible combinations are comparatively unrestricted, the only ones which are avoided being those of two spirants, a nasal and lateral, or those in which x is the second or ts the initial member. The following combinations are most frequent:

\[
\begin{align*}
l d, t b, l t, l p, l k, l t s, l s & \quad x b, z l, z k, z t s, z p \\
k d, k b, k l, k t, k t s, k p, k s, k n, k m & \quad s d, s b, s l, s k, s t s, s n, s n m \\
t d, t k, t p, t n, t m & \quad n d, n b, n k, n t, n t s, n p, n s, n m \\
p d, p b, p k, p t, p t s, p s, p n & \quad m d, m b, m t, m t s, m p, m s, m n
\end{align*}
\]

\[1\text{Verbal stems of the second class (§5, b), like the words themselves, tend very strongly to begin and end with surds. The larger number also of this class have a, o, or u for their vowel.}\]
All words must end in a vowel, or in m, n, p, t, or very rarely in l. The great majority end in a vowel (most commonly i); and of the consonantal endings, the nasals are by far the most common. The phonetic structure of the Maidu is thus quite simple, and, owing to the prevailingly vocalic character of the language and to the comparative lack of consonant combinations and phonetic changes, the whole structure is unusually transparent, and the component parts of any word are easily recognized.

§ 4. Laws of Euphony

Euphonic laws require sound-changes in some instances. These laws are mainly retroactive, and apply to consonants only in the case of m. Where m is followed by k or w, the m is changed to n; as, amam that one (subj.) + -kan and = amanakan and that one möm he + wete = mönwete he alone, he himself

There appears to be more or less of a tendency toward vocalic harmony in the Maidu. It is obscure, however, and never is more than a tendency, the exceptions to the rule being often very numerous. As will be pointed out more fully in § 12, the Maidu possesses a number of stems, which are ordinarily dependent on others, as prefixes, but which may in some instances stand as independent stems by themselves. These semi-independent stems are all composed alike of a consonant in combination with a vowel. The larger proportion of them seem to be grouped in series, with variable vowel; as,

ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu-

wa-, we-, wi-, wo-, wö-, wu-, etc.

The significations of these are in most instances general, and in some cases very obscure; but it is probable that in each series, the a, o, ö, and u prefix-stems, at least, are alike in meaning, or closely related. Similar, although less complete, series of wholly independent stems occur; such as,

hap, hop, höp, hop
tas, tes, tos, tus, etc.

and here again, in the a, o, ö, and u stems there seems to be often a close correspondence in meaning. Where these or other independent stems are combined with the prefix-stems, there seems to be a tendency to similarity of vowel-sounds; the vowel of the prefix being either the same as that of the stem, or of the same class; as, for instance, bahap-, bohop-, wököt-, yedip-, bapus-, böyol-, etc. This
tendency is most marked in the case of the o-stems. The o-stems take preferably either o or a prefix-vowels; the a-stems, either a or e; the e-stems, either e or a; the i-stems, either e or a; and the u stems are very variable. In every case, however, except in the case of the o-stems, any vowel may occur in the prefix, those noted being merely the most frequent. In all cases, i-prefixes are abundant, because the prefix wi- is one so important that it is used with practically every stem, and appears to suffer no phonetic change. In the case of other prefix-stems, whose meaning is more precise, which do not occur in series, and which generally refer to parts of the body as instruments in the action of the verb, no such tendencies toward vocalic harmony are apparent. Traces of a similar tendency toward vocalic harmony are also to be seen in the use of the general verbal suffix -n. This, in the case of o and a stems, has generally o for a connecting vowel; with other stems, however, it has i; as, for example,

\[\text{yok-on, ok-on, pin-in}\]

In a few instances, progressive euphonic changes occur, as where ö after ă becomes ü:

\[\text{på'küpm instead of på'köpm}\]
or in the change of p to b after n:

\[\text{öpe'kanbem instead of ope'kanpem}\]

There are also several instances of the insertion of t or i for euphonic reasons; as, for example,

\[\begin{align*}
\text{yaiyô'tsopin instead of yayô'tsopn} \\
\text{të'tyollebüssin instead of tëyollebüssin} \\
\text{kô'dodî instead of ko'dodî}
\end{align*}\]

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

(§§ 5, 6)

§ 5. Composition

Of the different grammatical processes employed in Maidu, composition is by far the most important and widely used. It will be most conveniently considered by dividing it into—

(1) Nominal composition, and

(2) Verbal composition.
Nominal Composition

Composition, in the case of nouns, occurs in its simplest form in the formation of compound nouns. Where the initial component ends in a vowel, a connective is usually employed. This connective is always \( m \) (changing to \( n \) before \( k \) or \( w \); see § 4). As a nominal suffix, this \( m \) indicates syntactic relationship. With nouns which do not end in a vowel, the compound is formed by the mere juxtaposition of the two words. Composition is further used with nouns to express diminutives, superlatives, collectives, privatives, etc., all of which are indicated by unchangeable suffixes added to the nominal stem. The most important use of composition in the noun is, however, its use in indicating local and instrumental, as well as syntactic relations. These locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by suffixes added to the nominal stem (§ 30). Syntactic relations are also expressed by suffixes, there being a subjective and a possessive case-ending. Finally, composition is employed, although in a very small number of cases, to indicate ideas of number, a few animate nouns taking suffixes which indicate duality or plurality.

Verbal Composition

In verbal composition there are three elements to be considered—the stem, the prefix, and the suffix. In Maidu there are two classes of stems. In the first class, which includes all but a few out of the total number, the stem is wholly independent and is always used as a stem, never being subordinated to another stem as prefix or suffix. These stems are predominantly of the consonant-vowel-consonant type; and although they normally seem to be, as just stated, entirely independent, some are at times combined with others to form double stems, the double stem taking the regular prefixes just as if it were simple. The second class, which includes only about a half dozen or so, consists of stems which are sometimes independent and sometimes dependent, being subordinated to other stems as prefixes. In the case of these latter stems, we have what might be called co-ordinated composition. The true prefixes, on the other hand, are always subordinate to some stem, and never stand alone or as stems. There are but a small number of these prefixes, and they indicate as a rule the agent or instrument of the action, referring chiefly to parts of
the human body, as hand, foot, head, etc. In other cases, the prefixes point out the shape of the object.

Suffixes express a much wider variety of ideas, and are very much more numerous than prefixes. They indicate direction of motion, modal and temporal ideas, negation, etc., and, like the true prefixes, are (with one possible exception) always strictly subordinate to the stem, and can under no circumstances stand alone.

One feature of composition in Maidu which is very clear is the slight degree of coalescence between the component parts of the compound; prefix, stem, and suffix each keeping its separate individuality. With few exceptions there are no phonetic changes resulting from composition; no contractions, elisions, or assimilations between affix and stem taking place. The most important exceptions are the case of an m coming before a k or w (in which case the m changes to n), and the retention of the euphonic terminal i before the subjective suffix m in nouns whose stem ends in m. A few other exceptions are noted in § 4.

§ 6. Reduplication

Maidu makes use of duplication and reduplication to only a slight extent in expressing grammatic concepts.

Simple duplication is restricted largely to the noun, where it is used, in connection with a suffix, to indicate the distributive. Very few nouns, however, appear to form such distributives. With verbs, it gives an iterative meaning, and the duplication may include both stem and prefix; as,

\[ \text{witöswitösonoitsöia} \] he went about picking here and there

Reduplication is quite frequent in verbs, both reduplication of stem and of prefix or suffix. In all cases the vowel of the reduplicated stem, prefix or suffix, is the same as that of the original, and the reduplication conveys the idea of iteration, or, in the instance of some suffixes, apparently gives the idea of a little, slightly.

The reduplication or duplication is, in the majority of cases, initial, but there seem to be a number of instances of inner or terminal reduplication or duplication; as, for example,

\[ \text{paka'nkanto} \] springs (distributive), from \[ \text{paka'ni} \] spring
\[ \text{yaha'ham mai'düm} \] good men (\[ \text{yaha'm} \] good), the reduplication here expressing the plurality of the noun
\[ \text{ok'i'kidom} \] getting home one after another (\[ \text{ok'i'tdom} \] getting home)
In the first two instances neither the noun nor the adjective can be analyzed into components, as may be done in the case of several other apparent instances of terminal reduplication.

§ 7. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES AND FORMS

Nominal and verbal stems are, in all but a few cases, distinct. There are a few nominal stems which also serve as verbal stems, but the number of such instances is small. With few exceptions also, the suffixes in use are confined strictly either to nouns or verbs.

Local relationships and directive ideas are expressed by suffixes, which are different for nouns or verbs. The nominal suffixes express such ideas as in, out of, toward, from, in company with, etc. The verbal forms point out the direction of motion; as, up, down, along, through, etc. Instrumentality and agency are indicated in the noun by suffixes, but in the verb by prefixes. In the latter, the series includes terms designating actions performed by the various parts of the body, by objects of different shapes, or the method of action, as by force or pulling, etc.

The formal relations of the parts of the sentence are expressed by nominal suffixes, in so far as the subject, object, and possessive relations are concerned. Modal and temporal ideas are also expressed by suffixes; the latter in some cases, however, being so loosely connected to the verb that they may at times stand alone or precede the verb entirely.

There are in Maidu no generic classifications of nouns, unless we consider the half-dozen cases known, where a few nouns designating human beings take regular dual or plural suffixes. These are the only instances, however, of any such classification, for none is apparent in the case of the few distributives.

Ideas of plurality are but little developed in the noun. Here a dual and plural, formed regularly, as in the pronoun, is found only for the words woman, child, husband, and dog. Distributives as opposed to plurals also occur with but few words. Indefinite plurals, expressing such ideas as a pile of, many, etc., and duals, are, however, common, and are indicated in both cases by suffixes. In the pronoun, ideas of number are abundantly developed, there being a regular dual and plural. As will be seen from § 28, the dual and plural are quite regular in form, and are strictly used. Both the dual and plu-
ral are indicated by suffixes. In the verb, plurality, or rather iteration, is expressed by duplication or reduplication. In the pronoun the dual and plural forms are derived in each case from the corresponding singular.

Diminutives, imitatives, inchoatives, desideratives, etc., are all indicated by suffixes, but are in general little used.

The pronoun indicates each of the three persons by a separate formal element, all of which possess both dual and plural forms. An inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural exists, but the distinction is not commonly made. The third personal pronoun is frequently used as a demonstrative; but there exist regular demonstrative forms as well that are never used in the personal sense.

The demonstrative possesses really but two forms, corresponding to our this and that, and denoting relative distance from the speaker. The demonstrative is thus comparatively undeveloped in so far as regards number of forms and accuracy of the expression of location, and, even in its simple contrast of nearness or remoteness, is not always strictly used.

The Maidu sentence is characterized by the definiteness with which the agent of action, the direction of motion, or the qualification of the action is expressed, and by the extent to which ideas of plurality are strictly carried out in all pronominal sentences. In its formal characters, the chief features of the sentence are its flexibility, openness, and clarity, the independence of the noun and pronoun, and the absence of the process of incorporation, well marked in many Indian languages. The expression of verbal ideas in nominal form is also a rather common feature.

**DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 8-37)**

**Composition (§§ 8-27)**

§ 8. *Nominal Composition*

As has been stated in § 5, nominal composition is much less developed than verbal composition in Maidu. Its uses, apart from those expressing syntactic relations, are

1. In the formation of compound nouns.
2. In the formation of diminutives.

\[\text{\textit{niep'ki head'imenmapem}}, \text{literally, our what-not-shall-do (our nothing shall do), instead of we shall do nothing, can do nothing.}\]

§ 8
3) In the formation of collectives.
4) In the formation of privatives.
5) In the formation of terms, such as are expressed in English by words like only, merely, etc.

1. **Connectives.** In the formation of compound nouns a connective may or may not be used. Where the stem of the primary component ends in a consonant, the connective is very generally omitted; as in—

   hos-biní spider-web (hosí buzzard; biní net)
   ba't-sawí head-plume (bat [ʔ]sawí grass)

In other cases, the euphonic i is retained, as in—

   tolí'-waka calf of leg (tolí' leg; waka' meat)

When a connective is used, this is invariably m (or ŋ, see § 4), and it may be used either with a noun whose stem ends in a vowel, or with one ending in a consonant, but retaining the euphonic i; as,

   sú'-m-bukú dog-tail (sú dog; bu'ku tail)
   hi'ní-m-butú eye-lash (hi'ní eye; butú fur)

Inasmuch as m is the regular nominal suffix of the subjective case, it may be regarded here as expressing a weak syntactic relation between the two components of the compound word.

2. **Diminutives.** These are, on the whole, little used in Maidu. In the dialect here discussed, the formation of the diminutive is by means of the suffix -bè; as,

   öbè little stone (ö stone)    sú'bè little dog (sú dog)

The suffix is added directly to the stem, and is applied indiscriminately apparently to animate or inanimate objects.

3. **Collectives.** These express such ideas as a pile of, a crowd of, a lot of, and are quite commonly used. The most frequently used is the suffix -nono added directly to the stem; as,

   kúlo'k-nononono a lot of women, all the women
   mai'dū-nonono the men as a body

Beside this suffix, there are two others that are frequently used as such, although they may be used alone, and stand before the noun. These other forms are -bomo and -loko; as,

   mai'dúmbomo all the men, the crowd of men
   tsá'mloko a bunch of trees, cluster of trees

In the case of both these latter forms the connective m is always used.

§ 8
4. Privatives. These are used only in connection with the suffix -pe(m), the various uses of which will be found discussed in § 22. There are three suffixes indicating privation, and each is added directly to the stem, and is followed by the suffix -pe(m); as,

- bu'k-mul-pe(m) tailless (bu'kū tail)
- hi'n-kol-pe(m) eyeless (hi'nī eye)
- pai'-wii-pe(m) foot-less (pai, paiyi' foot)

The last of these suffixes, -wii, is simply the stem of the negative win no. The stem -kol- also appears in the word ko'lon none.

5. The suffix -doko is used to express the idea of only a, merely, etc. It is generally added directly to the stem, but occasionally requires the connective m; as,

- onō'-dōkō merely a head
- tsakā'-m-dōkō only pitch

Verbal Composition (§§ 9-27)

§ 9. CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBAL COMPOSITION

In verbal composition we have to deal with three component factors—prefixes, stems, and suffixes. As a class, the prefixes are not numerous; whereas the suffixes, at least in comparison, are abundant, there being between fifty and sixty of them in use. Nearly all the prefixes are composed of consonant and vowel, or a single vowel. The suffixes, however, are not so regular.

PREFIXES (§§ 10-14)

§ 10. Groups of Prefixes

Verbal prefixes may in the first place be divided into two types, according as they are or are not arranged in series, as stated in § 4. As pointed out in § 5, prefixes are also of two different types, according as they are wholly subordinated to the stem, or co-ordinate with it, and able sometimes to appear as stems themselves. About half the prefixes are of this latter class, although it is possible that many not as yet noted as of this type may eventually be found to belong to it. In the majority of cases the prefix indicates the agent by which the action is performed. In a limited number of instances, however, the prefix appears to point out the object of the action; as, for example, the prefix te-, which normally indicates actions done with the foot, may in some cases refer to actions done to the foot. Classified
according to their meaning, the prefixes fall into two groups; the smaller and more definite referring to different parts of the body as the agents (or objects) of action, the other and more numerous pointing out the general shape or character of the thing or agent by which the action is performed.

§ 11. Prefixes Referring to Parts of the Body

1. *ha*(n) actions performed with the shoulder or the back (also used as stem).
   - *ha*’n-*dak-*dau-*dom* prying off board with shoulder
   - *ha-la*p-*no-*dom* dragging along (by rope over shoulder)
   - *ha-yō’-sip* carry it out on back!
   - *ha’-kǐn* to lay down a load (carried on back)

2. *hi-* actions performed with the nose or snout.
   - *hi’-tul-*sip-*dom* breaking a pane of glass in window by pressing with nose

3. *in-* actions performed by sitting on.
   - *i’n-*bat-*o-*dom* breaking stick by sitting on
   - *i’n-*no-*ti-*moto* bend together by sitting on

4. *is-, ic-* action performed with the foot.
   - *is-*dot-*sopo-*tsōia* he kicked it over
   - *is-*wa-*wa-kōi-*tsōia* he scraped away with feet
   - *ic-*dot-*o-kō* foot-ball

5. *ka-* actions performed with the flat hand, or sometimes with the flat side of something (also used as stem).
   - *ka’-bak-*dau-*dom* prying off shingle with hand
   - *ka’-dak-*kǐn* to shut a pocket-knife
   - *ka’-dek-*to* to shove hand through something
   - *ka’-not-*kit-*dom* bending down with the hand
   - *ka’-*moto* to place the hands together

6. *ki-* actions performed with the fingers.
   - *ki’-bak-*dau-*dom* picking off scab with finger
   - *ki’-tus-*to* to break twig in fingers
   - *ki-*ūsū-*pi* rub (with fingers)

7. *ō-* actions performed with the head (also used as stem).
   - *ō-*ba’t-*to-*dom* breaking a stick with the head
   - *ō-po’-*pōk-*dom* shaking water out of the hair
   - *ō’-pul-*dom* to root up (as a hog), to dig up with horns
   - *ō’-*moto* to put heads together
   - *ō’-mit-*on* to look into a house; i. e., stick head down in through smoke hole

§ 11
8. **sö-** actions done with the arms (also used as stem).

- *söhu'n-bök-tsoia* he jumped at to seize in his arms
- *sö'-wo-dom* lifting in arms

9. **te-** actions performed with or upon the foot (also used as stem).

- *te'-as-pin* to pull toward one with the foot
- *te'-hul-dom* stamping upon
- *te'-lap-sito* to shove something sharp through the foot
- *te'-pes-ton* to step on and mash something soft and wet
- *te'-sin* to step out of; i.e., put the foot out from

In the case of two of these prefixes, there is apparently a very clear relation to nominal stems — *ö-* with *o'no* head, and *hi-*, with *hi'ku* nose. The others show no such connection.

§ 12. Prefixes Indicating the Shape or Portion of the Agent by which the Action is Performed, or the Character of the Action Itself

10. **ba-, be-, bo-, bu-** actions performed in connection with a rounded or massive thing. This series of prefixes is one of the most puzzling, as they seem on the whole to express but a single idea, yet many of the forms are quite erratic. In this series the influence of vocalic harmony makes itself strongly felt, and there are many instances of sympathetic variation of the vowel in both stem and prefix without change of meaning, as well as cases where the change in vowel of the stem forms a new stem with different meaning. The following examples will make the use of this series of prefixes clear. Only *ba-* and *bo-* may stand alone as independent stems.

(a) Examples illustrating the regular use of these prefixes:

- *ba-da'k-dau-dom* knocking a board off wall with a rock or hammer
- *ba'-pes-ton* to crush something soft and wet with fist
- *ba'-pol-don* to dig up something rounded, as potato, stone
- *ba'-yau-kin* to throw a stone through the floor
- *ba'-sin* to scrape dirt out of a hole
- *be'-dek-kin* to throw a stone downward and pierce something
- *be-ke't-sito* to throw past; i.e., throw, and not hit
- *bö'-dak-dau-dom* knocking something out of a tree with a stone
- *bo'-kot-dau* to cut a snake in two with a heavy rock
- *bo'-lok-don* to make a snowball
- *bo'-kin* to put down something round or bulky
- *bö'-töi-don* to bounce up, as a ball, rock
- *bö-le'k-wo-doi-dom* reaching the top of a mountain
bo'-tu-tu-dom breaking a window with a stone
bu'-du-tu-min to force a stone into the ground by stepping on it

(b) Examples illustrating change of vowel in prefix only:
ba'-po-lu-don to dig up something rounded, as potato
bo-po-lu-dom to wash or dig a gopher out of a hole
ba'-to-po-to to break small stick with fist
bo'-to-pu-kin to break stick with stone, throwing it downward

(c) Examples illustrating change of vowel in both prefix and stem:
ba'-ka-po-kin to force a peg into the ground by pressing
bo'-ko-pu-kin to stick needle in floor
bo'-ko-pa-kin to force a stake into the ground
ba'-ya-lu-du to split or break to pieces with wedge and hammer
bo-yo'-lu-kin to smash a cup with a stone
bo'-yo'-lu-kin to split or break up fine by a blow

In the first examples in this last group, there seems to be a departure from the otherwise general meaning of something rounded or bulky. As these variations from the general meaning occur, however, only with three stems (k-p, l-p, and h-p) which always seem to carry with them the idea of something long and slender, the prefix in these cases would seem to refer to the massiveness of the whole upper part of the body by which the pressure was exerted, or something of that sort. There are, however, a number of forms like the following, where the meaning of the prefix is obscure:
ba'-ta-du-dom to drive up cattle
ba-tsa'-pu-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil
bo-to'-pu-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil

11. ho-, hu- actions performed with the edge of a long thing, generally by a steady, continuous motion (hu- also as stem).
ho-yo'-tu-du-dom taking off a fine shaving with knife
hu'-ba-kw-du-dom to cut off a piece of bark, sole off shoe
hu-de'-k-to-dom piercing with sharp knife
hu-no'-tu-kin to bend down by means of a stick used as lever
hu-tu'-lu-to break pane of glass by pressing with a stick

As stem, hu- seems to have a very general meaning:
hu'-mi-tu-dom taking something into the house
hu'-si-tu to take a horse across river
hu'-tsu-pu to take something off a high shelf

12. si-, su- actions performed with the end of a long thing.
si'-si-dau to scrape out a basket
su'-si-dau to poke away with a stick
si-ke'-yo-dom drying meat (cutting it in slices?)
§ 12

sü-tä’-no-dom shoving along with a stick
si-kes-tsoi-a she cooked.
si’-sup-dom falling, slipping from the hand
si-to’k-dom drying meat
si-wa’-wai-to-weten having dug it apart
si-dak-dau scrape something dry out of a basket
si-ka’la-ma-kökkan they would bother me

13. wa-, we- actions performed with the edge or side of a thing, often by a sudden motion or blow.

wa-a’p-dau to scrape off with edge of a knife
wa-ba’t-on to break a stick by a blow with the butt of an axe or with a club
wa’-das-ton to split with an axe
wa’-hap-kin to insert a stick into a bunch of sticks
wa’-kat-sito to bat across, knock across, with side of pole
we’-kut-to-dom biting in two with teeth
we’-pit-in to pinch with thumb and fingers
we’-tsap-dau-dom tearing off with teeth

14. wo-, wo-, wu- actions performed with the end of a long thing, generally by a blow. The preceding prefixes wa- and we- are so close to these that it seems probable they all belong together in one series, as in the case of ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu-. Wo- is used also as a stem.

wö’-bak-dau to pry off shingle with stick
wö’-das-dau to split or pry piece off a log
wö-do’t-sito to bat across
wö’-kot-dau to chop off end of log
wö-to’k-dom clapping together (the hands)
wö’-kin to lay down a stick or long thing (cf. bö’-kin)
wö’-pö-pök-dom shaking one’s self (cf. o’-pö-pök-dom)
wö’-töi-dom bouncing up, as a stick (cf. bö’-töi-dom)
wö’-su-wala-ka-no to knock over backwards with a club.

15. ya-, ye-, yo-, yö-, yu- actions performed with the end of a long thing, endways, or in a direction parallel to the length of the thing (yo- also as stem).

yä’-äš-dau to strike a thing with end of spear and slide it along: to hit with fist, and move
yä’-bak-dau to knock bark off tree by stroke with arrow or bullet
yä’-dat-kin to put knife in sheath
yä’-moto to pile up boards on end
ye-äš-sito to drag one’s self across on a pole
yö’-dek-ton to shoot through anything, and pierce

§ 12
This class of prefixes, as a whole, is one of the most obscure features of the language, and can not yet be considered as satisfactorily explained.

§ 13. Prefixes Indicating the General Character of the Action

16. he- actions occurring spontaneously or by accident. Although this prefix would seem to be part of a series (ha-, he-, ho-, hu-), its meaning is apparently not at all related to the others. It is often very obscure. It occurs also as a stem.

he'-as-dau-dom snow sliding off roof
he'-dak-dau a shingle or leaf pulled off by some agency unknown
he'-kot-sito break up of itself, to crack, as a glass
he'-poi-dom bending by falling of itself
he'-tsap-dau-dom knocking off hornet's nest with stick (?)
he'-min to brush flour into a hole
he'-dan to comb the hair, brush clothes

17. wi- actions performed by force, very frequently by pulling. This is the most common prefix of all, and seems to have a very general meaning. It occurs with every stem, seems to suffer no phonetic changes, and may also be used as a stem itself. Its uses are so varied that only a few can be given. As in the case of the last prefix, he-, although wi- would form part of the series wa-, we-, wi-, wo-, wō-, wu-, it seems to be really independent, and to have no relations to any of the others in the series.

wi'-ās-pin to pull toward one
wi'-bak-dau-dom wrenching off a board or shingle
wi'-bat-kin to pull down and break, as a branch of tree
wi'-dek-kin to tear in strips downward
wi'-hap-sito-dom pulling a rope through a hole
wi'-hus-doi-dom pulling on socks

§ 13
Breaking off a piece of something soft, like bread, by upward motion

Wii'-not-kin to pull and bend down

Wii'-pol-dau to pull brick out of wall

Wii-ta'-ta-moto-pi to hug in arms

Wii-ta'o-k-dau to pull off a button

Wii'-yal-ki'n to pull off a sliver downwards

Wii'-moto to gather together, as a crowd

§ 14. Composition of Prefixes

In a few instances, prefixes of the classes described in §§ 11 and 12 may be used together, although this is rare. An example of such use is the form

Wii-wo'-han-o-dom carrying on the shoulder a man extended at length (i.e., head-first)

§ 15. STEMS

In §§ 3 and 4 the phonetic features of stems were pointed out, and their tendency to occur in incomplete series with variable vowel was illustrated. As in the case of the prefixes, the pairs or series appear to have, for the most part, similar meanings, although a considerable proportion differ radically in their significance, as do the prefixes. The less noticeable feature of a variable consonant in the stem was also pointed out. Further discussion of verbal stems will be found in the analysis of the vocabulary (§ 41).

SUFFIXES (§§ 16-26)

Verbal suffixes are, as already stated, numerically far more important than prefixes. Their range of meaning is also much greater, and, unlike the prefixes, they may be compounded one with another to a considerable extent. They do not, moreover, show any tendency toward occurrence in pairs or series, as is characteristically the case with many of the prefixes.

§ 16. Groups of Suffixes

The various suffixes may be divided, according to their meaning, into the following groups:

(1) Suffixes expressing direction of motion.

(2) Modal suffixes.

(3) Temporal suffixes.

(4) Suffixes indicating relative success or completion of action.

§§ 14-16
Suffixes indicating number, iteration, reciprocity.
(6) Nominalizing suffixes.
(7) Participial suffixes.
(8) Suffixes giving general ideas of motion.
(9) Suffixes indicating negation, inability.

§ 17. Suffixes Expressing Direction of Motion

Of the different classes of suffixes, that which includes those indicating direction of motion is decidedly the most numerous. The following examples will illustrate the use of these directive suffixes:

1. **-da** downward, to the end.
   - **wo-dâ’-kas** I fell (from a tree)
   - **mê’-da-to-tsoia** he took down, it is said

2. **-dau** separation, off from.
   - **bâ’-kas-dau** to knock a shingle off with a hammer
   - **yê’-dis-dau-tsoia** she slid off, it is said

3. **-dik(no)** against, up to, alongside of.
   - **lok-dikno-mâ’-kas** I shall crawl up to
   - **sù-ta-di’kno-dom** pushing or rolling it up against something

4. **-doi** upward.
   - **ka-pwi’lim doi-no-dom** rolling a log up hill
   - **o-no’-doi-tsoia** he went along up, it is said

5. **-ki(t)** down, on ground.
   - **hu-ko’t-kit-dom** cutting to pieces (by bearing down on knife)
   - **sò’-wò-kit-tsoia** he carried a long thing and laid it down, it is said

6. **-koi** away, away from.
   - **i’c-dot-koi-dom** kicking away something
   - **ö-koi’-tsoia** he went away, it is said

7. **-mi(t)** down into a hole, into a house, into a box.
   - **ha’s-mi’t-asi** I slid into a hole
   - **ö-mi’t-dom** going into the house

8. **-moto** together, toward each other.
   - **ka-ta’-moto-dom** squeezing between hands
   - **ö’-moto-dom** coming together, approaching each other
   - **ka-tsik-i-moto-bos-weten** having completely surrounded on all sides

9. **-pai** against, at.
   - **hit-pai-dom** throwing water at some one
   - **hom-pai-to-dom** boxing, fighting

§ 17
10. **-pin** toward the speaker.
   ō-pi’n-tsoia he came toward
   hu’n-ndt-pi-pin-kit-toi-tsoia they came by degrees back down
   toward from hunting, it is said
   hē’-ap-pin-pin-tsoia she slid toward, little by little, it is said

11. **-sī** out of, out from.
   ō-si’p-tsoia they got out (of the boat)
   has-si’p-asi I slid out (of the house)

12. **-sito** across, through.
   la’p-sito-dom crawling through (a hole in the fence)
   ō-sī’to-yē-wē’-būs-ma-pem one who shall continually travel back
   and forth across

13. **-tu** on top of, off the ground.
   tus-bō-tā’-dom standing by the smoke hole on the roof
   wō’-la-nū it lies on top of, said only of a long or flat thing
   tōp-ta-tsoia he jumped upon

14. **-tso** round and round, over and over, over.
   la’p-tso-no-ye-dom crawling around something
   lō’k-tso-pin-wē-bissim they kept crawling over toward speaker

15. **-wai** apart, asunder, stretching out.
   hē’-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
   ka-tā’-wai-to-dom flattening out by patting between hands

### §18. Modal Suffixes

These suffixes may be divided to good advantage into two subclasses,—those which are modal in the general sense of the term, and those which are temporal.

16. **-n** infinitive.
   bū’sin to be
   dōn to seize or hold in mouth
   ō’sip-in to go out

17. **-us** reflexive.
   pē-bo’s-us-tsoia he ate himself entirely up
   yapai’-to-us-dom talking to himself
   wa’s-wēye-us-tsoia he swore at himself
   nī’-us I myself

18. **-ti** causative.
   wil’-u-kit-ti-koi-tsoia he caused to run away down
   bu-dut-no-ti-paai-kan he made water to rise
   wō’no-ti-dom killing (causing to die)

19. **-p, -pa, -pada** imperative.
   ō-nō’-p go!
mē-p give (me)!
ō-nō'-pa go!
hata'm-pada do ye search for!
20. -ta future imperative.
wō'no-ta it shall die, let it die!
tse-ta' let them see!
ma-ta'-si let me be!
yahā'-bo let it be good!
wō'no-kōn-kādō ma-bō' a mortal-world let it be!
22. -pō, -pē, -pee exhortative.
o'no-pō let us go!
bū's-ta-pē let us stay!
helai'-to-pē let us gamble!
23. -de interrogative.
o'ka'-de mōyē'm is he hungry?
wō'no-ti-ma-ka-de-s shall I kill?
suda'ka-de is it sweet?
24. -benē(e) obligation, must.
o'koi'-bēnē mīntsē'm ye must go away
so'-doi-ben must bring, carry on shoulder
ō-noi'-ben-ma-p do not go away!
25. -lut obligation, compulsion, intensive.
o'no'-lut-ma-ka-s I must go along
ya'k-tse-ti-lut-weten looking exactly like
It is used also with adjectives, as tētē'-lutī very large, and with
nouns sometimes, as e's-to-lutī the very center.
26. -yaha ought, should.
o'koi'-yaha-ka-ankano you ought to go away (yaha good, although
an independent adjective, seems in such cases as this to be
fully incorporated as a suffix into the verbal structure)
27. -nats can.
wō'no-men-atse-s I can not die
wi-wō'-doi-natse-no can you lift it (a long thing)?
wīlē'-no-natse-n mo'-yē can he run?
28. -bō might.
o'no-ti-bō-si I might swallow
ya-tai'-bō-nō you might miss (with arrow)
29. -helu may, perhaps (?).
yo-dō't-ya-nu-to-helu'-kō-kan he may have tied them up to
ok-he'lu-kō-enkesi we all may be hungry
§ 18
This seems also to be used independently, when it means some, a few. It would appear probable from this, that its use in the verb would indicate the plurality of the object, as in the case of woli many, which is used similarly for this purpose. The examples available, however, only indicate its meaning as above.

§19. Temporal Suffixes

30. -ka incompletely action (present).
   ö-koi'-ka-si I am going away
   o'kasi (ok-ka-si) I am hungry
   we'ye-don-kö-ka-n he is talking

   This suffix is still somewhat uncertain. It is used in the great majority of instances, but is occasionally omitted in direct statements of immediate action; as ö-koi-s I go, tse-s I see.

   It is probably intimately related to the auxiliary verb ka to be, seen in such forms as ka-s I am; ka-an-ka-no you are; ka-ti'-ka-s I cause it to be, I do, etc.

31. -ma incompletely action (future).
   öko'i'-ma-ka-s I shall go away
   ö-yë'-ma-dom will be going
   ko-bë'-bek-ti-men-ma-pem one who shall not cause to cry aloud

   As indicated in the first example, this suffix is often combined with -ka. Like the latter, it also is extensively used as an independent auxiliary verb; as ma-ma-ka-s I shall be; kul-dom ma-mâ'-pem one who shall be mourning; hesâ'dom ma-ka-de-s what shall I be, do?

32. -as, -has completed action (past).
   ok-ä's-asi I was hungry
   yok-ä's-has min I struck you
   adom as ö-koi-ka-s so I went away
   nik as kai'-kö-kan me she was calling

   This may be used, as shown in the last two examples, separately before the verb, which is then in the usual present form. It is not, however, as in -ka and -ma, used as an auxiliary verb.

33. -paaï completed action (remote past).
   ok-paaï'-kan he was hungry long ago
   ä-paaï'-kan he said long ago

34. -tsoi completed action (mythic past, known indirectly).
   öko'i'-tsoi-ahe he went away, it is said
   wi-dö'k-dau-tsoi-a he tore off, it is said

§19
35. -wea, -ea incompleted action. Used only in direct quotation, as a sort of historical present; also with the idea of the action being customary.

- la'p-ti-kinu-wea-s I sit beside
- tse-we'ano you see
- tō's-bo-kit-eam he stands

36. -weu, -yeu, -eu completed action. Used only in direct quotation.

- tse-hē'-ye-weu-kan he looked around
- kai-yē'u-ka-si I called
- tse-me'n-eu-ka-s I did not see

37. -yak completed action. Generally, but not always used in direct quotations.

- dōnī'-no-men-yak-es I did not hold
- ok-ya'k-eno ai'sōi you were hungry, I think
- homō' ő-koi'-yak-en whither they had gone

38. -būs, -bīs continuative.

- so'lle-būs-im kept on singing
- hi'sse-būs-tset while continuing to weave
- tso'-wē-būs-pe-di into the still burning one

This suffix is identical with the stem of the verb būsin to live, stay, remain.

§ 20. Suffixes Indicating Relative Success or Completion of Action

39. -bos to do a thing thoroughly, completely, and hence, derivatively, an action done by or to all of a number of persons or things without exception.

- tso'-bos-poto-tset while almost wholly burned
- tu'i'-bos-no-tsoia she slept soundly, it is said
- wē'yē-bos-weten after having told everything
- will'-koi'-bos-tsoia they every one ran away

40. -kanim to finish doing, to bring the action to an end. It is related clearly to kani, meaning all.

- so-ha'n-oñ-kanim he carried him there, i.e., finished the act of carrying
- ő-dikno-ñ-kanim he arrived

41. -hēkit inchoative, to just begin.

- pī'yē-to-hēkit-dom just beginning to bathe

42. -hūdōi almost, nearly.

- wō-kō't-dau-hūdōi-as I almost cut off
- tē'-dis-doi-hūdōi-ye-bis-im (her feet) were all the time almost slipping up

§ 20
43. -hehe only, just.
   külü-nan-na-mönī-hehe' only when nearly dark
   bö-yök-sip-dom-hehe' only selecting

44. -poto almost, nearly.
   batā'-poto'-tset nearly catching up with her

§ 21. Suffixes Indicating Number, Iteration, Reciprocity

45. -to. This suffix, of general and very frequent use, is somewhat puzzling. It is used in some cases to indicate iteration; in others, reciprocal action; at times it seems to point to a plural object. It occurs frequently in combination with other suffixes, particularly the directive suffixes. It is also used as a nominal suffix in connection with the reduplicated distributives. Examples of its use in these various ways will show its variability.

mo'-tön to drink repeatedly (mon to drink)
yo'k-ō-tön to strike repeatedly with fist (yo'k-ōn to strike)
yapai'-to-to-dom talking to each other
si'mak-to-dom talking to each other
hē'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
tsā'-tsa-to trees
si-kala-to-to-men-wet not bothering each other

§ 22. Nominalizing Suffixes

46. -pe forms nomina actoris, and also indicates place of action.
   ho'm-pai-to-pe a fighter (ho'm-paito to fight with the fists)
mönk kūlē hē'-doī-pem a runner after that woman, one who runs after that woman
tus-wō'-ye-pe-nan from the standing-place, from where he stood
   o'k-pem ma'i'dū hungry man

This use of verbal nouns to take the place of true adjectives is very common in Maidu. Adjectival stems, most intransitive verbal stems, and many transitive verbal stems, form verbal nouns of this sort, which are used in place of regular adjectives. In many instances both forms are in use,—the more strictly adjectival and the verbal noun.

la-la'm-pem tsa, la'-lam-im tsa long stick
opī't-pem wolō'm, opī't-im wolō'm full basket

47. -kō indicates the quality of being or having, and seems to be identical with kō-, the stem of the verb TO POSSESS.

pē'-kō food (pē to eat)
ti-yū'k-sip-men-köm ma'i'düm a man who does not come out; i. e., one who has the quality of not coming out
ok-helū'-kō-kasi I may be hungry; i. e., I am one who has the quality of perhaps being hungry
piye'-to-kō bathing place; i. e., having the quality of being appropriate for bathing
This suffix is also much used with nouns, being followed then by pronominal suffixes or participial forms, and indicating possession or ownership.
ha'n-wo-kit-kō-di at the place to which he carries people
hōbō'-kō-dom a householder; i. e., one who has the quality of having a house
tetē' si'n-kō-dom big-mouth-having; i. e., being one having the quality of having a large mouth
yepō'ni-kō-pem having a chief

48. -ma forms verbal nouns.
han-ō'-koi-s-ma what I carry off
niki bi's-ma-s-ma my future abiding-place
wo'no-ti-s-ma what I kill
What relation this suffix bears to the regular future suffix -ma is uncertain. The latter is never found following the pronominal suffixes, and yet the nominalizing -ma always seems to carry with it an idea of futurity. It is very rarely used.

§ 23. Participial Suffixes

These are largely used in Maidu, and participial construction is a very common feature. Such expressions as AND TRAVELING, HE ARRIVED, OR RUNNING, HE WENT AWAY, are constantly recurring.

49. -do(m) present participle.
ō-koi'-dom going away
mū'-hun-e-pin-i-moto-dom gathering together from hunting
tsē'-do'm seeing

50. -tset(e) when, while.
hesū'pai-ti-tset while, when, dressing (causing to be dressed)
okit-(t)tset when he arrived
hi'sse-būs-tset while she stayed there weaving

51. -mōni when, at the time when.
ō-koi'-s-mōni when I went away
lo'l-mōni when crying

52. -wet(e) after having, having (past participle, immediate past).
o'nkoi-tin-wet having caused to conquer
tsedā'-da-weten having breakfasted

§ 23
wo'nă-ti-men-wet not having killed; i. e., not having caused to die (wo'nă to die; -ti to cause; -men not)
ā'-weten it having been so or thus

The use of this suffix with pronominal and nominal forms will be described in § 31.

53. -wono past participle, more distant past than -wet.

wil'e'-koi-wonom having run away
pō'p-koi-wono-pem the one that had burst out
tu's-kit-wono-di at the place where he had stood
he-yu'-kit-wono-kă-tsoia (they were such) as had the quality of having fallen down of themselves, it is said

54. -yatan past participle, similar in most respects to -wono.

wowo'-kinu-yatan having lain down on the ground
bū's-yatan having stayed, having lived, after having remained
sol-yatan after having sung

§ 24. Suffixes Giving General Idea of Motion

55. -no general idea of motion.

piye'-to-no-tsoia he went to bathe, it is said (piye'totsoia he bathed)
ō'-no-tsoia he went along, he traveled, it is said
hoi'-pai-no-ma-kas I shall go last, behind (hoi'pai behind)

56. -ye general idea of motion.

ō'yēn to come, come toward
łō'k-doi-ye-bis-im kept crawling up
hu'n-mo-koi-to-ye-tsoia they went away to hunt, it is said

Both of these may be used together, giving the meaning of here and there, about.

be-he's-no-ye-dom scratching here and there
la'p-no-ye-dom crawling about

§ 25. Suffixes Indicating Negation, Inability

57. -men general negative, not.

ō-koi'-men-wet not having gone
ba-pol-doi-men-tsone-dom not being able to dig up
tsē-me'n-tsoia he did not see, it is said

58. -tsōi inability, can not.

wo'nă-ti-tsōi-tsoia he could not kill him, it is said; i. e., could not cause him to die
ōpi'n-tsōi-dom not being able to come home
sol-tsō'i-dom not being able to sing

§§ 24, 25
§ 26. Composition of Suffixes

Examples of the extent to which these various suffixes can be combined are shown in the following:

- **wile'-**no-ye-tsöi-büss-ma-pem** one who shall be unable to be always running about
- **han-wo**-tso-no-wé-bis-dom** continuing to carry over
- **wo-hop-mil-hudoi-to-we-bisim** kept almost inserting long thing into
- **lap-no-ye-wé-bis-kö-tsoia** continued to sit about

§ 27. COMPOSITION OF STEMS

Stems may be combined into compound verbs with considerable freedom. Such compounds may consist of single stems, or of stems with affixes. This method of treatment of prefixes in compounds increases the impression of independence of these elements, which is conveyed by the occurrence of many of them as independent stems.

- **sö-hu'n-bök-tsoia** he jumped at it to seize it in his arms (sö- action done with arms [§ 11 no. 8]; hun- to capture [?]; bök to seize; -tsoia it is said [§ 18 no. 34])
- **dön-wi-kap-pin-tsoia** she dragged toward in her mouth (dön to seize or hold in mouth; wi- action done by force [§ 13 no. 17]; kap to move with friction; -pin [§ 17 no. 10]; -tsoia it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

§ 28. Number

Ideas of number are unequally developed in Maidu. In nouns, the exact expression of number seems to have been felt as a minor need; whereas, in the case of pronominal forms, number is clearly and accurately expressed. In the degree to which the expression of number in nouns is carried, the dialects differ. In the northeastern dialect here presented it is less marked than in the northwestern. Not only are true plurals rare in nouns, but distributives also seem to have been but little used. Where these forms occur, they are formed by reduplication or duplication, with the addition of a suffix (see § 21); as,

- **sëu'sëuto** each, every river (së'wi river)
- **höbo'höto** every house, or camp (höbo' house)
- **ya'manmanto** every mountain
- **tsa'tsato** every tree (tsa tree)

Distributives appear not to be used in ordinary conversation to any extent, and are rare in the texts. The above are practically all the forms that have been noted.

§§ 26–28
The existence of a real plural seems to be closely associated with a dual, and all of the few nouns taking plural suffixes take dual forms as well. The use of either is, however, rare. The dual is more common than the plural. The dual is formed by the suffix -tso; as,

ama' m ye' pitsom those two men
mōpā'tso my two daughters
mōing kū'letsoki those two women's . . .

This dual suffix is the same as that used with the third person of the personal pronoun (see § 31). The use of the dual suffix seems to be restricted to a very few terms of relationship and words for human beings only.

Plural forms are equally if not more restricted. In the few examples noted in which the plural is used, the noun takes indifferently -sōm or -sem, the suffixes used for the plural of the second person and of the first and third persons of the pronoun, respectively (see § 31). The suffixes are added in all cases directly to the stem.

ye' pōm men, husbands (ye' pi man, husband)
mai'düsem men (mai'dü man)
kū'lesem women (kū'le woman)

As regards nouns, thus, the ideas of number are but little developed; the development, however, is greater in the northwestern than in the northeastern dialect, and it is altogether lacking apparently in the southern dialect. In the first two cases, the degree of development of the expression of number in the noun is parallel to the regularity of the development of its expression in the pronoun.

In pronouns, the feeling for the necessity of exactness seems to have been more strongly felt. On the whole, the forms may be said to be developed regularly, and, as opposed to the fragmentary nature of these ideas in the case of the noun, we have a full series of dual and plural forms in the independent personal pronoun. In the suffixed form of the pronoun, however, this completeness is lost, and distinctions of number are made only in the first person. As will be seen by referring to the paradigm of the subjective independent personal pronoun (§ 31), there is some little confusion in the series, the dual suffix of the second person being identical with that of the plural suffix of the first and third persons. The dual suffixes, again, are varied for the different persons (-sam, -sem, -tso), although the plural suffixes are more uniform, the first and third persons being alike, with the second quite similar. In com-

§ 28
parison with this northeastern dialect, the forms in the other dialects are interesting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northwestern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular</td>
<td>mōm</td>
<td>mōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td>nisām</td>
<td>nās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual</td>
<td>mimām</td>
<td>mām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person dual</td>
<td>mōsām</td>
<td>mōsām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>nisēm</td>
<td>nēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>mimēm</td>
<td>mēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td>mōpēm</td>
<td>mōsēm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that in the northwestern dialect greater regularity prevails, the dual forms for the first and third persons being alike, and that of the second keeping the same vowel. In the plural, however, while the characteristic vowel-change in the first and second persons is preserved, the third takes a wholly new plural suffix. In the southern dialect this irregularity disappears, in spite of the considerable coalescence and contraction which the pronoun in its subjective form has suffered. It seems not improbable that this greater regularity of the dual and plural pronominal forms in the northwestern dialect may be connected with the still greater regularity which prevails in this particular among the Wintun stock, on which the northwestern Maidu border. In Wintun, the pronominal forms are perfectly regular throughout dual and plural. On the other hand, the northeastern dialect, with its smaller degree of regularity, is in contact with the Achomā'wi and Atsugē'wi, dialects of the Shasta, which, on the whole, have a still less regular development of dual and plural, and form a transition to the Shasta proper, which has no dual at all. Variations of this sort are found also in other Californian languages.

As stated above, the suffixed forms of the pronoun are much less clear in their expression of number, dual and plural forms existing for the first person only, as may be seen from the following:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular, dual, and plural</td>
<td>-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular, dual, and plural</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The method of differentiation is apparently that which lies at the basis of the expression of number in the pronoun; i. e., the vowel-change of a to e to distinguish the plural from the dual. Co-ordinate with the greater regularity of the northwestern dialect in the independent pronoun is its greater regularity in the suffixed form, although this form is much less used than in the northeastern. In the southern dialect suffixed forms of the pronoun are not found. The lack of definite expression of number in the suffixed forms of the pronoun in the dialect here presented necessitates the use of the independent forms of the pronoun, in connection with the verbal form, to distinguish dual from plural; as,

\[ \text{mi'ntsem okmâ'nkano ye two will be hungry} \]
\[ \text{minsö'm okmâ'nkano ye all will be hungry} \]

§ 29. Case

The Maidu differs from many American languages in that it lacks any development of incorporation as a means of expressing syntactic relations. In common with most of the languages of central California, subjective and objective as well as possessive relations are expressed by regular case-endings, suffixed to the noun or independent form of the pronoun, both of which stand separate and independent, outside the verb. That the marking of both subject and object by means of a separate case-suffix is, for purposes of clearness, not a necessity, seems to have been recognized by all these languages. The Maidu is among those which distinguish by a special suffix the subjective, leaving the objective form unchanged. To designate the subjective, the Maidu uses the suffix -m. The following examples will render the use of the subjective as used with nouns sufficiently clear:

\[ \text{sü nî has wò'kas I hit the dog (with a stick) (sü dog; nî I)} \]
\[ \text{sùm has nîk dô'kan the dog bit me} \]
\[ \text{mai'dîm a o'kôn the man is hungry} \]
\[ \text{nisâ'm has mai'dù wò'nôtiankas we killed the man} \]
\[ \text{mî kulu'dì önô' bene atso'ia thou must travel at night, she said} \]
\[ \text{i'cyökás min I am kicking you} \]

While all nouns and all independent pronouns, except the first and second persons singular, form the subjective regularly in -m (the objective being the simple stem), the two forms referred to reverse the process, and are, besides, irregular. As shown in the
above examples, the subjective and objective forms of the pronoun in the first and second persons singular are, respectively, *nī*, *nik* and *mī*, *min*. In the dialect here presented the independent subjective forms of the pronouns above mentioned are somewhat rarely used, the subject being, as a rule, expressed by the suffixed form instead. That the -*m* used is really a subjective and not an agentive case is shown by the fact of its universal employment with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs.

The possessive relation is shown analogously to the subjective by a case suffix -*ki*. In this instance there is no irregularity, and all nouns and all forms of the independent pronoun alike take the suffix:

- *sū’ki bukū’* dog’s tail
- *mōim mai’dūmbomōki ʔtusyo* those people’s roast
- *niki hōbo’* my house
- *mi’nki sū has wō’ntias* I have killed your dog
- *nisā’ki kā’dō* our country

The suffix is added always to the objective form of the noun or pronoun (i.e., the simple stem), and, at least in this dialect, is with few exceptions -*ki*. In the case of the interrogative form whose, however, we find simply -*k*; as,

- *homō’nik sūm makā’dē* whose dog is this?

This possessive suffix may in some cases be added after a previous locative, as in the form

- *sā’-wono-na-ki* from-behind-the-fire’s; i.e., belonging to the one who comes from behind the fire

§ 30. Locative and Instrumental Suffixes

In Maidu, locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by regular suffixes, continuing logically the indication of real syntactic relations by the same means. The development of these locative and instrumental suffixes in Maidu is not very great, there being but three locatives, an instrumental, and a comitative. The following examples will illustrate the use of these different forms:

- *-di* general locative, in, on, at.
  - *mo’mdi* in the water
  - *bete’itōdi* in the olden time

---

1 In the northwestern dialect the possessive is the same as here; but in the southern form there seems to be a distinct tendency to its partial or complete abandonment. It there frequently becomes reduced to -*k*, and in the most southerly of all the dialects seems to disappear completely, the subjective form of noun or pronoun being used instead.
höö'di in the house, at home
kau'di on the ground
noko'm ni'kdi ka the arrow is in me
tu'skitwonöödi at the place where he had stopped
önö kanai'di underneath the rock

- na, - nak illative, to, toward; sometimes reduplicated.
  o'lolokna toward the smoke hole
  üni'na hither (this-toward)
  mi'nna toward you
  külü'nana just before dark, toward night

- nan ablative, from, away from.
  höö'nän ököı'tsoia he went away from the house
  tikte'nan from a little distance
  tuswo'yepe nan from the place where he stood

- ni instrumental, with, by means of.
  sü has tsä'ni wö'kas I hit the dog with a stick
  mö'ki onö'mbutü'ini wööma'ktiköötaia she measured with her
  hair

- kan comitative, in company with, together with.
  ni'ki sükan ököı'as I went away with my dog
  kül'kkan ödi'k notsoia he arrived in company with the woman
  mö'kkan ököı'as I went off with you

There is some question as to this being a regular comitative suffix, its identity with the conjunction kan suggesting that the apparent suffix is merely the conjunction closely combined with the noun.

§ 31. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Maidu are characterized by their independence. In discussing the ideas of number, the independent forms of the pronoun have already been given; but for purposes of comparison, the subjective, objective, and possessive forms are here given in a single table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td>. ni</td>
<td>niki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person dual</td>
<td>. nisä'm</td>
<td>nisä'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person plural</td>
<td>. nisë'm</td>
<td>nisë'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person singular</td>
<td>. mi</td>
<td>min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual</td>
<td>. mi'ntsem</td>
<td>mi'ntse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person plural</td>
<td>. mi'nsöm</td>
<td>mi'nsö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person singular</td>
<td>. mö'yem</td>
<td>mö'ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person dual</td>
<td>. mö’tsöm</td>
<td>mö’tso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plural</td>
<td>. mö’sem</td>
<td>mö’se</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 31
The third person is in reality more a demonstrative than a true personal pronoun; but its use is predominantly that of a personal pronoun, and the corresponding demonstrative uni this is not used in either the dual or plural forms. As has already been pointed out, these independent forms of the personal pronoun take all the locative and instrumental suffixes, and are in every respect treated as nouns. The personal pronouns also, in their independent form, may take the suffix -wet(e), used chiefly with verbal stems in a participial sense, but here giving forms like

\[ \text{ni'wete I myself, I alone} \quad \text{mo'wete he alone} \]

In speaking of the development of ideas of number, the fact was referred to, that there were two forms of the personal pronoun—one independent and one suffixed to the verb. The two series show little in common, except that the first person dual and plural are differentiated in both series by the same vowel-change from a to e. The suffixed forms are always subjective, and are suffixed directly to the verbal stem or to the various modal, directive, temporal, and other suffixes which the verb may have, the pronominal suffixes, with few exceptions, always coming last. In the singular the resulting forms are clear enough without the addition of the independent form of the pronoun; in the dual and plural, however, these are usually added, although here the first person is always sufficiently distinct. When the sense of the sentence renders the person clear, this independent pronoun is frequently omitted. The following indicates the use of the pronouns with the intransitive verb:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ni o'kasi or o'kasi I am hungry} \\
\text{mi oka'nkano or oka'nkano thou art hungry} \\
\text{möye'm oka'n or oka'n möye'm he is hungry} \\
\text{nisa'm oka'nikas or oka'nikasi nisa'm we two are hungry} \\
\text{mi'ntsem oka'nkano or oka'nkano mi'ntsem ye two are hungry} \\
\text{mö'tsom oka'n or oka'n mötsom they two are hungry} \\
\text{nise'm oke'nkes or oke'nkesi nise'm we all are hungry} \\
\text{mi'nsöm oka'nkano or oka'nkano mi'nsöm ye all are hungry} \\
\text{mö'sem oka'n or oka'n mö'sem they all are hungry}
\end{align*} \]

As will be seen from the above, the position of the independent pronoun is variable, it being placed either before or after the verb at will. It will also be seen that the suffixed form is by no means as fully developed as is the independent. This condition is instructive, when the forms in use in the other dialects are compared. It then appears that in the northwestern dialect the suffixed form is rare,
with the verbal stem, but is universally added to the auxiliary verb; in the southern dialect the use of the suffixed form of the pronoun disappears. It seems, then, that the northeastern dialect here presented, in the matter of pronominal usage, lies at the extreme, toward the close synthesis of pronoun with verb, the northwestern being less so, and the southern entirely without it. As the northeastern dialect is in close touch with the Achomawi, which shows much greater development of the incorporative idea, we may be justified in regarding this greater development of synthesis between the verb and pronoun as in part due to association and contact.

In the transitive verb, precisely the same conditions prevail. The subjective pronoun, in the pronominal conjugation, is suffixed to the verb in the northeastern dialect, the objective standing free and independent.

\[
\begin{align*}
yo'kas \text{ } min & \text{ I am hitting thee } \\
yo-a'nkano \text{ } moyi' & \text{ thou art hitting him } \\
\text{nisa'm } min & \text{ yo-a'nkas we two are hitting thee } \\
\text{mo'tsom } nik & \text{ yo'-kan they two are hitting me } \\
yo-a'nkano \text{ } nisa' & \text{ thou art hitting us two }
\end{align*}
\]

With a nominal object, the method is the same:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{siiwo'notikas } & \text{ I am killing the dog } \\
\text{siimhas mai'dü } & \text{ do'-kan the dog bit the man }
\end{align*}
\]

For emphasis, it is customary to use, in the first and second persons singular of the pronominal conjugation, the independent form in addition to the suffixed; as,

\[
\begin{align*}
yo'kas \text{ } ni \text{ } min & \text{ I am hitting you } \\
yo-a'nkano \text{ } mi \text{ } moyi' & \text{ thou art hitting him }
\end{align*}
\]

Just as in the intransitive the dialect here presented tends more strongly toward synthesis between pronoun and verb than do any of the other dialects, so in the transitive the same conditions prevail, if anything, more strongly marked, as both the other dialects have the subjective as well as the objective pronoun entirely free and separate from the verb which appears in a participial form.

§ 32. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative is not as highly developed in Maidu as in many other American languages. But two forms are commonly
in use, corresponding to this and that, and indicating position near or remote from the speaker. For the former, *unī'* is used, and for the latter, *amā'*. Somewhat rarely a third form, *anī'*, is employed to indicate position still more remote. The third personal pronoun is often used in place of a demonstrative, and may take the place of any one of the three. All three demonstratives take all the nominal case and locative suffixes. The use of these demonstratives is shown in the following examples:

- *uni'm mai'düm yahā'maka* this man will be good
- *amā'm süm* that dog
- *ani'm mai'düm* that (far off) man
- *amā'kan wonōtisoi* and he killed that one
- *unī'nan* from here, hence
- *amā'di* there, at that place
- *amā'ki sū* that person’s dog
- *mō'im mai'düm* this, that man

§ 33. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

A relative pronoun seems to be lacking in Maidu, its place being filled by the use of a reflexive suffix with the verb. Such constructions are, however, rare. An example is:

- *mōm mai'düm has kakā'n i'syōtiusdom* this man it was causing to kick himself; i.e., he was the man who was kicked

Interrogative pronouns, on the contrary, are common. Which is expressed by *homo'*, and who by *homo'ni*, both taking case and locative suffixes, as do other pronouns. What, why, and how are formed from a different stem, being respectively *hesī'*, *hesā'*, and *hesā'ti*. A few examples of the use of these follow:

- *homo'mdi makā' bu'spem* in which (house) do you live?
- *homo'ni makā'* who are you?
- *homo'nik süm makā'dē* whose dog is this?
- *hesī'm makā'dē* what is it?
- *hesā'mōni kadi'kmenom makā'dē* why doesn’t it rain?
- *hesā'ti eto'spem ... how strong ... ?

§ 34. Adjectives

The adjective in Maidu is strongly nominal in character. In many cases it is a true nomen actoris, formed from a verbal stem, with or without duplication or reduplication, by the addition of the §§ 33, 34
suffix -pe. Apparently any verbal stem may thus be used in this form to qualify or describe a noun; as,

\[ o'k-pem \ mai'dum \] hungry man (literally, hungerer man)
\[ eto'spem \ mai'dum \] strong man (eto'skasi I am strong)
\[ di'pdipem \ pā'ka \] smooth board (literally, slider board)
\[ lala'mpem \ tsa \] long stick

Many adjectives, however, do not admit of the form in -pe, and are formed from the verbal stem by merely adding to them the nominal subjective suffix(?) -m. The majority of these forms are made from verbal stems ending in a vowel. Examples of this type of adjective are:

\[ tete'm \ sūm \] large dog
\[ tēm \ sūm \] small dog

\[ kē'yim \ hōbō' \] old house

Most, if not all, of the stems from which the adjectives are formed, are capable of taking the regular pronominal tense and modal suffixes and being used as intransitive verbs; as, \[ kē'yimakas \] I shall be old. Some stems, however, appear not to be used, except as forming these nominal forms, as adjectives. Either of the nominal forms of these stems (that in -pe or in -m) takes all regular nominal locative suffixes, and probably also all case-suffixes as well, although these have at present been noted only in the instance of those ending in -pe.

\[ kē'yidi \] in the old one
\[ lala'mpeki \] the long one's...
\[ tete'ni \] with the big one

In some cases both the -pe and the -m forms are used with the same stem; as,

\[ la'mim \ tsa, \ lala'mpem \ tsa \] long stick

In these cases, the form in -pe is generally, but not always, reduplicated.

§ 35. Adverbs

Adverbs may be formed from adjetival stems by the suffix -t; as,

\[ yahā'm \] good
\[ wasa'm \] bad
\[ tete'm \] large
\[ yahā't \] well, nicely
\[ wasa't \] poorly, evilly
\[ tete't \] much, greatly, very

Other adverbs, such as those of time and distance, etc., seem to be from independent stems.

\[ ti'kte \] slightly, somewhat, a
\[ little \]
\[ bēi \] again
\[ bē'i'duk \] by and by
\[ hadā' \] far away
\[ lē'wo \] a little, partially
\[ be'nek \] to-morrow

§ 35
§ 36. Connectives

With the exception of *kan* and, connectives in Maidu are all formed from the auxiliary verb *ā to be*, by the addition of various temporal, modal, and other suffixes. Very often the resulting form is compounded with *kan*, which, while it may stand alone, is generally reduced to an enclitic. The more common of these connectives are:

- *a-dom, ado'ṅkan so, and so a-tso't, atso'tkan while, and a-met but*
- *a-mendo' if not, and if not a-we'ten, awet'enkan then, then*
- *a-mo'ni, amo'nikan then, and thereafter, and then*

§ 37. Interjections

There are quite a number of interjections in Maidu, the following being those most commonly in use:

- *hēi halloo! hō well! all right sī look! well! ham an exclamation of rage, ā exclamation of disgust praktically equivalent to a curse ettū' stop! hmm exclamation of disgust*

**VOCABULARY (§§ 38-41)**

§ 38. Classes of Stems

In analyzing the vocabulary of the Maidu we may divide the stems into three classes:

1. Those which admit of no suffixes, or only such as are neither nominal nor verbal.
2. Those which take nominal suffixes.
3. Those which take verbal suffixes.

The first group includes merely a few adverbs, interjections, and a connective. The second comprises nouns, pronouns, and most adjectives. The third takes in all verbs (with a few exceptions), some adjectives, and the remainder of the connectives. This grouping, which, on the whole, seems to be the most feasible, breaks down in so far as it is possible, in some cases, to use participial suffixes with stems normally taking only nominal suffixes, and also from the fact that there are cases where noun and verb are formed from a single stem. The latter cases will be considered §§ 36–38.
in speaking of the stems of the second group; and as for the former, all that can be said here is that it is the ordinary usage rather than the extraordinary forms which should be given greatest weight.

§ 39. Stems Taking no Suffixes, or Only Such as are neither Nominal nor Verbal

Of stems taking no suffixes at all, there appear to be very few. Interjections include the majority of such stems. A list of these has been given in § 37. Except for these interjections, the only other stem taking no affix is the simple conjunction kan and. This, moreover, although it may, and often does, stand independently, is at times so closely connected with the noun as to be enclitic.

Stems taking suffixes other than those taken by nouns or verbs are few also and are only adverbial:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bēi (bēi'bim, bēi'bō)} & \text{ again, also } hū'koi \text{ still, yet} \\
\text{bēi'duk} & \text{ by and by } lē'wo \text{ a little, partially}
\end{align*} \]

A considerable number of adverbs are formed from adjectival stems by the suffix \(-t\); as,

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{yahā'm} & \text{ good; } yahā't \text{ well} \\
\text{tete'm} & \text{ large, great; } tete't \text{ much, greatly}
\end{align*} \]

Adverbial ideas, however, such as can, must, perhaps, almost, wholly, always, etc., are expressed in Maidu by suffixes added to the verb.

§ 40. Stems Taking Nominal Suffixes Only

These stems may be further subdivided into nominal, pronominal, and adjectival stems.

**Nominal Stems**

Maidu possesses a large number of true nominal stems showing no relation at all apparently to verbal or other stems. Derivatives formed from verbs exist in considerable numbers; but the greater mass of nouns are derived from purely nominal stems. A few examples of nouns derived from verbal stems may be given before considering the nominal stems proper:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{hī} \text{ to smell; } \text{hī'ku} \text{ nose} & \text{ mai to speak; } \text{mai'dū} \text{ Indian;} \\
\text{bō} \text{ to blow; } \text{bō'wo} \text{ wind} & \text{ mai'kī} \text{ boy}
\end{align*} \]

In other instances noun and verb appear to be formed from the same root; as,

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ho'ni} \text{ heart} & \text{ ho'nsiptsoia she breathed} \\
\text{ho'nwē} \text{ breath} & \text{ ho'nkodom coughing}
\end{align*} \]
Nominal stems proper may be divided into three groups:

1. Monosyllabic stems are not very numerous, but as a class include some of the most common nouns. They may be grouped under several heads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIONSHIP TERMS</th>
<th>ANIMALS, PLANTS, PARTS OF BODY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son tê</td>
<td>dog sù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter pô</td>
<td>hand mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister k'â</td>
<td>flower yô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother nê</td>
<td>bush dô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandson pê</td>
<td>willow pâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feathers yê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Duplicated and reduplicated stems are also not very numerous, and refer chiefly to parts of the body and to animals and birds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duplicated</th>
<th>REDUPLICATED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crow d'â</td>
<td>yellow-hammer <em>wolo'loko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle kâ'kâ</td>
<td>robin <em>tsi'satatkê</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quail yâ yâ</td>
<td>fly <em>emê'lu lu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nest tû'tû</td>
<td>shoulder dâ'daka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib tsê'tsi</td>
<td>star <em>lülü'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast nâ'na</td>
<td>egg <em>pa'k pa ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ankle <em>po'lópoló</em></td>
<td>cotton wood <em>wili'li</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass <em>popo</em></td>
<td>smoke hole <em>olo'loko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow pine bóbô'</td>
<td>thunder <em>witû'mtûmi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twig tô tô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Onomatopoeia seems to be but little in force in Maidu, being not particularly apparent in these duplicated and reduplicated animal and bird names, where, in other languages, it frequently plays a very important part.

3. Polysyllabic unreduplicated stems, in the case of nouns, form probably a majority of the total number of nominal stems. Although a considerable number of polysyllabic nominal stems are quite clearly descriptive, and hence analyzable into simpler stems, a large majority have so far resisted analysis and must be considered stems. The following are examples of such apparently unanalyzable stem-nouns:

§ 40
### Parts of the Body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>onō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>mūsū'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>hi'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>si'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>tsā'wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>č'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>bonō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>kū'yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>pai'yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nails</td>
<td>tsi'bī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>sēdē'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinew</td>
<td>paka'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>bukū'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>kī'wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipples</td>
<td>mini'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>yī'mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>kōwō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>kā'mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hip</td>
<td>mā'wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penis</td>
<td>kōsī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>tōlī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>kula'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>bō'mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dung</td>
<td>piti'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>hō'ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>posā'la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mammals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mammal</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grizzly</td>
<td>pā'nō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coyote</td>
<td>wē'pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>mō'dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>field-mouse</td>
<td>yosō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>sūmī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground-squirrel</td>
<td>hī'lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox</td>
<td>howl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
<td>wī'sla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>hemē'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole</td>
<td>yū'tdūli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Birds, Fish, Insects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>makō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salmon</td>
<td>māyī'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>tō'li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angle-worm</td>
<td>kayī'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Miscellaneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>külē'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>konō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>u'yi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coals</td>
<td>hemē'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>sukū'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow-point</td>
<td>bosō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pack-basket</td>
<td>volō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snowshoe</td>
<td>tsūwā'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>wakā'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>pokō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>kūlū'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valley</td>
<td>koyō'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As examples of nominal stems which are clearly analyzable, but not yet entirely explained, the following may serve:

forehead sun-daka (perhaps from sön- referring in some way to the head, as in sön-setsopindom, head-first; and dā'daka shoulder, i.e., head-shoulder)

beard sim-pani (perhaps from sim mouth, and pan-, a stem occurring in pantsoia they made rope)

wrist ma-kulū' (from mā hand and [?])

wild-cat hi'n-tsepi (from hi'ni eye, and [?])

otter mo'm-pano (from mo'mi water, and pā'no grizzly-bear)

rat o'm-sape (from o rock, and [?])

jack-rabbit tsī'n-kuti (from tsī robe, and kuti animal)

shite-poke wak-si (from the verbal stem wak- to cry)
PRONOMINAL STEMS

A full paradigm of the personal and demonstrative pronouns has been given in §§31, 32, and these need not therefore again be referred to here. The interrogative pronouns ought, however, to be noticed. These are homō which, and homōni who. The interrogative pronoun what is hesi', but, besides taking the regular nominal suffixes, it also may take certain verbal or semiverbal suffixes.

ADJECTIVAL STEMS

Adjectives are of two sorts: (1) those formed from independent stems, with or without reduplication; and (2) those formed from verbal stems, generally with the suffix -pe. The first of these classes may be divided according as to whether there is or is not any reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO REDUPLICATION</th>
<th>REDUPLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>little tēm</td>
<td>large tētē'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small tībī'</td>
<td>long lā'لامي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good yahā'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad wasā'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short nū'isi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old ke'γi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quite a number of adjectives belonging apparently to this first class have the suffix -pe, although the stem shows no relation to any verbal stem, and seems never to be used as such. These are both reduplicated and unreduplicated, and include all color names. In some cases, two forms exist, one with, and one without, the suffix -pe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO REDUPLICATION</th>
<th>REDUPLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>healthy eto'spe</td>
<td>weak lē'lepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy wēhō'pe</td>
<td>light hehe'kpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thick kōi'pe</td>
<td>thin tōtō'pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short nu'spe</td>
<td>wide da'pdape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sour tsu'tsukpe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COLOR NAMES

black sēū'sēupe  | red la'klakpe |
green tītī'pe    | white da'ldalpe|

NUMERALS

The numerals belong to this first class of adjectival stems, and are as follows up to ten:

one sū'tī  | six saitsu'koko
two pē'ne  | seven to'pu'i
three sā'pu'i | eight pe'ntcðyũ
four tsō'yi | nine pe'lio
give mā'wika | ten mā'koko

§ 40
The numeral adverbs are formed by the suffix -nini; as, sūtënini once, pēnē'nini twice, etc. Distributives are formed by reduplicating the final syllable; as, sū'titī one each, pē'nēnē two each, etc.

§ 41. Stems Taking Verbal Suffixes

Verbal stems may be divided into two groups, according as to whether they are treated always as stems pure and simple, or are sometimes used in connection with other stems, modifying these and serving as prefixes.

Stems of the first type are predominantly composed of consonant-vowel-consonant. Many occur in pairs or groups, with similar or nearly similar meaning, but with variable vowel; whereas a few pairs show not a variable vowel, but a variable consonant. Besides these tri-literal stems there are a number of bi-literal and uni-literal forms and a few as yet unanalyzable dissyllabic stems. The following list shows the tri-literal stems which have at present been determined, and indicates both the systematic character of these stems and also the pairing or grouping spoken of above. In some cases the meaning of the stem is yet uncertain, owing to the small number of instances in which it occurs. Tri-literal stems, as a rule, take modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

- bāk- to detach a flat thing; - bēk- (?); - bōk- (?)
- bal- to mark, paint
- bās- to sweep (?); - bis- to live, stay; būs(?)
- bat- to break; - hot- to break
- dāk- to detach a flat thing; - dek- to make hole
- dam- to give
- dip- to slide
- dis- to slide
- das- to split
- dat- (?); - dot- to overturn; - dut- (?)
- hak- to tear; - hūk- to whistle (?)
- hal- to lie, cheat; - hul- (?)
- hap- to move with friction; - hop- to move with friction; - hōp- to stretch; - hūp- (?)
- has- to slide; - hes- to scratch; - his- to make basket; - hūs- to scare (?) - hus- (?)
- kal- (?); - kel- to perforate; - kol- to bore (?); - kōl- to roll; - kul- (?)
- kap- to move with friction (?); - kop- to move with friction (?);
- kōp- (?)
- kes- (?)
- kat- to strike; - ket- to graze; - kot- to divide; - kut- to divide
- lak- (?); - lek- (?); - lok- (?); - lōk- to creep; - lūk- to creep
-lol- to cry
-lap- to crawl (?); -lep- (?); -lip- to cry out; -lop- to move with friction (?)
-loś- (?)
-mak- to know, count, measure
-mal- (?)
-not- to bend
-pok- to strike; -pök- to shake (?)
-pel- to perforate; -pol- dislocate; -pul- dislocate, remove
-pin- to hear
-pes- to crumble
-pat- (?) ; -pit- (?)
-sal- (?) ; -sil- to shake
-tul- to break flat thing
-tek- to jump (?); -tsik- (?)
-tom- (?)
-tap to squeeze (?); -top- to break; -töp- to jump; tnp- to break
-tsap- to tear, rip
-tas- to slap (?); -tes- to strip off; -tos- (?); -tös- (t); -tus- to break
-tsot- to rip off
-usu- to rub
-wak- to cry out
-yak- to crush; -yok- to strike
-yal- to split; -yol- to break; -yul- to rip, split
-yat- (?)

Bi-literal and uni-literal stems of this first type are quite numerous, and a partial list is here given. They are distinguished from the tri-literal stems as a rule, by the fact that they rarely take any modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

ā- to say
a- to be (auxiliary verb)
ap- to slip, slide
bü- to blow
bōi- to leach acorns
bū- to stink
dī- to swell
dō- to bite, seize with teeth
hī- to smell (?)
hōi- to spread apart (?)
kaī- to fly
k.'ai- to be called, named
kö- to have, possess (?)
kōi- (?)
me- to take, seize
mō- to drink
mö- to shoot
o- (?)
ō- to go, travel
pe- to eat
pū- to sew
-tau- to twist (?)
tō- to burn
tōi- to divide in strips
tse- to see
tsoi- to bend
-yau- to break flat thing
yō- (?)
-ye- (?)

§ 41
Special mention ought to be made, in speaking of stems of this type, of the connectives. The simple connective and, indicated by kan, has already been referred to in speaking of the unchangeable stems. All other connectives seem to be formed from the auxiliary verb a to be, by the addition of various verbal suffixes. A list of these connectives, any of which may take the simple connective kan as an additional suffix, follows:

- ado’m so, thus
- ame’t but
- amö’ni then
- atse’t the whiles, at this time
- avö’bisim continually
- avö’te then

Verbal stems which, although dissyllabic, yet appear to be unanalyzable, are not nearly as numerous as the other types. Some of the more common ones follow:

- hë’no- to die
- kolö’- to rotate
- o’nkoi- to conquer
- öpö’- (?)
- peda’- to steal, to answer

- -pwi’li- to roll
- -tala- to crush
- -tibil- to wind around
- vilö’- to run
- wö’nö- to die

Verbal stems of the second type have already been discussed in §§11–13, and need not therefore be taken up in detail here again. The b, w, and y series seem to be the clearest and least doubtful, and to offer the fewest apparent exceptions. The h series is quite puzzling; the i form (hi-), having no apparent relation to the others in the series in meaning, falling as it does into the class of pure prefixes, indicating parts of the body. The e and u forms (he- and hu-) are also very irregular. Although the characteristic feature of these stems is, that while they are most commonly used to modify another stem as a prefix, they may yet themselves stand as independent stems on occasion, there are one or more in each series which can not so stand independently, it seems. The reasons for this exception are not yet clear.

§ 41
Sō'tim1 neno'mmaidum 2 bū'sstsoia. 3 Wiso'tpinî 4 he'nante 5 ku'mmenim 6 hobo'kîdom 7 mai'sem 8 bū'sstsoia. 3 Amā'kan 4 sō'ti 10 pu'kûpem 11 neno'mmaidum 2 matsoi'am. 12 Amā'dikan 13 mo'nî 14 girl bū'sstsoia. 3 Amā'kan 9 matsoi'am 12 ōpē'kanbenini' 16 lived, it is said. That one and it is related. There and she

1 Sō'tim ONE (-m subjective).
2 neno'mmaidum OLD PEOPLE; nē'none, nē'nothe usual adjective used for referring to animate things, and standing for OLD PERSON if unaccompanied by a noun; -m the connective, euphonic consonant used in forming compound nouns, etc.; mai'dil MAN, INDIAN, perhaps from root mai-TO SPEAK; -m the suffix of the subjective case.
3 bū'sstsoia LIVED (from the stem bū's-, bis- TO LIVE, TO REMAIN, TO CONTINUE IN ONE PLACE); -tsoi- verbal suffix indicating completed action, quotative, i.e., the knowledge is not obtained by the experience of the speaker, but comes to him merely by hearsay; -a the usual suffix of the third person, -n (-kan), is rarely used with -tsoi This may be a contraction from -tsōi-an(?).
4 Wiso'tpinî a place known locally as Big Springs, one of the main sources of the North Fork of Feather river, in Big Meadows, Plumas county, California. I am unable to analyze this name satisfactorily.
5 he'nante ON THIS SIDE OF. Analyzable as follows: he- a demonstrative stem (confined chiefly to the northwestern dialect) meaning THIS; -n- the nominal locative suffix meaning FROM; -t probably from -di, the general locative suffix AT, IN, etc.; hence the whole meaning THIS-FROM-AT, A SPOT BETWEEN THIS AND THE ONE SPOKEN OF.
6 ku'mmenim A HOUSELESS PERSON; kum- the name applied to the semi-subterranean, circular, earth-covered lodges; -men the negative or privative suffix; to this is then added a euphonious i, and finally the subjective suffix -m.
7 hobo'kîdom OWNING A BARK HUT: hobo' the conical bark huts in which the poorer people lived: kô alone seems to be used as synonymous with DWELLING. ANY SORT OF A SHELTER OR HOUSE: -kô a suffix very commonly used, indicating the quality of possessing, hence hobo'kô HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING A BARK HUT; -do the suffix of the present participle; -m the subjective suffix. The whole might be rendered OWNERS OF A BARK HUT.
8 mai'sem THEY. This is apparently a form synonymous with mo'sen or mo'isen. The final m is the subjective suffix.
9 amā'kan AND THAT ONE; amā'the demonstrative pronoun that, referring to the old people, here in the subjective case amā'm, the m being changed to ŋ before k, in accordance with the regular rule (see § 4, -kan AND).
10 sō'ti ONE. Here in objective case (cf. note 1).
11 pu'kûpem A PERSON HAVING A DAUGHTER; pu', po daughter; -kô the same as -kô, the suffix meaning HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; -pe the suffix used generally to form the nomen actoris, etc.; -m the subjective suffix.
12 matsoi'am IT IS RELATED. This frequently appearing form seems to come from a verbal stem mo- TO RELATE, TO TELL; -tsoi- the quotative suffix of completed action; -a- the suffix of the third person, generally used with -tsoi. The use of -m here is as yet not clear.
13 Amā'dikan AND AT THAT PLACE; amā'd demonstrative pronoun that; -di the locative suffix AT; -kan the conjunction AND.
14 mo'nî THE, THAT. The independent form of the third personal pronoun. This is used very frequently almost as a demonstrative. Here mo'nî, instead of mo'nî, because of the following k.
15 kîlî m woman, girl (here subjective).
16 ōpē'kanbenini' EVERY TIME, ALWAYS. It is difficult as yet to analyze this completely or satisfactorily; ōpē occurring alone means ALL; -kan seems to be derived from kani, meaning also ALL, EACH, EVER, EVERY; -e is the same as -pe (the p changing to b after n); the final suffix -mini appears to have a temporal significance; as also in le'wornini ONCE IN A WHILE (from le'two SOME).
kčuli'nanamönihēle' evening-toward-when-it-was-almost-dusk; kčuli' is the usual term for evening, the early part of the night; -nami- a reduplicated form of the locative suffix -na, meaning toward; -mnō- is a temporal suffix with the force of when after; -hēle- a suffix of somewhat uncertain meaning, usually indicating doubtfulness or approximation.

17 kčuli'nanamōnihēle' when it was almost dusk; kčuli' is the usual term for evening, the early part of the night; -nami- a reduplicated form of the locative suffix -na, meaning toward; -mnō- is a temporal suffix with the force of when after; -hēle- a suffix of somewhat uncertain meaning, usually indicating doubtfulness or approximation.

18 pīye'tonokōm one who went bathing (from pīye*-, pīye'to- to swim or bathe); -no is probably merely the verbal suffix of generalized motion, although it may perhaps be a contraction from o'no- to go, to travel, hence to go to bathe; -tō the suffix indicating the quality of possessing; -mā the subjective suffix, this agreeing in case with the āmā in āmā'kān.  

19 sō'tim one. It is not clear whether this refers to the girl or to the evening. It is probably, however, the former, as, if it meant one evening, the close connection of the two words would lead to the change of the -m to -to.  

20 kčuli'nanamā'mā't. The first portion of this is identical with the first portion of the word in note 17. The final suffix is, however, a rather puzzling one. It would seem to mean indeed, thus, but its use is obscure.

21 wono'mentsoia did not lose, miss; wono' seems to mean to lose, to miss, and must be distinguished carefully from uō'no, which means to die. The -soia is the usual quotative, completed action, with the suffixed form of the third personal pronoun.

22 āmā'kān 9 ti'soia. Asleep, it is said.  

23 āmā'kān 9 nēpl'ustsoia. Dreaming kept on; nēpl' is the same as nēpl'.

24 nōdi'wēbi'ssim 24 every night, dreaming kept on

25 nōdi'dom dreaming

26 pō 26 nēpl'wēbi'ssim 24 mōpi'kno same one bathed, it is said.

27 nēpl'wēbi'ssim 24 dreamed for herself, it is said.

28 pīye'tonotsoia. 20 dreamed for her- That one and bathing went, it is said.  

29 pīye'tonotsoia. 20 dreamed for her- That one and bathing went, it is said.

30 Pīye'tonope'kan one who has gone bathing and

31 oki'tmenpem 31 e'dkutsoia. 32 Amā'kān 9 be'nekto 33 That one and morning in

32 Aniankan napō 33 Be'nekto the morning (sometimes merely be'nek). The suffix -to in use here is obscure. It occurs in a number of similar cases, with apparently a temporal meaning.
makö 34 fish  
halá'pwenen 35 carried having  
ösipindom 36 coming out of  
oki'tsoia, 37 Arrived, it is said.  
Möbë'ikona 38 Her father to  
bohü'isitosoaia. 39 Awete'ınkan 40 b’ü'sstsoia. 3 Bodoi'kinuđom 41 b’ü'sstsoia. 3 
banded over to, Thus having been stayed it is and said.  
it is said.  
Ama'n 44 maya'ken 42 tsai'men 44 tsemene'pom(m) 45 oki'tkotośia. 46 
That one say they by and by one unseen arriving-quality bad, it is said.  
Pü'iyanan 47 maya'ken 43 okó'könkritissoia. 48 A'nkanim 49 maya'ken 43 
Outside, from it was head lowered down toward, gradually, it is said. Then it was  

8 makö' FISH (here objective).  
halá'pwenen HAVING CARRIED. We have here the use of one of the troublesome prefix-stems, he-. Taken by itself, -lap- is a verbal stem signifying to CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OR TO SIT, KNEES ON GROUND. Combined with he-, it means to CARRY, perhaps to DRAG, generally by a cord or rope, here CARRYING FISH ON A STRING. The suffix -wen is a temporal suffix meaning AFTER HAVING.  
ösipindom COMING OUT OF TOWARD THE HOUSE. The verbal stem here is ò-to go, to TRAVEL, to which are added two directive suffixes, -si out of (the water), and -pint toward. In -dom we have the regular present participle.  
oki'tsoia ARRIVED, CAME BACK. Oki- cf. note 31. While this is sometimes heard oki'tsoia, as a rule the second i is elided.  
möbë'ikona HER FATHER TO. With relationship terms, the simple third personal pronoun is often used in place of the regular possessive case, as here we have mö- instead of möki'. Bë'ëk father is apparently analyzable into bë-', a stem meaning AGAIN, ANOTHER (bë'ëm again; bë'ëbë another; bë'dakë NEW), and the familiar suffix -ës having the quality of POSSESSING. The final suffix -ës is the locative suffix meaning TOWARD, EXPRESSING THE MOTION OF THE GIFT FROM THE GIRL TO HER FATHER.  
bohü'isitosoaia HANDED OVER TO. In bo- another of the prefix-stems appears. This usually seems to signify actions done with a BULKY OR ROUND OBJECT. Its application here is obscure, unless the fist is thought of as a bulky thing, in which the string on which the fish are strung is held. The main stem, hilt-, is uncertain in its meaning, this being the only place where it occurs. In conjunction with bo-, however, it has the meaning given above. The suffix -sito is one of the directive verbal suffixes, meaning ACROSS, OVER.  
awete'ınkan AND AFTER HAVING BEEN THUS. All conjunctions, except kan and, are formed in Maidu from the auxiliary verb a to be. Here with the suffix -wele(n) we get the idea of sequence, usually expressed in English by and then. The -kan is, of course, the simple conjunction and.  
bodoi'kinuđom SITTING. In this case the initial syllable bō- is in all probability the same prefix-stem which appeared in bohü'isitosoaia, in this case changed in accordance with some obscure vowel-harmony. bō- as a simple verbal stem means, on the other hand, TO BLOW, as the wind. The prefix-stem bō- here is used as a stem, taking the suffix -do, a verbal directive meaning UPWARD, and often appears thus without further addition; as bādoi'isitosoa he say. It is not clear how the idea of sitting comes from the elements bō- and -do, unless we assume that the idea is of a round thing (the knees?) sticking up (as one sits on one's haunches). The suffix (or suffixes) -kan is not clear. It is of quite frequent occurrence, but is still uncertain -dom is the usual present participle.  
amad'm THAT ONE (subjective form of the demonstrative).  
maya'ken IT WAS. This frequently-appearing form seems to be derived from the stem ma- to BE, with the suffix -ge, which indicates past time.  
tsai'men AFTER A WHILE. Derived from tsai another, and the suffix -men, the negative, with which it is identical in form, but a suffix indicating TIME OF, which is used in the names of seasons, etc. (yö'men SUMMER, FLOWER-TIME; ku'mmen WINTER, EARTH-Lodge-TIME, i. e., the period during which the people live in the earth-lodges).  
tsemene'pem(m) ONE WHO IS NOT SEEN. The verbal stem here is -te-to SEE, with the negative suffix -men, and the -pe of the nonen actors. It would seem to mean, therefore, ONE NOT SEEING, but is emphatically declared, in this instance, to be passive. No formal distinction of the passive has yet been noted in Maidu.  
oki'tkotośia HAD THE QUALITY OF ARRIVING, IT IS SAID (from oki'- to arrive, to reach; cf. note 31). The use of the suffix -kō has already been sufficiently explained.  
pü̩'pën FROM OUTSIDE; pü̩'ge means, in general, THE OUTSIDE, WITHOUT THE HOUSE. The suffix -nen is the usual locative, meaning FROM, AWAY FROM.  
oki'könkritissoia LOWERED HEAD LITTLE BY LITTLE DOWN TOWARD, IT IS SAID. In this instance we have the use of the prefix a- indicating actions done with the head. The verbal stem is kō-ki-, meaning to LOWER, TO DEPRESS (kōkitisno- to set, as the sun, i. e., to go down over the edge of the world). The reduplication of the stems indicates that the action took place slowly at intervals. The suffix -pin is directive, meaning TOWARD. The n before the p is probably phonetic.  
a'nkanim THEN. This is a connective formed from the stem a- and the suffix -kanim, meaning to FINISH, COMPLETE AN ACTION.
loko'npinwébissim 50 loko'npinwébissim 50 tsá'wnono 51 t'oiha'dom 53
wébissim 50 loko'npinwébissim 50
sa'wnona 53 opi'tinodom 54 pü'iym 55 'inkins 55 opí'stodom 55
filling up
crawling in kept one side
colling around
fire behind
towards
tsa'nwono 51 tsan'iha'dom 53
Awet'én 57
Then

It was a girl beside, from head projecting

Aama'k 43 kule'm 58 i'nkin 58 o'on 59 so'nteedonudom 60
It is said.

sawonana 54 opí'tinodom 55 pu'iyam 56 i'nkina 55 opí'tsip dom.

Then towards

maya'ken 43 kule'm 58 i'nkin 58 ono'm 59 so'nteedonudom 60
It is said.

Lo'ksipebissim 64 tsai'men 44 lo'ksip bo'stsoia 61 Amám 43 bû'ssyatan 62 lo'ksiptsosia 61
Looking straight continued.

"Ama'm 41 bussya'tan 62 lo'ksiptsosia? looking at right continued. That one staid after crawled out, it is said.

Lo'ksipebissim 64 tsai'men 44 lo'ksip bo'stsoia 61* A'nkanim 49 mo'im 66

Crawling out continued by and by crawled wholly out.

Then he

loko'npinwébissim kept crawling into, toward. The main stem here is lók- to crawl on hands and knees, or on belly (lo'k'do'tsaia crawled up). This stem is here apparently combined with ñono to go, travel (from δ, the simple verb of movement) to form a compound verb, to go crawling. The suffix -pin is the regular directive meaning toward, into (into the house, toward the girl), whereas the -wébissim is the continuative already explained; cf. note 24.

"Sa'wnona on one side of the house; tea'- is a stem referring to the side of anything, as tea'- na (tea'-na) sideways. The suffix -wono is somewhat puzzling. There is a verbal suffix apparently identical, indicating the past participle. Here, and again a few words farther on, it occurs in terms indicating the parts of the floor of the house.

"Ibíha'dom colling around. The verbal stem is here ñibi- meaning to coil, to twist, to turn, as in ñó'ñó'ñó'lló'm one who is curly-headed (ó'mó' head). The force of -ha is not known. The final suffix is the present participle -dom.

"Sa'wnona toward the place opposite the door; ñó is the term for fire; the area back of the fire, i.e., the other side of the fire from the door, is called sa'wono, and is the place of honor. The final suffix -na is the locative, meaning toward, to.

Opi'tinodom filling up. The stem opi'- meaning full, seems analyzable into -pi', a stem entering into several verbal forms (as kópi'twaítodom filling and bursting; kópi't dom pinching something like a berry and bursting it), and a prefix (?) of uncertain meaning, possibly the prefix -i indicating actions done with the head (?). The suffix -ino following is probably -ño, the suffix of generalized motion, with a euphonic i.

\[\text{pu'iym inkina to the threshold; pu'iya, meaning really the outside as contrasted with the interior of the house, is often used for the door, that which leads to the outside; -i in means the base, bottom, of a thing; -nó is the locative toward.}\]

Opi'tinodom filling it out. The stem here is the same as above (note 54), with, however, a different suffix, -sip, meaning out of, out from. The idea would seem to be that of filling the space so completely as to overflow, as it were.

Awet'én then; cf. note 40.

Kule'm 43 i'kin 58 from beside the woman. This should probably be written as two words, although in speech the two nouns are very closely run together. Kule' is the usual term for woman, and -nó the locative meaning from.

Oono'm head (the subjective form with the -m).

Só'ntessedó'núdom projecting, sticking up. As yet not analyzed satisfactorily. Só- appears in a number of verbs as a stem whose meaning is doubtful. The -nó is probably euphonic, while -dé may be the common stem té-t to see. The following suffixes appear to be -dó, meaning upward, and the vague suffix -nó or -nó, usually indicating simple motion (só'ë'tó'sósia crawled upward; só'ë't' kó'só' dom standing upright).

Téko'npinwebisaoa kept looking steadily at, it is said. The stem here is té-t to see, which, with the suffix -ké'n (perhaps related to -kó i away), has the meaning to look at, to gaze on. The continuative suffix -we'biass gives the idea of steadiness and fixity of gaze.

Bû'ssyatan after having stayed. The stem bussa- has already been referred to. The suffix -yatan is best translated by after having.

Lo'ksiptsosia crawled out, it is said. The stem lók- has already been discussed. The suffix -sip out of has also already been referred to in note 56.

Lo'ksiptsosia kept crawling out. Here the continuative -we'biass is shortened to -biass.

Lo'ksiptsosia crawled wholly out, it is said. The suffix -dos gives the idea always of thoroughness, completion (see § 20, no. 39).

Mo'ım he (in the subjective form).
mo'onna to the water; mo'mi is water. The terminal euphonic i is dropped always before locative suffixes such as this; -ni toward.

"ô'tnotsoia went into, it is said. The stem here, ô- or ô-, is apparently a derived stem from the common õ- to go. (May not this be a contraction from ômit- to go down into?) The addition of the suffix -no of generalized motion does not seem to add strength.

"lô'kmitnowe'bisim kept crawling down into. We have here the suffix -mit, meaning down into, down into a hole, cavity, etc., which, it was suggested, may appear in contracted form in the preceding verb. Again, the addition of the suffix -no seems to add little, although here perhaps emphasizing the continuity of the motion. In -wisim, we have, of course, the usual continuative.

"atsoi'a. said (the father), it is said.

"ôkoi'tapo a kâ'nas niki' atsoi'a. Amô'ni "Ho" said (he), it is said. "All right."

"amâm be'nêk onô'makasi bê'nêk onô'tapo said (he), it is said. "That one to-morrow go-shall-I to-morrow go away, father, it let us.

"âkâ'nas nik' atsoi'a. Amô'ni môm ne'nommai'dum "He'û said (he), it is said. "Yes, me." Then he old man * "Yes, it is said.

Onô'bene sail atsoi'a. Amô'ni tsai'men by and by stayed after having gone. By and by stayed after it is said. Having vorn into the water; mo'mi is water. The terminal euphonic i is dropped always before locative suffixes such as this; -ni toward. The stem here, ô- or ô-, is apparently a derived stem from the common ô- to go. (May not this be a contraction from ômit- to go down into?) The addition of the suffix -no of generalized motion does not seem to add strength.

"lô'kmitnowe'bisim kept crawling down into. We have here the suffix -mit, meaning down into, down into a hole, cavity, etc., which, it was suggested, may appear in contracted form in the preceding verb. Again, the addition of the suffix -no seems to add little, although here perhaps emphasizing the continuity of the motion. In -wisim, we have, of course, the usual continuative.

Natse't meanwhile. A connective formed from the auxiliary verb a- to be by the temporal suffix -set, meaning while, at the time when.

"unî dî in the; unî is the demonstrative indicating objects near the speaker; -di is the locative suffix meaning at, in, on.

"we'yetsoia spoke. Of the many verbs of speaking or saying, we'yet is one of the most commonly used. The stem is in reality we-, often reduplicated as we'we-. The suffix -ye is one of those verbal suffixes of so general a meaning that no definite translation can be given for them. "ôkoi'tapo let us go away. Here ô- to go is the stem, to which is added the directive suffix -koi away from; a further suffix, -a, which generally seems to indicate motion upward or along the surface of something; and finally the exhortative suffix -po.

"âkâ'nas said. The stem a- to say is probably related to the stem ma- of similar meaning. The suffix -kan is the ending of the third person of a verbal form (see § 19, no. 30). The terminal -a is the indication of the perfect tense, here suffixed directly to the verbal form, and not standing independent (see § 19, no. 32).

"niki' (to me). Instead of the more usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun, nî, what is apparently an emphatic form is here used, distinguished from the possessive nî'k by a different accent and long terminal i.

"atsoi'a said, it is said. The stem a- to say here takes the regular quotative past-tense suffix. Instead of the usual ending of the third person, -a, as here, the form âtsoi'kan is sometimes used. As compared with âkâ'nas above, the position of the tense and pronominal suffixes is reversed.

"amô'ni then. Another connective formed from the auxiliary with the suffix -môni, apparently best translated by when; hence when it was so.

"he'û well! all right! yes!

"onô'makasi I shall go. Here, from the stem ô-, the general verb to go, to travel, onô- is formed. Of which the form given is the first person singular of the future, the -mô being the suffix of the future tense, the -a a suffix still somewhat obscure (see § 19, no. 30), and the -s(i) the suffix of the first person singular.

"onô'tapo let us go (a form parallel to ôkol'tapo [see note 74], but formed from ônô'-). "nîk (to me). Here the usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun is used, instead of the emphatic nîki' (see note 76).

"môn he (the). The subjective form of the third personal pronoun singular, used here as a demonstrative.

"he'û yes!

"onô'benî ought to go. The suffix -ben or -benî conveys the idea of must, ought.

"sâui (?) I am unable to explain this.
Amā'ni78 mōk103 ye'pi91 tśetsoia.93 Amō'ni78 makō34 pil'uti93 mē'tsoia.94
Then fish many-very gave, it is said.
Amō'ni78 tsa'nan95 momi88 hēdōi'wet93 tsa'nan95 makō34 sō'doi-98 him her husband saw, it is said.
Then on one side water carried up having
mōk103 mōk103 ti'o'kitsoia.99 A'nkanim40 moka'ndi105 t'sō'doi-98 him her husband saw, it is said.
Then fish many-very gave, it is said.
Amō'ni78 be'nekto33 passed across
Then took, it is said.

The more general use of he- as a prefix-stem is to indicate actions that occur spontaneously.

Tu'i'tsoia.81 mō'tsoia.89 A'ma'm42 be'nekto33 slept, it is said.
That one morning in water went to pet, it is said.
Then fish many-very gave, it is said.
That one morning in
Tu'i'tsoia.81 mō'tsoia.89 A'ma'm42 be'nekto33 slept, it is said.
That one morning in water went to pet, it is said.
Then fish many-very gave, it is said.
That one morning in

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Then fish many-very gave, it is said.
Amō'ni78 be'nekto33 passed across
Then took, it is said.

The more general use of he- as a prefix-stem is to indicate actions that occur spontaneously.
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

pu'iyanki [108] doorward

opi'tsiptsoia [109] filled completely.

Awete'nkan [40] hē'bōm [110] again

mo'iñ [111] she (the)

kūle'm [15] girl

i'niñan [112] beside from
tṣěkōn'wëbissitsuoa. [61] looked straight continually.

Awete'nkan [40] Then and

bii'ssdom [113] little while staying

bii'ssweten [114] staying after

lō'ksiptsoia. [63] crawling out, it is said.

Lō'ksipēbissim [64] Crawling out kept on

lō'ksipbo'sitsuoa. [65] crawled wholly out, it is said.

A'nkanim [49] Then

lokda'nutosi. [115] it is said.

Hano'lekanteñã'kā'doidi [116] Honey Lake from country in that from toward

Amo'nikan [119] mo'iñ [111] girl

kūle'm [15] we'yeto. [73] said, it is said.

Amo'nikan [119] Then and

mō'im [66] he (the)

neno'm [122] old man

He'ū [84] "Yes" said (he), it is said.

Atsii [77] then

Basā'kō [125] "Stop! (for) you staff make-I"

then

kan [129] roots (magic)

Then and

piwi' [128] roots

A'nkanim [49] made, it is said.

A'nkanim [117] then

Hano'lekanteñã'kā'doidi [116] in the Honey Lake Region. It is not clear yet whether Hanō'lek' is merely the Indian pronunciation of the English name, or a real Indian name itself, of which the English name is a corruption. The suffix -nan is the usual locative from, apparently meaning THIS SIDE FROM, I. e., between here and Honey lake. The -is a suffix of uncertain meaning, apparently nominalizing the locative form preceding it. The -i is from -m before k, and is the connective. Kā'do, kodo, is the usual term for PLACE, COUNTRY, WORLD, and frequently takes a euphonic i before the locative -di at in.

amā'nantena [117] that from toward Amo'nikan and then.

"Stop! (for) you staff make-I" said (he), then it is said.

Amo'nikan [49] said (he), it is said.

"Stop! (for) you staff make-I"

Hano'lek' is the usual term for PLACE, COUNTRY, WORLD, and frequently takes a euphonic i before the locative -di at in.

amā'nantena [117] that from toward Amo'nikan and then.

"Stop! (for) you staff make-I"

then

Basā'kō [125] "Stop! (for) you staff make-I"

Then and

Piwi' [128] roots (magic)

A'nkanim [117] made, it is said.

A'nkanim [117] then

Piwi' [128] roots (magic)

A'nkanim [117] made, it is said.

Amo'nikan [49] said (he), it is said.

"Stop! (for) you staff make-I"

Piwi' [128] roots (magic)

A'nkanim [117] made, it is said.

A'nkanim [117] then

Piwi' [128] roots (magic)

A'nkanim [117] made, it is said.

A'nkanim [117] then
basā'kōmostsū'mdi tied- to, it is said.

staff (cane) end-on

widā'tpaitsoia. tied-to, it is said.

This arriving

ode'knodom arriving

smoke hole at standing up

tšē'hētsomonetwen having

looking-over (into) after

wōdō'minodom throwing-into

sāmō'estodi fireplace-centre

ātso'ī'a. said (he), it is said.

Sīkā'latset while (if)

min something you

you something you

opō'ktibōs'! Nik sikā'lamen ama'

headache Me bother not'

cause I may.

Amō'nikan "He'ū" said(he), Then and "Yes" said(she), it is said.

Āwete'nkan went off up, it is dropped.

Then and

ōno'doitsoia.

Then and

went off up, it is dropped.

110 basā'kōmostsū'mdi on the end of the staff. Basā'kō Staff; -m the connective; osta'ī'mi the end, point. The locative -di has the force of at, on.

111 widā'tpaitsoia TIED TO, IT IS SAID. The prefix-stem wi-, indicating actions done by force, generally by pulling, is here combined with the stem -da-, which, in its more common form, -dot-, is of frequent occurrence. It has a meaning alone of to knock, apparently, but with wi- has the meaning to tie. The suffix -pai means against, upon, i.e., to tie or affix to, on.

112 ūni' this (objective), the demonstrative pronoun.

113 ūdi'knodom ARRIVING, WHEN YOU ARRIVE (from b-to go, and dikno against, up against; hence to reach, to arrive): present participle suffix -dom.

114 o'lolokdi at the smoke hole. From o'loloko is the smoke hole of the earth-covered lodge. The terminal euphonic vowel (here a instead of the more usual i, probably depending on vowel-harmony) is dropped before the locative -di.

115 tō'sadom STANDING UP (present participle). From tō- a stem meaning to stand; the suffix -da indicates motion upward or position afloat; hence STANDING UP BY THE SMOKE HOLE.

116 tšē'hētsomonetwen AFTER HAVING LOOKED OVER INTO. From tšē- the stem of the verb to see, here with a suffix, -hē, which is obscure. The suffix -tsono, however, is a common one, meaning over edge of, off over down; hence to look over the edge of the smoke hole into the house. The -tsten is the common suffix indicating after having.

117 wōdō'minodom THROWING DOWN INTO. The prefix-stem wō- here refers to the staff, as a long thing; wōdō'm meaning to throw or drop a long thing. The stem dōm- is obscure. The directive suffix -mi, meaning down into a hole, hollow, etc., follows, with the -no of general motion, and the participial (present) suffix -dom.

118 wōdō' mkulmad'nkanoyoushallthrowdown. The same stem as above; wōdō'm here takes the suffix -kit, meaning downward to the ground. The future suffix -ma follows, with the regular ending of the second person coming last (see §28).

119 sāmō'estodi in the center of the fireplace; sād is the term for fire; sāmō' the fireplace, apparently sād-m-ō fire-stone; -eto, often used independently, means the center or middle of anything, here with the locative -di.

120 sikā'latset while, at the time when he bothers; sikā'la- has the meaning of to bother, to trouble, to hurt, its analysis is not yet clear; sī- is a prefix of uncertain meaning (sī'kes- to cook, sīketo seize, etc.). The stem -kal- is also troublesome. The temporal suffix -tet here really gives the idea of whenever, if.

121 ūdi'ho with something MYSTERIOUS, BAD (magically); o'kō anything which is evil in its effects, or by magical means works harm to a person. The instrumental suffix -ni requires no explanation.

122 opō'ktibōs'. I might make headache; opō k is a headache (probably from o-, the prefix referring to the head; and -pok-, meaning to strike); opō'kiti- to cause a headache. The suffix -bō corresponds to our English might, the -r being the suffix of the first person, without, in this case again, the -ko. This -ka is, however, never used, I believe, after -bō.

123 sikā'lamen DON'T BOther, HURT (sikā'la-, cf. note 140). The negative -men is often used thus to indicate negative imperative.

124 di'kano you say (from d-to say, with the regular ending of the second person).
There was an old couple. They lived just this side of Big Springs, and, having no earth-lodge, lived in a bark hut. These old people had one daughter, who lived with them. Every evening, just at dusk, she always went bathing, and never missed a single night. One night she slept and dreamed of something; dreamed the same thing every night. Then one night she went bathing, but did not return. In the morning she came back, however, coming out of the water toward the house, carrying fish. She handed the fish to her father and then sat down. By and by a great snake came up unseen, lowered his head through the smoke hole, and crawled in. He kept crawling in and coiling around, till he filled all the space between the area back of the fire and the door on one side of the house; then, sticking his head up beside the girl, he looked steadily at her. After a while he began to crawl out, and, crawling entirely out, went down into the water and disappeared. Meanwhile the girl stayed in the house still. After a while she spoke, saying, "That person said to me, 'Let us go away.'" Then her father said, "All right."—"He said, 'I shall go to-morrow, let us go away to-morrow,'" said the girl. Then the old man replied, "Yes; you ought to go." Then they slept. In the morning the girl went to get water. She saw her husband the snake. He gave her a great quantity of fish. Then, carrying fish on one side and the water on the other, she came back to the house. When she arrived, she set the water down and passed the fish through the smoke hole to her father, who took them. That morning, after they had finished breakfast, the snake came again and coiled up in the same place as before. He looked straight at the girl, and then crawled out and went off toward the country between here and Honey lake. Then the girl spoke and said, "Well, I am going now." Then the old man said, "Yes." Then he added, "Stop a moment! I will make a cane for you." Then he made the cane and fastened magical roots to the end of it. "When you arrive at the snake's house, stand by the smoke hole and look over into the house and throw this staff into the center of the fire," he said. "'If you trouble me, I might make your head ache with something mysterious. Don't trouble me.' That is what you must say," he said. Then the girl answered, "All right." Then she went off up north, after the snake.
ALGONQUIAN
(FOX)

BY

WILLIAM JONES
(REVISED BY TRUMAN MICHELMSON)
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ALGONQUIAN

(FOX)

By William Jones

(Revised by Truman Michelson)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following sketch of the grammar of the Fox was written by Dr. William Jones in 1904. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript Doctor Jones was appointed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to conduct investigations among the Ojibwa of Canada and the United States, and it was his intention to revise the Fox grammar on the basis of the knowledge of the Ojibwa dialect which he had acquired.

Unfortunately Doctor Jones's investigations among the Ojibwa were discontinued before he was able to complete the scientific results of his field-studies, and he accepted an appointment to visit the Philippine Islands for the Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago. The duties which he had taken over made it impossible for him to continue at the time his studies on the Algonquian dialects, and finally he fell a victim to his devotion to his work.

Thus it happened that the sketch of the Fox grammar was not worked out in such detail as Doctor Jones expected. Meanwhile Doctor Jones's collection of Fox texts were published by the American Ethnological Society, and Doctor Truman Michelson undertook the task of revising the essential features of the grammar by a comparison of Doctor Jones's statements with the material contained in the volume of texts.

On the whole, it has seemed best to retain the general arrangement of the material given by Doctor Jones, and Doctor Michelson has confined himself to adding notes and discussions of doubtful points wherever it seemed necessary. All the references to the printed series of texts, the detailed analyses of examples, and the analysis of the text printed at the end of the sketch, have been added by Doctor Michelson. Longer insertions appear signed with his initials.

FRANZ BOAS.

MARCH, 1910.
§ 1. THE DIALECT OF THE FOX

The Fox speak a dialect of the central group of Algonquian Indians. By "central group" is meant the Algonquian tribes that live or have lived about the Great Lakes, particularly in the adjoining regions west and south, and now embraced by the territory of the states of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. The group contains many dialects, some of which are the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox.

The dialects present great similarity in the absolute forms of many words; but marked differences are noticed in the spoken language. Some of the differences are so wide as to make many of the dialects mutually unintelligible. This lack of mutual comprehension is due in some measure to variations of intonation and idiom, and in a certain degree to slight differences of phonetics and grammatical forms.

The extent of diversity among the dialects varies; for instance, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi are so closely related that a member of any one of the three experiences only slight difficulty in acquiring a fluent use of the other's dialect. The transition from Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi to Menominee is wider, and it is further still to Kickapoo and to Sauk and Fox.

Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking-up is not uniform throughout a dialect: it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force; while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive. The dialect of the Mexican band of Kickapoo is holding its own with great vigor; but not quite the same can be said for Menominee or Sauk. Sauk and Fox are the same speech with feeble differences of intonation and idiom. Kickapoo is closely akin to both, but is a little way removed from them by slight differences of vocabulary, intonation, and idiom. The dialect taken up here is the Fox, which is spoken with as much purity as Kickapoo.

§ 1
The number of the Foxes is nearly four hundred, and they live on Iowa River at a place in Tama county, Iowa. They call themselves *Meskwak'it'a'y* Red-Earth People, and are known to the Ojibwa and others of the north as *Utegaamig* People of the Other Shore. Among their totems is an influential one called the Fox. It is told in tradition that members of this totem were the first in the tribe to meet the French; that the strangers asked who they were, and the reply was, *Wá'gó'it'a'y* People of the Fox Clan: so thereafter the French knew the whole tribe as Les Renards, and later the English called them Foxes, a name which has clung to them ever since.

**PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)**

§ 2. General Characteristics

There is a preponderance of forward sounds, and a lack of sharp distinction between *k*, *t*, *p*, and their parallels *g*, *d*, *b*. The first set leave no doubt as to their being unvoiced sounds: their acoustic effect is a direct result of their organic formation. The same is not true with the second set. They form for voiced articulation, but their acoustic effect is plainly that of surds: when the sonant effect is caught by the ear, it is of the feeblest sort. Sometimes *l* is substituted for *n* in careless speech. Vowels are not always distinct, especially when final. There is weak distinction between *w* and *y*, both as vowel and as consonant.

Externally the language gives an impression of indolence. The lips are listless and passive. The widening, protrusion, and rounding of lips are excessively weak. In speech the expiration of breath is uncertain; for instance, words often begin with some show of effort, then decrease in force, and finally die away—in a lifeless breath. Such is one of the tendencies that helps to make all final vowels inaudible: consequently modulation of the voice is not always clear and sharp.

The same indistinctness and lack of clearness is carried out in continued discourse, in fact it is even increased. Enunciation is blurred, and sounds are elusive, yet it is possible to indicate something of the nature of length, force, and pitch of sounds.
§ 3. Sounds

**Consonants**

The system of consonants is represented by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Spirant and affricate</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-palatal</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>'k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>c, s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t, 't, d, ts, tc</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p, 'p, b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *

A soft glottal stop resembling a feeble whispered cough. It occurs before initial vowels: *'a'te'i* lacrosse stick.

['] intervocalic is presumably a spirant with glottal stricture.—T. M.]

' denotes a whispered continuant before the articulation of k, t, and p.

[The closure is so gradual that the corresponding spirant is heard faintly before the stop, so that the combination is the reverse of the fricative. Thus *'i'pyāte'i* when he came is to be pronounced nearly as *āfpsyāte'i* with bilabial f.—T. M.]

It occurs also before h.

**h** an aspirate sound almost like h in hall, hail, hull. It is soft breath with feeble friction passing the vocal chords, and continuing on through the narrowed glottis: *nāhi' hey!* listen!

'h' an aspirate of the same origin as h, but without an inner arrest. The tongue is drawn back and raised high, making the air-passage narrow; it has a sudden release at the moment almost of seeming closure: *ma''hwā'wo* wolf.

**hw** a bilabial, aspirate glide, starting at first like h, and ending with the air-passage wider and the ridge of the tongue slightly lowered: *pa'nahwā'wo* he missed hitting him.

**k** like the k-sound in caw, crawl. The stoppage makes and bursts without delay on the forward part of the soft palate: *kaho* hist!

---

1 It should be pointed out that in the Fox Texts *d* and *t, g* and *k, b* and *p*, often interchange. This is due to the peculiar nature of *b, d, g*. Dr. Jones has simply tried to record the sounds as he heard them when taking down the stories. Wherever such fluctuation occurs, the actual sound pronounced was undoubtedly *b, d, g*. As an example we may give *dpā' wedbā* to look at.—T. M.
\( g \) a \( k \)-sound articulated in the same position as \( k \). But the closure is dull and sustained, with a pause between the stop and break, leaving an acoustic effect of almost a medial sonant: \( \ddot{a}gw^e \) no.

\( k \) an outer \( k \)-sound like the one in \textit{keen, keep, key}. The articulation is farther front than for \( k \) or \( g \). The spiritus asper is for a hiss of breath that escapes before complete closure: \( kw^e \) woman.

\( c \) like the voiceless \( sh \) in \textit{she, shame, mash}. The sibilant is made with friction between the tongue and upper alveolar. The opening is narrow, and the tip of the tongue is near the lower teeth: \( k\) only.

\( s \) a hissing surd articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The air-passage is narrow and without stop: \( w\) bull-head.

\( tc \) like \( ch \) in \textit{chill, cheap, church}. The articulation is with the ridge of the tongue behind the upper alveolar, while the blade is near the lower alveolar: \( tc'c \) heavens and earth!

\( t \) a pure dental surd articulated with the point of the tongue against the upper teeth and with sudden stress: \( tet'pis \) he whirls round.

\( d \) a dental articulated in the same place as \( t \), but delayed and with less stress. It leaves the impression of almost a voiced stop: \( me'das \) ten.

\( 't \) a dental surd differing from \( t \) only in the fact that an audible hiss is expelled just previous to a full stop: \( me'tti \) bow.

\( l \) a lateral liquid sometimes heard in careless speech. It often replaces the nasal \( n \) after \( u, a, \) and the dull \( a \). The point of the tongue articulates softly with the upper alveolar, the friction being so slight that the sound has much the nature of a vowel. It is like \( l \) in \textit{warble}: \( wabigul \) for \( wabigu \) mouse.

\( n \) not quite like the \( n \) in English, the articulation being with the point of the tongue at the base of the upper teeth: \( n' \) I.

\( m \) a bilabial nasal consonant like \( m \) in English: \( m' \) this.

\( p \) a surd like the sharp tenuis \( p \) in English; it is made with complete closure, and the stop usually breaks with a slight puff of breath: \( py'w \) he comes.
 средствами. Слово "кем" может быть заменено на "кому".

3. Местоимение "кем" может быть заменено на "кому", если оно является дополнением к прилагательному или глаголу, и на "кем" в остальных случаях.

4. Местоимение "кем" может быть заменено на "кому", если оно является дополнением к прилагательному или глаголу, и на "кем" в остальных случаях.

5. Местоимение "кем" может быть заменено на "кому", если оно является дополнением к прилагательному или глаголу, и на "кем" в остальных случаях.
ä longer than the a in sham, alley. The ä in German Bär is probably more nearly akin. It is broad, and made with the tongue well forward; the opening of the lips is slightly wider than for ä; the quantity is in fact so long as to be diphthongal. The first part of the sound is sustained with prolonged emphasis, while the second is blurred and falling. The character of this second sound depends upon the next mould of the voice-passage: mä'näw there is much of it.

ē like the a-sound in tale, ale, late. It is made with the ridge of the tongue near the forward part of the palate; the lips open out enough to separate at the corners, but the rift there is not clear and sharp: nahē hark!

e like the vowel-sound in men, led, let. It is a shorter sound of ē: pe'm oil, grease.

ī with much the character of the diphthong in words like see, sea, tea, key. It is the most forward of all the vowels; the opening of the lips is lifeless: nī'na I.

ɨ like the i in sit, miss, fit. It is the short of ī; it is even shorter as a final vowel: āi'cimi tc just as he told me.

§ 4. Sound-Clusters

Consonantic Clusters

The language is not fond of consonant-clusters. In the list that follows are shown about all of the various combinations. Most of them are with w and y, and so are not types of pure clusters of consonants:

Consonant Combinations

kw kwī'yen' exactly
qw ā'gw' no
'kw ī'kwāw'a woman
hw keci'kahwāw' he stabs him
'hw ma'hwāw'a wolf
sw me'dāsw' ten
cw me'cwāa rabbit
tw ā'twī' ouch
mw ā'mwāw'a he eats him
nw nō'tenw' wind
pw pwā'w' not
The following true consonantic clusters occur:

- **sk**  
  ca'sk' only

- **ck**  
  ma'ricki'w' grass

- **stc**  
  teistcá' my stars!

### Diphthongs

Not more than two vowels combine to form a diphthong. Stress is stronger on the leading member, and movement of the voice is downward from the first to the second vowel.

- **ai** like the diphthong in *my, I*: aiyän'i'o opossum
- **ai** like the diphthong in *turn* with the *r* slurred; a'sai skin
- **ēi** like the diphthong in *day, play*: nahē'i' now then!
- **āi'** like the diphthong in *soil, boy*: mā'ināhwā'w'a' he went at him
- **au** like the diphthong in *shout, bout*: hau halloo!
- **ōu** like the diphthong in *foe, toe*: pyānō'u come here!

§ 5. **Quantity**

Vowels vary in length, and in the analysis of sounds they have their phonetic symbols indicating quantity. A vowel with the macron (—) over it is long, as ö, ů, ā, and ĩ, and a vowel without the sign is short. Some vowels are so short that they indicate nothing more than a faint puff of breath. The short, weak quantity is the normal quantity of the final vowel, and for that reason is in superior letter, as a, i. Rhetorical emphasis can render almost any vowel long—so long that the vowel-sound usually develops into a diphthong, as āgwē'i why, no, of course! (from ā'gw'i no).

Change of quantity is often due to position. Long vowels are likely to suffer loss of quantity at the beginning of long combinations: nā'k'a again becomes na'ka in the phrase na'katcāmegutā'ta'gi again
It certainly seemed as if. Long vowels also shorten when placed before a stressed syllable: a''kig'i ON THE GROUND becomes a'kigä'hi-näbi'tci WHEN HE LOOKED DOWN AT THE GROUND.

Diphthongs undergo change of quantity. The accent of a diphthong slides downward from the first vowel, and the loss when it comes is in the breaking-off of the second member: a'sa1 BUCKSKIN, ne'tasä'mi MY BUCKSKIN.

Consonants show evidence of quantity also. In general, the quantity is short; but the length of time between the stop and break in g, d, and b, is noticeable, so much so that the effect of a double sound is felt. As a matter of fact, g stands for a double sound. The first part is an articulation for an inner k, and in gliding forward comes to the place for g where the stoppage breaks. Assimilation tends to reduce the double to a single sound. Nasal sonant m and n sound double before accented ī: mī'miiṽ PIGEON, nī'na ī.

A syllable consists (1) of a single vowel-sound, ā; (2) of two or more vowels joined together into a diphthong, 'wai' WHAT?; and (3) of a vowel-sound in combination with a single consonant or a cluster of consonants, the vocalic sound always following the consonant: nī'tci MY KIND. Two or more vowels coming together, no two of which are in union as a diphthong, are broken by an interval between: ahi'owā'tci SO THEY SAID.

§ 6. Stress

Force is but another name for stress, and indicates energy. It is not possible to lay down definite rules for the determination of stress in every instance, and it is not always clear why some syllables are emphasized at the expense of others. Generally, in words of two syllables, stress-accent falls on the first, kī'na THOU; for words of three syllables, stress falls on the antepenult, kwi'yen a SUFFICIENTLY. Beyond words of three syllables, only the semblance of a rule can be suggested. The chief stress comes on the first or second of the initial syllables, and the secondary stress on the penult; the syllables between follow either an even level, or more often a perceptible rise and fall alternating feebly up to the penult. In accordance with its rising nature the principal stress can be considered as acute ('), and in the same manner the fall of the secondary stress can be termed as grave ('). The sonorous tone of the voice on the penult is marked,
due perhaps to the extreme brevity of the final, inarticulate vowel. The feature of the sonorous penult is apparent in extended combinations like phrases and sentences, especially when movement is swift at the start, and, gradually slowing up on the way, brings up at the syllable next to the last with a sustained respite which ends with a sudden break into the final vowel. The arrival on the penult creates one or two effects according as the syllable is long or short. If the quantity is long, the vowel is sung with falling voice; if short, the vowel is brought out with almost the emphasis of a primary stress-accent.

This makes a fairly normal order for stress in a single group standing alone; but it suffers interference in the spoken language where the measure of a syllable for special stress often becomes purely relative. The stress on one syllable brings out a certain particular meaning, and on another gains an effect of a different sort. Stressing the stem of \textit{wā'baminu} LOOK AT ME exaggerates the idea of \textit{LOOK}; stressing the penult \textit{-mi'-}, the syllable of the object pronoun, centers the attention on that person; and stressing the final member \textit{-nu'} \textit{THOU} makes the second personal subject pronoun the object of chief concern.

Special stress often splits a vocalic sound into two vowels of the same or a different kind. This is common in the case of pronouns, in words of introductive import, in vocatives of spirited address, and in cries calling at a distance: \textit{i'ln} for \textit{i'n} THAT; \textit{nahēi} for \textit{nahi'} HARK; \textit{neniwetigē'i} for \textit{ne'niweti'g'w} OH, YE MEN! \textit{pyāgō'u} for \textit{pyā'g'} COME YE.

\textbf{§ 7. Pitch}

This Algonquian dialect does not fall wholly in the category of a stressed language. Pitch is ever present in a level, rising, or falling tone. The effect of pitch is strong in the long vowels of the penult. Temperament and emotion bring out its psychological feature. For instance, pride creates a rising tone, and a feeling of remorse lets it fall. In the sober moments of a sacred story the flow of words glides along in a musical tone; the intonation at times is so level as to become a tiresome monotone; again it is a succession of rises and falls, now ascending, now descending, and with almost the effect of song. In general, the intonation of ordinary speech is on a middle scale. The tone of men is lower than that of women and children.

\textbf{§ 7}
§ 8. Accretion

In the course of word-formation, phonetic elements are taken on that have the impress of mere accretions. The additions are the result of various causes: some are due to reduplication; some to accent; and others act as glides between vowels, and as connectives between unrelated portions of a word-group. Instances of the accretion of some of these phonetic elements are next to be shown.

**Syllabic Accretion**

A syllable, usually in the initial position, is sometimes repeated by another which precedes and maintains the same vowel-sound. The repetition is in fact a reduplication:

\[ i'ni \quad wäyätu'gëme'y u \quad and \quad so \quad in \quad truth \quad it \quad may \quad have \quad been, \quad for \quad i'ni \quad yätu'gëme'y g u \]

It is not always clear whether some accretions are but glides passing from one sound to another, or only additions to aid in maintaining stress-accent on a particular syllable. The syllable *hu* is a frequent accretion in dependent words, and occurs immediately after the temporal article \( \ddot{a} \):

\[ åñugu''kahigâwâ'tc e \quad when \quad they \quad made \quad a \quad bridge \quad is \quad the \quad conjunctive \quad for \quad ku''kahigâwâ'g u \quad they \quad made \quad a \quad bridge \]

\[ åñuke'piškwâtawâhönîwê'tc e \quad which \quad they \quad used \quad as \quad a \quad flap \quad over \quad the \quad entry-way \quad [cf. \quad 354.22] \quad is \quad a \quad subordinate \quad form \quad of \quad ke'piš-
\]

\[ kwâtawâhönâmô'g u \quad they \quad used \quad it \quad for \quad a \quad flap \quad over \quad the \quad entrance \]

[I am convinced that *hu* is not a glide nor an addition to maintain the stress-accent on a particular syllable, but is to be divided into \( h-u \), in which \( h \) is a glide, but \( u \) a morphological element. In proof of this I submit the following: There is an initial stem *wigi* to dwell (*wige* also; cf. *kiwe* beside *kiwi* [§16]). Thus *wigiwâ* he dwells 220.22 (−*w* §28). Observe that we have vihúwiguéwâtc e where they were to live 56.5 (future conjunctive, §29) beside åhuwiguéwâtc where they lived 56.23 (for −*wâtc*; aorist conjunctive, §29); åhuwígi-

\[ wâtc e \quad where \quad they \quad lived \quad 94.21; \quad åhuwígiyah â \quad where \quad we \quad (excl.) \quad were \quad living \quad 216.1 \quad (aor. \quad conj. \quad §29); \quad åhuwígiâc \quad where \quad he \quad lived \quad 42.20 (§29); \quad åhuwigintîc e \quad where \quad he \quad was \quad staying \quad 182.8 (§34). \quad That \quad is \quad to \quad say, \quad hu is \]

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found after wē- as well as ā-. Now, it should be observed that we have hu after ā- in some stems regularly; in others it never occurs. As h is unquestionably used as a glide, we are at once tempted to regard the u as a morphological element. But a direct proof is wāwōginīcin' he who dwelled there 80.9, 12, 20; 82.10, 22; 84.10, 21; 86.2, 20. This form is a participial (§ 33), showing the characteristic change of u to wā (§ 11). Hence the wā points to an initial u, which can not be a glide, as nothing precedes; and h is absent. Now, this u is found in ā'kwíwi'-wēgewātc when they went to live somewhere 66.15 (ā—wēte, § 29; kiwi is an extended form of kī, an initial stem denoting indefinite motion, § 16; 'k for k regularly after ā).—T. M.)

Other additions, like h, w, y, are clearly glides:

ā'hu'te'c'tē when he came, the independent form of which is u'te'wā he came from some place
ā'hu'nā'pā'mi'wēc'tē when she took a husband, a temporal form for unā'pā'mi'wā she took a husband
o'wē'wā'nī his wife (from owī-ani)
o'wī'śā'wā'nī his brother-in-law (from owī'-šā-ani)
ketāsi'yūtā'wā he crawls up hill (from ketāsi-ūtōwa)
ki'yāwā'wā he is jealous (from ki-āwāwa)

Consonantic Accretion

A frequent type of accretion is w or y with k, forming a cluster:

tca''kwīwīnā'wā he is short-horned (from tcāgi-wīnāwa)
tca''kwāpyā'wā it is short (from tcāgi-āpyāwi)
sāsi'gā'kyā'wā he scattered it (this is just the same in meaning as sāsīgā'kāwā)

Intervocalic Consonants

The most common accretion is t.1 It falls in between two vowels, each of which is part of a different member in a word-group.

Examples:

Between i and e: a''kwitepyā'gī top of the water
Between e and a: neta''panā'ni I laugh
Between a and ā: ā'wātō'wā he carries it away
Between ā and u: pyā' tusā'wā he came walking
Between ō and ā: pi'tōtā'wā he crawls in

---

1 t serves as a connective in an inanimate relation, and will be mentioned again.
When the vowel of the second member is i, then t usually becomes tc:

Between i and i: pi'tcisa'w a it (bird) flew in
Between a and i: kepA'tciqa'ni cork, stopper
Between a and i: kugwa'tcisa'w a it (bird) tries to fly
Between a and i: kwA'tcitahA'w a he is lonely

Sometimes n has the value of an intervocalic consonant. It often occurs immediately after the temporal particle á:

tcAgAnA'towAtci'gi4 people of all languages, a participial with the elements of tcA'gi4 all, á having the force of the relative pronoun who, and towAwa'gi4 they speak a language.
ánApatagi4 when he saw them 206.18 as contrasted with tlApA-
patagi he had a feeble view of it in the distance 206.16

[Is ápA- to see related with wápA- to see; to look at?—T. M.]
ánA'pawAtci he dreamed 206 title; 210.17 (á— tcI [§ 29])
contrasted with inA'A'pawAtci then he had a dream 212.3;
á'A'pawAtci she had a dream 216.1

Sometimes n occurs between vowels much after the fashion of t:

Between a and e: myA'negA'w a he dances poorly
Between á and e: upyA'nesiw a he is slow
Between a and á: myA'nA'pawAtci he that dreamed an ill omen
Title 210; 212, 17, 20; 214.1, 10 (myA + a'pawAtci to dream;
participial [§ 33])
See, also, 212.4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 214.20
Between i and a: á'peminAwAtciA'g then he went carrying it in
his hand 194.12 (á— AgI [§ 29]; pemA- Awa- (Awa) [§ 16]; -t-
[§ 21]; -e [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
Between i and á: ke'tcinApyAywAtci when they drew nigh 152.2
(ke'tci- intensity; pyA- motion hither; yA- to go; á-wAtci
[§ 29]; -t lost by contraction [§ 10])
Between i and á: á'cinApamegAtci as he was thus seen 76.6 (-tc
for -tcI [§ 10]; á—tcI [§ 29]; ici- thus; ápA- same as ápA to
see; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]); petegApi'kA'nt thou shalt (not) look
behind at me 382.9 (petegA'behind; -i'kA'nt [§ 30])

[Is á'pA'pamA'pawAtci they lost sight of him 180.19 for á'pA'pamA'pawAtci (§ 12)? The analysis would be á— uA'wAtci (§ 29); pA'pA-
(§ 16) to miss, to fail to; ápA- to see; -m- (§ 29). Similarly

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d'panāpətāmātisuyan⁴ YOU HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE SIGHT OF YOUR BODILY SELF 382.7 (d—yan⁴ [§ 29]; -tisuy—[§39]).—T. M.]

While these consonants seem to be inserted for purely phonetic reasons, others, that appear in similar positions, seem to have a definite meaning, at least in some cases.

[Though I also think that in a few cases intervocalic consonants are inserted for purely phonetic reasons, yet I am convinced that in bulk we have to deal with a morphological element. Take, for example, pyūtcisāw⁴ HE CAME IN FLIGHT. Here -tc- and -s- are regarded as intervocals. Such is not the case. It stands for pyātci+ -isā- + w⁴, as is shown by pyātci'se'kawāw⁴ HE COMES DRIVING THEM HOME (§ 16). The secondary stem -ne'ka- follows (§ 19) pyātci-. A vowel is elided before another (§ 10); hence the final -i of pyātci- is lost before -isā- (§ 19). Similarly -te- seems to be added to pyā-. Note, too, ò'pitigāt⁴ WHEN HE ENTERED THE LODGE, compared with pitcisdw⁴ 'they came running in (pitc-: pitc-: pit-: pitc-: pyā-). In short, pitc- stands for pitc-i-). I can not go into this further at present.—T. M.]

It looks as if s plays the same rôle as t, tc, and n, but on a smaller scale. Instances of its use are:

Between e and i: asā'weswi'w⁴ he is yellow
Between i and a: pyāt'cisā'w⁴ he came in flight (isā [§ 19])
Between a and ō: ne'masō'w⁴ he is standing up
Between u and a: pyā'tusā'w⁴ he came walking (usā [§ 19])

In these examples s has an intimate relation with the notion of animate being. It will be referred to later.

The consonant m is sometimes an intervocalic element:

nanāhi'cimā'w⁴ he carefully lays him away
pa'nem'amw⁴ he dropped it

Other functions of m will be mentioned farther on.

[It would seem that me is substituted for m when a consonant-cluster would otherwise be formed that is foreign to the language. (For such clusters as are found, see § 4.) Contrast kevāpame'n⁴ I LOOK AT THEE, with newā'pamāw⁴ I LOOK AT HIM; āwāpamātc HE THEN LOOKED AT HER 298.20; note also newāpamegsw⁴ HE LOOKED AT ME 368.19; contrast wāpame'k⁴ LOOK YE AT HIM 242.19 with wāpamin⁴ LOOK THOU AT ME 322.3. Other examples for me are kepātciwāpame'n⁴ I HAVE COME TO VISIT YOU 242.11; āwāpawāpamegut⁴ WAS SHE WATCHED ALL THE WHILE 174.17; pūnīme'k⁴ CEASE DISTURBING HIM (literally, cease talking with him [see § 21]) 370.18.]

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There is some evidence to show that a similar device was used in conjunction with t and n, but at present I have not sufficient examples to show this conclusively.

On further investigation it appears that the device of inserting a vowel to prevent consonant-clusters foreign to the Fox runs throughout the language. The vowel is usually e, but always a before h and hw. There is an initial stem nes to kill; compare änēsegutc then he killed him (ā—ātc § 29). Contrast this with änēsegutc then he was slain (-gu- sign of the passive [§ 41]); nesegwā 190.3 he has been slain (independent mode, aorist, passive [§ 28]; -wā lengthened for -wā); nāsegutc he who had been slain 190.8 (passive participle); -gu— as above; -tā [§ 33]; change of stem-vowel of nes [§§ 11, 33]). Other illustrations are kusegwā he was feared 56.14 (-s— [§ 21]), contrasted with kusāw he feared him (-āw [§ 28]), ku'tamwā he fears it (t [§ 21]; -amw [§ 28]); ā'to'kenātc then he wakened her 104.18 (for -tc; -n— [§ 21]; per contra ā'to'kītc then he woke up 168.11); ā'tāgenesēc he touched him 158.5; mī'kemegutc then he by whom she was wooed 142.6 (passive participial; mī'k- [§ 16]; -m- [§ 21]; -gu— [§ 41]; -tcīn [§ 33]); mī'kemāwā he wooes her (-āw [§ 28]); āmī'kemātc when he wooed her 148.6 (ā—ātc [§ 29]); kōgenesāw he washes him (kōg- [§ 16]; -āw [§ 28]; contrast kōgiwā he mires). For a as the inserted vowel observe pītahwāwā he buries him (pū- [§ 16]; -hw [§ 21]; -āw [§ 28]); kaskahamwā he accomplishes an act (kask- [§ 16]; -h— [§ 21]; -amw [§ 28]); ā'pītahwāwātc then they buried him 160.2 (ā—āwātc [§ 29]; -t elided).—T. M.

§ 9. Variation of Consonants

Some consonants interchange one with another. The process is marked among those with forward articulation. s and c interchange in:

me'se'kwā'wā she has long hair
me'cāwā it is large
Māse'sibōwū large river (name for the Mississippi)
me'cimā'nā large fruit (word for apple)

't and c interchange:
me'tahwā'wā he shot and hit him
me'cūwā he shot and hit him

't and s interchange:
ne'tamawā'wā he killed him for another
ne'sāwā he killed him

[For the interchange of sonant and surd stops see § 3.—T. M.]
§ 10. Contraction and Assimilation

Contraction is a frequent factor in sound-change. Instances will first be shown in the case of compounds where the process works between independent words. The final vowel of a word coalesces with the initial vowel of the next, with results like the following:

- $\text{a} + \text{a}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $ni'n\text{äci'it}^a$ I in turn (for $ni'n^a \text{ä'cit}^a$)
- $\text{a} + \text{ä}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $nâ''\text{kâ'pyâ'tc}^i$ again he came (for $nâ''\text{k}^a \text{ä''pyâ'tc}^i$)
- $\text{a} + \text{ä}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $pyâ'\text{wagâyö}'^i$ they came to this place (for $pyâ'\text{wag}^i \text{ayö}'^i$); $nâ'\text{gwa'ki'w}^i$ it is a sandy place (for $nâ'\text{gaw}^i \text{a''ki'w}^i$)
- $\text{a} + \text{a}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $\text{i'tepâ'hâ'tc}^i$ he goes there (for $i'tep^i \text{ä'hâ'tc}^i$); $nepâ'\text{nâte'g}^i$ they go to fetch water (for $ne'p^i \text{ä'nâte'g}^i$)
- $\text{a} + \text{i}$ becomes $\text{i}$: $\text{kâ'ciwi}^e$ what does he say? (for $ka'\text{c}^i \text{i'w}^o$); $i'nipiyo^w$ so it was told of yore (for $i'n^i \text{i'p}^i \text{yöw}^o$
- $\text{a} + \text{a}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $nâ'\text{waskuc}^i$ in the center of the fire (for $nâ'w^i \text{A'kuc}^i$); $\text{âgwa'mâtc}^i\text{c}^i$ he did not eat it (for $\text{âg}^i \text{Amwâtc}^i\text{c}^i$)
- $\text{a} + \text{ä}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $\text{â'gé'pè'}^e$ and often (for $\text{â'g}^i \text{â'pê'}^i$); $\text{wâtcâ'qwi nenâ'nc}^i$ the reason why I did not tell thee (for $\text{wâ'tc}^i \text{â'qwi'nenâ'nc}^i$)
- $\text{a} + \text{u}$ becomes $\text{u}$: $\text{negutu''kàte'g}^i$ on one of his feet (for $ne'\text{gu}^i \text{u'kàte'g}^i$); $\text{tc}^i'\text{gepyà'gu'tc}^i$ away from the edge of the water (for $\text{tc}^i'\text{gepyà'g}^i'\text{u'tc}^i$)

The two vowels in contact may assimilate into a diphthong:

- $\text{a} + \text{a}$ becomes $\text{ai}$: $\text{ne'cî'kâiyo''}^i$ alone here (for $\text{ne'cî'k}^a \text{a'yo''}^i$)

The result of the assimilation of two vowels may produce a sound different from either:

- $\text{a} + \text{a}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $\text{pyâ'nutâwi'yu}^u$ if he should come to me here (for $\text{pyâ'nutâwi'r}^e \text{a'yo''}^i$)
- $\text{a} + \text{a}$ becomes $\text{ä}$: $\text{mâ'tacî'kitcâ'yu}^u$ he might overtake me here (for $\text{mâ'tacî'k}^i\text{tc}^i'\text{yu}^u$)

Contraction between contiguous words is usually in the nature of the first sound suffering loss either by absorption or substitution. In much the same way does contraction act between members that make up a word-group. But in an attempt to illustrate the process there is an element of uncertainty, which lies in the difficulty of accounting for the absolute form of each component; for many members of a composition seldom have an independent use outside of the group. They occur in composition only, and in such way as to adjust themselves for easy euphony, and in doing so often conceal
either an initial or a final part. Nevertheless, hypothetical equivalents are offered as attempts at showing what the pure original forms probably were. Hyphens between the parts mark the places where probable changes take their rise:

\[
\begin{align*}
i + e & \text{ becomes } e: \text{ pe'meg\textsuperscript{a}w} \text{ he dances past (from pem-i-eg\textsuperscript{a})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ ma'netöwâge}'n \text{ sacred garment (from ma-netöwi-ägen\textsuperscript{i})} \\
i + a & \text{ becomes a: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}ho\textsuperscript{g}w} \text{ he swims past (from pem-i-ahog\textsuperscript{o}w\textsuperscript{a})} \\
i + a & \text{ becomes a: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{o}g\textsuperscript{d}w} \text{ he swims past (from pem-i-ahog\textsuperscript{d}w\textsuperscript{a})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ ma'ci'skiwâp\textsuperscript{o}w} \text{ tea, i.e., herb fluid (from ma'ci-skiwi-âp\textsuperscript{o}w\textsuperscript{i})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ wicku'pâp\textsuperscript{o}w} \text{ i.e., sweet fluid (from wicku-pi-âp\textsuperscript{o}w\textsuperscript{i})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ a'ne\textsuperscript{m}âskâw} \text{ it fell the other way (from a'ne-mi-äskâw\textsuperscript{i})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{o}w} \text{ tea, i.e., herb fluid (from pem-i-sliwap\textsuperscript{o}w\textsuperscript{i})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}nem\textsuperscript{i}sk\textsuperscript{a}ywiitfellthe other way (from pem-i-nem\textsuperscript{i}sk\textsuperscript{a}ywiit\textsuperscript{t}w\textsuperscript{a})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}j\textsuperscript{a}ym\textsuperscript{a}w} \text{ she passes by with a burden on her back (from pem-i-tj\textsuperscript{a}ym\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{r})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}s\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{a}w} \text{ she passes by with a burden on her back (from pem-i-us\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{u}t\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a}w} \text{ she walks past (from pem-i-us\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a})} \\
i + å & \text{ becomes å: } \text{ pem\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}u\textsuperscript{t}w\textsuperscript{a}w} \text{ she walks past (from pem-i-ut\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a})} \\
[On the other hand, we find pemipah\textsuperscript{o}w\textsuperscript{a} he passes by on the run (from pem-i-pah\textsuperscript{o}w\textsuperscript{a}).—T. M.] \\
\textbf{Assimilation occurs between sounds not contiguous:} \\
kic\textsuperscript{i}cin\textsuperscript{i}cwih\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a} after he had two (for kic\textsuperscript{i}cin\textsuperscript{i}cwih\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{a})
\end{align*}
\]

\textbf{§ 11. Dissimilation}

Vowels often undergo dissimilation. A very common change is o or u to wä. The process takes place in the formation of participles from words having o or u as initial vowels:

\[
\begin{align*}
u'tc\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{a} & \text{ he came thence; wä'tc\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{a} he who came thence} \\
u'tö'k\textsuperscript{i}m\textsuperscript{i} & \text{ his land; wä'tö'kim\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{a} he who owns land} \\
u'gw\textsuperscript{i}s\textsuperscript{a}'n\textsuperscript{i} & \text{ his or her son; wä'gw\textsuperscript{i}s\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{a} one who has a son} \\
u''k\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{u} & \text{ his foot; wä''k\textsuperscript{a}te\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{a} one that has feet (name for a bake oven)} \\
u'w\textsuperscript{u}w\textsuperscript{i} & \text{ his horn; wä'w\textsuperscript{u}w\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{i} one with small horn} \\
\text{The vowel u becomes wä when preceded by a consonant:} \\
k\textsuperscript{u}s\textsuperscript{ig\textsuperscript{a}w} & \text{ she plays at dice; kw\textsuperscript{a}s\textsuperscript{i}g\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a} she who plays at dice} \\
u'w\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{a} & \text{ he goes outside; nwä'w\textsuperscript{i}w\textsuperscript{a}pe\textsuperscript{r} he always goes outside} \\
\text{The vowel u can also become wä:} \\
uw\textsuperscript{i}gew\textsuperscript{a}w\textsuperscript{i} & \text{ their dwelling-place; wäw\textsuperscript{i}gew\textsuperscript{a}y\textsuperscript{i} at their dwelling-place}
\end{align*}
\]
[It should be observed that \( \ddot{a} \) appears as \( \dddot{a} \) under certain conditions. I cannot determine at present whether this is a phonetic process or whether there is a morphological significance. As an example I give \( py\dddot{a}w^a \) he comes; compare with this \( \dddot{a}'py\dddot{a}t^c \) when he came; \( \dddot{a}'py\dddot{a}v\dddot{a}t^c \) when they came; \( py\ddot{a}nu' \) come thou! \( py\ddot{a}g\ddot{o}'^u \) come ye!—T. M.]

§ 12. Elision

Elision plays an important part in sound-change. It occurs at final and initial places and at points inside a word-group. The places where the process happens, and the influences bringing it about, are shown in the examples to follow.

In some cases a vowel drops out and a vocalic consonant as a glide takes its place, the change giving rise to a cluster made up of a consonant and a semi-vowel:

- \( i \) drops out: \( \ddot{a}'w\ddot{a}\ddot{p}w\ddot{a}\ddot{g}e\ddot{a}t^c \) then she began to wail (from \( \ddot{a}'w\ddot{a}\ddot{p}i-w\ddot{a}\ddot{g}e\ddot{a}t^c \)); \( \ddot{a}'k\ddot{y}\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}t^c \) and he grew jealous (from \( \ddot{a}'k\ddot{i}-y\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}t^c \))
- \( o \) drops out: \( \ddot{a}'w\ddot{a}\ddot{i}w\ddot{a}t^c \) he sang his hair (for \( \ddot{a}'w\ddot{a}\ddot{w}i\ddot{w}o-\ddot{w}a\ddot{t}^c \))
- \( u \) drops out: \( \ddot{a}'s\ddot{i}w\ddot{a}t^c \) she fried them (from \( \ddot{a}s\ddot{i}su-'\ddot{w}a\ddot{t}^c \))

Words sometimes suffer loss of initial vowel:

- \( skot\ddot{a}'g^t \) in the fire (for \( \ddot{a}'skot\ddot{a}'g^t \))
- \( t\ddot{o}cko't\ddot{a}mw\ddot{a}'g^t \) at their fire (for \( ut\ddot{o}cko't\ddot{a}mw\ddot{a}'g^t \))
- \( kw\ddot{a}'g\ddot{a}g\ddot{o}'t \) nothing (for \( \ddot{a}'gw\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}g\ddot{o}'t \))
- \( n\ddot{a}'gw\ddot{a}t^c \) then he started away (for \( \ddot{a}'n\ddot{a}gw\ddot{a}t^c \))

The loss often includes both initial consonant and vowel:

- \( cw\ddot{a}'ri\ddot{a}'g^a \) eight (for \( ne\ddot{e}cw\ddot{a}c'i\ddot{a}'g^a \))
- \( a'k\ddot{a}n\ddot{i}g\ddot{e}c'i\ddot{g}w^t \) all day long (for \( ne\ddot{e}'k\ddot{a}n\ddot{i}g\ddot{e}c'i\ddot{g}w^t \))

The second member of a consonant-cluster frequently drops out:

- \( \ddot{a}'p\ddot{a}'w\ddot{i}n\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}'t^c \) when he did not see him (for \( \ddot{a}'pw\ddot{a}'w\ddot{i}n\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}'t^c \))
- \( pe'mu\ddot{a}'t^c \) he shot at it (for \( pe'mwuta'mw^a \))

The elision of \( n \) takes place before some formative elements:

- \( \ddot{a}'p\ddot{a}'g\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}'g^t \) when it (a bird) alighted (a subordinate form of \( p\ddot{a}'g\ddot{c}i\ddot{c}'n^w^a \) it [a bird] alighted)
- \( n\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}'h\ddot{ic}i\ddot{m}i\ddot{a}'w^a \) he laid him away carefully; \( n\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}'h\ddot{i}c\ddot{i}n\ddot{a}'n^w^a \) he fixed a place to lie down

To slur over a syllable frequently brings about the loss of the syllable. In the instance below, the stressed, preserved syllable moves into the place made vacant, and becomes like the vowel that dropped out:

§ 12
"A'c̱e̱ take her along (for a'wa'c̱e̱)
ā'wāpā'ḻa'hoqu̱tc̱ then he started off carrying her on his back
(for ā'wāpawāḻa'hoqu̱tc̱)

The second part of a stem often suffers loss from the effect of having been slurred over:
kiwāḻi'yatci'tc̱ after he had gone (for kic̱iwa'iya'tci'tc̱)
kt'ke'kā'nemā'tc̱ after he had learned who he was (for ktc̱īc̱ikē'kā'-nemā'tc̱)
ā'pōwā'nāwā'tc̱ when he did not see him (for ā'pōwā'wināwā'tc̱)
ā'pōwā'c̱amā'tc̱ when he did not feed him (for ā'pōwā'wic̱amā'tc̱)

To slur over part of a pronominal ending causes loss of sound there:
ūwi-'nemō""'i his sisters-in-law (for uwīne'mōha""i)

Removal of the grave accent one place forward causes elision of final vowel:
ne'kā'nitepee'ḵaḻ all night long (for ne'kā'nite'pee'ḵī'w̱)

Suffixes help to bring about other changes in the pronominal endings. A frequent suffix causing change is -gi: in some instances it denotes location, in others it is the sign for the animate plural. The suffix conveys other notions, and wherever it occurs some change usually happens to the terminal pronoun. One is the complete loss of the possessive ending ni before the suffix with the force of a locative. At the same time the vowel immediately in front of the suffix becomes modified:
ō'baṉ his father; ō'seg̱ at his father's (lodge)
u'kāta'ṉ his foot; u'kāte'g̱ at or on his foot

Another change before -gi is that of a pronoun into an o or u with the quantity sometimes short, but more often long. The change is usual if the pronoun follows a sibilant or k-sound:
u'wāṉa'gw̱ hole; uwā'nagō'g̱ at the hole
ma'kā'ḵw̱ box; ma'ka'ḵu'g̱ at or in the box
me'tegw̱ tree; me'tegu'g̱ at the tree
kt'cesw̱ sun; kt'cesō'g̱ at the sun, suns
ne'nusw̱ buffalo; ne'nusō'g̱ buffaloes

The suffix -gi affects inanimate nouns ending in the diphthong ai. The first vocalic member lengthens into ā, and the second drops out:
u'piskwa'ḻ bladder; u'piskwā'g̱ on or at the bladder
utā'wawga' ḻ ear; utā'wagā'g̱ at or in the ear

§ 12
The change of the pronominal ending into an o or u occurs in a similar manner before n', a suffix sign of the inanimate plural:

- u'wānA'gw¹ hole; uwā'ngō'n⁰ holes
- ma''ka'kw¹ box; ma''ka'kō'n¹ boxes
- me''tegw¹ tree; me''tegō'n³ trees

A k-sound stands before the terminal wa of some animate nouns. To shift an ō into the place of the w is a device for creating a diminutive:

- ma''kw⁰ bear; ma''kō⁰ cub
- A'caskw⁰ muskrat; A'caskō⁰ a little muskrat
- ce'gāqw⁰ skunk; ce'gāgō⁰ should be the proper diminutive, but it happens to be the word for onion, while kitten skunk is cēgā'gōhā⁰, a sort of double diminutive.

The substitution of o or u for w occurs with great frequency:

- pā'gwāw⁴ it is shallow; pā'gōne'g⁴ the place of shallow water (the name for St Louis)
- nīcwī''kwāwā'gw⁴ two women; nīcō''kwāwā'w⁰ he has two wives
- me'ckw⁰ blood; me'ckusi'w⁰ he is red
- wi'pegwā'w⁴ it is blue; wi'pe'gusi'w⁰ he is blue

§ 13. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word-unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word. Phonetic influences between the component elements are not marked.

The unit of composition is always the stem, and the word, even in its simplest form, possesses always a number of formative elements which disappear in new compositions. Examples of this process are the following:

- pe'nāmū'w⁰ he imitated the turkey-call (from penāwa-mūwa)
- ma'hwāmū'w⁰ he imitated the cry of the wolf (from ma'hwāwa-mūwa)
- kiutū'qimā'mipe'n⁰ thou wilt be our chief (ugimāw⁰ chief)
- natunā'hwātu'g⁰ he may have sought for him (independent mode natu'nāhwāw⁰ he seeks for him)

§ 13
pyä'gwän⁴ he must have come (independent mode pyä'wə he came)

Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we cannot properly speak of prefixes or suffixes. Those groups that may be considered in a more specific sense as grammatical formatives, such as pronouns, elements indicating the animate and inanimate groups, are largely suffixed to groups of co-ordinate stems.

Another process extensively used by the Algonquian is reduplication, which is particularly characteristic of the verb. It occurs with a variety of meanings.

Modification of the stem-vowel plays also an important part and occurs in the verbal modes.

§ 14. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.

It seems that, on the whole, initial stems predominate in the expression of subjective activities, and that they more definitely perform the function of verbs; while, on the other hand, secondary stems are more intimately concerned with the objective relations. It is true that both initial and secondary stems sometimes refer to similar notions, like movement and space; but it is possible to observe a distinction in the nature of the reference. A great many initial stems define movement with reference to a particular direction; as, hither, thither, roundabout. Secondary stems, on the other hand, indicate movement; as, slow, swift, or as changing to rest. Secondary stems denoting space seem to lack extension in the sense they convey; as, top, cavity, line, and terms indicating parts of the body. Initial stems refer to space in a wide general sense; as, distance, dimension, immensity, totality.

Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning: the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense. Some stems
can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense; it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a special meaning. It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, came to convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group; how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending. Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom; in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity. The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and secondary stems combine for the larger groups. The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But, whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations: out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed. Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with firm stability.

The following examples illustrate these principles of composition. A general summary of the process can thus be put in illustration:

\[ pōni \] is an initial stem signifying no more, no longer: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making \[ pō'niwa \]. The group means that one has previously been engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for one camps, one goes into camp. So much for the simpler form of a combination.

An initial stem, \[ pąg- \], has the general sense of striking against something; \[ -ą'kw- \] is a secondary stem denoting resistance,

§ 14
and so págá'"kw- is to strike against a resistance. The stem -tun- is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of place about a cavity, and has become a special term indicating the place about the mouth; and so págá'"kwitu'nd- is to strike against a resistance at a point on the mouth.

Again, -cín- is a secondary co-ordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and the duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so págá'"kwit-u'náci"nw- is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. He bumps himself on the mouth and he bumps his mouth would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.

A rigid classification of the objective world into things animate and things inanimate underlies the whole structure of the language. Thus the terminal -a indicates an object possessing the combined qualities of life and motion, and the terminal -i designates an object without those attributes. Thus:

pyá'wa he comes; pyá'migá'twi it comes
i'není'wa man, he is a man; i'není'wi bravery, it has the quality of manhood
a'nemó"a dog; a"ki earth

Every verb and noun must fall in one or the other class. Forms ending in -a are termed animate, and those ending in -i inanimate. The distinction between the two opposing groups is not rigidly maintained, for often an object regularly inanimate is personified as having life, and so takes on an animate form. But permanent forms of lifeless objects having an animate ending can not always be explained by personification. The breaking-down of the contrast is best seen in the names of plants; logically they fall into the inanimate class, but many are used as animate forms, like a'dámi'n* corn, a'sáma'w* tobacco, me'cimi'n* apple.

The idea of plurality is expressed both in the noun and in the verb. Subjective and objective relation of the noun are distinguished by separate endings. A vocative and a locative case are also expressed.

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of, are distinguished, the last of these being divided into an animate and an inanimate form. Exclusive and inclusive plural...
are expressed by distinct forms, the second of which is related to the second person. In the third person a variety of forms occur by means of which the introduction of a new subject, and identity of subject and of possessor of object (Latin suus and ejus), are distinguished.

The pronouns, subject and object, as they appear in transitive verbs, are expressed by single forms, which it is difficult to relate to the singular pronominal forms of the intransitive verb.

While tense is very slightly developed, the pronominal forms of different modes seem to be derived from entirely different sources in declarative, subjunctive, and potential forms of sentences. The discussion of these forms presents one of the most striking features of the Algonquian languages.

In the participial forms, the verbal stem is modified by change of its vowel.

Ideas of repetition, duration, distribution, are expressed by means of reduplication.

A number of formative affixes convey certain notions of manner, as

-\(tuq\) in \(pyä'tug\) HE PROBABLY CAME, which conveys the notion of doubt or uncertainty; while -\(ape\)' in \(pyä'wape\)' HE IS IN THE HABIT OF COMING, expresses the frequency or repetition of an act

Formatives are also instrumental, not merely in the formation of nouns, but in giving to the nouns they form the quality of distinctive designation. Thus:

-\(mina\) in \(s'ä-mi'n\) a CORN denotes FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY; and -\(gani\) in \(pä'skesig\). n' GUN (literally, exploder) is expressive of TOOL, IMPLEMENT, INSTRUMENT

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 15-54)

Composition (§§ 15-24)

Verbal Composition (§§ 15-21)

§ 15. TYPES OF STEMS

The verbs and nouns of the Fox language are almost throughout composed of a number of stems, the syntactic value of the complex being determined by a number of prefixes and suffixes. Setting aside § 15
these, the component parts occur rarely, if at all, independently; and only some of those that appear in initial position in the verb are capable of independent use. In this respect they appear as more independent than the following component elements. On the other hand, the latter are so numerous that it seems rather artificial to designate them as suffixes of elements of the first group. There is so much freedom in the principles of composition; the significance of the component elements is such that they limit one another; and their number is so nearly equal,—that I have preferred to call them co-ordinate stems rather than stems and suffixes.

Accordingly I designate the component parts of words as—

1. Initial stems.
2. Secondary stems of the first order.
3. Secondary stems of the second order.
5. Instrumental particles.

§ 16. INITIAL STEMS

Initial stems are capable at times of standing alone, with the office of adverbs. Some instances are—

u’tc\^i whence
i’c\^i hence
\textit{tagw\^i} together

Furthermore, an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative, and express an independent statement, though not always with exact sense:

\textit{u’tciw\^i} one has come from some place

Two or more initial stems follow in a definite order:

\textit{w\~a’pus\~aiw\~a} he begins to walk (\textit{w\~api-} to begin [initial stem]; -\textit{us\~a-} to walk [secondary stem])

\textit{w\~a’piy\~atus\~aiw\~a} he begins to approach on the walk (\textit{py\~a-} movement hither [initial stem between \textit{w\~api-} and -\textit{us\~a-}; -t- § 8])

\textit{w\~a’piy\~atitetepus\~aiw\~a} he begins to approach walking in a circle (\textit{tetep-} movement in a circle [new initial stem]); initial stem conveying the notion of movement in a circle

The consecutive order of initial stems with reference to a secondary stem depends much on the sort of notions they convey. An initial stem takes its place next to a secondary stem because the notion it

\textbf{§ 16}
implies is of such a nature as to combine easily with the notion of a secondary stem to form an added sense of something more definite and restricted. It is as if both initial and secondary stems were modifiers of each other. An initial stem coming before another initial stem in combination with a secondary stem stands toward the group in much the same relation as if the group were a simple secondary stem. The place of an initial stem is at the point where the idea it expresses falls in most appropriately with the mental process of restricting and making more definite the sense of the whole group.

[Before proceeding to the examples of initial stems, it seems to me important to point out that a large proportion of them terminate in i. Thus awi- to be; āpi- to untie; agwi- to cover; anemi- yon way; api- to sit; caωi- to do; hanemi- to continue to; kaski- ability; kicī- completion; kiwi- (an extended form of ki) movement in an indefinite direction; mā'kwi- future; mā'cī- to move; māwi- to go to; mecī- largeness; nagi- to halt; pemī- movement past; pyācī- (an extended form of pyā) movement hither; etc. It is therefore likely that this i is a morphological element. But it would require a comparison with other Algonquian languages to determine its precise value. It may be added that -i also occurs with the function of -i, and that the two sometimes interchange. Apparently this -i always drops out before vowels.—T. M.]

Following is a selection of examples of initial stems which are quite numerous and express ideas of great variety:

aski- early, soon, first.
ā'a-skimē'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (ā- temporal augment; me- initial stem common with words for snow, ice, cold; me'pu- to snow; -g for -gi suffix with a location sense; -i lost before initial vowel of following word)
āhaskānwig while the snow was first on 70.10 (ā- as above; h glide; -i of aski- lost before vowel; -ānw- secondary stem, denoting state, condition; -gi as above)

cā- freedom of movement, passage without friction or impediment.
cā'pawāw he cries out sending his voice through space
cāpu'niqān' a needle (literally, an instrument for piercing through with ease)
cōsk- is used in several ways. In a special sense it denotes horizontality, straightness.
cōskā'kusā'vā he walks erect [-usā §19]
cöskā'pyāci'nuwa he lies at full length (-cin- secondary connective stem \[§20\]; -w\[ \] \[§28\])
cö'skā'pyā'w\[ \] is it straight (-w\[ \] \[§28\])

Another sense, closely related to straightness, is that of smoothness, lack of friction, ease of movement.
cö'skwāw\[ \] it is smooth, slippery
cö'skwinic\[ \]nuwa he slips and falls
cö'skonā'w\[ \] he slips hold of him
äcōskonātc he slips hold of him 182.11

Hanemi to continue to.
ähanemipyānātc he continued to fetch them home 38.6 (ä- as above; pyā- initial stem meaning movement hither; -n- inter-vocalic, instrumental \[see \[§21\]\]; -ā- objective pronominal element; -tc\[ \] 3d person singular subject; the form is an aorist transitive conjunctive \[see \[§29\]\])
ähaneminesātc he continued to kill 38.5 (ä- as above; -nes- initial stem to kill; -ā- objective pronoun; tc\[ \] 3d person singular subject)

wīhanemicimesānetamuwātc they will continue to derive benefit from them 376.10 (wī — amuwātc \[§29\])
ähanemūmegūwātc they kept riding 192.7
ähanemāmuwātic they continued to fly for their lives (-ā- \[§19\]; -m- \[§21, 37\]; -u- \[§40\]; ā—wātc \[§29\])
ähanemī'ā'gōsīpa[hōmī'ga'k\[ \] he continued to climb up hurriedly 96.19
ähanemitetetpetāsānātc he continued to whirl over and over 288.14
* (tetep- [for tetepi-] allied with tetep- below; -tc- \[§8\]; -āsā- from -āsā- \[= -isā \[§19\]\]; -nic\[ \] \[§34\])

pācāhanemine'kvātaminātc gradually the sound grew faint 348.22
ähanemivāpūsāwātc then they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (ā- as above; vāpi- initial stem, meaning to begin, loses terminal i before vowel; -usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning locomotion by land with reference to foot and leg \[§19\]; -wātc\[ \] 3d person plural animate subject; the form is an aorist intransitive conjunctive \[see \[§29\]\])

Kask(\[\] - implies potency, ability, efficiency, and gets the meaning of success, triumph, mastery.
ka'skīhā'w\[ \] he succeeds in buying him (-āw\[ \] \[§28\])
ka'skimenō'w\[ \] he is able to drink
ka'skini'mānā'muwa he can lift it (-amūwa \[§28\])
ka'skimā'w\[ \] he succeeds in persuading him (-m- \[§21.6\]; -āw\[ \] transitive independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object \[see \[§28\]\])
ka'skināwā'wā he can see him (-nāw- to see, cf. ānāwātcē then [the man] saw 174.13; ā'pōwāwināwugutē but he was not seen 158.1; ānāwāwātcēpē they would see habitually 182.14) ā'pōwāwikaskimādanetē on account of not being able to overtake him 186.12 ā'pōnikāske'tawāwātcē they could no longer hear their calls 192.6

kās(t) - denotes the idea of obliteration, erasure, wiping.
ka'sihi'mu'wa he erases it (-h- instrumental [§ 21]; -mu'wa transitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object [§ 28])
kās'gōwā he wipes his own face
kās'gāci'nuwa he wipes his own foot

ki- indicates the general notion of indefinite movement round about, here and there.
kiweskāwágāpe'e they are always off on a journey 272.14 (for kiwe- see § 17 end; -wág- for -wag' 3d person plural animate, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28]; -ape'e frequency of an act [§ 14 end])
ki'wisā'wa it (a bird) flies round about (-isā- [§ 19])
kī'wíticimā'wa he swims round about (-tcim- [§ 19])
kiweskā'wa he goes a-journeying somewhere
ki'wímō'wa he sought safety here and there (-ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -ō- [§ 40]; -wā [§ 28])
kiwā'bamā'wa he went about looking at one and then another (wā'ba same as wā'pa in kīmāwivāpātāpena let us go and look at it 284.8 [māwī- below; ki—āpena, § 28]; ā'kīcītcāgiwāpāmātcē and after looking for all [his ducks] 286.16 [kīcī- p. 766; *tcāgī p. 771; ā—ātcē § 29; -m- § 21.6])

kīve(t) - expresses the completion, the fulfillment, of an act.
ki'cōwī'wa he has finished (a task, an undertaking)
ki'cēlā'wā it is done cooking (lā- secondary connective stem, inanimate, signifying heat [§ 20]; -wā [§ 28])
ki'cī'tō'wa he has finished making it
ki'cipyā'wā he has already arrived (pyā- [§ 16])
ki'cīnepōhi'wā he has since died
kīcītcēpe'tawāwātcē after they had built a great fire 158.21 (-wātcē [§ 29])
kīcītcāgānute after the feast is done 156.6
kīcītcāgipyā'nīte after their arrival 90.13 (tcāgī all; pyā- to come; -nīte' [§ 34])
kīcītcāgiketemināgute' after he had been blessed by them 184.4 (-gu- [§ 41])

§ 16
kicinyä' o'gunipwâwisenite⁴ four days had passed since he had eaten 182.3 (for nyä' o' cf. nyäw⁴ [§ 50]; pwâ for pyäwi not [§12]; -wisenè eat; -tei [§29])
ä'kicitâgatamôwâte⁴ after they have touched and tasted it 184.17
(a—amôwâtc⁴ same as ä—amôwâtc [§29])
kicipyâtömâtc⁴ after she had fetched home her burden 162.16
(pyä— initial stem movement hither; -t [§ 8]; -m—[§§ 21, 37];
-ö secondary stem expressing conveyance; -ä— pronominal animate object; -tc⁴ 3d person singular animate [§ 29])

kög- refers to an activity with a fluid, most often with water, in which instance is derived the idea of washing.

köge' nïgâ'w⁴ she is at work washing clothes (-gä— [§ 20])
kögi'netci'w⁴ he washes his own hands
kögenä'w⁴ he washes him
kögî'netnânô'w⁴ he washes his own forehead
kô'giw⁴ he mires (in the mud)
ä'kögênäte⁴ when he bathed her 300.15 (-n— instrumental; cf. also
§ 8; ä—äte'i [§ 29])
nä'kükögênag⁴ she also washed it 178.21 (for näkä äkögenag⁴;
ä—ag⁴ [§ 29])
kiwigâtekögenäw⁴ you are to clean it (the dog) well with water
178.15 (ki—üw⁴ [§ 28])

mawi- to go to.

kimâwicâ'pëna⁴ let us go and hunt 90.9 (cicä initial stem to
hunt; ki—pëna⁴ we inclusive, future independent mode, intransitive, used as a mild imperative [see §§ 28, 35.8])

kimâwinepâpena⁴ let us go and spend the night 90.10
ämâwinepâwâte⁴ they went to a place where they spent the
night 30.5 (ä—wite'i [§ 29])
ämâwi'ketahwâte⁴ she went to dig for them 152.19 (-hw— [§ 37];
ä—äte'i [§ 29])
ämâwiga'kenâmînite⁴ they started off to peel bark 150.15 (-nite'⁴
[§ 34])
ämâwiketcîte⁴ he went to look over the bank 182.9
ämâwivâpâmâte he went to have a look 182.7 (ä— temporal particle; wâpâ- same as wâba cited under ki—; -m— [§ 21]; -äte for -äte'i transitive aorist conjunctive, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [§ 29])
ämâwinaûâte⁴ he ran to catch him 182.11 (nâ— presumably the same as nä— [§ 21.8]; -n— [see § 21])

me- snow, ice, cold.

ä'a'skime'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (explained under
aski—)

§ 16.
mi'k- conveys the sense of occupation, employment in the performance of some activity.

mi'ke'tcōwī'wa he works, is busy
mi'k'eta'mo'wa he is occupied with a piece of work (-t- [§ 21]; -mo'wa [§ 28])
mi'kem'e'kwāwā'wa he goes a-wooing ('kwo [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])
mi'ke'tcōhā'wa he is engaged in an attempt to heal him
mi'kwā'nemā'wa she dotes upon it—her child

nāg(i)- denotes the change from an activity to a rest, and is best translated by words like HALT, STOP, PAUSE.

na'gīwā he stops moving
nāgicā'nuwā he halts on the journey (-cin- [§ 20])
na'gipahō'wa he stops running (-pahō- secondary stem meaning RAPID MOTION [§ 19]; -wā intransitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person animate subject [§ 28])
teqūnāqiɡāpēwāte they all came to a halt 50.24 (for teqāgi [ALL] ā; -qāpā- [§ 19]; ā—watc [§ 29])
ānāgiwāte they stood 50.7 (aorist intransitive conjunctive [§ 29])

nāj- to follow after.

āpitcināɡanāte when he went in following after it 70.13 (pit- initial stem meaning MOVEMENT INTO AN ENCLOSURE; pitcā a collateral form [see below]; -n- intervocalic instrumental; -ā- pronominal object; -tcā 3d person singular animate subject)
ānāgataq' and he followed it (ā- as before; -t- intervocalic element indicating that the object is inanimate, here simply that the verb is transitive; -Agq 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person singular inanimate object [§ 29])

pas(i)- implies the notion of SWIFT, LIVELY CONTACT.

pa'sitī'yā'hwā'wa she spanks him
pa'si'gwā'hwā'wa he slaps him in the face
pa'siɡu'mā'hwā'wa he barely grazes his nose (-gum- [§ 17])
pasimyā'sō'wa it (an animate subject) fries (-sū- [§ 20])
pa'setā'wā it is hot (-tā- [§ 20]; -wā [§ 28])

pe'kwi- density, thickness.
ä'pe'kwisasaka'k' when it was thick with growth 70.12

pem(i)- expresses the notion of MOVEMENT BY, PAST, ALONGSIDE.

pe'me'kā'wa he passes by 278.1 (-'kā- [§ 20])
pe'megā'wa he dances by 280.5 (-'egā- secondary stem of second order, meaning MOVEMENT OF ONE IN DANCING [§ 19]; -wā 3d person singular animate, independent mode)
pe'mināqā'wa he passes by a-singing

§ 16
pe’mipahō’wā he passes by on the run (-pahō- secondary stem of second order, denoting speed [§ 19])

pe’mūtā’wā he crawls past (-ūtā-, -ōtā- to crawl [§ 19])

ā’pemitepikckahugunic t they went swimming by side by side 184.3 (-hugu- same as -hogō- [§ 19]; -nite [§ 34])

pemisūwā it [the swan] went flying past 80.7 (-isū- secondary stem of second order, expressing velocity and associated with motion through the air [§ 19])

It comes to have the force of an inchoative.

pe’musā’wā he started off on a walk (-usā- secondary stem to walk [§ 19])

pe’mvāgesi’wā she began to wait

ā’pemiwāpusātic then he started to begin to walk 194.19 (ā- and -tc explained before; -wāp- for -wāpi- inception [§ 16]; -usā- secondary stem of second order, to walk [§ 19])

pyū- signifies movement hitherward.

pyā’wā he comes

pyā’taci’wā he fetches home game

pyāte’kwāwū’wā he brings home a wife (-kwā- woman [§ 18]; -w-[§ 37])

pyā’tāskū’wā it falls this way

pyā’taci’kawā’wā he comes driving them home (for pyātci- cf. pītci- under pī-; -ne’ka- [§ 19]; -āw [§ 28])

pyā’twāwā’migā’twā it comes a-roaring (pyāt- collateral with pyā-; wāwā [§ 20]; āmigātwā [§ 20]; -tw [§ 28])

pyānāwā he has brought home 58.5 (-n- intervocalic: ā- 3d person singular animate object; -wā as before)

ā’pyātci when he had come 68.25 (ā—tc [§ 29])

pī(t)- conveys the sense of movement into an enclosure.

pī’tāse’nwā it blows inside (-ā- [§ 19]; -sen- [§ 20]; -w [§ 28])

pī’tciwenā’wā he leads him within

pī’ta’hvā’wā he buries him (-hw- [§ 21]; -āw [§ 28])

pī’tigā’wā he enters

ā’pītci’kawānītic they trailed (a bear into woods) 70.12

ā’pītigātīc as he entered 326.10 (-gā- [§ 20]; ā—tc [=tc [§ 29])

ā’pītigānātīc then he took her inside 42.20 [-gā- variant of gā; -n- instrumental [§ 21]; ā—ātc [§ 29])

pītcisāwāg there came running into 142.10 (-isā- as in pemisāwā; -wāg for -wāg 3d person plural animate, intransitive independent mode [§ 28])
pön(i)- also expresses the notion of cessation, but with more of the idea of the negative temporal element no more, no longer.

pö'negä'wa he is no longer dancing (-egä- as before, p. 768)
pöne'nägä'wa he has ceased singing
pöne'senya'wa he has done eating
pö'nepyä'wa he is no longer a drunkard
pö'nima'wa he has stopped talking to him (-m- [§ 21])
ä'pöninäwëwëtc they stopped hearing the sound 152.1
ägwipöni'kagwätctcin' never shall they be left alone 186.2 (ägwiv—
n't not [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; -wätci [§ 29])
ä'pöniwätci they halted 164.13, 192.9

säg(i)- implies the notion of exposure, manifestation, visibility.

sä'gise'nuw' it sticks out (-sen- [§ 20]; -nuw' [§ 28])
sä'gitepäci'nuwa he lies covered all over except at the head (-cin-
[§ 20]; tepä head; -nuwa [§ 28])
sä'giwinä'gäpa'wa but for the tips of his horns, he stands shut off
from view. [As winä- is a secondary stem of the first order
[§ 18] used to designate a horn, and -gäpa- is a secondary stem
of the second order [§ 19] expressing perpendicularity, the
literal translation would seem to be he stands with his
horns exposed.—T. M.]
sä'gitepä'hogö'wa he floats with the head only out of the water
(-hogö- [§ 19])
sä'gikumä'wa he exposes his nose to view (-kum- same as -gum-
[§ 18])

sąg(i)- has a transitive force with the meaning of seizing hold.

sagecänä'wa he holds him by the ear (-cä- ear [§ 18]; -n- instrumental
[§ 21])
sagine'känä'wa he leads him by the hand (-ne'ka- [§ 19]; -n-
[§ 21])
sagi'pövä'wa he bites hold of him (-pvö- [§ 21])
sagine'kwövänä'wa he grabs hold of him by the hair (-'kwä-
head [§ 18])
ä'pë'kwisasaka'kt when it was thick with growth 70.12; (ä—'k'
[§ 29])
äsagine'känätc he then held her by the hand 134.13 (-n- [§ 21];
ä—åtc [= -åtc² [§ 29]; -ne'kä- as in üsagine'käskätc² 214.10)
äsaghänätc she grabbed hold of one by the leg 292.2

tä(wi)- has to do with the sensation of physical pain.

tä'wite'pöči'nuw' he fell and hurt his head (tepä- head; -cin- [§ 20];
-wä [§ 28])
tä'witana' sitaqgāpā'wa it hurts his feet to stand (-gāpā- [§ 19])
tä'we'kwā'wa his head aches (-kwā- head [§ 18])

tcāgi all, entirely.
tcāgiketenag† she took off all 224.1 (n— [§ 21]; ā— left out [§ 12]; ā—AG† [§ 29])
kicictcāgipyānitc after all had arrived 90.13 (kici- and pyā- initial stems [§ 16]; nite for -nitec 3d person plural, animate [§34])
īnā'tcāgipyānitc† thus all had arrived 172.20 (īnā- thus)
kicictcāgiketemīnitc† after he had been blessed by all 184.5 (kici completion; gu [§ 41]; ā—omitted; -tc† [§ 29])
ā'tcāgesutc† then he was burnt all up 30.3 (sū- secondary stem meaning heat, animate [§ 20])
ā'tcāgilāwātc† they slew them all 8.16, 10.2 (-h— [§ 21]; ā—āwātc† [§ 29])

tetep— movement in a circle.
ātetepetcsā'tōtc he started himself a-rolling 288.13
tetepusān† walk around in a circle 376.12 (see 158.1) (-usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning to walk [§ 19]; nus 2d person singular imperative, intransitive [§ 31])
āwāpitetepusātc† he began to walk around in a circle 256.9 (wāpi— see next stem)

wāp(t)— signifies the idea of commencement, inception, inchoation.
wāpina'husā'wa he is beginning to know how to walk (nah to knqw)
wāpikemiyā'wa the rain is beginning to fall
wā'piwi'seni'wa he is starting to eat (compare niwiseni do let me
eat 184.10)
āwāpā'kwamatag† he became sick 156.9
wīwāpinatcaiyāwicimegovātc† they shall begin to have to put up
with their insolence 184.18 (wī—wātc† [§ 29])
āwāpusātc† he started off on a walk 126.3, 23; 278.8; 280.2
(-usā— [§ 19]; ā—tc† [§ 29])

ucti— whence, away from.
wātcikesiyāgicsāwā whence the cold came, then he speeds to 70.14
(change of vowel u to wā on account of participial form;
analyzed in note 21, p. 869).
uctiwāpi† from this time on 34.14 (literally, beginning whence;
wāpi— see preceding stem)

wī— expressing the sense of accompaniment, association, companionship.
wī'dāmā'wa he accompanies him (-d— for -t—; see below)
wī'tcāwā'wa he goes along, too
wi’pämä’wa he sleeps with him
wi’pumä’wa he eats with him (pu-[§ 21]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -äw[a] [§ 28])
wi’kumä’wa he invites him to the feast
witämä’tcin’ him whom he accompanied 70.14 (see text at end)
wi’pumin” eat thou with me 266.19 (pu—act done with mouth
[§ 21]; -m—indicates animate object [§§ 21, 37]; -in” imperative,
2d person singular subject, 1st person singular object [§ 31])

pep- winter, snow, cold.
ä’pepögb in the winter-time 150.5 (ä’pepög 70.10; 136.3 is the same
form with elision of final vowel before initial vowel [see text
at end; also §§ 12, 42])

As1 the small number of initial stems given by Dr. Jones seems to
me to be rather out of proportion to their importance, I take the
liberty of inserting here a hundred odd new examples taken from his
Fox Texts, arranged in the order of the English alphabet. For this
purpose a, ä, å, ä, å, follow each other in this order. I would remind
the reader that there is considerable fluctuation in these vowels,
especially between a and å; ä and å. The variation of a and ä is
slight; that of ä and ä does not seem to occur. The sound pro-
nounced was undoubtedly the same in any given fluctuation; Dr.
Jones simply has recorded the sounds as he heard them at a given
time. Examples follow:

a’tetcä— distant.
ä—a’tetcikiweskätc’ she went on a distant journey 74.5 (ä—tc’ [§ 29];
kiwe- [§ 17], allied to kivi- [see under kí- above]; -sk- [§ 21];
-a— [§ 19])
a’tetcähätc’ she went far away 38.1 (ä—dropped [§ 12]; ä—tc’
[§ 29]; hä- from hā— an initial stem meaning to go)
a’tetcäwigivätc’ they lived far away 160.14 (ä—dropped [§ 12];
wig is an initial stem, to dwell)

awi— to be.
awinic’t they were 50.18 (ä—lost [§ 12]; -ni- [§ 34]; hence -tc’t
[§ 29] may be used for a plural)
awícigt they who were 358.8 (participial; -tcig’t [§ 33])
äwyiyän’ where I am 366.2 (for äräwiyän’; ä—yan’t [§ 29])

ämä— to move.
nä’kähämiwätc’ again they moved on 166.12 (for näk’a ä— [§ 10];
-h— a glide [§ 8]; ä—wätc’ [§ 29])

1 From here to p. 793, addition by T. Michelson.
äpi to untie.

äpinahamwə she unties it 162.2 (-amwə [§ 28])
äpinahamwəpə' she always unties it 162.3 (for -amwə ə- [§ 10]; -əpə' [§ 14])
ähāpihag then he untied it 334.16 (for ə—Ag' [§ 29]; -' lost before an initial vowel [§ 10]; -h- first time a glide [§ 8]; second time instrumental [§ 21])

See also 160.19; 170.4; 172.10, 14; 290.22, 25; 292.5

âuA- to carry away.

âuanāwag' they were carrying them away 198.5 (-n- [§ 21]; -āwag' [§ 28])
ähāwanetc' then they were carried away 26.3 (ā—etc'[§ 41]; -h- a glide [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
āwāpi'āwātowāc they set to work carrying it 212.21 (ā—wāte'[§ 29]; -' lost by contraction [§ 10]; wāpi- an initial stem, to begin; -tō- [§ 37])
wiwahawatōyan' I would have taken it with me 230.12 (for wi- with the subjunctive see my note [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; -tō- [§ 37]; -yān' [§ 29])
ähawanetc she took him 38.2 (for ā—āte'[§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 162.15; 164.7, 8, 9; 166.1; 224.18; 230.12; 246.24; 348.9, etc.

Agōsī- to climb.

wiwagōsīyan' I shall have to do the climbing 90.19 (wi—yān'[§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])
āhagōsite he climbed up 94.16 (for ā—te'[§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8])

See also 96.19; 274.24

AcAm- to give to eat.

acami give it to him to eat 252.1 (-i [§ 31])
ā'acamegute then he was given food to eat 70.2 (for ā—te'[§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

See also 14.19; 106.1; 256.12

Agwi- to cover.

agwihe'kə cover him up 294.18 (-h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -'kə [§ 31])
wiwagwicitin' for him to cover himself with 294.21 (evidently a participial; see § 34 near the end; -h- is a glide [§ 8]; wi- is irregular, as is its use with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29)

Amw- to eat.

amwitə he that eats me 272.19; 274.3, 7, 12 (for -ita [§ 33])

§ 16
á Amwátc then he ate him 274.15 (á—átc [§ 29])

WikiAmwágectc we (excl.) shall eat him 58.11 (wí—ágetc [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

Kádamwí'kAn don't eat me 96.4 (for káta -; -i'kAni [§ 30])

See also 26.10; 58.24; 96.10, 11, 17; 166.3; 266.20; 274.5; 330.22

Anemí- yon way.

Anemíctcág go ahead and hunt for game 294.8 (cíc- from cíc- to hunt for game; -g- [§ 31])

Áhanemapitc there he sat down 352.24 (á—tei [§ 29]; anem- for anemí- [§ 10]; apí- is an initial stem, to sit; -h- [§ 8])

Apti- to sit.

Wikiapitc he shall sit 16.18 (wí—tei [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

Nemenwap I am content to sit down 370.12 (ne- [§ 28]; menw- is an initial stem denoting PLEASURE)

Hapitc let him be seated 370.11 (h- is glide [§ 8] after a final vowel; -tei [§ 31])

Átenitapitc he sat down 172.15 (á—tei [§ 29]; for confusion of b and p see § 3)

See also 370.7, 8, 9; 316.16

Askwi- to save.

Áskwinesátc he saved them from killing 8.12 (á—átc [§ 29]; nes- is an initial stem, TO KILL)

Askunamán I saved it (for áaskunamán; á—amán [§ 29]; -u- for -wí- [§ 12]; -n- [§ 21])

cágw- to be unwilling.

Ácágwánemutc he was unwilling 24.22 (á—tei [§ 29]; -áne- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -w- [§ 40])

Cágwánemów she was unwilling 170.1 (-ó- [§ 40]; -w [§ 28])

See also 14.4; 34.10; 144.11

cawi- to do.

Cawiva he is doing 288.15 (-w [§ 28])

Ácawinic he was doing 322.1 (á—nitei [§ 34])

Ácawigwán what he did 342.4, 5, 8, 10 (á—gwán [§ 32]; my translation is literal)

See also 16.16; 24.20; 66.7; 76.5, 7; 250.7, 9; 280.8, 11; 356.16

cícá- to hunt for game.

Pyátcicícáw he comes hitherward hunting for game 92.7 (pyátc- is an extended form of pyá-, an initial stem denoting MOTION HITHERWARD; -w [§ 28])

§ 16
cicāg to go seek for game 296.2 (cicā- for cicā-, as pyā-ga come ye for pyā-; -g [§ 31])
cicāt he that was hunting for game 38.8 (-t [§ 33])
See also 38.14; 78.15

cim to tell.
    âcimegewartt what they were told 356.14 (â—wātc [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8];
        -gu- [§ 41])
    âcimegurtt what he was told 358.22 (â—tc [§ 29])

hā to go.
    wihawatg they shall go 338.10 (wī- [§ 28]; -wagt [§ 28])
    kih thou wilt go 284.21 (kī- [§ 28])
    wihāpigt it will start 224.4 (wī—w [§ 28]; -migt- [§ 20])
    kihāpwa you will go 20.20 (ki—pw [§ 28]; -ā- for -ār, as in
        kī'pyāpw you will come 20.16)
See also 22.18; 122.11, 18; 170.20; 338.9, 10, 13; 356.15, 17

hawī- to dwell, to be (not the copula).
    hawīqw she is 108.6 (-wa [§ 28])
    āhawītc she remained 10.14 (â—tc [§ 29])
    āhawīt she was 10.18
    hawīqw remain ye 48.23 (-ku for -gw [§ 3]; -g [§ 31])
See also 12.19; 22.20, 21; 68.9

hi- to speak (to).
    hiwq he says 26.12, 14 (-wa [§ 28])
    āhītc he said 26.19, 20, 21 (â—tc [§ 29])
    āhinica tc he was told 26.11 (â—etc [§ 41]; -n- [§ 21])
    āhinātc he said to them 10.6 (â—ātc [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])
See also 8.7, 11, 14, 18; 10.22; 14.6; 16.4; 96.8; 110.9; 216.6; 218.2

i- to say.
    kaciwa what does he say 242.15 (for kac1 iw [§ 10]; -wa [§ 28])

ici- thus.
    wi'icināgusinictt she wished to look thus 104.4 (wi—nictt [§ 29];
        -nāgu- [§ 18]; -si- [§ 20])
    ā'icithāhttc thus she thought in her heart 102.1 (â—tc [§ 29]; ic-
        for ici- [§ 10]; -ītā- [§ 18]; -hā- [§ 20])

kātu- sorrow.
    ā'kātusigánt I felt grieved 158.8 (â—yānt [§ 29]; -si- [§ 20])

kāwā- to crunch.
    ā'kāwāmag he crunched it 124.9 (for ā—mg [§ 29] by contraction
        [§ 10]; -kā- reduplication [§ 25]; -t- [§ 21])

§ 16
änder to cut off.

ä'käkickeecwätācēpē' from them he would cut off both ears 8.13 (for -tēcēpē' [§ 10]; ä—ätecēpē' [§ 29]; -ē [§ 8]; -cē- [§ 18]; -cw- [§ 21])

See also 8.17, 18; 10.4, 5
**Kim-** to feel gently.

ä’kimenätc then he let his hand steal softly over her 322.21 (for ä—ätś [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

wikimenätc* wishing to pass his hand gently over her, he began to feel her 326.5 (-ätś [§ 29]; for the use of wi- with the subjunctive see my note to §29)

**Kini-** to sharpen.

wikinikw̱a he shall sharpen it (a moose-antler in a sacred bundle; hence animate) 106.15 (a future form of a transitive 3rd person subject with 3rd person object; wi—aw̱ see my note [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

ki’kinikw̱aw̱ you shall sharpen him (it) 108.2 (ki—aw̱ [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

ä’kinihilätc* then he sharpened him 108.3 (ä—ätś [§ 29])

wāsinikinikumāyāg̱ made sharp at the point 356.13 (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

**Kip-** to fall.

ä’kipisāntc* then they fell through the air 332.4, 5 (ä—nītc [§ 34]; -isā- from -isā- [§ 19])

**Kisk-** to cut up.

ä’kiskecutc* then he was cut up 166.3 (ä—utc [§ 41]; -e- [§ 8]; -c- [§ 21])

kiskecamwa he cut it off (amwa [§ 28])

**Kiwū-** to turn back.

kiwātāwś let us go back 72.3 (-tāwś [§ 6] for -tāwe [§ 31])

ä’kiwātś then he turned back 94.4 (ä—tś [§ 29])

ä’pemikiwātc so he started to turn back 210.1 (for ä—tś by contraction [§ 10]; pemī- [§ 16])

kiwānǔ go back 208.15 (prolongation of -nu [§ 31])

See also 166.9, 22

**Ku-** to fear.

kusegwa he was feared 56.14 (-s- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gwa [§ 41])

ku’tamwa he feared it 214.20 (-t- [§ 21]; -amwa [§ 28])

See also 120.8; 190.21; 214.1; 284.20

**Kut-** to feel of.

ä’kutenātc* then he felt of her 46.9 (ä—ätś [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

**Maiyū-, Maiyu-** to weep.

maiyamaiyoḥaw̱ it was common for him to make them cry 16.9 (maiya- [§ 25]; -h- [§ 21]; -aw̱ [§ 28])
äwäpimaiyute then he began to weep 330.14 (ä—te[$29]; wäpi-[$16])

See also 12.13; 110.16

mä'kwí- futuere.

ämä'kwíte then he went into her 322.21

See also 56.17; 312.18, 24; 322.23; 324.7, 8, 16, 17

mäná- multitude.

mänáwag many 40.1
äwäpimänáwáte then they began to be numerous 52.9 (ä—wáte[$29]; wäpi- to begin [$16])

See also 52.1; 54.1, 18

mátu-, máto- to plead.

ämämatómeguwáte then they began to be entreated 152.10 (for ä—wáte[$12,29]; mä-[$25]; -m-[$21]; -e-[$8]; -gu-[$41])
ämämatómegute then he began to be pleaded with 162.12 (for ä—tc[$10,29])
ämämatóumegucte he was entreated 184.10

má- futuere.

nepýachteimanaw I have come to have sexual intercourse with her 44.24 (ne—áw[$28]; pyátei- an extended form of pyá- motion HITHERWARD [$16])
ähanemimanáte then he went first into one and then into another 56.14 (ä—áte[$29]; hanemī- to continue to [$16]; -n-[$21])
ämánegute then she had sexual intercourse with 160.20 (really a passive; ä—te[$29]; -n-[$21]; -e-[$8]; -gu-[$41])

mád.1, máli- to overtake.

ämádanequipe then he was overtaken 168.5 (ä—te[$29]; -n-[$21]; -e-[$8]; -gu-[$41])
äpyátcimatanetc they came and overtook him 196.4 (literally, he was overtaken; ä—ete[$41]; pyátei- an extended form of pyá- motion HITHER [$16]; -n-[$21])
aátcimatanetc as many as there were, were overtaken 12.3 (taci-is an initial stem meaning AS MANY AS)

meč- to capture.

wíkaskimecenáte he would be able to capture him 24.6 (wí—áte[$29]; kaski- same as kaski-ability [$16]; -e-[$8]; -n-[$21])
mácenemeté they that had been taken 12.12 (participial [$33]; hence the change in the vowel stem [$11])
aácenemetc they he was captured 14.9 (ä—ete[$41]; -e-[$8]; -n-[$21])

§16
mecenenagutce let us be captured 14.5
See also 14.7; 20.18; 182.11

meci- large.

mecime tegu a large tree 162.6
ämeciketenäntcit how large she was at the vulva 46.10; 322.21
(än—nitcit [§ 34])

mecu- to strike with a missile.
ämecugutcit when he was struck by a missile (än—iccit [§ 29]; -gu-
[§ 41])
mäcugwinicit it hit him (-gwinicit [§ 34])
The construction at 94.18 is difficult.

megu- together.
ähäneimgusögisowätc they continued on their way bound
26.4 (for ä—wätc [§ 29] in accordance with § 10;
häneni- to continue to [§ 16]; sögi- is an initial stem, to
bind; -so- [§ 40])

mèk- to find out.
ämekawai tc then she found him 160.15 (än—ättcit [§ 29]; -a- [§ 1];
-w- [§ 21])
nëmekawai wagi I have found them 94.13 (for ne—wägcit [§ 28] by
contraction [§ 10])
ämekawai tucit he was found 146.11 (for ä—uchtcit [§ 41])
ämekametic it was found 146.13 (for ä—ametic [§ 41])
See also 122.7, 13, 20; 334.10

mèkw- to remember.
me'kwënemikanth thou shalt think of me 188.8 (-änë- [§ 18]; -m-
[§ 21]; -i'kant [§ 30])
ämekwënemètcit then he remembered him 328.18 (for ä—ättcit
[§ 29])
See also 76.19; 138.7; 352.12

menw- to take pleasure in.
menwënetiamágutt you may prefer it 32.15 (-änë- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21];
-iamágutt [§ 29])
nemenwäpitu I like to sit 370.10 (ne- [§ 28]; api- to sit)
nemenwënetati I prefer it 136.3, 4 (ne—a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21])
mänwënetatitu he that preferred it 136.5
mänwënetatitu he that preferred it 138.2' (participial; hence the
change of the stem-vowel [§ 12]; -atitu [§ 33])
mänwënemätCitit she whom he loved 148.7 (participial; -m- [§ 21];
-ättcitit [§ 33])
See also 66.17; 136.13; 138.3; 176.12; 336.4

§ 16
mes- to derive real benefit.

wîmesânetamâgw* ye shall derive real benefit from it 32.12
(wi—amâgw* [§ 29]; -âne- [§ 19]; -t- [§ 21])

metawii- to sulk.

înâmetawâwâtc then they sulked 30.9 (for în* â- [§ 10]; â—wâtc [§ 29])
mâtawâtcig* they that sulk at him 30.12 (participial; hence the vowel-change [§ 12]; -âtcig* [§ 33])

See also Title 30; and 30.10

metâ- to take pleasure in.

nemêtalâneta* I am pleased with it 324.16 (ne—o [§ 28]; -t- [§ 8]; -âne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])

metâtalânema*nin* don't you take delight in it 324.15 (-anini [§ 29]; -n* [§ 29])

mî- to give.

mînenagâ*a I would give to thee 58.23 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -nagâ*a [§ 30])
kîmîneguwâw*a he shall give you 32.13 (kî—guwâw*a [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])
mînegutcin* they (inan.) that were given to him 24.28 (gu- [§ 41]; -tcin* [§ 34])

See also 24.23; 222.19, 20, 25

mic- to give.

miciyâgâgu*a you might give to him 32.11 (-iyâgâgu*a [§ 30])

mîgâ- to fight.

âmîgâtitc* he fought with 14.4 (â—tc* [§ 29]; -ti- [§ 38])
awâpîmîgâtitwâtc* when they began fighting with each other 22.18
(â— probably an error for â-; â—wâtc* [§ 29]; wâpi- [§ 16] to begin; -ti- [§ 38])
wâpîmîgâtitwâtc* they began fighting with each other 34.8 (â—
dropped [§ 12])
wîmîgâtitc* he would fight with them 24.23 (for wî—tc* [§ 29])
wîmîgâtiyân* you will fight 24.25 (wî—yân* [§ 29])

See also 24.26

mîsî- cacare.

âmîsîtc* when he eased himself 76.5 (â—tc* [§ 29])
nîmis* I am about to ease myself 274.15, 16 (nî- [§ 28])

misimisisâ one would ease and keep on easing 272.20; 274.4, 8, 13 (reduplication [§ 25]; -sâ lengthened form of -sa [§ 30])

See also 274.20, 21; 276.10

§ 16
mútcí- cacère.

āmítcinátcí then he dunged on him 124.22 (mútcí- is related to músi- as pótcí- to pósi-; á-átcí [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])
kícimítcinátcí after he had dunged on him 124.22 (kící- for kící- completion; á- dropped [§ 12]; -átcí for -átcí [§ 10])

mútcí- to eat.

kémítci thou hast eaten 122.3 (ke- [§ 28])

āmítcitcí then he ate 14.23

wímítcitcí*e she was on the point of eating 96.3 (-te' [§ 29]; for the use of wi- with the subjunctive see my note, p. 823)
mítcinw eat thou 174.18 (-n*w [§ 31])

See also 174.19; 184.16; 240.7, 18; 336.2; 374.18

musuw- to suspect.

āmuswánemáwátctcí they suspected them 150.14 (ā-āwátctcí [§ 29]; -áne- [§ 18]; -n- [§ 21])
muswánemáwaw he suspects him (-m- [§ 21]; āw* [§ 28])

nahí- to know how.

nahiwísweníwátcincí they did not know how to eat 76.3 (ā- omitted on account of the negative; -n*t [§ 29]; -wátcí [§ 29]; wíswéni- to eat)

winahuwíswíyánctcí I desire to know how to get a wife 334.13 (wí- yánctcí [§ 29]; for the syntax see § 35; nahí- for nahi- by contraction [§ 10]; uwísw- to marry)

See also 336.3

nawí- to visit.

nínawílahwawaw I am going to visit him 228.1; 238.21; 244.12; 256.1; 262.20 (ní-āw* [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

winawíhetiwágl* they will go visiting one another 242.5 (wi- for wí- used with intransitive independent future [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -ti- [§ 38]; -wágl* [§ 28])

ná- to fetch.

kepýätcinánen* I have come to take you away 40.12; 42.18; 44.1 (ke-nt* [§ 28]; pyätcí- an extended form of pyä- motion hitherward; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])

nepýätcinánawaw I have come to take her away 42.4 (ne-āw* [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21])

nepýätcinánápendaw we have come to take him away 58.8 (ne-āpendaw [§ 28])

náta wúk* go and fetch him away 58.7 (-t- [§ 8]; awu- same as āwá-, awá- [?]; 'k* [§ 31])

náne'k* go fetch her 354.15 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; 'k* [§ 31])

See also 40.7; 42.1; 46.22; 58.8

§ 16
näct- to caress.

ämäctepämätc they caressed her head with his hand 188.4, 9 (ä—ätc' [§ 29]; tepä head; -n- [§ 21])

nägä-, naga- to sing.

äcinägätc thus he sang 110.18 (ä—tc' [§ 29]; ci for ići thoug)
äcinäganite he sang 110.16 (ä—nitci [§ 34])
änagamanutc then he sang 10.19; 110.18 (ä—tc' [§ 29]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40])
pyätcinagamanutc he came singing 350.6
äkiwänagamanutc he went about singing 350.15 (ä—ntci [§ 34]; -m- [§§ 27, 31]; -u- [§ 40]; kiwi- an extended form of ki- [§ 16] movement in an indefinite direction; [Jones's translation is free])

See also 110.13

nägwä- to depart.

wängwàyagwe (incl.) should depart 62.23 (for wi—yagw* [§ 29])
änägwävätetc then they started on 138.14 (ä—wätc' [§ 29])
nägwägöna now depart 170.6
wängwävädünc (who) should depart 194.9 (wä—gänf [§ 32])
nägwäväpe he would go away 312.22 (for nägwäwä apé* [§ 10]; -wa [§ 28]; nägwä- is presumably more original than nägwä-. cf. äpyäväetc when they came [from pyä-] and my note § 11)

See also 44.16; 138.9, 11; 170.8

nä- to see.

änätag then he saw it, them 38.8; 202.11; 240.1; 266.5; 278.1 (ä—g' [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21]; derived from näd-? [see § 12])

näsiü- whole, well.

wänsähag I shall make them well, I shall heal them 356.5 (wä—ag' [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])
wänsähawä she shall heal them 356.6 (-awä [§ 28]; note the irregular use of wi- as a sign of the future with the independent mode transitive; note further that this is a future with a 3d person subject and 3d person object; see my note to § 28; -h- [§ 21])
näsäte would that he were alive 12.14 (-t'- [§ 29])

See also 116.17; 158.13, 16

näw-, nä‘u to see.

wäwäp they are seen 72.15 (-ap' [§ 41])
änäwärwätetc they saw him 198.2 (for ä—wätetc [§ 29])

§ 16
näwägetcin⁴ we have not seen them 198.7 (ä- omitted because of the negative; -ägetci, -n⁴ [§ 29])
näwägwin did ye not see them 198.4 (for -ägwin⁴ by contraction [§ 10]; ä- dropped; -ägwi for -ägwer; -n⁴ [§ 29])
änau'gute she was seen 162.22 (for ä—tc⁴ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -gu- [§ 41])
näwutiwätcin⁴ whenever they see one another 276.16 (for nā'u; -w- is a glide [§ 8]; -ti- [§ 38]; the form is a participial; ä is left out before wätcin⁴ [-äwätcin⁴] [§ 33] because -ti- really represents the objects exactly as in äwäpimägatiwätc⁴ 22.18 [for the analysis see under mäga-])

See also 38.11; 80.5, 16; 182.15; 276.14; 288.14; 340.6

nänã- ready.
nänähawigö⁴ get ready 22.20 (hawi- to be; -gö⁴ for -g⁴ [§ 6]; -g⁴ [§ 31])
nänähawgin⁴ get ready 44.1 (-n⁴ [§ 31])

näto-, nätu- to ask, summon.
änatomegutc⁴ she was summoned 146.15 (ä—tc⁴ [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])
tcägänatotäwic⁴ all asked each other 60.13 (for tcäg⁴ all + ä- [§ 10]; ä—wätc⁴ [§ 29]; -ti- [§ 38])
nepyätec'natumänö⁴ I have come to summon him 200.1 (ne—äw⁴ [§ 28]; pyätc⁴— an extended form of pyä- [§ 16] motion hitherto; -m- [§ 21])
wätcinatomenäg⁴ why we (excl.) asked thee 336.11 (wätc- from utci- [§ 16] whence [see § 11]; -m- [§ 21], -e- [§ 8]; -näg⁴ [§ 29])

See also 40.5; 60.15; 240.7; 336.10, 13; 338.6, 7; 342.3, 6, 9; 366.19; 368.2, 13, 20, 22; 372.21

nem¹-, nema- perpendicularity.
nemasun⁴ stand up 48.17 (-su- [§ 40]; -n⁴ [§ 31])
emäsöw⁴ he is standing up (-sö- [§ 40]; -w⁴ [§ 28]; the explanation in § 8 is wrong)
emäton⁴ hang (it) up 240.5; 242.12 (-t- [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; -n⁴ [§ 31])
emäsöw⁴ he stood 216.9

See also 48.18; 50.1, 9; 52.5; 54.3; 112.21; 238.3; 278.2

nep- to die.
nepetc⁴ may he die 68.14 (-e- [§ 8]; -tc⁴ [§ 31])
kinep⁴ you shall die 68.17, 20 (kï- [§ 28])
nepege⁴ he had to die 158.16 (inanimate; for -ke⁴ [§ 29]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])

§ 16
nepwə he dies 332.18, 20 (-wə [§ 28])
nepeniywan she had died 208.20 (for -niwan′ [§ 34] by contraction
[§ 10])

See also 34.5; 114.16, 17, 20, 25, 26; 116.2, 3, 8; 158.15

nepë-, nepä- to sleep.

ke‘tciñepepawə he is sound asleep 284.19 (ke‘tci- intensity; -wə
[§ 28])
nepägwân′ he must have slept 306.11 (ā for ā, as in pyâtc′ let
him come, etc.; -gwân′ [§ 32])
änepâtc′ he fell asleep 324.19 (ā—tc′ [§ 29])
kînegpâpenə let you and I go to sleep 324.18 (prolongation by
stress [§ 6] of ki—penə [§ 28])

See also 10.19; 284.3, 5, 24

nes- to kill.

nesegusə he would have been slain 168.13 (-e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41];
-sə [§ 30])
kînesâpenə let us (incl.) slay him 94.7 (ki—âpenə [§ 28])
\[\text{See also 8.2, 3, 7, 12, 17; 10.3; 14.1; 26.13, 16; 350.2, 17}\]

neski- to loathe, feel contempt for.

neskinamusə he felt contempt for them 168.19 (-n- [§ 21]; -amusə
[§ 28])
äneskinuwânite′ he loathed him on that account 66.17 (ā—ānite′
[§ 34])

neneskinawawə I loathe him on account of 68.14 (ne—awə [§ 28])
äneskinawâtc′ because you loathe him 68.17, 20 (ā—tc′ [§ 29])
kîneskimawawə you shall scold at him 284.4 (literally, you shall
loathe him with your tongue; ki—awaw [§ 28]; -m- [§ 21])
äneskimegutc′ he was scolded 60.8 (ā—tc′ [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; -e-
[§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

See also 314.11; 330.23

nigi- to be born.

änigite′ he was born 18.4

nimi- to dance.

nānîmihetiwâtc′ they had a great time dancing together 18.12
(nā- [§ 25]; -h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; ā- dropped [§ 12]; -wâtc′ [§ 29])
kînimipenə′ let us (incl.) dance 132.29 (the form is peculiar;
-penə′ evidently comes from -penu [§ 6]; ki—penu is closely

§ 16
related to *ki—*pena [§ 28]; perhaps the *-a* has been split into a diphthong [§ 6])

\[kíte'cínimíp\] ye shall dance 280.17 (*kí—*p\[w\] [§ 28]; *ké'ci—*intensity)

See also 134.17; 220.15; 282.1, 3, 12

\[nás-\] to reach and take down.

\[ánísens\] he reached up and took it down 320.22 (*a—*sg [§ 29]; *-e* [§ 8]; *-n- [§ 21])

See also 160.17; 352.15

\[nón-, nán-\] to suck.

\[wínón\] it (animate) shall suck 106.12 (*wi- [§ 28])

See also 104.9; 106.11, 14; 196.13

\[nōta-, nōdd-\] to hear.

\[ánōtavātc\] when he heard him 110.16 (*a—*ātc [§ 29]; *-w- [§ 21])

nōdāgānītc\[c\] when he heard 146.14 (*gā- [§ 20]; *-nītc [§ 34])

\[nūcī-\] to give birth to.

\[ánūcānītc\] she bore him 38.5 (*a—*ātc [§ 29]; *-n- [§ 21])

See also 38.4; 74.9, 10, 12, 15; 152.14

\[nūvī-, nūvī-\] out.

\[nūvī'kāg\] don't go out 12.4 (*'kāg [§ 30])

nūvīw\[a\] he went out 160.10

\[ánūwine'kavātc\] he drove them out 94.16 (for *a—*ātc [§ 29]; *ne'ka- [§ 19]; *-w- [§ 21])

nōwinōvīw\[a\] many a time he went out 160.10 (*nōvī- [§ 25]; *-w\[a\] [§ 28])

\[nūvī'gāvātcināpe\] they continually went out to fight 12.5 (*nūvī- for *nūvī [§ 12]; *-wātc [§ 29]; *-n- [§ 8]; *-āpe\[c\] [§ 14])

See also 10.25; 12.7; 38.13; 162.9, 10

\[pa'k-\] to pluck.

\[āpa'kenātc\] then he plucked it 274.14 (*a—*ātc [§ 29]; *-e- [§ 8]; *-n- [§ 21])

\[pa'nā\] to miss.

\[ā'pa'nanātc\] he failed to catch him 282.17

\[ātcipanāpinātc\] where he failed to catch him 282.21

panāhūw\[a\] he missed hitting him (*-hw- [§ 21]; *-w\[a\] [§ 28])

\[pa'nātālakānt\] you must have let it fall astray 230.11 (*t- [§ 21]; *-kānt\[c\] for *-agānt [§ 30]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

See also 180.19; 382.7

§ 16
p̣ạg̣ạ-, p̣ạgị- to strike.

*wạ̈p̣ạg̣ạṃạ̈ṭẹ* 170.22 she was on the point of clubbing him to death (for *wạ̈—äṭẹ* [§ 29]; *ṃ-* [§ 21]; *p̣ạ̈-* [§ 25])

*ḍp̣ạg̣ạṃæ̣g̣ụṭẹ* she was clubbed to death 164.2 (*ṃ-* [§ 21]; *ẹ-* [§ 8]; *gụ-* [§ 41]; *ḍ—ṭẹ* [§ 29])

p̣ạg̣ịṣẹnẉṭ it struck (*ṣẹṇ-* [§ 20]; *ẉṭ* [§ 28])

*ịṇḍạp̣ạg̣ịc̣ịg̣* it lighted over there 282.19 (for *ịṇṭ—ậ*— [§ 10]; *g̣ṭ* for *-ḳṭ* [§ 3]; *ậ—ḳṭ* [§ 29]; *c̣ṭ*— [§ 10] for *-c̣ṇ*— [§ 20]; note the contradiction: *-c̣ṇ* is animate; *-ḳṭ* inanimate)

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

p̣ạg̣ụ- ahead.

p̣ạg̣ụṣụṣạg̣* walk on ahead 338.18, 340.1 (*-ṣ*— [§ 8]; *uṣạ-* [§ 19]; *-g̣* [§ 31])

p̣ạg̣ụṣụṣạṇ* walk thou on ahead 340.4 (*-ṇ* [§ 31])

p̣ạg̣ụṣụḥẉẉạ*ṿạ he makes him run (literally, he makes him go forward; *-ḥẉ*— [§ 21]; *-aẉ* [§ 28])

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

p̣ạṃẉ-, p̣ẹṃẉụ- to shoot.

*ḍp̣ẹṃẉạ̈ṭẹ* he shot him 22.23 (*ạ̈—äṭẹ* [§ 29])

ḍp̣ẹṃẉạg̣* when I am shooting at them 116.24 (*ạ̈—ẉạg̣* [§ 29])

ẉṭịp̣ẹṃẉụṭạṃạ̈ṇ* I shall shoot at it 118.3, 5 (*ẉị—ạṃạ̈ṇ* [§ 29]; *ṭ—* [§ 21])

p̣ẹṃụṭạṃạẉịṇụ shoot him for me 204.9 (*ṭ*— [§ 8]; *ṇụ* for *-ṇ* [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 6]; *ạṃạẉ-* is the same as *ạṃạẉ-* in *ṇạ̈ṭạṃạẉụṿạ* *ð̣ṣạṇ*— [literally, he saw him who was father to another; see § 34]; loss of *-ẉ*— [§ 12])

See also 22.22; 118.8, 13; 204.1; 248.2, 5, 8, 14

p̣ẹṇụ-, p̣ẹṇọ- to go homeward, depart.

ẉṭịp̣ẹṇụỵạ̈ṇ* I am going home 232.23, 256.14 (*ẉị—ỵạ̈ṇ* [§ 29])

*ḍp̣ỵạ̈ṭịc̣ẹp̣ẹṇụṭẹ* then he came back home 18.1 (*ạ̈—ṭẹ* [§ 29]; *p̣ỵạ̈ṭịc̣ẹ*— an extended form of *p̣ỵạ̈-* [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD)

ṇịp̣ẹṇọ I am going home 266.20 (*ṇị— [§ 28])

ḳịp̣ẹṇọp̣ẹṇạ let us go home 304.18 (*ḳị—p̣ẹṇ* [§ 28])

See also 68.24; 160.3; 168.11, 15; 220.9, 14; 224.9, 6, 15; 252.12

p̣ẹṣẉ- to smoke out.

ḳịp̣ẹṣẉạ̈p̣ẹṇạ let us smoke them out 142.10 (*ḳị—ạ̈p̣ẹṇ* [§ 28])

p̣ạṣẉạ̈ṭẹc̣ị they whom he was smoking out 142.16 (*ạ̈ṭẹc̣ị*— [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel)

p̣ẹṭạẉị- to kindle a fire.

*ḍp̣ẹṭạẉạṣụṿạṭẹ* they kindled a fire to warm themselves 138.10 (*-ṣụ-* [§ 40])
åwápipe'tawatc then he set to work to kindle a fire 142.8 (for ä—tc' [§ 29]; wápi- [§ 16] to begin)
danemipe'tawätc' he kept on building the fire 142.13 (hanemi-
same as hanemi- [§ 16])
pe'tawäkapä kindle a fire 158.20 (-kä for -gä [§ 31]; confusion of
g and k [§ 3])
önäketcipetawätc' accordingly they built a large fire 158.21 (for
önätä- [§ 10]; ä—wätc' [§ 29]; ketci- intensity)
See also 142.11; 146.4; 158.21

pín- entrance into.

pinahwin* put me into 96.13 (-a- [§ 8]; -hw- [§ 21]; -in* [§ 31];
pín- is allied to pí-(t) [§ 16])

pinahmän' I put it in (ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä—amän' [§ 29]; -a-
[§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
ä'pinahwätc' he put him into 326.17 (ä—ätc' [§ 29])

pög- to fall.
ätcapögisäni the she fell far out there 102.17 (for -nitc' [§ 34]; ä'tca-
probably is to be divided into ä-+'tea-; 'tea- is tea- by reason
of ä-; tea- is allied with a'tetcä- distant; -isä- is from -isä-
[§ 19] MOTION THROUGH THE AIR)

poku-, pök- to break.
ä'papókuskahwätc he kept on breaking them with his foot 14.5
(for ä—ätc' [§ 29 and § 10]; pa- [§ 25]; -sk-[§ 21]; -a- [§ 8]; -hw-
[§ 21])

kepó'kahapwa you break it open 176.9 (ke—apwa [§ 28]; -a- [§ 8];

-h- [§ 21])

wipó'kahäg' one shall break it open 176.8 (wi—AG' [§ 29]; -a- [§ 8];

-h- [§ 21])

See also 14.8; and compare ä'pwáwikaskkipapakunag' he
was not able to break it 126.3 (ä—AG' [§ 29]; pwáwi-
not; kaski- same as kaski- [§ 16] ability; pä- [§ 25]; -n-
[§ 21])

pöst- entrance into.

äposéitöwawätc they loaded it into 212.22 (for ä—awätc' [§ 29];
-tö- [§ 37]; -w- [§ 8])
kicietçägipösiitöwätc after they had loaded it into 212.23 (ä-
dropped [§ 12]; kici- [§ 16] completion; teägi- [§ 16] totality:
-wätc' [§ 29])

äposétc' he got into it 214.2 (ä—tc' [§ 29])

See also 214.21; 224.12, 17

§ 16
poʻte(t) - entrance into (allied to pōsī- [see § 8])

ā'poʻtci'sahuteʻ then he leaped into 164.15 (ā—tc‘i [§ 29]; -isahu-
same as -isahō [§ 19] to jump; -i of poʻte- lost [§ 10])
poʻtci'sahowā then he leaped into 164.16 (-wa [§ 28])
āpoʻtci'sahowāteʻ then they embarked into 214.15 (−isaho- same as
-isahō- [§ 19]; ā—wāteʻ [§ 29])

Sanə- difficult.

Sanəgatwē it is difficult 280.8 (-gat- same as -gat-)
Sanəgatwē it is difficult 280.12, 16; 332.17 (-gat-[§ 20]; -wē [§ 28])
Sanəga'kin it is not difficult 284.17 (nī, -ki [§ 29]; -ga- [cf. § 20])
See also 172.22

Säge- fear.

Sägesiwa he was afraid 168.14 (-si- [§ 20]; -wā [§ 28])
āsägesiyanī I am scared 312.14 (ā—yānī [§ 29])
āsāghiyā'kan you might frighten her 312.16 (−h- [§ 21]; -iyā'kanī
[§ 30])
See also 336.8, 12; 344.7, 17; 346.1, 10

Sıgacite, sīgacite- to freeze.

āsīgaciteʻ when he froze to death 138.14
kicisigaciteʻ after the other froze 138.15 (ā- dropped [§ 12];
kici-[§ 16] completion; ā-nīteʻ [§ 34])

Sōgi- to bind.

āsōgisowāte they were bound with cords 26.3 (ā—wāteʻ [§ 29]; -so-
[§ 40])
āsōgihāte he bound her 140.7 (for ā—teʻ [§ 29 and § 10]; -h- [§ 21])
āsōgisoyān where I am bound 106.17 (ā- dropped [§ 12]; -sō-
[§ 40]; -yānī [§ 29])
āsōgi'īoteʻ he tied a knot 334.16 (ā—teʻ [§ 29]; -tō- [§ 37])
See also 26.22; 108.6; 146.2; 338.21

tāg-, tāg- to touch.

ātāgenāte he touched her 46.2 (for ā—teʻ [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
ākici'tāgātamōwāte‘ after they have touched it 184.18 (for ā—amo-
wāteʻ [§ 29]; kici- [§ 16] completion; -a- same as -e- [§ 8]l;
-t- [§ 21])
āmāwitāgā'kwāhag then he went to touch it with a wooden pole
196.10 (ā—agʻ [§ 29]; māwi- [§ 16] to go to; ā'kw- [§ 18]; -ā-
for -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
ātāgeskag then he stamped on it 158.2 (ā—agʻ [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8];
-sk- [§ 21])
See also 158.5; 194.13; 194.19; 330.13

§ 16
\textit{taci}- as many as, number (cf. \textit{taswi}).

\textit{medåswätatciciwätci} the number was ten 164.4 (for \textit{medåsw} ten [§ 50] + \textit{t} [§ 10]; \textit{a}—\textit{wätci} [§ 29])

\textit{ätatciwätci} as many as there were 166.3

Possibly in the following passages \textit{taci}- is to be explained in the same way, though this is not apparent from Dr. Jones's somewhat free translation: 90.12; 108.6; 110.4; 150.17; 152.20; 164.4; 166.3; 244.13; 336.9; 346.21. It is quite clear that \textit{taci}- is in some way connected with \textit{taswi}-, as is shown by \textit{ämåtciwätci} \textit{t}HE \textit{W}ERE 78.14, as compared with \textit{medåswätatciciwätci} \textit{THE NUMBER WAS TEN} 164.4 (for \textit{medåsw} \textit{ä}- [§ 10]). The word for ten is \textit{medåsw} [§ 50]. For the interchange of \textit{s} and \textit{c}, see § 9; and for the loss of the second member of a consonant-cluster, § 12.

\textit{tagwi}- together.

\textit{tagwi} 10.2 together with

\textit{ätåtagwimecenateci} they were taken captive together 26.3 (\textit{ä}—\textit{etc} [§ 41]; \textit{mec}- to capture; \textit{e}— [§ 8]; \textit{n}— [§ 21])

\textit{tagwipänetätäw} the land was owned in common 34.1 (\textit{äne}- [§ 18]; \textit{w}— [§ 28])

\textit{ätåtagwinstometc} they were asked together 338.7 (\textit{ä}—\textit{etc} [§ 41]; \textit{nato}- to ask; \textit{m}— [§ 21])

\textit{witåguswage} that I should have put them together and cooked them 158.8 (\textit{wi}- irregularly used with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29; \textit{age} [§ 29]; \textit{u} for \textit{wi} [§ 12]; \textit{sw}- for \textit{su}— [§ 20])

See also 178.8; 372.17

\textit{tan}-, \textit{täv} to engage in.

\textit{ki'tanetipena} let us make a bet together 296.18 (literally, \textit{let us engage in an activity together}; hence, by inference, \textit{gamble}; \textit{ki}—\textit{pena} [§ 28]; \textit{e}— [§ 8]; \textit{ti}— [§ 38])

\textit{ätanetetc} he was gambling 314.6 (\textit{ä}—\textit{tc} [§ 29])

\textit{tanwäwämäwa} he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; \textit{m}— [§ 21]; \textit{aw}— [§ 28])

\textit{tanwäwätäw} he bangs away on it (\textit{t}—\textit{w} [§ 21, 37]; \textit{w}— [§ 28])

\textit{ätanwä'taminetc} cries were sounded 192.3 (\textit{ä}—\textit{nitec} [§ 34]; \textit{wä}- sound)

\textit{ätanenetetc} in the thick of the fight 168.1 (\textit{ä}— as ordinarily; \textit{e}— [§ 8]; \textit{n}— [§ 21]; \textit{ti}— [§ 38]; \textit{g} locative suffix [§ 42]; the context alone suggests the idea of \textit{fighting})

\textit{ähänemi'tanuswetc} as he continued to engage in walking 48.20 (\textit{ä}—\textit{tc} [§ 29]; \textit{hanemi}- [§ 16] to continue to; \textit{usä}— [§ 19] to walk)

See also 190.13, 23

§ 16
tāp- to place trust in.

netāpānem⁸ I put my trust in 190.15 (ne- [§ 28]; -āne- [§ 18]; -m- [§ 21]; -u [§ 40])

tāswi- as many as, as much as, number.

ātāswipyānitcin⁴ as many as came 8.9 (why ā- is used, is not clear: pyā- from pyā- [§ 16] motion hitherward; -nitcin⁴ [§ 34])

inātāswihate⁴ and hast thou included as many as there are 298.16 (for in¹ ā- [§ 10]; in¹ [§ 47]; -h- [§ 21]; ā—ste⁴ [§ 29])

tāsw⁴ the number 20.7
taswicōniyā⁴ is the amount of money 34.16

īnitāswi that is the number 252.9 (īnī [§ 47])

See also 8.14; 18; 10.5; 20.11; 32.13; 76.16; 246.21; 312.17; 21; 358.6; 374.3

tāpwe- to speak the truth.

ketāpwe⁸ you were telling the truth 24.15; 322.9 (ke- [§ 28])

wītāpwayān⁴ I desire to speak the truth 324.13 (wī—yān⁴ [§ 29])

See also 322.16

tēip- to nudge softly.

āwāpitcīpenāte⁴ then he began to nudge her softly with the finger 320.7 (ā—āte⁴ [§ 29]; wāpi- [§ 16] to begin; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

ātcīcīpetcīnāte⁴ he gave her a nudge in the side 44.1 (ā—āte⁴ [§ 29]; -tcī- [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -tcā- [§ 18]; -n- [§ 21])

tēig(t)- edge.

tcīgāskut⁴ on the edge of the prairie 126.7

tcīgike'tcīgumīw⁴ by the shore of the sea 350.5 (ke'tcī- intensity; -gum- = -k-Arn-[§ 18])

tcīgike'tcīkamīw⁴ on the shore of the sea 100.14 (ke'tcī- intensity; -kam- [§ 18]; -i- same as -i- [§ 20]; -w⁴ for -w⁵ [§ 28]; literal translation, it was the edge of the great expanse)

See also 68.11; 110.7; 124.2

tcīt- down.

ātcītapisahute⁴ there he sprang and crouched 188.15 (ā—tcī [§ 29]; -isahu- same as -isahō- [§ 19]; apisahu- for api + isahu- [§ 10]; apī- to sit [there he sprang and sat down is literal])

ā'tcītapiwāte⁴ there they sat down 190.14 (ā—wāte⁴ [§ 29])

See also 332.13; 352.15

tē- to say.

netegōp⁴ I am called 12.19 (ne—gōp⁴ [§ 41])

netegw⁸ I was told 108.7 (ne—gw⁸ [§ 41])

keten⁴ I told thee 190.18 (ke—n⁴ [§ 28])

netenōw⁴ I said to him 216.5 (ne—ōw⁴ [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21])

§ 16
netegóg⁴ they call me 322.12 (ne—góg⁴ [§ 28])
ketenepew⁴ I declared to you 346.2, 10; 358.23 (ke—nepw⁴ [§ 28])
ketekuwāw⁴ he has told you 370.12 (ke—guwāw⁴ [§ 28]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])
keteneyōw⁴ I told thee before 110.5 (for keten⁴ iyōw⁴; iyōw⁴ aforesight)

tepā⁵ to be fond of, to love.
ketepānena⁴ I am fond of thee 314.4 (ke—n⁴ [§ 28]; -n⁴ [§ 21]; -e⁴ [§ 8])
ātepānsta⁴ thou art fond of them 276.19 (ā—stc⁴ [§ 29]; -n⁴ [§ 21])
tepānaw⁴ she was fond of them 170.1 (-n⁴ [§ 21]; -aw⁴ [§ 28])
tāpānata⁴ she whom you love 150.1 (-n⁴ [§ 21]; -ata⁴ [§ 33]; change of the stem-vowel, as the form is a participial)
See also 148.2, 5; 190.18; 174.3

tepowā⁵ to hold council.
kicitepōwāwātc⁴ after they had ended their council 338.5 (kici—[§ 16] completion; ā— dropped [§ 12]; ā—wātc⁴ [§ 29]; it is likely -vā—is identical with vā sound in § 20)
ātepōwāntc⁴ he was debated in council 338.4 (ā—etc⁴ [§ 41]; -n⁴ [§ 21]; -ā—for -ā—as in acicātc⁴ THEN HE WENT OFF ON A HUNT; ā'pyātc⁴ WHEN HE CAME; etc.)
See also 336.8, 9

tes⁴ to trap.
kiteso'tawāpena let us set a trap for it 78.3 (kī—āpena [§ 28])
tesōtc⁴ trap (-ōtc— [§ 23])

tō'k(ī)— state of being awake.
tō'kig⁴ wake up 46.15 (-g⁴ [§ 31])
ātō'kīyān⁴ when I wake up 284.1
tō'kīcā he might wake up 284.18 (for tō'kitce probably; -tee [§ 31])
ātō'kītc⁴ then he woke up 126.1
āmāwitō'kenātc then he went and woke him up 104.15 (ā—ātc⁴ [§ 29]; māwi [§ 16] to go; -e⁴ [§ 8]; -n⁴ [§ 21])
See also 40.18; 44.6, 7; 104.18

uwōw(ī)— to marry.
uwōwiyanehe⁴ if it had been you who married 216.16 (-yanhe⁴, really -yane⁴ [§ 29])
āhuwīwictc⁴ then he married 216.20 (ā—tc⁴ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])
kīhuwīwenen⁴ I shall marry you 148.19 (kī—n⁴ [§ 28]; -h- [§ 8]; -e⁴ [§ 8]; -m⁴ [§ 21]; -e⁴ [§ 8])
uwīw⁴ wife
See also 42.4; 44.13; 82.2; 148.8; 200.13, 18; 216.13, 16, 20

§ 16
(u)wïgi-, (u)wïge- to dwell.

wïgï¿½ he lives 220.22 (-w¿ [§ 28])

àwïginic¿ where he dwelt 160.15 (à—nitc¿ [§ 34])

d'kïwi'úwïgewâtic¿ they went in an indefinite direction and lived there 66.15 (à—wâtic¿ [§ 29]; kïwi motion in an indefinite direction; cf. ki- [§ 16])

wâwïgï¿½ he who dwells 38.9 (from uwïgi-; the change of the stem-vowel is due to the fact that the form is a participial [§§ 12, 33]; -t¿ [§ 33])

wâwïgingic¿ he who dwelt there 80.9, 20; 82.2, 10, 22; 84.10, 21, etc. (for the change of the stem-vowel see §§ 12, 33; -nitcing¿ [§ 34])

wâwïgingic¿¿ they who dwell here 194.7 (-tci¿ [§ 33])

âhuwïginic¿ where they were living 194.5, 18 (à—nitc¿ [§ 34]; -hu- is not an accretion, it is to be divided into -h-+u- [see my note on this point, § 8])

See also 10.5; 38.7; 160.14; 320.3; etc.

wani- to lose.

åwanihâtec¿ he lost him 182.12 (à—âtec¿ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

watal- to cook.

åwatcâhâtec¿ then she cooked a meal 240.12 (à—âtec¿ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wïwatcâhâgwc¿ we (incl.) shall cook for him 256.8 (wï—âgwc¿ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wïwutcâhawâwânc¿ shall we cook for him 260.15 (indirect question; wi—wagwan¿ [§ 32]; confusion of ' and ' unless wi- is used unusually with the subjunctive; -h- [§ 21]; -a- [§ 8])

See also 152.20, 21; 228.7; 232.3; 234.22; 244.7; 248.21; 262.8; 264.3; 266.1

wâpa- to look at.

kîwâpatâpen¿ let us look into it 24.8 (kî—âpen¿ [§ 28]; -t¿ [§ 21])

åwâpamâtec¿ he looked at her 46.7 (à—âtec¿ [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21])

wâpamin¿ look at me 322.3 (-m- [§ 21]; -in¿ [§ 31])

See also 104.13, 19; 146.7, 9; 250.8; 316.20; 338.7

wid- to implore.

åwicâmegutc he was implored 182.5 (for à—tc¿ [§ 29, also § 10]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gw- [§ 41])

winani- to flay and cut up.

winanï¿½ cut it up 58.2, 3; 162.13 (-h- [§ 21]; -i- [§ 31])

§ 16
Åwînânihiâtc after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (â—tc[§ 29]; \\
-ht[§ 21])

Kîcîwînânihiâtc after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (â-
dropped [§ 12]; kîcî—[§ 16] completion)

Wîne- filthy.

Wînesiwâ she is filthy 292.15 (-si—[§ 20]; -wâ[§ 28])

See also 320.3

Wîsenî- to eat.

Wîwisenîwâg they shall eat 8.11 (-wâg[§ 28]; wi- used because
the form is intransitive [§ 28])

Kìwisenî thou wilt eat 26.7 (kî- [§ 28])

Åwîsenîte then he ate 240.13 (â—tc[§ 29])

See also 14.18; 196.16, 20

Yd- to go.

Åyâwâte* that they went 72.2 (â- unexpected with the sub-
junctive, but see my note to § 29; -wâte*[§ 29])

Åyâmiga*kî it went 224.17 (â—'kî[§ 29]; -miga- [§§ 33, 20; cf. § 28])

Åyâwâtec they went 166.5 (for â—wâtec[§ 29])

See also 72.3; 176.20; 200.21; 262.2

SECONDARY STEMS (§§ 17-20)

§ 17. Types of Secondary Stems

These stems are not as numerous as initial stems, but still their
number is quite considerable. They never occur alone, but are
found usually between an initial member and a formative, or else,
but much less often, in conjunction with only a formative. In a
combination like tâ'wîcî'nwâ he fell and hurt himself, tâwi- is
initial, and denotes pain; while -cin is secondary, and expresses the
notion of coming to a state of rest. In the word tci'mânî canoe is a
less frequent example of a secondary stem occupying first place.
The stem tci or tcîm comes from a secondary element indicating
movement in water, and the rest of the word is a suffix denoting
abstraction, both together referring to the object used for going
through water.

Just as a regular system of arrangement determines the position of
initial stems before secondary stems, so the same sort of order places
the representatives of one group of secondary stems before those of
another group. This peculiar method of arrangement rests largely

1 From p. 772 to here, addition by T Michelson.
on the nature of the ideas expressed by the stems. It makes possible a further division of stems into secondary stems of the first order and secondary stems of the second order.

Secondary stems of the second class always stand nearest to the terminal pronominal signs: -usä- in wä'pusä'wa he begins to walk is a secondary stem of the second class. Some secondary stems of the first class, however, can occupy the same place, but only when a secondary stem of the second class is absent: tsä'gänä'getu'nuwa he has a small mouth contains two secondary stems of the first class—one is -nAg-, which expresses the notion of cavity; the other is -tun-, which refers to the idea of space round about a cavity, and is a term applied to the lips and mouth. A further division of secondary stems of the first class might be suggested, in which -nAg- would represent one class, and -tun- the other: -nAg- belongs to a more stationary type, which always stands next to initial stems when there are other secondary stems in composition; and -tun- belongs to a more mobile kind. The latter type is frequent in nominal form: u'tön' mouth (literally, his mouth). In kiwe'skwäpyä'wa he is drunk are illustrated two types of secondary stems: kiwe- is an initial stem meaning indefinite movement anywhere; -skwä- is a secondary stem of the first class, denoting the neck and back of the head; and -pyä- is a secondary stem of the second class, expressive of a subtle, attributive condition. [-pyä- belongs rather to the secondary nominal stems (§ 23); -skwä- apparently cognate with -'kwä- (§ 18). But why can not -skwä- correspond to -nAg-, and -pyä- to -tun-? At any rate, this does not affect the statement made at the end of § 19.—T. M.]

A fuller and more correct rendering of the combination would be something like he is in a state of aimless movement in the region about the neck and head.

§ 18. Secondary Stems of the First Order

-ad'kw- relates in a general way to matter at rest and in the form of linear dimension, together with an uncertain implication as to its state of hardness. The term is of frequent use, an example of which comes out in the notion of wood, tree, forest.

pe'kwä'kwäwi'wè it is a place of clumps of trees
piwvä'kwäwi'wè a grove stands dense in the distance
pägi'kwiči'nuwa he bumped against a tree, post, bar (päg- same as pag [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])

§ 18
pe'cigwā'kwə'twə the log, tree, stick, is straight
paga'kwitunācinwə he bumps himself on the mouth (analysis § 14)

-\textit{nAg} - expresses the idea of an opening, as of a hole.

pā''kāna'gētā'wə the hole gaps open
ma'gānə'getunwə he has a large mouth (-tun- mouth [p. 796])
kū'gwānə'gucā'wə he has holes pierced in his ears (-cā- ear [p. 796])

-\textit{tAg} - is another characteristic term of uncertain definition. It refers to the idea of color without having reference to light, shade, hue, or any quality attributive of color. It is simply the idea in the abstract.

ketə'gesi'wə its color is spotted (animate)
wāba'tə'gawā'wə its color is white (animate)
meckwa'tə'gawā'wə its color is red (animate, meckwa red)

-\textit{āne} - relates to mental operation.

ke'kā'nemā'wə he knows, understands him
muswə'nemā'wə he suspects him (musw- suspect; -m- [§ 37]; -āwə [§ 38])
menwə'nemā'wə he feels well disposed toward him
nā'gatawə'nemā'wə he keeps him constantly in mind
pana'nemā'wə he makes fun of him
āmänecitāhātc for she felt shame within her heart 38.12 (compare 210.15)
āmuswənemawātct they began to suspect something wrong with them 150.14 (musw- suspect; -m- [§ 37]; â—āwātc [§ 29])

-\textit{itā} - refers to subjective feeling, and so finds place for manifold application.

ici'tāhā'wə thus he feels (i.e., thinks; for ici thus + itā; -hā- [§ 20]; wə [§ 28])
myāci'tāhā'wə she is tearful, sad to weeping
mā'neci'tāhā'wə he is ashamed (-āne- above)
upi'tāhā'wə he is joyful
kiwātci'tāhā'wə he is lonely (kiwātc- lonely; see also § 20)
āi'cītāhātc he thus thought in his heart 202.10

-\textit{nāgū} - stands for the idea of look, appearance, resemblance.

pe'kīnə'gusi'wə he looks like a foreigner (-si- [§ 20])
ā'kwā'wināgusi'wə he has an angry look (ā'kwā anger)
kecā'tcinə'gusi'wə he has a gentle appearance
kiwā'tcinə'gusi'wə he seems sad, lonely

§ 18
-kam- expresses the idea of indefinite space as applied to such terms as sweep, range, latitude, expanse.

ke'tci'kampi'w strait it is the sea; it is the great expanse
ta'kamisā'w it flies over an expanse (-isā- [§ 19])
ta'kampi'w he crosses an open space
ka'kampi'w he makes a short cut across

-kun- imprint, track.

a'pūtic'kaawnite they trailed (a bear into bushes) 70.12 (for pūtic see under pūt- [§ 16] and the analysis in text at end)

In the list of examples that follow immediately are stems relating to parts of the body. Their inherent sense is concerned with space, each form having to do with situation in a given relation.

-cā- carries the vague notion of something thin, as of a sheet, film, blade. It is an association with this spacial sense that makes it a term applied to the ear.

mamā'gecā'w he has big ears
ki'skecā'w he has no ears (literally, he is cut-ear)
kagā'nocā'w he has long ears
nā'kāˈkicossipacwātēp' and he would cut off their ears 8.12 (reduplicated stem allied to kis; for -ātic [§ 29] āpē' [§ 14])

-kum- or -gum- conveys the intrinsic meaning of linear protrusion, projection out from a base. The use of the term for nose is a natural application.

wāgī'kumā'w he has a crooked nose
pāgiku'māci'nw he bumped his nose (pāgī- see under pāg- [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])
tāˈtōɡī'kumā'w his nose spreads at the nostrils (-gi locative suffix)
kīngi'umāyw it is sharp at the point (kīngi- [§ 16]; -w' [§ 28])
nā'kāˈkicossipacwātēp' and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for nā'k and ā-)

-tun- is used for the external space about the mouth.

mī'setu'nw he has a mustache (mīs- hair [§ 24])
kepā'getu'nw he has thick lips
pā'ketu'nw he opens his mouth

-winā- gives the notion of linear dimension, round of form, and of limited circumference. It is a term for horn.

tca'kwī'wǐ'nmā'w he is short-horned
po'kwīwǐnāci'nw he fell and broke his horn (-cin- to fall [§ 20])
pa'kwī'winā'w he is shedding his horns

§ 18
-'kwä- is a spacial element expressive of the place back of the neck, of the hair on the head, and even of the head itself. The term has also a feminine meaning, taken, it seems, from the notion of hair. The four different expressions—neck, hair, head, and womankind—are thus shown in the order named.

näpe'kwäkwä'w a he lassoes him by the neck; compare 282.18 (hw [§ 21]; -äw a [§ 28])
ke'kite'kwäna'w a he hugs her around the neck (-n- [§ 21]; +äw a [§ 28])
pena'hä'kwä'w a she combs her hair
me'se'kwä'w a she has long hair
tä'we'kwä'w a he has a headache (täwi- [§ 16])
mästgu'kwäno'w a he covers his (own) head
pyätê'kwäwü'w a he brings home a wife (pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -äw a [§ 28])
mì'keme'kwäwü'w a he is wooing (mìk- [§ 16])
nico'kwäwü'w a he has two wives (nico- [§ 12])

-tca- signifies a material body with volume more or less plump and distended. It is used with reference to the abdominal region.

upi'skwätca'w a he is big round the waist
pägetcácí'w a he ran, and fell on the flat of his belly (the literal translation would seem to be HE FELL AND STRUCK HIS BELLY; see pAg(i)- [§ 14] and pägi- cited under -kum- [p. 796]; -cin- [§ 20])
ke'kite'tcänä'w a he grabs him round the body (see ke'kite'- 'kwänäw a above)
mì'setcă'w a he is afflicted with dropsy

§ 19. Secondary Stems of the Second Order

It is not always easy to determine the place of some secondary stems, whether they belong to the first or to the second order. In passing along the list, one should note that, in some respects, there is a general similarity in the groups of ideas expressed by secondary stems of the second class and by initial stems. There are, however, differences in the apparent similarities, the differences being chiefly of manner and degree. It is doubtful which of these two groups is the more numerous one.

ä in its naked form is so vague of sense that it is almost undefinable.

Its nature comes out well in the rôle of an assisting element, and as such often helps to convey the idea of motion. In
one instance its help brings about the definite notion of flight from danger.

ki'wämō'wə he flees hither and thither (for kiw- see under ki- [$16]; -m- [§§ 8, 21, 37]; -ō- animate middle voice [§ 40]; -wə 3d person animate singular, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pe'mämo'wə he hurries past in flight (pe'm- [§ 16])

pyä'tämo'wə he comes fleeing hitherward (pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -o- [§ 40])

wūwāpämoyan 2d person singular intransitive future, conjunctive [§ 29]; -m- [§§ 8, 21, 37]; -o- animate middle voice [§ 40])

pe'mämoyane in your flight 98.5 (pe'- [§ 16]; -m-o- as in last example; -yane 2d person singular intransitive present, subjunctive [§ 29])

äpītämute and in she fled 98.15 (ā- temporal prefix; pū- into [§ 16]; -m- as in last two examples; -u- animate passive [§ 40]; -te 3d person singular animate intransitive aorist, conjunctive [§ 29])

kīci pūtämute after she had fled inside 98.16 (kīci- completion [§ 16])

wūwāpāmūte' e it was her purpose to flee for her life 218.14 (wūp- [§ 16]; the form is explained in § 29)

-egā- is for the movement of one in the dance.

upūyä'negā'wə he moves slowly in the dance

nīgā'negā'wə he leads in the dance

ā'hā'wegā'wə he dances the swan-dance

cā'wārō'wegā'wə he dances the Shawnee dance

āyāpwāwāpəyāuyāgu but before you begin dancing 280.21 (wāp- [§ 16]; -yāgu 2d person plural intransitive, conjunctive [§ 29])

-isā- conveys primarily the notion of VELOCITY, SPEED, and is associated with locomotion through the air.

hanīwisā'wə he runs swiftly

myācisā'w'i it lacks a keen edge (-c- [§ 21.5])

nem'Awisā'wə he alighted feet first

kugwā'tcisā'wə he tries to fly

pū'tcisā'w'i it blew inside (pū- inside [§ 16])

tcāpo'gisisā'wə he fell into the water (for spō cf. āpō [§ 24])

wāteik'si'yāqīcīsāwā whence the cold comes, there he is speeding to 70.14 (analysis note 21, p. 869)

pemisā'wə it went flying past 80.6, 17 (pe'- past [§ 16]; -wə 3d person singular animate aorist, intransitive, independent mode [§ 28])
änūwisāte\textsuperscript{c} so out he went on the run 254.15 (\textit{änd}-\textit{tc} [§ 29])

änūnuwisāte then she flew out 146.9 (see §11)

áhanisānite\textsuperscript{c} it flew away 282.17, 19 (\textit{-nīte} [§ 34])

änapemanisānite thereupon they went flying up 76.14

\textbf{-tsahō-} is swift locomotion through the air and of a kind that is limited as to space and duration. The idea of the motion is defined by such terms as \textit{jump, leap, bound}.

\textit{pītcisahōw\textsuperscript{a}} he leaps into an enclosure (\textit{pītc-} see under \textit{pīt-} [§ 16]; \textit{w\textsuperscript{a}} [§ 28])

\textit{pyātcisahōw\textsuperscript{a}} he comes \textit{a-jumping} (\textit{pyātc-} see under \textit{pyā-} [§ 16])

kwāskwīsahōw\textsuperscript{a} he dismounts

nūwi\textit{sahōw}\textsuperscript{a} he goes out on the jump (\textit{nūw-} out; \textit{änūwīte}\textsuperscript{c} he then went out 38.13; \textit{änūwīwātc}\textsuperscript{d} and they went out 50.2)

\textit{ātcipisahute}\textsuperscript{d} she leaped with startled surprise 68.18

\textbf{-ō-} implies conveyance, portage, transportation. It has acquired the specific meaning of \textbf{CARRYING A BURDEN ON THE BACK}.

\textit{kīyōmāw\textsuperscript{a}} she carries it (her child) about on her back (\textit{kī-} [§ 16]; \textit{-y-} a glide [§ 8]; \textit{-ō-} [§ 19]; \textit{-m-} instrumental, animate [§ 21]; \textit{-w\textsuperscript{a}} 3d person singular animate subject and object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

\textit{pēmōtā'\textit{mw}\textsuperscript{w}} he passes by with a burden on his back (\textit{pēm-} to pass by [§ 16]; \textit{-t-} instrumental inanimate [§ 21]; \textit{-mw\textsuperscript{a}} 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

\textit{kēpyātōnepw\textsuperscript{a}} I have brought you 90.1 (\textit{pyā-} motion hither [§ 16]; \textit{-t-} [§ 8]; \textit{-ō-} [§ 19]; \textit{kē--nepw\textsuperscript{a}} 1st person singular subject, 2d person plural object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

\textbf{-ōtā-} is for locomotion along a surface, and attended with effort and retardation. It is tantamount to the notion expressed by the words \textbf{T\textit{O CRAWL}}.

\textit{anē'\textit{mōtāw\textsuperscript{a}}} he crawls moving yon way

\textit{ta'kamōtāw\textsuperscript{a}} he crawls athwart

\textit{a'gōsītōtāw\textsuperscript{a}} he crawls upward (as up a tree) (compare \textit{ānā'\textit{a}'-gōsīte}\textsuperscript{d} and then he climbed up 274.24; \textit{āhanemī'\textit{a}'gōsīpahō-mīga'k\textsuperscript{4} climbed hurriedly up the hill 96.19; \textit{wīhagōsīyān\textsuperscript{t} I shall have to do the climbing 90.19})

\textit{ke'tāsītōtāw\textsuperscript{a}} he crawls upward (as up a hill)

\textit{pītōtāw\textsuperscript{a}} he crawls inside (\textit{pīt-} [§ 16])

\textit{āhagwāyūtāwātc\textsuperscript{d}} they creep forth 352.5 (\textit{-ātā-} same as \textit{-ōtā-})

\textit{āpemaqagwāyutānic\textsuperscript{t}} they started to crawl out 352.11 (\textit{pem} [§ 16]; \textit{-nīte\textsuperscript{t} [§ 34])

§ 19
nā'kūpūtōtē then again he crawled into 290.4 (nā'k- again; ā-temporal prefix; pūt- into [§ 16]; -tc for -tc 3d person singular animate aorist, conjunctive mode [§ 29])

-usā- has to do with locomotion by land, with particular reference to that of the foot and leg, and of such nature as to imply lack of speed. The combination of ideas involved is synonymous with the word walk.

cōskā'kusā'wā he walks straight, erect (cōsk- [§ 16])
wā'pusā'wā he starts off on a walk (wāp- to begin [§ 16])
nāhusā'wā he learns how to walk (compare nahitecimāwā HE knows how to swim under -tcim- [p. 801])
tete'pusā'wā he walks round in a circle (tete- in a circle [§ 16])
pyā'tusā'wā he comes a-walking (pyā- motion hither [§ 16]; -t-intervocalic [§ 8])
ä' pemiruwpusātc then he started to walk 194.19 (ä-temporal prefix; pemī- wāp- [§ 16])
kiyusāñ walk thou about 300.2 (ki- about [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -nā 2d person singular imperative [§ 31])
wi'kiyusā'wā it [animate] shall walk about 300.1 (wi- future)
pagūsusāñ walk thou on ahead 340.4
ä'kiwāpusāyāg after we proceeded on the way 342.13 (ä-temporal prefix; kīci- wāp- [§ 16]; see § 12 for loss of ci; for the ending see § 29)

-hogō- is locomotion by water, and differs from -tcim- in having more of the sense of conveyance.

pyāta'hogō'wā he comes a-swimming (pyā- motion hither [§ 16])
kīwa'hogō'wā he swims about (kī- motion round about [§ 16])
ā'nema'hogō'wā he swims thitherward
sā'gitepā'hogō'wā he swims with the head above water (sāg- exposed [§ 16]; tepā head)
ä' pemitepikīkahuginitc they passed by swimming 184.2 (pemī- to pass [§ 16]; -hugu- same as -hogō-; -nitc [§ 34])

-pahō- is of the nature of -usā-, differing from it only in the degree of locomotion. It denotes speed and swiftness, and is best translated by the term to run.

pe'mipahō'wā he runs past (pemī- to pass [§ 16])
nā'gipahō'wā he stops running (nāgi- to stop [§ 16])
kī'wipahō'wā he runs around (kī- motion round about [§ 16])
na'gaskipahō'wā he runs with back bent forward
pā'cipahō'wā he leaves a gentle touch as he flies past on the run

§ 19
äwpapahōwātc then they set to work to paddle 214.3 (for äwpapahōwātc [$12]; ä-; wāpi- [$16]; -wātc [$29])
dwaptahutc then he went running along 110.7 (pemi- [$16])
dwpahutc then he came on the run 254.19 (pyū- [$16])
ahnemi a göösipahōmiga'k then (the head) climbed hurriedly up the tree 96.19 (hnemi- [$16]; a göösii see p. 799 under -ōtā-)
dtetepipahutc and round in a circle he ran 312.6 (tetep- [$16])
dtetepipahanitc then (his friend) was running around in a circle (-nîtci [$34])
pyū'pahōwag they came a-running 276.14 (pyū- [$16]; -wag for -wag' [$28])

-pugō- is another term for locomotion by water. It expresses passive conveyance, the sense of which comes out well in the word FLOAT.

pe'mitetepipu'gōtaw it floats past a-whirling (pemi- tetep- [$16]; -w 3d person inanimate singular, aorist, independent mode [$28])
nū'wipugōʷa he came out a-floating (nūwi- out, see under -isā-[p. 798] and -isahō-[p. 799])
a'nōskwipu'gōtaw it floats about at random kskipugōʷa he is able to float (kaski- ability [$16])

-ne'ka- to drive, to pursue.
pāmine'kawātcig those who pursue, 70 TITLE (this form is participial [$33], hence the vowel changes to pāmi- from pemi-; -ātcig pronominal form 3d person plural animate subject, 3d person animate object)

-tcim- is locomotion through water. It is equivalent in meaning to the word swim.

kiwi'tcimāʷa he swims round about (see under kī- [p. 766])
pemi'tcimāʷa he swims past
nahitićimāʷa he knows how to swim (compare nahusāw he learns how to walk under -usū-[p. 800])
nō'tiwi'tcimāʷa he gives out before swimming to the end of his goal
ōndāpācōwitcimātc then he started to swim out to the shore 276.7 (wāp- [$16])

-gāpā- is for perpendicularity, and its use is observed in situations of rest with upright support. The term is rendered by the words to stand.

ne'nigwi'gāpāʷa he stands trembling
ne'māswi'gāpāʷa he rose to his feet

§ 19
nagi'gāpā'wa came to a standstill (nagi [§ 16])
poni'gāpā'wa he ceased standing (poni- [§ 16])
tcāgānagi'gāpā'wātc all came to a standing halt (tcāg- nagi-[§ 16])
indnagi'kāpā'wātc and then they came to a standing halt 50.17
(-kāpā- for -gāpā- [see § 3])

[To prove that any given stem is one of the second class of the second order, from the definition laid down in § 17, one must find it after a stem of the first class of the second order. Now, it will be noticed that not one of the stems given in this section as belonging to the second class of the second order in point of fact is found after a secondary stem of the first class; or, at any rate, no example of one has thus far been pointed out. Accordingly, it follows that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make this division feasible at present.

The following remarks were written subsequent to the preceding comments. As it is admitted in § 14 as well as in § 17 that two secondary stems of the first class can occur in combination, there is no reason why ta'kamisāw (under -kam- § 18) should not also fall into this class (-kam- + -isā-). It should be noted especially that ta- is initial: see § 17 and my note in § 14.—T. M.]

§ 20. Secondary Co-ordinative Stems

There is yet another class of stems that occupy a place just preceding the terminal suffixed pronouns. They serve a double office,—one as co-ordinatives between preceding stems of a purely verbal nature, and following pronominal elements; the other as verbals signifying intransitive notions of existence, being, state, condition. Some express the notion feebly, others do it with more certainty. Many stand in an intimate relation with the subjective terminal pronouns, in a relation of concord, and one so close that they take on different forms; some to agree with the animate, others with the inanimate. Their nature and type are shown in the examples.

1. -cin- animate; -sen- inanimate.

-cin- is an animate term with much variety of use. Its essential meaning is CHANGE FROM MOTION TO REST. The length of
the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea of **reclining, lying down.**

sā'gici'nwɑ he lies exposed (sāgi- [§ 16])
āta'wāci'nwɑ he lies on his back
kicū'wici'nwɑ he lies warm
ācegicinitere when he lay 116.9
'ahape'kwāhcinowātete so they lay with a pillow under their heads 322.20
ācegicinowātete as they lay there together 324.8
ācegicinig where he lay 326.1

The cessation may be only momentary, like the instant respite of the foot on the ground during the act of walking. The term is translated into **step, walk,** in the following examples:

pe'miwa'wāci'nwɑ it is the sound of his footstep as he passes by (pemī- [§ 16])
pyätwać'wāci'nwɑ it is the sound of his walk coming home (pyā [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8])
anemwa'wāci'nwɑ it is the sound of his step going away

Again, the rest may be sudden, and indefinite as to duration.

The meaning in this light comes out in words expressive of descent, as **fall, drop.**

pā'gici'nwɑ (the bird) lights (see pag- [§ 14])
āpyätci'pāgicinitere then the bird came and alighted 98.3 (pyātcī- see pyā- [§ 16]; -nīte [§ 34])
pī'taći'nwɑ he dropped inside (pīt- [§ 16])
cō'skwici'nwɑ he slips and falls (cōsk- [§ 16])

-sen- is inanimate, and corresponds to -cin-. It is of wide use, too. It can be applied in the examples illustrating some of the uses of -cin-. To indicate **rest in place** -sen- is used in the following examples:

sā'gise'nwɑ it lies exposed (sāgi- [§ 16])
āta'wāise'nwɑ it lies wrong side up
kicū'wāise'nwɑ it lies in a state of warmth

It likewise expresses the notion of instant change coming from rapid contact between two bodies. As in the illustrations for -cin-, so in the following, the idea for sound is represented by the reduplicated form of wā. The idea of contact and the idea of interval between one contact and another are expressed by -sen-.

§ 20
pe’miwä’wäsë’nwi it passes by a-jingling (pemä- [$§ 16$]; -w’ [$§ 28$])
pyätwä’wäsë’nwi it comes a-ringing (pyä- see pyä- [$§ 16$])
anemwä’wäsë’nwi it goes your way a-tinkling

Some of its uses to express DESCENT are—

pa’gïsë’nwi it struck, hit, fell, alighted (pag- [$§ 14$])
pit’däsë’nwi it dropped inside (pit- [$§ 16$]; -ã- [$§ 19$])
cö’skwïsë’nwi it slid and fell (cök- [$§ 16$])

[Apparently -sen- can be used also with an animate subject:
ä’págisenetc' 160.1.—T. M.]

2. -si- animate; -ã- inanimate.

-si- implies in a general way the attribute of being animate. It
can almost always be rendered in English by an adjective
used with the verb TO BE:

mö’wësi’wã he is untidy (-wã [$§ 28$])
kä’wësi’wã he is rough, uneven, on the skin
ça’wësi’wã he is hungry (i.e., feeble, faint by reason of being
famished)
kepä’gesï’wã he is thick of skin

-ã- is the inanimate correspondent of si:

mö’wàw’wã it is soiled, stained (w’ [$§ 28$])
kä’wàw’wã it is rough, unpolished, prickly
ça’caw’w’wã it is pliant, yielding
ke’pàgy’w’wã it is thick

3. -sù- heat, animate; -tã- heat, inanimate.

-sù- signifies that the animate subject is in a state of heat, fire,
warmth:

wï’casà’wã he is sweating
â”kasà’wã he is burned to a crisp
pa’sesà’wã he is burned
ki’ce’sà’wã he is cooked done (ki-ci- [$§ 16$])
ä”à’kasutc’ he was burned alive 160.1
ki’cì’tà’gesutc’ after he was all burned up 160.2 (ki-ci-’ tcå-gi- [$§ 16$])

-tã- is the inanimate equivalent of sù:

wï’catà’w’ (weather) is warm
â”katà’w’ it burned to ashes
pa’setà’w’ it is hot, heated (pas- [$§ 16$])
ki’cätà’w’ it is done cooking (kì-cì- [$§ 16$])

(-ã-).—The ã of tã in the last illustration has been met before
in combinations like usã TO WALK, isã FLIGHT, õtã TO CRAWL,

§ 20
egā TO DANCE, and some others. In the form of kā, 'kā, and sometimes gā, it helps to express activity, occupation, exercise, industry. It admits of a wide range of use with the three forms, but everywhere is distinguished the idea of DOING, PERFORMING.

nenu'su'kā'wā he is on a buffalo-hunt
kepi'hikā'wā he is making a fence (i.e., an enclosure). [kep- is an initial stem denoting ENCLOSURE.—T. M.]
kōge'ningā'wā she is washing clothes (i.e., doing work with water [kōg- § 16])

There is no precise notion expressed by the vowel ā in such augmented forms as -hā- and -wā-. It is an empty sign so far as standing for an idea goes; yet the vowel, like some others in its class, plays an important function. It helps to define the preceding stems and to connect them with the terminal pronouns. A copula might be an apt term for it, for such is its office. The following show some of its uses:
kī'wā't ī'tāhā'wā he is melancholy (-itā- [§ 18])
a'kwī'tāhā'wā he is sullen
kī'yāwā'wā he is jealous
a''kwāwā'wā he is angry

The inanimate retains ā in -āmigāt-. As in the animate, so in the inanimate, the rendering is usually with some form of the verb TO BE. The inanimate admits of a further meaning, implying something of the notion of vague extension, like prevalent tone, pervading temper, dominant state of things. Such is the essential idea that comes from the substitution of -āmigāt- for the animate in the forms that have just been given:

ne'nusu'kā'migā'twā the buffalo-hunt is the all-absorbing topic
ke'pi'hikā'migā'twā everything is given over to the building of enclosures
kō'genigā'migā'twā the place is astir with the washing of clothes
kī'wā't ī'tāhā'migā'twā the place is sad, dolefully sad
a''kwī'tāhā'migā'twā the air is all in a spleen
kī'yāwā'migā'twā the place is mad with jealousy
a'kwā'migā'twā it is a flame with anger

It is well to mention at this point an inanimate use of -gāt-, a component element of -āmigāt-. The form is sometimes -gāwat-, -kwat-, or -kwat-. In function it is not unlike the inanimate

§ 20
The vowel i, in the forms -wi- and -hi-, is another element with the office of a link auxiliary. It is a common characteristic of i, in one or the other form, to increase or to retain the quantity of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It frequently lends emphasis to the meaning of a whole combination.

\[ \text{kiwâte'sihi}'w^\text{a} \] he is so lonely (for \text{kiwâte} beside \text{kiwáte}, cf. \text{pyáte} beside \text{pyáte} [\text{pyá-} § 16]; -\text{si}=--\text{si}-, above)

\[ \text{sanage'sihi}'w^\text{a} \] he is positively unyielding, incorrigible

The inanimate of the same is—

\[ \text{kiwát'vahi}'w^\text{a} \] the place is so lonely (\-\- inanimate of -\text{si}-)

\[ \text{sanaga'tóhi}'w^\text{a} \] it is certainly tough, formidable

Some instances show that the use of i is not always in agreement with the principle of strict pronominal concord; in other words, that it is not a peculiarity of one or the other gender.

\[ \text{me''tosáne'níhi}'w^\text{a} \] he is mortal, exists as a mortal

\[ \text{wáváne'skáhi}'w^\text{a} \] he is bad, lives an evil life

\[ \text{me''tosáne'níhi}'w^\text{e} \] it is in nature mortal

\[ \text{wáváne'skáhi}'w^\text{e} \] it has the stamp of evil on it

A common use of i conveys the idea of entrance into a state, or of becoming a part of a condition.

\[ \text{ma'nëtowi}'w^\text{a} \] he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is supernatural power itself (personified)

\[ \text{ugí'máwi}'w^\text{a} \] he becomes chief

\[ \text{ma'nëtowi}'w^\text{e} \] it is charged with, is possessed of, supernatural power; it becomes the supernatural power itself

\[ \text{ugí'máwi}'w^\text{e} \] it partakes of the nature of sovereignty

§ 20
§ 21. INSTRUMENTAL PARTICLES

A set of elements denoting different notions of instrumentality incorporate after initial stems and after secondary stems of the first class. They introduce a causal relation, and render verbs transitive. Their nature and type come out in the illustrations.

1. **-h-** is for instrumentality in general.

- He accomplishes an act with the aid of means
  - He failed to hit it with what he used
  - He unloosed it by means of something

- Often gets so far away from its instrumental significance as to be absorbed by a general causal idea.

2. **-n-** refers to the instrumentality of the hand.

- He buries him
- He makes him run

The instrumental form is frequently -hw- instead of -h-.

3. **-fsk-** expresses the doing of an act with the foot or leg.

- He kicks it
- He touches it with the foot

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

- He loves her as a lover
- He is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative
- He talks to her (much as it does to hand.)

- He goes to fetch him
- He carries him away
- He catches him

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

- He loves her as a lover
- He is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative
- He talks to her (much as it does to hand.)
4. -\( p \)-, -\( pu \)-, or -\( pw \)- denotes an act done with the mouth.

\( sa'gi'pwā'wə \) he bites him (i.e., he takes hold of him with the mouth [\( sa'gi- \) §16]; -\( awə \) [§28]),

\( sa'gi'putō'wə \) he bit it (-\( tō- \) [§37]),

\( ki'c̱ḵiku'mā'pwā'wə \) he bites off his nose (\( kimik- \) cut; -\( kum- \) nose [§18]; -\( awə \) [§28]),

\( pō'te'tu'nā'pwā'wə \) he kisses her (-\( tun- \) [§18]; -\( awə \) [§28]).

5. -\( c \)-, -\( cw \)-, or -\( sw \)- signifies an act done with something sharp.

\( pe'te'cə'wə \) he cuts himself accidentally (with a knife)

\( kis'kano'wāc'wā'wə \) he cut off the (animal's) tail

\( ki'skexa'mwə \) he cut it off

\( kis'kexawāwə \) he cut off (another's) ear (-\( cā- \) ear [§18]).

The association of the two ideas of something sharp, and something thin and film-like, affords an explanation of why \( c \) refers not only to the ear, but also to the notion of the ear as an instrument; usually, however, in an intransitive sense.

\( pe'se'cə'wə \) he listens (compare -\( ca- \) [§18])

\( na'na'tu'cə'wə \) he asks questions (i.e., he seeks with the ear).

6. -\( m \)-, -\( t \)-. Farther back were shown a number of attributive elements indicating activities with reference to one or the other gender. The elements were preceded by certain consonants, which had much to do with indicating the gender of what followed. There is an analogous process in causal relations. Certain consonants precede pronominal elements in much the same way as the instrumental particles that have just been shown. These consonants serve as intervocalics, and at the same time point out the gender of what follows. A very common consonant is \( m \), which precedes incorporated animate pronominal elements in the objective case. It sometimes means DOING SOMETHING WITH THE VOICE, the act being done with reference to an animate object.

\( pō'nimā'wə \) he stops talking to him (\( pōni- \) [§16])

\( tanwā'wāmā'wə \) he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; for \( wāwā- \) compare examples under -\( cin- \), -\( sen- \) [§20])

\( ka'skima'wə \) he gains her by persuasion (\( ka'ski- \) [§16]).

Corresponding with \( m \) on the inanimate side is \( t \) or '\( t \), but the use appears there in a different sense.

§ 21
pö'ni'tö'wö he stops doing it (pöni- [§ 16])
tanwö'wä'të'wö he bangs away on it (-ö- [§ 37])
käs'ki'tö'wö he gets it, he buys it (käs'ki- [§ 16])

It is not always certain if the symbol stands for a genuine instrumental. Its causal force is so indefinite at times as to represent no other function than to make an animate verb transitive.

"wa'bamä'wö he looks at him ("waba same as wäpa to look at; -öwö [§ 28])
"päs'gama'wö he hits him (päs- [§ 14]; see also examples under -cinsen- [§ 20])
"mä'kemä'wö he is occupied with (an animate object). It is the idiom for he wooes her, he attends him (in sickness) (mä'k- [§ 16])

The parallel of the same thing with t and the inanimate would be—
"wa'batamä'wö he looks at it (-Amä [§ 28])
"päs'gatamä'wö he hits it
"mä'ketamä'wö he is busy with it

7. -s-, -t-. Another frequent consonant, indicating that the following vowel represents an animate object, is s. In the inanimate, 't replaces s.

"kusäwö he fears him
"äsäwö he owns something animate
"kus'ämöwö he fears it
"a'söwö he has it (-ö- [§ 37]; -wö [§ 28])

8. -n-, -t-. It was shown that n referred to activity with the hand.

The reference was clear when the object was animate: as—
"pyä'näwö he fetches him (literally, he comes, bringing him with the hand [pyä- § 16])
"nä'näwö he goes to fetch him with the hand

The instrumental notion of the hand is sometimes lost when the object of the activity is inanimate. In that case t replaces n.

"pyä'töwö he fetches it (-ö- [§ 37])
"nä'töwö he goes to fetch it

Substantival Composition (§§ 22-24)

§ 22. CHARACTER OF SUBSTANTIVES

A pure substantive in the strict sense of the word is wanting in the Algonquian languages, but what is here termed a substantive is only part of that. The composition of a so-called substantive-group
is not at all unlike that of a verb. Initial and secondary stems combine in the same kind of way; link-stems also fall in line; and the element to indicate the notion of a specifier is a sort of designating suffix that is susceptible of a comprehensive application. The suffix, in turn, ends with one or the other of the pronominal signs to show which gender the word is—a for the animate, and i for the inanimate. Often there is no designative suffix at all, but merely a pronominal termination to mark the end of the word, and leaving the idea of a substantive to be inferred from the context. In the illustrations of noun-composition, only the absolute form of the nominative is given, and under the component parts of secondary stems and suffixes.

§ 23. SECONDARY STEMS

-akw- has been met with before in another connection, meaning mass, usually in linear dimension, and referring to wood, tree.

It conveys much the same meaning in the noun.

*me'ciwä'kw* dead fallen tree (*meci*- large [initial])
*më'gä'kw* tree of large girth (*mag*- large [initial])
*mä'ckwä'kw* red stem (the name of a medicinal plant) (*mäckw*- blood or red [for meckw-])
*pe'mitä'kw* collar-bone (*pemi*- spacial notion of side, by, lateral [§ 16])

-otä- is probably akin to the same form met with in the verb, and denoting to crawl. It has no such specific meaning in the noun, but refers in a general way to human interests, especially in an objective relation.

*me'gos'äw'én* dress (of a woman) (*meg*- cover [initial])
*me'säs'äw* rain, wind, rumor, news, the whole world (mes-totality [initial]; -w* [§ 28])
*u'tös'äm* or *u'tös'täm* his eldest brother, his guardian, his master, his clan tutelary, his giver of supernatural power (*u*- *man* [§ 45])
*ös'äw* town probably belongs to this class

-na'k- refers to the spacial notion of top, crest, apex.

*kär'was'na'k*i brittle-top (the name of a medicinal plant) (*kärw*- roughness, asperity)
*mäckwa'na'k*i red-top (the name of a plant used for medicine) (*mäckw*- red)

§ 23
-ötc- or -öt- conveys the idea of latency, and refers to something used for a purpose. The -ö- is the same as that met with before, denoting the notion of passive conveyance.

te'sötcı't trap (tes- to entrap [initial stem])
əca'mötcı't bait (əcam- to give to eat)
ña'neskwaputci't dart (ñane- to poise; naneskwä to poise by the neck; naneskwäp to poise by a notch in the neck [done by a knot at the end of a string used in throwing the dart]; for -ötc- : -öt-, cf. pıtç(i) : pıt [§ 16])

-pyä-, a term incapable of specific definition, denotes something of the vagueness implied in words like essence, quality, condition.

ki'wäpyä't crawling vine (kiw- indefinite movement or space [literally, a something with the attribute of movement almost anywhere about])

kicö'pyätä'gi' hot water (kic- [initial] and tā- [cf. -tā- warmth [§ 20]). The objective idea of water is transferred to the acquired condition; and the term signifying the new state stands for water, although it does not mean water—a common process peculiar to the psychology of the language

-gi- or -ge- expresses the idea of similarity, resemblance. With the connective ä, as -ägi- or -äge-, it is used to represent the idea for some kinds of cloth.

ma'netöväge'nı' like the mysterious (the name of an expensive broadcloth used for leggings and breech-clout)
me'ckväge'nuō like the red (the name of a red woolen broadcloth with white edge)
cös'kwägi't like the smooth (a fine woolen broadcloth used for garments by women on ceremonial occasions) (cösək [§ 16])

-pa'k- refers to the external structure of a dwelling.

pe'mitöpa"kwı' side (of a lodge) (for pemı- [under -ä'kw- above])
tcä'pa'kwä'nı' wall (of a lodge) (tcä- [initial] refers to interlocation)
a'kwı'tapa'kwı' roof (of a lodge) (a"'kwı' on top, surface)

§ 24. NOMINAL SUFFIXES

The examples from this point on to the end contain formatives that make a combination take on more of the character of a substantive. The stems that precede the formatives stand in a kind of attributive relation.

§ 24
-ask- is a generic term for plants and herbs, and is common in the names for medicines.

_tane'tiwa'skw'_ gambling-medicine (_taneli_ MUTUAL ACTIVITY, by inference GAMBLING; -ti- [§ 38])

_micātcine'nīwa'skw'_ perfume (_mic_ large; _micā_ state of largeness; _micātcinen_ man in a feeling of largeness)

_wā'bashkw'_ white medicine (_wāb_ white; also to look at)

-āp- appears in combinations denoting CORD, STRING.

_me'tegwā'pi_ bow-string (_me'tegw_ wood, stick)

_atū'sitā'pi_ moccasin-string (_ūsi_ is related to the stem _usā_ to WALK)

_a'sapā'pi_ string, thread, cord

-min- is a collective term for FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY.

_me'cīmi'n_ apple (literally, large fruit; _mec-_ initial stem)

_a'dāmi'n_ corn

_wā'bimī'n_ white corn

_adā'imi'n_ strawberry (literally, heart-berry)

_kā'wimī'n_ gooseberry (literally, prickly, rough, or thorny berry; cf. _kāwesiw_ he is rough [§ 20])

-pō- or -āpō- refers to fluid, liquid.

_ne'pōp_ soup (_ne'p_ water)

_mā'ciski'wāpō'w_ tea (literally, herb-drink or herb-fluid)

_wīcku'pāpō'w_ wine (literally, sweet fluid)

_maskutā'wāpōw_ whisky, rum, alcohol (literally, fire-fluid; -tā- [§ 20])

_wīmeckwpōgatenivw_ there shall be a red fluid 184.19 (_meckw_ red [initial stem]; -gat_ [§ 20]; _wī_ sign of intransitive future [§ 28]; _wī_ [§ 28]; _ni_ [§ 34]; -e- to prevent the cluster -tn- [§ 8])

-mutā- is a general term for receptacle as the notion is expressed in POCKET, POUCH, BAG.

_mic'i'mutā'v_ paunch (_mic_ littleness, shortness, as in fuzz, and so fuzzy pouch)

_maski'mutā'v_ bag, sack (_maski_ as in _mā'skiski'w_ grass, reed, and so reed bag, grass bag)

_kā'ki'mutā'v_ bag made from linn-wood bark (_kā'k_ to dry, season, and so a bag of seasoned material)

_pič'ganįmimutā'v_ parféche (_pič'cąga'n_ rawhide, and so rawhide pouch)

-gān- is a comprehensive term expressive of instrumentality.

_kepanō'higā'n_ lid (for a bucket, basket) (_kep_ to enclose; -an- opening, and so an object for closing an opening)

§ 24
-gan- is a common element for many nouns denoting parts of the body.

-ina- refers in a general way to place, and is used to denote an inhabited region or community.

-ān-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-. There is one suffix that imparts an abstract meaning to a combination; it is analogous in meaning to ā'waki'n, a demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite sense of vague reference, allusion, and having a close parallel to the colloquial "What d'ye call it?" The suffix appears in slightly varying forms, as -īn-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-.
mi'tciwén' food (mí- or mít- to eat, and so something to eat)
pá'qán' hickory-nut (pág- to hit, alight [§ 14], and so something to drop and hit)
pi'tánwá'n wa' bainbyD.imirror (wába- to look at [same as wápa-]; -m- [§ 21], and so something to look at)

These few examples are perhaps enough to give an idea of noun-structure. As in the verb, so in the noun, there is much the same general character of vague implication in the component parts when they stand alone. They offer no definite meaning by themselves: it is only as they enter into combination that they convey specific sense to the mind. The moment they fall into composition, they acquire the force of precise statement, which they hold within definite limits. The method of procedure is to advance progressively from one general notion to another, each qualifying the other, with the result of a constant trend toward greater specialization.

§ 25. Reduplication

Reduplication is common, and occurs in the initial stem. Many initial stems have more than one syllable; and, when reduplication takes place, it may be with the first syllable only, or it may include the syllable immediately following. This phase of the process can be observed from the examples that are to be shown. In the examples the reduplicated syllable will appear in Roman type. The vowel of the reduplication is often unlike the vowel of the syllable reduplicated.

Reduplication expresses—

1. Intensity of action.
   kági'gánó'wa he held the clan ceremony with great solemnity
tá'ageskawá'wa he stamped him under foot (cf. § 21.3)

2. Customary action.
   má'micátesi'wa he always went well dressed (-si- [§ 20])
wá'wí cápená'wa he is always hungry (-cá- allied to -cúwe-; see -si- [§ 20])

3. Continuity of action.
   pe'peskuteśká'wa it (animate) keeps shedding hair of the body
máyo'mayó'wa he kept on weeping

§ 25
4. Repetition.

\( nA'\text{agi}'w^a \) he is constantly stopping on the way (\( \text{agi-} \) [§ 16]; \( -w^a \) [§ 28])

\( p\acute{a}'k'a\text{'kanosk}'w^i \) it opens and closes alternately

5. Plurality, distribution.

\( k\acute{\i}sk'i\text{'skec}'w^a \) he cut off both ears (\( -\text{c}^\bot \) [§ 18])

\( sa'sagi\acute{g}aci'nw^a \) he lay with both feet exposed (\( s\acute{a}gi- \) [§ 16]; \( -\text{cin-} \) [§ 20])

\( m\acute{a}nem\acute{n}anemeg^a \) many a thing 112.11

\( s\acute{a}s\acute{g}iseg^t \) they stick out 284.14

\( n\acute{a}'nes\acute{a}'tc^t \) he killed many (animate objects) (\( nes- \) initial stem to kill; \( -\text{tc}^t \) [§ 29])

\( n\acute{a}'nuw\acute{a}saw\acute{a}'tc^t \) they came flying out one after the other (\( nuwi-out; \) \( -\text{i-s}^\bot \) [§ 19]; \( \ddot{a} \) lengthened before \( w\acute{a}tc^t \) [§ 29]; \( \ddot{a} \) lacking)

\( m\acute{a}'m\acute{e}t\acute{a}sw\acute{i}\text{taciwa}'g^i \) there were ten of them all together (\( m\acute{e}t\acute{a}swi-for \) \( med\acute{a}sw^i \) [§ 50]; \( taci- \) [§ 16]; \( -\text{w}^i \) [§ 28])

6. Duration.

\( p\acute{a}p\acute{\i}'ni\text{wa}'g^i \) they made long stops on the journey (\( p\acute{\i}ni- \) [§ 16]; \( -\text{w}^i \) [§ 28])

\( w\acute{a}'paw\acute{\acute{a}}p\acute{\acute{a}}m\acute{a}'tc^t \) he looked at him a long time 116.6, cf. 278.2 (\( -m- \) [§ 21]; \( -\text{tc}^t \) [§ 29]; \( \ddot{a} \) lacking)

\( \ddot{a}h\acute{\acute{a}}p\acute{i}\text{h}p\acute{\acute{a}}pit\acute{e}^t \) he sat there a long while 116.6 (\( \ddot{a}-\text{tc}^t \) [§ 29]; \( -\text{h-} \) glide [§ 8]; \( \acute{a}pi- \) initial stem to srr; \( -\text{h-} \) glide [§ 8])

7. Quantity, size.

\( m\acute{a}'m\acute{i}c\acute{\i}ne'k\acute{\acute{a}}'w^a \) he has a great deal of hair on the hand (\( m\acute{\i}c- \) [§ 24 under \( -\text{min-} \)])

\( p\acute{\acute{a}}p\acute{\acute{a}}'g\acute{\acute{a}}he'nw^t \) it is thin (\( -w^t \) [§ 28])

8. Onomatopoeia.

\( k\acute{\acute{a}}sk\acute{\acute{a}}'sk\acute{\acute{a}}h\acute{\acute{a}}'nw^a \) he files it, he scrapes it (\( -\text{h-} \) [§ 21]; \( -\text{amw}^a \) [§ 28])

The Verb (§§ 26-41)

§ 26. Pronoun, Voice, and Mode

It has been stated before (§ 14) that animate and inanimate gender are strictly distinguished, that there is a singular and a plural, and that the exclusive and the inclusive first person plural are distinguished. The former is associated with the forms of the first person singular; the latter, with those of the second person. Since both subject and object are expressed by incorporated pronominal forms, the intransitive verb and the transitive verb must be treated separately. Active, middle, and passive voice occur. The pronouns

§ 26
take entirely different forms in different groups of modes. Three
groups of modes may be distinguished,—the indicative, the subjunc-
tive, and the potential,—to which may be added a fragmentary series
of imperatives.

§ 27. Tense

The expression of tense by grammatical form is slightly developed.
There is nothing in the simple form of the verb to mark the distinc-
tion between present and past time. It may express an act as in
duration, as passing into a condition, or as momentary; but the
time of the action, whether present or past, is to be inferred only
from the context. This tense is referred to as aorist. It has its
peculiar marks, which will be pointed out in the section on modes
and pronominal forms. There may be said to be but one distinct
grammatical tense, the future, which is indicated by the vowel i or
the syllable wi. A fuller treatment of this tense will also be given
further on.

The extreme lack of grammatical form to express tense must not
be taken as an indication that the language is unable to make dis-
tinctions in the time of an action. On the contrary, stems of the
initial class [§ 16] express great variety of temporal relations.
Some of these relations are the notions of completion, with an
implication of—

Past time.

ki'cipyâ'wa he has come (literally, he finishes the movement
hither)

Frequency.

nahi'ñawâ'wa he frequently sees him, he used to see him, he kept
seeing him

Continuity.

anemita'pena'mwa he is constantly taking it up with his hand

Incipiency.

wâ'pipyâ'wa he began coming, he begins to come

Cessation.

pō'nipyâ'wa he no longer comes

Furthermore, temporal adverbs are used to express tense.

Present:

ne'pyâ'mug' I come now, I came to-day

§ 27
**Future:**

\[\text{në''py}â\text{wåbag}^\ast\] I shall come to-morrow

**Past:**

\[\text{ne}'\text{py}^\ast\text{A'någo}^\ast\text{w}^\ast\] I came yesterday

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**Pronominal Forms (§§ 28-34)**

### § 28. INDEPENDENT MODE

#### Aorist

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he [it]</th>
<th>they, animate; [they, inanimate]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransive</td>
<td>ne—</td>
<td>ne—pena</td>
<td>ke—pena</td>
<td>ke—</td>
<td>ke—pwa</td>
<td>[— wa]</td>
<td>[— wågi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[— — wi]</td>
<td>[— — sni]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
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<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ke-nepena</td>
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<td>ne-dpena</td>
<td>ke-dpena</td>
<td>ke-dwa</td>
<td>ke-dpwa</td>
<td>-dwa</td>
<td>-dågi</td>
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<td>ne-dpena</td>
<td>ke-dpena</td>
<td>ke-dågi</td>
<td>ke-dpwa</td>
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<td>ne-dpena</td>
<td>ke-dpena</td>
<td>ke-a</td>
<td>ke-dpwa</td>
<td>-amwa</td>
<td>-amågi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the line containing the intransitive verb the forms for animate subject, third person, are given in the first line; those for inanimate subject, in the second line. In the transitive verb no forms with inanimate subject occur.

The future forms have \(\text{në}\) and \(\text{ki}\) as prefixes in place of \(\text{ne}\) and \(\text{ke}\). The future of the intransitive has the prefix \(\text{wi}\). No future forms of the transitive third person subject with third person object have been recorded.

Such a form is \(\text{winesåw}^\ast\text{ he shall slay it (his dog) 178.2. Observe } \text{wi}-\text{ as prefix. It may be noted that intransitive futures occur without this prefix; for instance, në''py}^\ast\ (quoted § 27) I shall come. — T. M.]

The following examples illustrate the use of the intransitive forms:

\[\text{ne''py}^\ast\text{ I come, I came (see pyü} [§ 16])
\[\text{nì''py}^\ast\text{ I shall come 270.21}
\[\text{ke''py}^\ast\text{ you come, you came}
\[\text{pyåw}^\ast\text{ he comes, he came}
\[\text{hiw}^\ast\text{ he says, he said 26.12, 14}

\[\text{pyü}'\text{migaw}^\ast\text{ it comes (-migå- of the inanimate is a secondary stem of a connective, and is a peculiarity of gender [see § 20]}

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\[44877^\ast—\text{Bull. 40, pt 1—10——52}\]
The following examples illustrate the transitive forms:

**kewapamen** I look at thee (wdpA initial stem to look at; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8 end)

**kepyâticinânen** I have come to fetch you away 50.1, 10 (pyâteci: see under pyâ [§ 16, also § 8]; -nâ- to fetch; -n- instrumental particle [§ 21]; see also § 8)

**kepyâticewdpamen** I have come to visit thee 242.11

**kîwipumen** I shall eat with you 252.4 (wî- [§ 16]; -pu- [§ 21]; -m- [§§ 21, 37])

**kîhawihen** I shall lend it to thee 302.8

**kepyâtônepw** I have brought to you 90.1 (pyâ- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -û- [§ 19])

**kînatomenepw** I shall call you 356.16

**nekusîaw** I fear him 366.2 (-s- [§ 21])

**nêwâpamâw** I look at him (wâpa and m as above)

**nimawihaw** I am going to visit him 258.1 (nawi- to see; h for hâ [kîhâ- pu you shall go 356.15, or -h- [§ 21])

**nimawâvâpamâw** I shall go and visit him 230.22 (mâwi- [§ 16]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; nimawâpamâw at 260.12, 268.19 is the same form with loss of the syllable wi [cf. § 12])

**nepyâticinânâwag** I have come to take them away (pyâte for pyâteci- [§ 16]; -ä [§ 19]; nâ to fetch; -n- instrumental [§ 21])

**netenâwag** I call them 330.6

**nîwâpamâwag** I shall see them 298.12 (a mild imperative, let me see them)

**ne'wâpa** I look at it (-t- [§§ 21, 37])

**nepyâticinânâpen** we (excl.) have come to take him 58.8 (pyâteci [§§ 8, 16]; nâ to fetch; -n- [§ 21])

**nenesâpen** we (excl.) have slain him 160.4

**kimâwâvâpatâpen** we (incl.) shall look at it 284.8 (mâwi- [§ 16]; wâpa- as above; -t- [§§ 21, 37])

**kîkimâwâvâpatâpen** we (incl.) are going on a journey to see it 338.7 (kîwi- an initial stem denoting indefinite motion; [cf. kî- § 16])

**ke'wâpa'mi** thou lookest at me (-m- [§§ 21, 37])

**kinesâpen** we shall slay him 90.6 (a mild command)

**kîwâvâpamîpêna-teâ** thou wilt examine us (excl.) 290.23 (wâvâpa a reduplicated form of wâpa-; -m- [§§ 21, 37]), a mild command

**kewâpamâw** thou lookest at him
kíneckimáw[^] thou wilt scold at him 284.4 (mild imperative)
kípógwiháw[^] thou wilt run him off 284.5
kíhináw[^] thou wilt say to him 98.9, 382.12 (-n- is an intervocalic particle [see § 21])
kíwádamáwagi thou wilt see them (animate) 246.15
kícípiháwagi[^] thou wilt make them happy 276.23
kewápáti[^] thou lookest at it (-t- [§§ 21, 37])
newápamegue[^] he looked at me 368.19 (-me- [§§ 8, 21, 37])
kíñaganeñunán[^] he will leave us (incl. = thee and me) 178.18
pyánáw[^] he brought (something alive) 58.5 (pyá- [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])
kíyómáw[^] she carries it (her child) about on her back (kí- [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -ó- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21])
kaskañima[^] he succeeds in persuading him (kaski- [§ 16]; -m- [§ 21])
wápatamáw[^] he looks at it
kásíhanw[^] he erases it (kásí- [§ 16]; -h- [§ 21])
netcágimanihehog[^] they took everything I had 276.15 (tcági- [§ 16]; -góg for -gog[^])
kípyánutáhog[^] they shall come to thee 348.2
kwápesihihehog[^] they will set thee crazy 309.20
kíhanwahamwukog[^] they will often use thee for food 330.22
(reduplication to express frequency [§ 25]; -kog[^] for -gog[^]; confusion of k and g [see § 3]; amw- initial stem to eat; k [both times] a glide [§ 8]; -u- to prevent -wk-) kíhígog[^] they will call thee 110.9

When the initial stem of a verb begins with a vowel in the aorist, an intervocalic consonant -t- is inserted between pronoun and stem; in the future this insertion does not occur.

**Aorist:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne'taw}[^] & \quad \text{I am, I remain; I was, I remained} \\
\text{ke'taw}[^] & \quad \text{you are, you remain; you were, you remained} \\
\text{a'wíw}[^] & \quad \text{he is, he remains; he was, he remained} \\
\text{awí'míga'tw}[^] & \quad \text{it is, it remains; it was, it remained (for -mígat- cf. § 20)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Future:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni'·a'w}[^] & \quad \text{I shall be, I shall remain} \\
\text{ki'·a'w}[^] & \quad \text{you will be, you will remain} \\
\text{wi'·a'wí'w}[^] & \quad \text{he will be, he will remain} \\
\text{wi'a·wí'míga'tw}[^] & \quad \text{it will be, it will remain}
\end{align*}
\]
§ 29. CONJUNCTIVE, AORIST AND FUTURE; SUBJUNCTIVE, PRESENT AND PAST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>sing. and plur. inanimate</th>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

Level 40
The indicative negative has the same form as the conjunctive with the negative, which replaces á and wi. All the endings have i as terminal vowel (never e), and take the additional suffix -ni.

[It is likely that á and the i of wi are aspirated vowels. This would account for the regular conversion of k, p, t, to 'k, 'p, 't, after them; and also for the insertion of h after them and before a vowel. The elements ni- and ki- have a similar effect (see § 28).—T. M.]

Intransitive forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{winówíyán} & \quad \text{I shall go out} \quad 320.20 \quad \text{(conj. fut.)} \\
\text{wi'pýányán} & \quad \text{I shall then come} \quad 296.21 \quad \text{(conj. fut.)} \\
\text{wi'penuyán} & \quad \text{I am going home} \quad 256.14, 258.23 \quad \text{(conj. fut.)} \\
\text{wináguwíyán} & \quad \text{I shall go} \quad \text{(conj. fut.)} \\
\text{á'pýáyágs} & \quad \text{when we (excl.) came} \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{wi'i-cimenwipemátesiýágs} & \quad \text{that we (excl.) may have good health (conj. fut.)} \\
\text{á'pýáyagwés} & \quad \text{when we (incl.) came} \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{áhíyan} & \quad \text{when thou saidst} \quad 116.20 \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{winepeyan} & \quad \text{thou wilt die} \quad 296.20 \quad \text{(conj. fut.)} \\
\text{wiwápámoyán} & \quad \text{thou hast better flee for thy life} \quad 98.5 \quad \text{(conj. fut.;} \\
\text{wáp-} & \quad [§ 16]; \text{-á-} \quad [§ 19]; \text{-m-} \quad [§§ 21, 37]; \text{-o-} \quad [§ 40]) \\
\text{wi'á-témoyán} & \quad \text{that thou talkest} \quad 322.16 \quad \text{(conj. fut.;} \\
\text{m-} & \quad \text{-o-} \quad [§§ 21, 40]) \\
\text{wi'ínámooyán} & \quad \text{thou shouldst flee} \quad 98.8 \quad \text{(conj. fut.)} \\
\text{pémámooyán} & \quad \text{in thy flight} \quad 98.5 \quad \text{(subj. pres.)} \\
\text{kici-pýatóyán} & \quad \text{when thou hast brought (it) here} \quad 320.20 \quad \text{(subj. pres.;} \\
\text{kici-} & \quad \text{pyá-} \quad [§ 16]; \text{-t-} \quad [§ 8]; \text{-o-} \quad [§ 19]) \\
\text{wúpikinwusíyan} & \quad \text{start and take another step} \quad 128.18 \quad \text{(subj. pres.;} \\
\text{wápí-} & \quad [§ 16]; \text{-usá-} \quad [§ 19]) \\
\text{pyá'yan} & \quad \text{if you should come} \quad 320.4 \quad \text{(subj. pres.)} \\
\text{á'pemiwípámúts} & \quad \text{then he started to begin to flee} \quad 154.10 \quad \text{(conj. aor.;} \\
\text{pemi-} & \quad \text{wá-pí-} \quad [§ 16]; \text{-á-m-u-} \quad [§§ 19, 37, 40]) \\
\text{á'pemusúts} & \quad \text{then he walked along} \quad 104.19 \quad \text{(conj. aor.;} \\
\text{pemi-} & \quad \text{[§ 16] before vowel;} \text{-usá-} \quad [§ 19]) \\
\text{áhíte} & \quad \text{then he said} \quad 48.21; 58.26, 27; 114.2, 9; 118.21, 23 \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{á'kiyuúsúts} & \quad \text{then he walked about} \quad 252.17 \quad \text{(conj. aor.;} \\
\text{ki-y-usá-} & \quad [§§ 16, 8, 19]) \\
\text{ánágwáts} & \quad \text{then he started away} \quad 240.19 \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{ápyáts} & \quad \text{then he came} \quad 326.22 \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{á'penuts} & \quad \text{then he went away} \quad 326.2 \quad \text{(conj. aor.)} \\
\text{pyáníts} & \quad \text{should he come} \quad 156.21 \quad \text{(subj. pres.)} \\
\text{pitígáts} & \quad \text{that he entered} \quad 18.4 \quad \text{(subj. past)} \\
\text{wi'pyáníts} & \quad \text{when he would come} \quad 298.11 \quad \text{(conj. fut.;} \text{-ni-[§ 34])} \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 29
ähanemiwäpusäwátc1 they continued to start off on a walk 108.8
(conj. aor.; hanemiwäp- [wäpi]- -usä- [§§ 16, 19])
a'kiiyusäwátc1 they tramped about 136.14 (kii-y-usä- [§§ 16, 8, 19])
a'pyäwátc1 when they came 120.7, 166.22 (conj. aor.)
a'pöniwátc1 then they halted to camp 166.13 (conj. aor.; pöni-
[§ 16])
änagiwátc1 they halted 166.7 (conj. aor.; nagi [§ 16])
änepáwátc1 they slept 334.19 (conj. aor.)
a'penuwátc1 then they went away 334.19 (conj. aor.)
w'pemáníwátc1 then it was their purpose to begin to flee (conj. fut.; pem-ä-m-u- [§§ 16, 19, 21, 37, 40])

Transitive forms:

witAcinesAg1 I shall kill her 102.1 (conj. fut.; nes- to kill)
aqwicä wïnesenänin1 I do not mean to kill thee 54.23 (conj. fut.;
-n1 negative suffix)
äwikwitamawiyan1 when you (singular) taunted me about him 330.16 (conj. aor.)
a'a'camiyän1 you (singular) gave them to me to eat (conj. aor.)
wipäpagamenän we (excl.) shall now club you to death 160.6
(conj. fut.; päpag- reduplicated form of a stem allied to
pag[4]- [§§ 14, 20]; -me- [§§ 8, 21])
neciyän1 if thou slay me 54.21 (subj. pres.; nes-, nec- to slay [see §9])
whåwanatc1 wilt thou carry them away? 54.21 (conj. fut.)
wiketemawiyyagw1 that ye will bless me 380.7 (conj. fut.)
äwapamát1 he looked at her 298.20 (conj. aor.; -tc for -tc before
a vowel)
a'kusátc1 he feared him 366.22 (conj. aor.; -s- [§ 21.7])
ahmát1 he said to him (her) 240.16, 290.18 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
a'kicinesátc1 after she had slain (an animate object) 254.19 (conj.
-aor.; kici- [§ 16]; nes- to slay)
äwi'pumát1 he then ate with them 296.8 (conj. aor.; wi-pu-m-
[§§ 16, 21, 37])
a'kaskimát1 she succeeded in persuading her 102.6 (conj. aor.;
kaski-m- [§§ 16, 21]; -tc for -tc before a vowel)
äpyätöhwátc1 he then fetched (an animate object) 266.15 (conj.
aor.; pyä-ö-hw- [§§ 16, 8, 19, 21])
äwåpatag1 he then looked at (the inanimate thing) 222.22, 248.3
(conj. aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
nä'käkögenag1 she also washed it 178.21 (conj. aor.; nä'ka also,
again; -a lost before ä-; kög-n- [§§ 8, 16, 21])
äpemwutag1 so he shot at (the inanimate object) 252.19 (conj.
aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])
äwåpacimíwátc1 when they poke fun at me 322.12 (conj. aor.;
wåpa to look at)

§ 29
inäcinatutamu'kį thus they begged of thee 382.14 (conj. aor.)
änesäwa'tcį then they killed him 294.8, 296.2 (conj. aor.)
ähinäwa'tcį then they told him 32.5 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
näwäwa'te should they see them 192.11 (subj. pres.)

[It would seem that under some conditions ä- and wi- may be used with the subjunctive (see § 35.4). Examples are:

ä'pönäwätį'ę when they had camped 96.2 (pronominal form of subjunctive past)
wiwäpämute'ę it was his purpose to flee 218.14 (pronominal form of subjunctive past; wäp-ä-m-u- [§§ 16, 19, 21, and 37, 40])
wiämüčite'ę she would have eaten 96.3
wipemwage'ę I would have shot it 254.20 —T. M.]
### § 30. Potential, Potential Subjunctive, and Prohibitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>ho</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>sing. and plur. inanimate</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-'kd'a</td>
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<td>-'kaqe</td>
<td>-'kapa</td>
<td>-'kagu'a</td>
<td>-'kic'i</td>
<td>-'kiceti</td>
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<td>-'kapa</td>
<td>-'kagu'a</td>
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<td>-'kaqe</td>
<td>-'kapa</td>
<td>-'kagu'a</td>
<td>-'kic'i</td>
<td>-'kiceti</td>
<td>-'kiceti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| me    |        |        | -'kani | -'kaku | -'kic'i | -'kiceti | -'kiceti |
|       |        |        | -'kape | -'kope | -'kic'i | -'kiceti | -'kiceti |
| us excl. |        |        | -'kage | -'kage | -'kic'i | -'kiceti | -'kiceti |
| us incl. |        |        | -'kage | -'kage | -'kic'i | -'kiceti | -'kiceti |
| thee | -'nap'a | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge |
|       | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge |
| ye    | -'napdi'i | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge | -'napge |

| him, them, animate | -'iyaga' | -'iyaga' | -'iyaga' | -'iyaga' | -'iyaga' | -'iyaga' | -'iyaga' |
|                    | -'iapega' | -'iapega' | -'iapega' | -'iapega' | -'iapega' | -'iapega' | -'iapega' |
|                    | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' |
|                    | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' | -'iapai' |

| it, them, inanimate | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' |
|                     | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' | -'apai' |

1 The first form is the potential; the second, the potential subjunctive; the third, the prohibitive.
Apparently these forms are distantly related to the other dependent modes. This appears clearly in the forms for the third person animate, exclusive, inclusive, and second person plural. The character of most of the potential forms is 'k-. Examples are—

\[\text{näsä'kap}^a\] you (sing.) would have come back to life 116.17 (potential)

\[\text{mänähiyäkap}\] you (sing.) would have much of it (potential)

\[\text{kiywami'kan}\] you (sing.) might be jealous of me 216.15 (kiywā jealous; -m- [§ 21]; potential)

\[\text{inenagā'a}\] I should have said to thee 314.3 (potential)

\[\text{ugimāwisi}\] he would have become chief 26.16 (potential subjunctive)

\[\text{nesegusi}\] he would have been killed 168.13 (nes- initial stem to kill; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; potential subjunctive)

\[\text{miciyāgāgu}\] you (pl.) might give to him (potential subjunctive) 32.11

\[\text{kār}^a\ \text{aiyāpāmi ai'yohip'yā'kan}\] thou shalt not return to this place again 146.20 (prohibitive; -pyā- from pyā- [§ 16]; aiyō' here; aiyāpāmi back)

\[\text{kāta kuse'kyā'kāk}\] be ye not afraid 190.21 (prohibitive; 'kāk\] for 'kag\]; confusion of -g- and k [§ 3]; -sr- [§§ 8, 21])

\[\text{kāta nūwi'kāg}\] do not go out 12.4 (prohibitive; nūwi initial stem out)

\[\text{kāta, nesīmāhetigā, sāpīgwā'kaku}\] don't, oh my little brothers, peep 282.4, 6, 8, 10 (prohibitive; -ku for -gu)

\[\text{kāta wēn}\] sāpīgwā'kitci let no one of you peep 280.25 (prohibitive)

\[\text{kāta natawāpi'kan}\] thou shalt not try to peep at me 118.10 (prohibitive; -wāp- for wāpā LOOK AT)

\[\text{kāta, ni'kā'ne, asāmihi'kan}\] don't, my friend, be too cruel with me 330.17 (prohibitive)

\[\text{kār}\] āticimi'kāg\] ye shall not tell on us (excl.) 152.10 (prohibitive)

\[\text{kāta wēna natawāpi'kite uwiya}\] none of you shall try to look at me 280.19 (prohibitive; wāp for wāpā)

§ 30
§ 31. IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-'ku</td>
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<td>-tēe</td>
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<tr>
<td>it, them, inanimate</td>
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<td>-nu</td>
<td>-'nu'</td>
<td>-tēe</td>
<td>-tēe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that in the third person these forms are similar to those of the subjunctive, except that -tēe is found when the subjunctive substitutes -te.

pyā'tūwē let us come (from pyā- [§ 16])
pyā'nu or pytānu' come thou 304.17
tetepusān u walk thou in a circle 376.12 (tetēp- [§ 16]; -usā- [§ 19])
nwuinu out of doors with you 292.15 (nuwi- out)
kiyusān u walk thou about 300.2 (ki- [§ 16]; -y [§ 8]; -usā- [§ 19])
hawin u stay thou 42.21
hapin u sit down 28.3 (apist initial stem to sit; h- really belongs to aiyō)
pyā'gu or pytāgu' come ye
hawik u remain ye 48.23 (confusion of k and g)
nākwāku begone 58.13
māwin-anegō u go ye in pursuit 358.24 (māwi- [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gō u for -gu [§ 6])
pyātēcē let him come
pyāwātēcē let them come
wāpamin u look thou at me 322.3 (wāpā- to look at; -m- [§ 21])
pōnimi speak thou no more to him 56.3 (pōnī- [§ 16]; -m- [§ 21])
māwinatumi ask him to come 366.19, 368.2 (māwi- [§ 16])
wāpame'k u look ye at him 242.19 (wāpā-; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])
[In apinahwināgē open it and set us (excl.) free 290.22-nāge
is a palpable error for -nāge, for the subject is thou.—T. M.]

§ 32. THE INTERROGATIVE MODE

There is an interrogative mode that plays the rôle of an indirect question. It has some points in common with the conjunctive mode; it is a subordinate mode; it makes use of the syllabic aug-
ments ā and wē to express indefinite and future tenses; it has a com-

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plete set of pronominal forms from which, in turn, are derived others that are used to express further degrees of subordination. The forms are as follows:

### Interrogative Conjunctive, Aorist and Future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>d-wi-wänäni</td>
<td>d-wi-wägni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d-wi-wänvæni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>d-wi-wänäni</td>
<td>2d per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d-wi-wänvæni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
<td>d-wi-gwänäiyi</td>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d-wi-gwâhïi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. inan.</td>
<td>d-wi-gwänäi</td>
<td>3d per. inan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d-wi-gwâhïi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms appear in various connections. An example of a future is—

\[\text{wiwâpìpemutìwagwàni} \text{ when we shall begin shooting at each other 20.12 (indirect question; wàpi- [§ 16]; pemu- in ãwâpi-pemutìwàte} \text{ then they began shooting at each other 20.14; cf. nì'pemwàw} \text{ I am going to shoot at him 248.14; -tì- reciprocal [§ 38]}\]

Three of those used for the aorist will be shown. One is an indirect question after an imperative statement.

\[\text{kinàntucàpwa} \text{ dì'cisenogwànì} \text{ you should inquire how the affair stood}\]

Another is in an indirect question after a declarative, negative statement.

\[\text{ãgwìnìtâgâyànìnì} \text{ àcìsonwànànì} \text{ I did not learn what their name was}\]

A third use is in the salutation of a first meeting after a long absence.

\[\text{à'pyàwàwànànì} \text{ and so thou hast come!}\]

Without ã, this interrogative appears in

\[\text{ãgwi meckwàhàw} \text{ nàwàgwinì} \text{ did you not see a red swan 80.5, 16; 82.6 (nà- to see [§ 16]; -wàgwi [§ 32]; -nì [§ 29])}\]

[No transitive forms are given in the above table for the interrogative subjunctive. Note, however,

\[\text{nesàgåwàni (somebody) must have killed him 66.7}\]

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This is a form of this class; -ā corresponds to ḋ of -āwā in this independent mode; -gwānṭ as in the table; but ḋ- is lacking.—T. M.]

The subjunctive of the indirect question omits the temporal prefix, and has throughout final -e instead of -i (-wānēne, -gwāhine, etc.).

[nāsāgwānṭ SOMEBODY SLEW HIM 26.15 (the change of the stem vowel e to ḋ as in the participial nāsāṭ ḋ HE THAT SLEW HIM 26.13) should be noted.—T. M.]

§ 33. PARTICIPIALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we excl.</th>
<th>we incl.</th>
<th>thou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-yāni</td>
<td>-yāge</td>
<td>-yāge</td>
<td>-yāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us excl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-nāni</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td>-nāge</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-agta</td>
<td>-aga</td>
<td>-aga</td>
<td>-aga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, an.</td>
<td>-aṣgīpi</td>
<td>-aṣgīpi</td>
<td>-aṣgīpi</td>
<td>-aṣgīpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-aṣmāni</td>
<td>-aṣmāge</td>
<td>-aṣmāge</td>
<td>-aṣmāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, inan.</td>
<td>-aṣmāqinī</td>
<td>-aṣmāqinī</td>
<td>-aṣmāqinī</td>
<td>-aṣmāqinī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they, an.</th>
<th>it</th>
<th>they, inan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>-yāgūce</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tigī</td>
<td>-miga'ki</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-yāgūce</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tigī</td>
<td>-miga'ki</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us excl.</td>
<td>-yāgūce</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tigī</td>
<td>-miga'ki</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us incl.</td>
<td>-yāgūce</td>
<td>-tā</td>
<td>-tigī</td>
<td>-miga'ki</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>-āgūra</td>
<td>-āga</td>
<td>-āsiga</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>-āgūra</td>
<td>-āga</td>
<td>-āsiga</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-āga</td>
<td>-āga</td>
<td>-āsiga</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, an.</td>
<td>-āgūripi</td>
<td>-āga</td>
<td>-āsiga</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
<td>-miga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-aṣmāgūr</td>
<td>-aṣa</td>
<td>-aṣigī</td>
<td>-aṣmāmiga'k</td>
<td>-aṣmāmiga'kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them, inan.</td>
<td>-aṣmāqinī</td>
<td>-aṣgīni</td>
<td>-aṣgīni</td>
<td>-aṣmāmiga'k</td>
<td>-aṣmāmiga'kini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be well to point out here some of the differences between the participle and the conjunctive verb. In the first place, the participle lacks the temporal augment ḋ to denote indefinite tense. In the second place, the vowel of the first syllable of the initial stem undergoes change; this, however, is not always maintained if the vowel be i, o, or u. Finally, as observed from the table, the singular of the third person animate intransitive ends in -ta, the plural of the same person and gender ends in -tigī, and the ending of the plural of the third person inanimate is -miga'kini instead of -miga'ki. Some

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of these differences can be seen from a comparison of a few participles with their related conjunctives:

ā'hanemihā’tcĕ when he went yon way
ānemihā’tă he who went yon way
ānemihā’tcă’g1 they who went yon way
ānemihāmiga’k’in1 they (the stones) that went yon way
ā’pe’mē’kă’tcĕ when he passed by
pā’me’kă’tă he who passed by
ā’hucětcĕ when he came from thence
wā’tcītă he who came from thence
wā’tcīmiga’k’in1 they (the things) that came from thence
ā’k’i’wita’tcĕ when he staid around them
kū’i’tăcă’g1 they who staid about them
kū’i’tămiga’k’i’ni they (the things) that remained about
pāmine’k’a’wătcă’g1 they that chase 70 title (stem-vowel e)
mă’kădăwiktă he who was fasting 186 title (stem-vowel a)
măn��nănetăg1 he who preferred it 136.5 (stem-vowel e) [ending
-ąg1 for -ąg1— T. M.]
wāpinīgwa’tă the white-eyed one 150.1 (stem-vowel ā)
tāpănată the one whom you love 150.1 (stem-vowel e)
wānīmātă the one whom he had forsaken 150.7 (stem-vowel i)
năsătă he that slew him 26.13, 17 (stem-vowel e)
tcăgānătovătăcă’g1 they of every language 22.14 (tcăg for tcăg
[§ 16])
mī’kemătcă’g1 they who had been making love to her 46.5 (mī’k-
[§ 16]; -e— [§ 8]; -m— [§ 21])

The transitive pronominal forms differ most widely where the third person is involved in the subject. The transitive participle of the third person sometimes has the force of a possessive construction combined with that of an objective. Its sense is then more of the nature of a noun. Its pronominal endings are slightly different, as can be seen from the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>-ăcă’ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-ăcă’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>-ăg1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>-ăg1i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms occur in situations like these:
tcăinawă’mătcă’n1 his relative; viz., one to whom he is related
(-m— [§ 21])
The third person animate, singular and plural, has two forms. The first of these forms is -tcı for the singular, -wàtcı for the plural; the second is -nici for both singular and plural. The latter form is used in two cases. One is syntactic, and occurs when the dependent verb is subordinate to a principal verb. The other is psychological, and occurs when the subject of the dependent verb plays a less important role than the subject of another verb; it is a frequent construction in narration. The subjective noun of the dependent verb takes on an objective ending -wani for the singular, and -wa’i or ha’t for the plural.

The same thing happens to a transitive verb in the same relation. The change takes place with the form representing the subject, but the form representing the object remains unchanged. The change occurs when the subject of a dependent verb becomes the object of a principal verb. The subjective noun of the dependent verb has the objective ending -ani in the singular, and -a’i in the plural. In the following examples, the first two show the construction with an intransitive dependent verb, and the next two show the construction with a transitive verb.

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wd'pamä'w' ine'niwa'n' ä'pyäńi'tc' he watched the man come
wd'pamä'w' ine'niwa'n' ä'pyäńi'tc' he watched the men come
wd'pamä'w' ine'niwa'n' äne'säni'tc' pecege'siwa'n' he watched the man kill a deer
nä'wäw' ine'niwa'n' äwäpámä'ni'tc' ne'niwa'n' änesänite' pecege'siwa'n' he beheld the men looking at a man killing a deer

In the third example, ä in äne'säni'tc' refers to pecege'siwa'n', the object that was slain. In the fourth example, ä in äwäpámä'ni'tc' refers to ne'niwa'n', the object looked at by the plural ine'niwa'n'; ne'niwa'n', in turn, becomes the subject of äne'säni'tc', and pecege'siwa'n' is the object.

[Dr. Jones is slightly mistaken regarding -nitc'i in transitive forms. From the Fox Texts I can make two deductions: namely, that when the object is the third person animate, the form is -änite' (as Dr. Jones also saw); when third person inanimate, the form is -äminite' (with -äminite' as a variant). The -ä- of -änitei is the same pronominal element to be seen in ä-änite' (§29), etc.; while -äm- is related to am-
in-amwa (§28); amo in ä-amowätc'i (§29); -ämö- -amaw- of the double object, etc. Contrast äte'cgämänte' then they ate it all (animate) 294.10 (ä-nite' [§29]; teäg- for teägi- TOTALITY [§16] by contraction [§10]; amo for amo- (§16) by elision [§12]) with kä'käwamänte' they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 294.10 (kä-reduplication [§25]; 'käwa- to crunch [§16]; -t- [§21]; ä- dropped [§12]). And observe nä'kä'tc'gämäwätc'i again they ate it (animate) all 296.3 (for nä'kä' [§10]; ä-änwätc'i [§29]) and äkä'käwamäwätc'i then they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 296.5 (ä-amówätc'i [§29]), where no change in the third person subject occurs. Note also önämenataminitc'i then they vomited them (inanimate) 294.13 (for önä-ä-), but amemenatamowätc'i then they vomited them (inanimate) 296.6 (for -ämowätc'i [§29]). Further compare ä'ä'tä'penäminitc'i 172.19, ä'ä'dä'penäminitc'i 172.16, then he took it in his hand (ä'däp-, ä'täp- initial stem; -e- [§8]; -n- [§21]) with ää'dä'penäg' then he took it 172.5 (ä-ag' [§29]; à'ä'täpenäg' 174.15 is a variant; inä'ä'dä'-penäg' 172.12 is for önä'ä-). See also 22.23; 68.13; 150.15, 17; 160.18; 166.19; 172.14, 17; 174.8; 188.21; 244.14; 348.18, 22, 23. This amä is also to be seen in an interrogative verbal form (§32); namely, ä'tänwätamägni'c'i 340.11, 17. The inserted -ni- is also noteworthy. The analysis of this is ä-gwän' (§32); tan- to engage in (§16); và sound (§20). He sounded it (i. e., his voice) out is a close rendering.

It should be observed that the same device of inserting -ni- is used in the subjunctive; e. g., pyäńi't 156.21 should he chance to come.—T. M.]

§ 34
Use of the Possessed Noun as Subject of a Verb

An independent verb with the possessed noun of the third person used as the subject changes the form of its pronominal ending from -wə to -niwən in the singular and from -wəgə to -niwa in the plural. The change is one of concord between the subject and the verb.

utne'mo'hema'n' pyə'niwa'n' his dog comes
utanemō'he'mwāwa'n' pyə'niwa'n' their dog comes
utanemō'hema'n' pyə'niwa'n' his dogs come
utanemō'he'mwāwa'n' pyə'niwa'n' their dogs come

The next set of examples are of the independent transitive verb. It is to be noted that the change of the pronominal ending concerns only the one representing the subject; the one standing for the object remains the same.

utanemō'hema'n' wā'pamāniwa'n' ma''hwāwa'n' his dog looked at the wolf (ā in wā'pamāniwa'n' is an objective sign, and refers to ma''hwāwa'n', the object of the verb)
utanemō'hema'n' wā'pamāniwa'n' ma''hwāwa'n' his dogs watched the wolves

If the object of the verb become in turn the subject of a dependent clause, it will still keep its objective form; but its verb will be of the dependent group. The object of the main verb will be represented as subject of the dependent verb by -niti (ni in -niti is the same as ni in -niwan). As in the case of the independent verb, so in that of the dependent verb, the sign of the object is unmodified.

utanemō'hema'n' wā'pamāniwa'n' ine'niwa'ni'āne'sāni'te ma''hwāwa'n' his dog looked at the man who was killing the wolf (ā in āne'sāni'te refers to ma''hwāwa'ni, the object that was killed; and niti in the same verb refers to ine'niwa'ni, the subject who did the killing; the verb is of the conjunctive mode).

If the verb of the possessed subject contain a dependent clause with object, it will keep the singular -niwan, even though the possessed subject be plural.

utanemō'he'mwāwa'n' wā'pamāniwa'n' ma''hwāwa'n' ā'pemine-ka''wāni'te kō'kō'eča'n' their dogs looked at the wolf chasing the pig
utanemō'he'mwāwa'n' wā'pamāniwa'n' ma''hwāwa'n' ā'pemine-ka''wāni'te kō'kō'eča'n' their dogs watched the wolves chasing the pigs
There is also a peculiarity of construction belonging to the possessed inanimate noun of the third person when used as the subject of an intransitive verb. The pronominal ending representing the subject of the independent verb is changed from -w* to -niw* in the singular, and from -ön* to -niwan* in the plural. These peculiarities can be observed from an illustration of an independent intransitive verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{utA'senfm} & \text{pyā'migAtenfw} & \text{his stone comes this way} \\
\text{utA'sen} & \text{nimA} & \text{pyā'migate} & \text{niwA} & \text{his stones come hitherward}
\end{align*}
\]

The construction is not so simple with a transitive verb. If the verb takes an object which in turn becomes the subject of a subordinate clause, then its pronominal subject becomes -niwan* for both the singular and the plural.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{utA'sen} & \text{mcu'gwini'tc} & \text{inewA} & \text{his stone hit the man who was chasing the woman} \\
\text{utA'sen} & \text{nimA} & \text{mcu'gwini'tc} & \text{inewA} & \text{his stones struck the man}
\end{align*}
\]

If there be only the subject, verb, and object, then the verb assumes dependent form. The ending of the pronominal element representing the subject of an assertive verb is -nitci, which at once looks like an animate form of the conjunctive. But there are three peculiarities which point toward a passive participial. One is the presence of -gwi- before -nitci*. This -gwi- seems to be the same as -g- or -gu-, which, occurring in the same place, expresses a passive relation. Another peculiarity is that the first vowel of the initial stem undergoes change. Finally, the syllabic augment ā is wanting. Change of the vowel of an initial stem, and the absence of the augment ā, are the peculiar characteristics of a participial.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{utA'sen} & \text{mcu'gwini'tc} & \text{inewA} & \text{his stone hit the man} \\
\text{utA'sen} & \text{nimA} & \text{mcu'gwini'tc} & \text{inewA} & \text{his stones struck the man}
\end{align*}
\]

The active transitive form of the verb is me'cwawa he hit him with a missile. The animate passive conjunctive is āme'cugu'tc* when he was struck by a missile.

[Here should be mentioned the peculiar treatment of a possessed inanimate noun of the first person with a transitive verb taking an animate object. In this case the form of the verb is precisely the same as in the passive [§ 41], but the incorporated pronominal object

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immediately precedes the final termination. An example is *ni\̂pi-k* net\̂wa\̂ta\̂g\̂w* MY ARROW WAS CARRYING IT AWAY (FROM ME) 80.19; 82. 8, 21; *ni\̉pi\̂ku\̂ net\̂wa\̂ta\̂g\̂w* MY ARROW WAS CARRYING IT AWAY (FROM ME) 80.8. The analysis of the last is *n*- *m*; *m*- suffix omitted (§ 45); *i\̂pi* ARROW; *-ku\̂* VERELY; *ne-* *gu* I AM (§ 41); the *-a*- before the *-gu* is the same objective incorporated third person pronoun met in §§ 28, 29 (e. g., *änesë\̂tlc* THEN HE SLEW HIM). The *t* after *ne*- is inserted according to § 28; *äwa-äwa-* is an initial stem (§ 16) meaning TO CARRY AWAY; the following *t* seems to be a reflex of the inanimate subject (see § 21). I may add, *ni\̂pi-k* is merely a reduction of *ni\̂pi-k\̂u* by stress (§ 6).—T. M.

Use of the Possessed Noun of the Third Person as the Object of a Verb

Ambiguity is likely to arise when a possessed noun of the third person, like *ö\̂san* HIS FATHER, becomes the object of a verb. In a sentence like *nöwöw* *ö\̂san* HE SAW HIS FATHER there are two possible fathers: one is the father of the subject, and the other is the father of somebody else. The sentence, however, implies but a single father, but which one is meant is not made positive by any special form. As the sentence stands, the reference is rather to the father of the subject. But if the father of another be in mind, and there be a desire to avoid ambiguity, then one of two methods is employed. In the one the name of the son appears before the possessed noun, the name ending with the sign of the objective:

*nöwöw* *Pägwâ\̂nöw*\̂n*ö\̂san* he saw Running-Wolf's father

In the other, use is made of an incorporated dative construction.

*nätz\̂mawöw* *ö\̂san* the literal rendering of which is HE SAW IT FOR HIM HIS FATHER; and the sense of which is HE SAW HIM WHO WAS FATHER TO ANOTHER. The vowel *ä* after *t* is an inanimate pronominal element. It is objective, while *ä* of the penult is animate and in a dative relation. [nä- is an initial stem, to see; *-t*- is an intervocalic (§ 8); *-w* (§ 28).—T. M.]

The *-Amaw- of nät-Amawöw* is identical with the *-Amaw- of *Ap\̂i-\̂Amawin* UNTIE THIS FOR ME 312.12 (*Ap\̂i- UNTIE [§ 16]; *-in* [§ 31]); *ä-\̂Ap\̂i-Amawötc* THEN HE UNTIED THE THING AND TOOK IT OFF FROM HIM 312.13 (*ä-\̂ütc* [§ 29]); *pemutAmawin* SHOOT HIM FOR ME 202.18; 204.9 (*pemu- for pemwu-* [§ 12]; *-t*- [§ 21]; *-in\̂*, a prolongation of *-in* [§ 31]); *sigahAmawin* POUR IT OUT FOR HIM (ME?) 236.8 (*-\̂a- [§ 8]; *-h*- [§ 21]; *-in* for *-in* [§ 31] by contraction [§ 10] and stress [§ 6]).

1 From here to p. 838, addition by T. Michelson.

§ 34
The question of the double object in Algonquian is not raised by Dr. Jones. It surely is found, but I have been unable to gather more than a fragmentary series from the Fox Texts. The pronominal form of the third person object, singular or plural, animate or inanimate, is -Amaw- before vowels, -Amō- (-Amu-) before consonants. This occurs immediately before the other suffixal pronominal elements. It is clear that -Amaw- and -Amō- are related to the -Am- in -Amos of the independent mode (§ 28), -Amān', -Amagu', -Amonoāc', etc., of conjunctive and subjunctive (§ 29); -Amōge', -Amāgu'a, -Amonoās'a, etc., of the potential, potential subjunctive, prohibitive (§ 30); -Amāg̓', -Amāgin', -Amgu', -Amāgu', -Amōmiga'k̓', etc., of the participial (§ 33); -Amu'k̓', -Amonoāc', etc., of the imperative (§ 31). Following are examples:

_kesa'kahamōn̓e_ I burn him for you (sing.) 380.1 (ke—ne [§ 28]; sa'k̓- initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
_kesa'kahamōn̓en̓ep̓u_ I burn him for you (pl.) 380.6 (ke—nepu [§ 28]; the rest as above)
_pemutamawin̓u_ shoot him for me 202.18 (pemu- for pemu- to shoot; -t- [§ 8]; -inu for -inu [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 5])
ähawtenamawātc then he handed it to him 348.8 (with she as subj. 174.17) (for ā—ātec [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; av̓ for av̓, an initial stem [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8], -n- [§ 21]); see also 348.10, 12, 14
_kis̓a'kahamawāpu_ ye will burn him for them 180.14 (ki̓—āpu [§28]; sa'k̓- an initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
ap̓i a'mawin̓u untie it for me 312.12 (ap̓i [āp̓i-] to untie [§16]; -inu [§31])
ā'ā'pi a'mawātc then he untied it for him 312.13 (ā—ātec [§ 29]) a'pyatenamawivātc then they brought it to 376.9 (ā—ivātc [§ 29]; py̓u— motion hitherward [§16]; -te- [§ 8]; -n- [§21])
pyatenamawiyag̓w̓ when you (pl.) brought me it 376.1 (ā—dropped [§ 12]; ā—iyag̓w̓ [§ 29])
änagonamawātc then he shoved it into them 358.1 (ā—ātec [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]; the initial stem is nāgo- [nāgu- 358.3] to shove)
pyatenamawin̓u hand me them 242.13 (graphic variant for pyatenamawin̓u; py̓u- [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8]; -inu [§ 31])
nimawinatamawin̓u I shall go and ask him for it 252.20 (nī— d̓u [§ 28]; məwi- to go [§ 16]; natu- [nato-] to ask [§ 16]);
kenatotamōn̓e I ask it of you 380.2, 4 (ke—ne [§ 28])
ër̓s̓a'kahamawātc when he burns him for him TITLE 380 (ā—ātec [§ 29]; sa'k̓- initial stem to BURN AS AN OFFERING; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

§ 34
äväkahamawaoätc when they burn him for them title 380 (ä—äwätc [§ 29])
ketcinatutamöns such is what I ask of thee 380.5 (graphic variant for ketcinatutamöns; ke—nö [§ 28]; taci- initial stem meaning number)
inäcinatutamu'kä is what they beg of thee 382.14 (for in' ä—ici-; in' [§ 47]; ä—kä [§ 29]; ici thus) wöitamwin tell them to me 350.19 (the stem is wöi- [or wi-; -t as in § 8?]; -inw [§ 31]) keröitamön I told it to you 114.22 (for ke—nö [§ 28] by contraction [§ 8])

kööitamawenö thou wilt tell it to him 178.1 (kü—övö [§ 28])
äööitamönnän I tell it to thee 314.1 (ä—nän [§ 29])
kööitameöen-män go ahead and tell it to me 112.15 (kü—ne [§ 28]; -emö- variant of -amö-)

köööitamöneröoni I will tell it to you (pl.) 356.6 (kü—neröoni [§ 28])
wi'i:ööitamöns głööö what I should tell you (pl.) 280.13 (wi—nagöö [§ 29]; ici- initial stem thus; -amö- variant of -amö-)
äööitamawiyöni when thou taunted me about him 330.16 (ä—iyän [§ 29]; wä— [§ 25])

wiööitamawiyöög what we (excl.) would you (sing.) declare to us 364.20 (wi—iyög [§ 29])
ëköiciööitamönnän I have nothing more to say to thee 330.13 (ä—nän [§ 29]; ici- an initial stem denoting completion [§ 16]; an excellent example to show that ici- in Algonquian is not (as is assumed in some purely practical grammars) merely a tense-prefix to form the perfect)

köööitamawi-tçämegö I should merely like you to tell it to me 328.14 (kü—I [§ 28])

I do not understand awitämeg wiööitamönenagöösa I ought not to have told you 314.2. It is clear that nagöösa belongs in § 30; -amö- also needs no elucidation. The -ne- is a puzzle; I wonder if it stands for -ni- and is the same as the negative suffix -ni in § 29?

According to Dr. Jones, ä'keteminamawiyögrö 374.14 (and similarly inäcinäkaketeminamawiyögrö 374.9) means, not in that you have blessed them for my sake,—which the analysis would require,—but in that you have done the blessing for me.

Vöööitamawageö at 350.17 is clear enough in structure (wi—ageö [§§ 29, 35]), but certainly does not fit well with Dr. Jones's explanation (Fox Texts, p. 351, footnote 3). I suspect that the real sense is I meant to have told (you) about them for his sake.

This -amaw- is also to be seen in indefinite passives, conjunctive mode [§ 41]. Examples are:

§ 34
ä'ke'kahamawig' when I was pointed it out 374.16 (ä—ig'; ke'k-
an initial stem, TO KNOW, TO FIND OUT; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])
ä'ke'kahamawutc' it was pointed out for him 62.8 (ä—utc'; -samaw-
represents the inanimate object)

kicesamawutc' when it was done cooking for him 14.18, 21 (kiece-
ki:ici- COMPLETION [§ 16]; -samaw- variant of -samaw-; ä- dropped
[§ 12]; ä—utc')

ä'papa'kenamawutc' then it was taken away and torn off him
158.19 (ä—utc'; pa- [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; pa'k- to separate)
ä- a' 'kusamawutc' they deprived him of it and burnt it up 158.19
(a—utc'; contrast with this ä a' 'kasutc' HE WAS BURNT UP 160.1)
ä 'pa'kvo'amawutc' then it was sliced away for him 14.22 (c-
[§ 21]; contrast 14.23 ähanemisa'kvo:cutc'; hanemi- [§ 16])

Also this -samaw- is to be seen in the pronominal termination
of a transitive verb with possessed noun of the third person as object
(§ 34):

änet'tamawagiws osiman' because we slew his younger brother
344.10 (ä—Agw [§ 29]; ne't- a variant of nees- TO KILL [§ 9, 16];
osiman'; o for u; u—man' [§ 45]).

The -sam-, is certainly also to be seen in a transitive form of the
interrogative mode, which, though not given by Dr. Jones, nevertheless
existed:

keke'knetamöovanän' you knew all about it 288.5 (ke- [§ 25]; ke'k-
initial stem; -äne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 8 or § 21]; ä- dropped [§ 12];
ä—vanän' [§ 32])
nätawänetamöovanän' what you desire in your own mind 180.9
(nätaw[']- to desire; -vanän' [§ 32])

In this connection the peculiar use of -sam- in certain cases should
be mentioned:

ä'kicicetamägutc' when he was told about them 54.13 (ä—tc'
[§ 29]; kici- completion; wit- to tell; -gu- [§ 41])
önäigahamägutc then she poured it for her 316.23 (for ön'
äsägahamägutc' by contraction [§ 10]; ä—tc' [§ 29]; äg- an ini-
tial stem meaning TO POUR; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; the English
idiom prevents this being translated as a passive)
pyätamägutc' she was fetched it 318.1 (pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8];
-a- variant of -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; -ä—tc' [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41])
kenstawänetamägöö' they ask it of you 382.12 (ke—göö' [§ 28];
nätaw- a by-form of natu- TO ASK; -äne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])
nivitamägwo-mä of course he will tell me it 328.21 (ni—gwa
[§ 28]; wit- to tell)

§ 34
Ona'papākahamāgute then it was tapped on by him 346.15 (for on' a'papākahamāgute; a- [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; pā- [§ 25]; pā- [cf. a'pāpāgepyāhamināc 68.13] to tap; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; note that the subject grammatically must be animate)

A double object is clearly to be seen in 344.5, 7, 15, 24; 346.8: but unfortunately I can not completely analyze the form; pāpākahamāw- is a variant for pāpagatamāw-, and the double object is clear (pā- [§ 25]; paga- [pāgi-] to strike with a club).

A couple of examples where the subject is the third person plural, and the direct object third person singular (or plural), with the second person singular as indirect object, are—

kipyātāgōg' they will bring them to you 348.3 (kī—gōgf [§ 28]; pyā- motion hitherward [§ 16]; -t- [§ 21] and kīhavaμātāgōg they will fetch them to you 348.4 (for kī—gōgf [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; awa- variant of āwa- to fetch [§ 16]; -t- [§§ 8, 21]). The -a- is the same objective pronominal element seen in ne—āwa, ke—āνoa, etc. [§ 28]; ă—ūtei, ă—ūvātei, etc. [§ 29]; -sā, -āvāsa [§ 30]; -ta, -ātei, -āteini, -āvāteini, etc. [§ 33].

Allied to the double object is the treatment of a possessed noun as the object of a transitive verb. Dr. Jones has treated the possessed noun of the third person as the object of a transitive verb of the third person [§ 34]. But there are other cases.

Thus nemīcāmī nelawatāgwa she carried my sacred bundle away 326.24; 328.5, 14; 330.2 (ne- [§ 45]; -ā- as above; -t- [§ 28]; āwα- [awα-] to carry away; -t- [§ 8 or § 21]). As far as the verb is concerned, the structure is the same as in neka'kitāgwā she has hidden it from me 326.17 (ka'ki- is an initial stem meaning to conceal). Furthermore, it should be noted that although the noun is inanimate, -ā- is animate. An example of where the possessed noun is the first person plural (incl.) and the subject is the second person singular is keta'ko'konānī kihawānawā thou wilt take our (incl.) drum along 348.9 (ke—nānī [§ 45]; -t- [§ 45]; kī—āνo [§ 28]; -h- [§ 8]; awa- a variant of āwα-; -n- [§ 21]). Observe that a'ko'konā (348.10, 17) drum is inanimate, as shown by the termination -a' (§ 42); and that the pronominal elements of keta'ko'konān are inanimate; nevertheless the pronominal elements incorporated in the verb are animate.1

Two kinds of participles drop the final sign of the subject, and take on a lengthened termination when it becomes necessary for them to enter into a relation involving the use of -n' as a final ending. One is the transitive participle with an animate subject and an inanimate object; the nominative ending of this participle is -g'.

1 From p. 837 to here, addition by T. Michelson.

§ 34
pâmiwâ'sâskâ'g one who passes by flashing a light
nâ'wâwâ pâmiwâsâ'skâmîntci'n he saw him that went past
flashing a light

The same ending with similar change occurs with an intransitive
participle:
pâ'wact'g one who shakes his (own) body while lying down
wâ'pâmâ'wâ pâwactîmîntci'n he looked at him who lay shaking
his own body

The other kind of participle is with the subject ending in -tâ. The
dropping of -tâ is common with the indefinite passive participle.
mî'net one to whom he was given
âhîgutc mîne'mîntcî'n and so he was told by the one to whom he
was given (-m- [§ 21]; see also § 8)

§ 35. Syntactic Use of Modes and Tenses

1. Future.—The future sometimes denotes expectation, desire, and
exhortation.

ni'pya I hope to come
ki'pya may you come
wi'pyâwâ let him come

2. Conjunctive.—Tense for the present and past is indicated by the
syllabic augment â-. If the conjunctive preserves its purely sub-
ordinate character, as when it stands in an indirect relation to an
idea previously expressed or to an independent statement, then the
augment â- is more likely to refer to an action as past. Thus:

â'skâtc â'pâyâtc in course of time he came (cf. 38.14)
ne'pya â'pâyâ'n I came when you arrived

But if the conjunctive departs from its subordinate function, then
the syllabic â- may, according to context, refer to an occurrence as
past, or as extending up to, and as taking place during, the present.
This is the same indefinite tense of the independent verb.

âne'pâyâ'n I slept; I am sleeping
âne'pâyâ'n you slept; you are sleeping
â'nepâ'tc he slept; he sleeps

It is to be observed that the translations are finite assertions, and
are in the indicative mode, as would be the case for an independent
verb of the same tense. They illustrate a peculiar use of the con-
junctive,—a use that belongs to all narrative discourse, as in the language of myth, legend, tradition.

This finite use is parallel to that found in the Latin construction of accusative with infinitive.

The conjunctive has a future tense, which is indicated by the prefix \( \text{wi}^- \). The temporal prefix also occurs with the third person of animate and inanimate independent forms. [See my note to § 28.—T. M.]

As in the independent series, so here, the future can be used to express vague anticipation and desire.

\[
\text{wi'\text{h}ā\text{y}a\text{'n}t? \text{dost thou expect to go?} \\
\text{wi'hā\text{tc}\text{t} \text{he wants to go}}
\]

3. Dependent Character of the Pronominal Forms of the Negative Independent Verb.—It is convenient at this point to make mention of the negative forms of the independent intransitive verb. The negative adverb is \( \tilde{\text{ā}}\text{g\nu}^t \) NO, NOT. Its position is before the verb, and its use involves a modification of the conjunctive. In the first place, the temporal vowel \( \tilde{\text{ā}}^- \) drops out, and so there is no sign to indicate indefinite tense. In the second place, all the pronominal elements take on a terminal \( \text{-ni} \), all the terminal vowels of the conjunctive being \( e \).

The following examples show some of the forms with stem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ā'g\w{\text{g}}\w{\text{wi}}} \text{ pyā'yā\text{'n}i'\text{'n}t} & \text{ I do not come; I did not come} \\
\text{ā'g\w{\text{g}}\w{\text{wi}}} \text{ pyā'yā\text{'n}i'\text{'n}t} & \text{ thou dost not come; thou didst not come} \\
\text{ā'g\w{\text{g}}\w{\text{wi}}} \text{ pyā'tc\text{'n}t} & \text{ he does not come; he did not come} \\
\text{ā'g\w{\text{g}}\w{\text{wi}}} \text{ pyāmi'ga'ki'\text{'n}t} & \text{ it does not come; it did not come} \\
\text{ā'g\w{\text{g}}\w{\text{wi}}} \text{ pyā'yāgi'\text{ni}t} & \text{ they and I do not come; they and I did not come}
\end{align*}
\]

For the future, the negative independent verb has the prefix \( \text{w\text{i}^-} \).

The negative of the conjunctive verb is indicated by \( \text{pwā'wi} \). Its use brings about no change in the form of the verb. It stands between the tense particles \( \tilde{\text{ā}}^- \) and \( \text{w\text{i}^-} \) and the verbal stems.

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{\text{ā}}'\text{pwā\w{\text{w}}\w{\text{i}}}\text{pyā'yā\text{'n}t} & \text{ when I did not come} \\
\text{w\text{i}'}\text{pwā\w{\text{w}}\w{\text{i}}}\text{pyā'tc\text{t}t} & \text{ while he has no desire to come}
\end{align*}
\]

4. The Subjunctive.—The subjunctive has a variety of uses. In one it is used to express an unfulfilled wish.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nā's\w{\text{t}}t} & \text{ may he get well} \\
\text{p\w{\text{d}}'\text{ne\w{\text{p}}\w{\text{y}}\w{\text{d}}}{\text{t}}t} & \text{ would that he ceased from drunkenness}
\end{align*}
\]

In another it is employed to express a wish, as of a prayer. In § 35
its use, it occurs with an adverb t'ai'yâna, which conveys the desiderative sense of WOULD THAT! OH, IF!

\[t'ai'yâna \text{ pyâ't}^*\] oh, if he would only come!

The subjunctive is also used to express the possibility of an action.

\[pe'musâ't^*\] he might pass by on foot

\[tetepu'sâyâ'n^*\] thou shouldst walk around in a circle

The same subjunctive is employed to express two kinds of conditions. In the one, where the condition is assumed as possible, the subjunctive stands in the protasis; while the future indicative of an independent verb is in the conclusion. The tense of the subjunctive is implied, and is that of the future.

\[wi'upi'tâhâ'w^* pyâ'miga''k^*\] he will be pleased if it should come

In the other, where the condition is assumed as contrary to fact, both clauses stand in the subjunctive. The tense of both clauses is implied; that of the protasis is past, and that of the conclusion is present.

\[upi'tâhâ'\text{ pyâ'miga''k}^*\] he would be pleased if it had come

The forms of this subjunctive are connected with past action. The idea of relative time is gathered more from implication of the context than from the actual expression of some distinctive element calling for past time. Some of the uses to which this subjunctive is put are the following:

It is used to express an unattained desire. It occurs with t'ai'yâna.

\[t'ai'yâna \text{ ki'wâte''}^*\] oh, if he only had turned and come back!

It is used as a potential.

\[ta'k'âmusâ'yâ'ne''^*\] thou mightest have gone by a short way in your walk across country

It frequently has the force of an indicative, and, when so used, the verb makes use of the tense particles â and wi. [See my note to § 29.—T. M.] But the action is always represented with reference to an event in the past.

\[i'ni\text{ te'pe'kw}^t\ a''\text{ pemâmute''}^*\] it was on that night when he fled for his life (pem- [§ 16]; -âmû- [see -â- § 19])

In this connection it often occurs with an adverb, ke'yâhâ'p^a, which has such meanings as IT WAS TRUE; IT WAS A FACT; WHY, AS A MATTER OF FACT.

§ 35
The potential subjunctive is used in a verb that stands in the conclusion of a past condition contrary to fact, while in the protasis stands a verb in the past subjunctive.

nahinā'gāte"*  ite'pihā's a had he known how to sing, he would have gone to the place

7. The prohibitive imperative is introduced by kāta, a negative adverb with the meaning NOT or DO NOT.

§ 37. CAUSAL PARTICLES

-m- animate, -t- inanimate. (See § 21)
As has been stated before, these particles sometimes imply that something is done with the voice, but ordinarily they simply

§§ 36, 37
indicate the transitive character of the verb. The animate -m- immediately precedes an animate, pronominal element. When the object is animate, it comes before the form that represents an objective relation; but when the object is inanimate, then it stands preceding the sign that represents the animate subject. The intervocalic t stands in front of the vowel that represents the inanimate object. (See examples in § 21.)

The consonant t often has a whispered continuant before articulation (’t). With one form or the other, the consonant has an inanimate use which is peculiar to itself alone. It often conveys the idea of work; of the display of energy; of activity which implies the use of some agency, but without expressing any particular form of instrumentality. This use of the intervocalic consonant involves a difference in the form of the objective pronominal sign. In the examples that were just cited, the sign of the objective inanimate pronoun was a or å. With this other use of t or ’t, the inanimate sign of the objective pronoun is o or ò.

\[ \text{pōni}’\text{tō}’\text{wø} \] he no longer works at it; he no longer makes it (pōni- [§ 16])

\[ \text{ness}’\text{nagi}’\text{tø} \] I had a hard time with it; I had trouble making it

\( h, hw, w. \)

There is one group of causal particles which have a common function of reference to instrumentality in general. They are \( h, hw, \) and \( w. \) Comparing the use of one of these with that of \( t \) or ’t brings out clearly the difference between causal particles with the instrumental sense limited and \( t \) or ’t that has the instrumental function unlimited. With \( h, \) for example, the emphasis is rather upon the connection of the action of the verb and the means taken to act upon the object. On the other hand, with \( t \) or ’t the connection is closer between the action of the verb and the object of the verb. The idea of instrumentality is so vague as to be left wholly to inference.

\( k̓a’skahu’mwø \) he accomplished the work (by the help of some kind of agency) (\( k̓ask- [§ 16]; -amwø [§ 28])

\( k̓a’sk’i’tō’wø \) he accomplished the work

\( ā’pyūtōhwát\) he then fetched it 266.15 (\( pyū-t-ō- [§§ 16, 8, 19]; -āt\) [§ 29])

\( § 37 \)
One more comparison will perhaps suffice upon this point. There is a causal particle *m* which has already been mentioned. It has a common use associated with the instrumentality of the mouth, more particularly with that of speech.

\[
pō'nimā'wą \text{ no longer does he speak to him}
pō'nī'tō'wą \text{ no longer does he do it}
\]

§ 38. THE RECIPROCAL VERB

Now that the tables of the transitive pronominal elements have been shown, it will be convenient to take up the other two classes of transitive verbs; viz., the reciprocals and reflexives. They can be dismissed with a few remarks. Both have much the character of an intransitive verb; in fact, their form is that of an intransitive. The reciprocal expresses mutual participation on the part of two or more subjects, and so the verb does not occur except in plural form or with a plural sense. The reciprocal notion is expressed by *ti* incorporated between the stem of the verb and the final, pronominal sign. [It should be noted that in all the examples given, -*ti*- is the incorporated element, not -*ti*.-—T. M.] The reciprocal has a reflexive sense, in that it represents the subjects as objects of the action. Its force as a transitive is gathered from the context.

- *mīgū'tīwa'g* they fought together; they fought with one another
- *ne'vāpātipe'ną* he and I looked at each other
- *ke'ntinīhēti'pō* you danced together
- *ā'tanēti* at a place where gambling one with another is going on
- *navihtawagāpe* they always visit one another
- *āhitūnīc* they said one to another
- *ānduvātiwāc* as one was eyeing, the other
- *mānetiça* they who played the harlot with each other
- *kākanōnetiça* she and he talked together
- *mamātiwagāpe* they are always taking things from each other
- *ki'tanetipec* let us make a bet with each other
- *āhitūwāc* they said one to another
- *ā'pōnikanōnetiwiwāc* so with no further words to each other
- *nīmīgōtipec* he and I shall fight against each other
- *tcāgūnstotiwāc* then an invitation was extended to all, every one
- *tcāgū* asking every one else

§ 38
§ 39. THE REFLEXIVE VERB

In the reflexive verb the action refers back to the subject. The sign of the reflexive is -tisu- or -tiso- with the u or o vowel in either case sometimes long. The reflexive sign occurs in the same place as the reciprocal; viz., between the stem and the final pronoun. The difference of meaning between the two signs is, that -tisu- represents the subject solely as the object of the action, and does not, like -ti-, convey the reciprocal relation which two or more subjects bear to one another. Reflexive -ti- in -tisu- is plainly the same element as the reciprocal -ti-.

wāba'tisō'wə he looked at himself (wāba- same as wāpa)
paga'tisō'wə he hit himself (paga allied with pagi to strike)
dhitisuteč he then said to himself 286.22 (hi to say)

§ 40. THE MIDDLE VOICE

Thus far the description has been of verbs in the active voice. Two other voices are yet to be mentioned,—the middle and the passive. The middle voice represents the subject in close relation with the action of the verb. It is a form of construction of which the dialect is especially fond. The form of the verb is active, and mainly of a predicative intransitive character; but the meaning is passive. The voice is distinguished by animate and inanimate signs. Only two sets of signs will be taken up, the two most frequently met with. The animate sign is o and u long and short, and the inanimate is ā. These vowels are immediately preceded by intervocalic consonants, among which are s for the animate and t for the inanimate. It is perhaps better to refer to the combinations of so and sō, su and sū, and tā, as some of the signs of the middle voice. These forms are incorporated between the stem and the pronominal ending. The combinations of sū and tā were met with before in the section on secondary connective stems (§ 20). They appeared there in the rôle of co-ordinative stems, and the sense they conveyed was that of heat and warmth. They were used with reference to an existence or condition of the subject, and occurred among verbs of an intransitive nature. The same verbs used in the examples there can all be classed in the middle voice. The same signs can be used without the meaning of heat and warmth.

§§ 39, 40
ä'wáwápisu'tc' when he swung
wi'tö'käsoya'n* if thou shouldst help
ka''kisa'wa he is in hiding
ne'łow'a he killed himself 66.8 (-t- [§ 9])
kíwá'gwa'tá'wâ it lies on the ground
ane'mipugóta'wâ it floats your way; it moves away, carried by the water (anemi- [§ 16]; -pugô- [§ 19]; -wâ [§ 28])

The middle voice sometimes represents an animate subject as acting upon itself in an indirect object relation. The action of the verb refers back to the subject in something like a reflexive sense. In this use of the middle voice appears the instrumental particle, and it stands in the place of s.

kö'gitepänâ'wa he washes his own head (with the help of his hand) (kög- [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])
kä'sitepâhö'wa he wipes his own head (with something) (käsi- [§ 16]; -h- [§ 21])
pe'tecö'wa he accidentally cut himself (with something sharp) (-c- [§ 21])

The subject of a verb in the middle voice is often expressed as if acted upon in a passive sense.

taqwâ'hösö'wa he is caught in a trap
pemi'pugô'wa he floats by (more literally, he is carried past by the water; pemi- pugô- [§§ 16, 19])
kiyö'megö'wa he rides about on horseback (literally, he is carried about; kî- [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; -ö- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21; also § 8])

§ 41. THE PASSIVE VOICE

The use of the passive voice proper is confined to an agent in the third person. The sign of the passive is govgu; it occurs between the stem and the final pronominal ending. The sign with pronominal element can be seen in the tables of transitive forms. It is to be observed that the sign occurs more frequently with independent than with dependent forms.

The Passive with Subject and Object

A peculiarity of the passive construction is the difference of the form of the animate agent when the action of the verb is directed against the first or second person, and the form of the animate agent when the action is directed against a third person. If the action of the verb be directed against a first or second person, then the agent

§ 41
keeps the normal form of the nominative; but if the action of the verb be directed against the third person, then there is a change in the form of the agent: -ni is added to the nominative singular to mark the singular agent, and 'i is added to the same to mark the plural agent. Furthermore, if the object of the action be singular and the agent plural, the form of the verb will be singular. If the object of the action be plural, then the form of the verb will be plural. A few examples will illustrate the use of the passive forms with an animate agent.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{newd'pame'gw}^a \text{ ne'niw}^a & \quad \text{I am seen by the man} \\
\text{kewd'pame'gw}^a \text{ ne'niw}^a & \quad \text{thou art seen by the man} \\
\text{wd'pame'gw}^a \text{ ne'niw}^a \text{ni}^a & \quad \text{he is seen by the man.} \\
\text{In this and the next case, -w}^a \text{ is the pronominal termination; -g- the passive sign; i.e., gw}^a, \text{not -gu}^a \text{ (for gu}^a+a), \text{as in the first two examples. — T. M.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iva'pAme^gwa ne'riiwa} & \quad \text{he is seen by the men} \\
\text{w(vL'pA'megbyg' ne'riiwa} & \quad \text{they are seen by the man} \\
\text{w(vL'pA'megbyg' ne'niwa}'' & \quad \text{they are seen by the men}
\end{align*}
\]

The same examples turned into the conjunctive mode would be—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w}^a\text{wpA'megw}^a\text{tc}^a \text{ ne'niw}^a \text{ when I was seen by the man} \\
\text{w}^a\text{wpA'megw}^a\text{tc}^a \text{ ne'niw}^a \text{ when thou wert seen by the man} \\
\text{a'wpA'megu'}^a\text{tc}^a \text{ ne'niwa'ni} \text{ when he was seen by the man} \\
\text{a'wpA'megu'}^a\text{tc}^a \text{ ne'niwa''} \text{ when he was seen by the men} \\
\text{w}^a\text{wpA'meguwa'tc}^a \text{ ne'niwa'ni} \text{ when they were seen by the man} \\
\text{w}^a\text{wpA'meguwa'tc}^a \text{ ne'niwa''} \text{ when they were seen by the men}
\end{align*}
\]

**The Indefinite Passive**

There is an indefinite passive—indefinite in the sense that the agent is referred to in an indefinite way. The forms of two modes will be shown,—one of the indefinite tense of the independent mode, and another of the same tense of the conjunctive mode.

**INDEFINITE PASSIVE INDEPENDENT MODE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per.</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne-gōpi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
<td>ke-gōpi</td>
<td>Incl. ke-gōpna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
<td>-āpi</td>
<td>2d per. ke-gōpwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. inan.</td>
<td>-āpi</td>
<td>3d per. -āpi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is to be observed that some of the independent forms end with a final -pi, which may have some relation with i'pi, a quotative with § 41
such meanings as they say, it is said. The quotative sometimes occurs alone, but is most frequently met with as a suffix. Some of the forms just shown are the same as the ones seen in the independent transitive list; viz., the forms of the plural of the first and second persons. The following examples illustrate some of the uses of this passive:

- ne'wâpamego'p' I am looked at (¬me- [§§ 8, 21])
- ke'wâpamego'pw* you are looked at
- wâ'pama*p' he is looked at; they are looked at
- wâ'patâ*p' it is looked at; they are looked at
- kenâtomego*p' you are asked 368.4 (¬me- [§§ 8, 21])

The conjunctive forms show the passive sign in the plural. The first and second persons singular end in -gi,—a suffix denoting location when attached to substantives, and indicating plurality of the third person of the independent mode. It is possible that there may be some connection between this ending and the passive sign; but it has not yet been made clear. The following are the indefinite passive forms of the conjunctive of indefinite tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEFINITE PASSIVE, CONJUNCTIVE MODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-igi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. an.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

änatumene'k' when you were asked 372.12 (k for g, as in -kâpâ- for -gâpâ- and in other similar cases)

nâ'tumik I being asked 374.1 (¬m- [§ 21])

änha'kasameg' they (inan.) were set on fire 16.1

The third person animate singular of the indefinite passive can refer to four different relations. The form is the same, whatever may be the number of the object and the agent. The number of the object and the agent is often inferred from the context, but in the two examples to be shown each passive expression will appear with agents. If the agent be singular, then the ending will be -ni; if plural, then the noun ends in -i. It will be observed that this construction is much like that of the passive with g and gu. The object
of the action of the verb will be omitted; if expressed, it would be in the nominative.

\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{hine}tc} i \text{ne'\text{niwa}'n}} \text{ he was told by the man} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{hine}tc} i \text{ne'\text{niwa}'n}} \text{ he was told by the men} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{hine}tc} i \text{ne'\text{niwa}'n}} \text{ they were told by the man} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{hine}tc} i \text{ne'\text{niwa}'n}} \text{ they were told by the men} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{nawu}tc} i \text{\textit{i'\text{kwawa}'n}} \text{ she was seen by the woman} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{nawu}tc} i \text{\textit{i'\text{kwawa}'n}} \text{ she was seen by the women} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{nawu}tc} i \text{\textit{i'\text{kwawa}'n}} \text{ they were seen by the woman} \]
\[ \text{\textit{a'\text{nawu}tc} i \text{\textit{i'\text{kwawa}'n}} \text{ they were seen by the women} \]

§ 42. Syntactic Forms of the Substantive

Substantives have forms to distinguish gender, number, and four case-relations. The case-relations are the nominative, the vocative, the locative, which is the case of spacial and temporal relations, and the objective. All these forms are expressed by suffixes. They are thus shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Animate.</th>
<th>Inanimate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-0</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t,-i</td>
<td>-tile</td>
<td>(-e), -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni(-ne)</td>
<td>-ni(-ne)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms will be shown with two nouns,—A'\text{nagwa} star, and A'\text{sen} stone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Star.</th>
<th>Stone.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A'\text{nagwa}</td>
<td>A'\text{nagwa}'pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'\text{nagwe}</td>
<td>A'\text{nagwe}'pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'\text{nagwe}'i</td>
<td>A'\text{nagwe}'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'\text{nagwi}'i</td>
<td>A'\text{nagwi}'ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'\text{nagwi}'ni</td>
<td>A'\text{nagwi}'ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no difference of form between the objective and some forms of the possessive. Thus:

\[ \text{o'\text{sant} his father (animate)} \]
\[ \text{u'\text{wic} his head (inanimate)} \]
The ending -gi to express animate plurality is no doubt the same as the one denoting location, thus suggesting the probability of a common origin.

§ 43. The Adjective

The attributive relation is expressed by a form analogous to an inanimate construction, which does not inflect for number or case. There are primary and derived adjectives. The former contains the descriptive notion in the stem; as, ke'tci great, tca'gi small. The derived adjective is one that comes from a noun; as, ma'netô'w (from ma'netô'w mystery being), A'câ' (from A'câ' a Sioux). Both kinds of inanimate adjectives agree in form and function; they have a singular, inanimate ending, and they occur in an attributive relation.

ke'tci ma'netô'w a great mysterious being
tcagi wigiyâ'pâ' a little dwelling
ma'netô'wi a'kyân' mysterious country
A'câhi ne'niwâ a Sioux man

As has been said, such adjectives do not change their form to agree with nouns for number and case.

ke'tci ma'netô'w! O great mystery!
ma'netô'wi a'kyân' mysterious lands
A'câhi ne'niwâ'g' Sioux men

By virtue of its position, the adjective of inanimate forms takes on the function of an initial stem, and as such it enters into combinations with secondary elements to form—

Nouns:
tcagi'nâgâ''t small bowl
me'cîmi'n' apple (literally, large fruit)
ase'ñigâ'nâ stone dwelling
Acâ'hinâ'wâ Sioux country

Verbs:
tca'gâhenuhi'wo' tî'câgâ''t it is a tiny buckskin string
ne'niwâ me'cinâgusi'wâ the man looked big (-nâgu- [§ 18]; -si- [§ 20])

Adjectives, when used as predicates, have the form of an intransitive verb. The verb is built up on the regular order of stem-formation with the qualifying notion of the combination resting mainly in the initial member. The sense of the stem undergoes restriction by other elements, and concord of gender and pronoun

§ 43
is maintained. Such a combination agrees with a noun in gender and number. It stands before or after the noun it modifies.

\[
\text{me'căwi sī'pōwi' large is the river (me'- large; -ā- [§20]; -wi [§28])}
\]

\[
i'kwōwa'g' kannō'siwa'g' the women are tall (-si- [§ 20]; -wagi [-§ 28])
\]

**Pronouns (§§ 44-49)**

### § 44. The Independent Personal Pronoun

The incorporated forms of the personal pronoun have been treated in §§ 28–34. The independent pronoun is closely related to the pronouns of the independent mode of the intransitive verb (§ 28).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>nin(^a)</td>
<td>he (an.) in(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (exclusive)</td>
<td>ni'nān(^a)</td>
<td>it (inan.) in(^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (inclusive)</td>
<td>kīnān(^a)</td>
<td>they (an.) i'nīg(^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>kīn(^a)</td>
<td>they (inan.) i'nīn(^\prime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>kī'nūwā(^a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### § 45. The Possessive Pronoun

Possession is expressed by prefixes and suffixes which are related to the pronouns of the independent mode. The suffixes differ for nouns of the animate and for those of the inanimate class, and for singular and plural of the object possessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT POSSESSED</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my . . . . . .</td>
<td>ne-ma</td>
<td>ne-magi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ours (excl.)</td>
<td>ne-menāna</td>
<td>ne-menānagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yours (incl.)</td>
<td>ke-menāna</td>
<td>ke-menānagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy . . . . . .</td>
<td>ke-ma</td>
<td>ke-magi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ther . . . . . .</td>
<td>u-ma'nī</td>
<td>u-ma't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their . . . . .</td>
<td>u-medu'na</td>
<td>u-medu'na't</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the forms. The word for dog is 'nemō'\(^\prime\)\(^\prime\)\(^\prime\)'a; a noun of animate gender. [The inserted -t- in the following examples is presumably the same as in ne'taw\(^\prime\) i am (§ 28).—T. M.] The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the same number would be—

\[
\text{ne'tanemōhe'm\(^a\) my dog (-t- [§ 8])}
\]

\[
\text{ke'tanemōhe'm\(^a\) thy dog}
\]

\[
\text{u'ts' nemōhema'n\(^\prime\) his dog}
\]

§§ 44, 45
Let the same persons remain in the singular, and let the noun be in the plural, and the forms would be—

neta'nemôhema'g my dogs
keta'nemôhema'g thy dogs
uta'nemôhema'1 his dogs

The word for rock is 'sen, a noun of inanimate gender. The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the singular would be—

neta'senim1 my rock
keta'senim1 thy rock
uta'senim1 his rock

The forms with the same persons in the singular and the noun in the plural would be—

netasenima'n1 my rocks
ke'tasenima'n1 thy rocks
uta'tasenima'n1 his rocks

The consonant m of the suffix is often omitted with certain classes of substantives: as—

In terms denoting relationship.

no's* my father
ke'gy* thy mother
u'taiya'n1 his pet (referring to a horse or dog)

In words expressing parts of the body.

ne'tä'1 my heart
ke'ga'k1 thy chest
u'wic1 his head

In some names of tools.

netö"pwa'ga'n1 my pipe
ke'me'tä'1 thy bow
u'wipa'n1 his arrow

[It should be observed that under special stress the vowel of the m suffix is split into two vowels (§ 6); likewise it should be noticed that under unknown conditions t is not inserted after ne, ke, u, before initial vowels: then the terminal e of ne and ke is elided, while a glide w (§ 8) is inserted after u.

Examples of possessives with the m of the suffix, from the Texts, are—

nesima' my younger brother 330.16
nete'kwem* my sister 84.2, 12, etc.

nesimahag' my little brothers 282.13

§ 45
necipemag° my ducks 284.2
nesimāhenān° our (excl.) younger brother 90.12; 96.1
nōcimēnānan° our (excl.) grandchild (obj. case) 160.9
kesimāhenān° our (incl.) little brother 90.6; 96.7
kīnemunān° our (incl.) sister-in-law 92.16 (-u= -e-)
kētōgimēnānan° our (incl.) chief 300.24 (t inserted)
kēsimāhenānag° our (incl.) younger brothers 122.5, 11, 18
kētūgimēnānanag° our (incl.) chiefs 62.22 (t inserted)
kenāpūm° thy husband 162.15, 23; 178.1
kōcimēn° thy grandson 290.24
kesimā° thy little brother 252.1
kete'kumag° thy foods 314.14
unāpūman° her husband 162.23, 24
usimān his younger brother 314.17
usimāhā° his younger brothers 90.14, 15
usima° his younger brothers 90.10
ucisemā° her grandchildren 160.11
utūtāna° his sisters 208.15
uwīnemō° his sisters-in-law 96.11 (w a glide)
uto'kaneman° his bones 16.5
utūkaneman his bones 16.1
utūhīnēnan° his garments 274.20
usimā'wāwan° their younger brother 156.13, 16; 160.2
usimāhwāwan° their younger brother 94.19
uwīnemowāwan° their sister-in-law 92.8 (w a glide; -o- inserted)

Examples from the Texts, of possessives without the m of the suffix, are—
negwī° my son 182.4; 184.8
nemecōmes° my grandfather 206.6
necīa° my uncle 12.14
negy° my mother 38.15 (for negi°; cf. ugiwāwan° their mother)
n'kān° my friend 14.12; 26.17
nip° my arrow 84.20
nīpan° my arrows 290.20
nemecōmesenān° our (excl.) grandfather 160.5
kenātawinōnenān° our (incl.) medicine 308.22
ketātig° thy pet 178.14
ketōtūnoen° thy town 16.4 (contrasted with 16.18)
kegwīsag° thy sons 172.6
keseaḥwāwa your elder brother 294.18
ucemisan° his niece 12.17, 20
ugwīs° her sons 170.1; 238.6
uwīkāna° his comrades 14.5, 6, 8; 20.1; 24.4 (w a glide)

§ 45
It should be observed that in certain terms of relationship, u- of the third person is not used. Contrast očismwāw' of their grandchildren 154.18 with očeswām thy grandson 290.24; ōsan' his father 208.15 with kōswāw your father 232.5 (owing to the exigency of English grammar, Dr. Jones is forced not to be strictly literal in his translation); ōkomesan' his grandmother 234.6 and ōkomeswāw' their grandmother 160.7 with ko'komesenāna our (incl.) grandmother 262.3. —T. M.

§ 46. The Reflexive Pronoun

What stands for the reflexive pronoun in the absolute form is, in reality an inanimate, possessive combination. The thing possessed is designated by a-, which has an essential meaning of existence, being. The forms are—

nī'yaw' myself
ki'yaw' thyself
u'wiya'w' his self
ki'yānā'n' ourselves (I and thou)
nī'yānā'n' ourselves (I and he)
ki'yāwā'w' yourselves
uwi'yāwā'w' their selves

These forms appear frequently as the object of a transitive verb; and when so used, the combination of both pronoun and verb is best rendered by an intransitive form.

netā'pāne'ta nī'yaw' I am independent (literally, I own my own bodily self)
wā'pacī'ōwa'g' uwi'yāwā'w' they are bad, sinful (literally, they defame their own bodily selves)

§ 47. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur in absolute form, and number and gender are distinguished. Some of the forms are slightly irregular in passing from singular to plural and from one gender to another. Three of the pronouns point to an object present in time and space with much the same force as English this, that, yonder.

§§ 46, 47
The demonstrative *ina* is also the third person, personal pronoun. These demonstratives are used in the following relations:

*ma'na ne'niw* this man (who is in the presence of both speaker and person addressed, but not necessarily within the immediate presence of both, or within their hearing)

*i'na ne'niw* that man (who is farther removed, or who is subordinate in point of interest)

*i'nāqa ne'niw* yonder man (who is farther still removed, and who can be out of hearing, but not out of sight)

One demonstrative is used in answer to a question, and corresponds to English *THAT, YONDER*, when both are used in a weak, indefinite sense. The object referred to is present and visible.

This pronoun is used when reference is made to a particular object selected from a list; as, *i'namā ne'niw* *THAT MAN*, as in the question, Which of the men do you wish to see?

Another pronoun has a temporal force, and refers to an object as invisible and in the past.

*Iniya ne'niw* THAT MAN refers to a man known to both speaker and person addressed, but who is at present absent, or is no longer alive.
A demonstrative performs the function of an adjective; and when one is used alone without some noun, it still retains the force of a qualifier.

\[\text{ma’ni ä’i’cinagá’tc} \text{ this is the kind of song he sang}\]

\[\text{ini ä’i’ciseg} \text{ that is how the affair stands}\]

§ 48. Indefinite Pronouns, Positive and Negative

There are three sets of indefinite pronouns. One inflects for number and gender, and means other. The second inflects for number, but has separate forms for each gender; the animate answers to somebody, some one, and is used of persons; while the inanimate refers to something, and is used of things without life. The third expresses the negative side of the second set, as nobody, no one, nothing. The negatives are compound forms of the second set with the adverb \(\text{ágwi no, not, occupying initial place.}\) The three sets of demonstratives stand in the table in the order named.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun.</th>
<th>Animate.</th>
<th>Inanimate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>(\text{ku’ta}g)</td>
<td>(\text{ku’ta}g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody, something</td>
<td>(\text{u’wiyá’}w)</td>
<td>(\text{u’wiyá’}g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobody, nothing</td>
<td>(\text{ás’}wiyá’)</td>
<td>(\text{ás’}wiyá’g)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first of these forms usually plays the part of an adjective, while the others often stand alone and appear as nouns.

\(\text{ku’ta}g\) \(\text{ne’niw}^a\) the other man
\(\text{u’wiyá’}w^a\) \(\text{pyá’}w^a\) somebody is coming
\(\text{ás’}wiyá’\) \(\text{ai’yó’}\) nobody is here
\(\text{ágwi’kág}o’\) \(\text{a’tág}i’\) nothing is left

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun asks about the quality of a noun, and inflects for number and gender. There are two pronouns used absolutely.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun.</th>
<th>Animate.</th>
<th>Inanimate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who, what</td>
<td>(\text{wá}m)</td>
<td>(\text{wá}m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>(\text{tán})</td>
<td>(\text{tán})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 48, 49
The first pronoun asks of quality without reference to limitation.

\[\text{wö'na} \ tca' \ i'na \ ne'niw^a \text{ who is that man?}\]

\[\text{wagun}^1 \ py'\text{töygani} \text{ what dost thou bring?}\]

The second pronoun expresses quality with more of a partitive sense.

\[\text{tä'na } tca' \ i'na \ ne'niw}^a \text{? which is the man? where is that man?}\]

\[\text{tä'ni } py'\text{töya}^*\text{n' which didst thou bring? where is the thing that thou broughtest?}\]

The examples show the predicate use of the pronouns. The pronouns have also an attributive function.

\[\text{wö'na} \ ne'niw^a \text{? what man? Also, who is the man?}\]

\[\text{tä'na ne'niw}^a \text{? which man? Also, which man of several?}\]

**Numerals (§§ 50-52)**

### § 50. Cardinal Numbers

The numeral system as exemplified in the form of the cardinals starts with a quinary basis. The cardinals in their successive order are as follows:

- \(\text{ne'gut}^i\) one
- \(\text{nî'cw}^t\) two
- \(\text{ne'sw}^i\) three
- \(\text{nyâ'w}^t\) four
- \(\text{nyâ'na}^\text{sw}^i\) five
- \(\text{ne'gutwâci}^\text{g}^a\) six
- \(\text{nî'hig}^a\) seven
- \(\text{ne'cwâci}^\text{g}^a\) eight
- \(\text{câ'g}^a\) nine
- \(\text{me'dâsw}^t\) ten
- \(\text{kwi'tc}^t\) eleven
- \(\text{medâswi'negut}^i\) twelve
- \(\text{medâswine}^\text{gutinesi}^\text{sw}^t\) thirteen
- \(\text{medâ'swine}^\text{y}^\text{w}^t\) fourteen
- \(\text{medâswi'nyâ}^\text{na}^\text{sw}^i\) fifteen
- \(\text{medâswine}^\text{gutwâci}^\text{g}^a\) sixteen

\[\text{sw}^t\]
medáswinôhi'g³

medáswinôhi'g³'nesi'w³ seventeen
medáswine'cwa'cî'g³
medáswinecwâcig³'nesi'w³ eighteen
medâ'swîcâ'g³
dedáswine'câ'nesi'w³ nineteen

niwâbita'g⁴ twenty

niçwâbitagînegu'⁵ twenty-one
niçwâbitagînegutinesi'w³ thirty
niçwâbitagînicwinesi'w³ thirty-two

nyâwâ'bita'g⁴ forty
nyâwâbitagîne'sw³ forty-three

nyâwâbitagînegutânequ'⁵ sixty

nyâwâbitagînegutwâcî'g³ sixty-five
nîhîgî'bita'g⁴ seventy
nîhîgîbitagînegutwâcî'g³ seventy-six
necwâcig³'bita'g⁴ eighty
ecewâcigîbitagînôhi'g³ eighty-seven
câg³'bita'g⁴ ninety
câgîbitagîncwâcî'g³ ninety-eight
câgîbitagîncwâcîgânesi'w³ one hundred

ne'gutwa'kwene'gu'⁵ one hundred and one

nî'cwâ'kw³ two hundred

nîcwa'kwemedáswínanicwî'⁵' two hundred and twelve

ne'swâ'kw³ three hundred
ecewâcigatagîneswî'⁵' three hundred and twenty-three

negutwâcigatâswâ'kw³ six hundred

negu'ta'swâ'kw³ seven hundred

nâcwigatâswâ'kw³ eight hundred
câg³'taswâ'kw³ nine hundred

me'dâswä'kw³ ten hundred one thousand

negutima'ka'kw³ one box

§ 50
The cardinals from one to five terminate with the inanimate ending -i. They begin with the consonant n, a symbol that has already been shown to be intimately associated with the hand. The symbol is valuable for the suggestion it throws upon the probable origin of the numeral system. It has some connection, no doubt, with the method of counting with the fingers. Furthermore, it will be noticed that within the quinary series (viz., within one and five, inclusive) there are four different vowels standing immediately after n. What part and how much vowel-change may have played in the formation of the system is yet uncertain.

*Ne'gw*tum*a*’g*a*, the cardinal for six, contains three elements. The first is *negu*-t-, and stands for one. The second is probably an initial stem *dc-, and means over, across, movement across.

\[ \text{meddswvinegutw} \text{n'esiyw1 sixen} \]

But the vowel does not lengthen in *negutwacigat*a*’swu*w* six hundred.

*No'hig*a*, the cardinal for seven, does not yet admit complete analysis. Initial n- and final -g*a are the only intelligible elements that can be reduced at the present.

*Ne'cwaci’y*a*, the cardinal for eight, has three parts, as in the case of the cardinal for six. The first is *negu*-c-, and stands for three; the second is *dc-, and is the same as the one in the word for six; the third is the numeral ending -g*a.

*Ca’y*a*, the cardinal for nine, is difficult to analyze. The numeral ending -g*a is clear, but ca- is doubtful. It is possible that ca- may be the same as ca-, an initial stem conveying the idea of freedom of movement, passage without friction, without obstruction, without impediment.
cā'powā'wō he cries out, sending his voice through space
cāpu'nīga'nī a needle (that is, an instrument for piercing through
an obstacle with ease). This explanation is offered for the
reason that, in counting hurriedly from one to ten, an adverb
kwī'tcī is given for ten. The adverb means the end, and cā-
may possibly express the idea of an easy flow of the count
up to the adverb kwī'tcī, which marks the end of the series.

Me'dāswō, the word for ten, is in the form of an intransitive verb
of the third person singular inanimate. Its middle part -dās-
may be the same thing as tās-, which signifies quantity, usually with the
notion of as many as, as much as. An explanation of initial me-
is as yet impossible. [The element tās- occurs always in the form tāswi-,
which is an initial stem. See § 16.—T. M.]

With the cardinal ten the numeration apparently changes over to
a decimal system. After every new decimal, the cardinals take one
or the other of two forms. One is a cumulative compound, wherein
the part indicating the decimal comes first, and the smaller number
second.

medāswwinegu'tō ten one (meaning eleven)
nicwābitagine'swō twenty-three
negutwā'kwene negu'tō one hundred one (meaning one hundred and
one)

The other is also cumulative, but in the form of an intransitive verb
of the third person singular inanimate. Furthermore, the combi-
nation incorporates nesi-, an element used in the word for finger,
between the pronominal ending and the part expressing the numeral.

me'dāswō it is ten
medāswinyāwinesi'wi it is ten four

The initial member indicating the decimal can be omitted, if the
numeration is clear from the context. For example, negutinesi'wō
can mean ELEVEN, TWENTY-ONE, THIRTY-ONE, FORTY-ONE, and so on
up to and including NINETY-ONE. It jumps such numbers as a
hundred and one and a thousand and one; but it can be used to
express a hundred and eleven, and a thousand and eleven, and all the
rest of the one-series, as in the instances just cited. In the same
way nicwinesi'wō can be used to express a two-series; neswinesi'wō, a
three-series; and so on up to and including cāgānesi'wō, a nine-series.

§ 50
The element expressing **hundred** is "-ā'kwə", the same thing, probably, as the collective suffix used to indicate things which are wooden:

- cegā'kwə pine [literally, skunk-tree.—T. M.]
- ma"kwā'kwə bear-tree
- pa'sigā'kwə board

The suffix ends with e, which is characteristic of an adverb. Numeration in the hundreds is expressed with the smaller number coming after the higher. There are two forms,—one with simply the combination of high and low number:

- nicwā'kwenticwə two hundred two (for two hundred and two)
- the other with this combination terminated by the local demonstrative adverb i'na there, in or at that place:
- nicwā'kwe'nicwə'en two hundred two there

The suffixed adverb has very nearly the force of also, too, as used thus with numerals. In the series between six and nine, inclusive, where the numeral ending is -ga, the quantitative element -tAS- [təswi-, see § 16.—T. M.] comes in between the cardinal and the sign for the hundred.

- negutwācigastaswā'kwə six times hundred (for six hundred)
- cāgastaswā'kwə nine times hundred (for nine hundred)

It takes the same place in hundreds after a thousand.

- medāswinegutitiitaswā'kwə ten one times hundred
- medāswinegutinesiwinitaswā'kwə one ten times hundred

Both of the preceding examples mean **eleven hundred**.

**Thousand** is expressed in two ways,—one by the combination of ten and the sign for hundred, medāswā'kwə; the other, and the one more usual, by a compound expressing one box, negutima'ka'kwə.

The word for box is ma'ka'kwə, of inanimate gender. With the meaning a **thousand**, it takes the form of an adverb by ending with e. The term is of recent origin. In some of their earlier sales of land to the government, the people received payment partly in cash. This money was brought in boxes, each box containing a thousand dollars. From that circumstance the term for one box passed in numeration as an expression for a **thousand**. The term is now a fixture, even though its form is less simple than the more logical word.

§ 50
The psychological reason for the preference is not altogether clear. The fact that the word for one box stood as a single term for a definite high number may have had something to do with its adaptation. The word for ten hundred, on the other hand, represents ten groups of high numbers, each group having the value of a distinct number of units. To use one word that would stand for a high decimal number may have seemed easier than to express the same thing by the use of smaller integers in multiple form. As a matter of fact, very little is done with numerations that extend far into the thousands; yet, in spite of the little effort to count with high numbers, it is within the power of the language to express any number desired. To express ten thousand, and have it generally understood, is to say—

\[ \text{ne'gutima'ka'^kw* me'däse'nu'f ini'tase'nu'f}, \] which is, in the order as the words come, one box, it is taken ten times, that is its sum.

A number like forty thousand two hundred and thirteen would be—

\[ \text{ne'gutima'ka'^kw* nyå'wåbitagita'swima'ka'^kw* ni'cwä'kwä'n^\text{medä'swineswi'n^\text{.}}} \] The words in their order mean one box, forty is the number of times the box is taken, two hundred plus, ten three also \([\text{Ta}swi\text{ is the same as the initial stem ta}swi].—T. M.)\]

The more intelligent express such high numbers in shorter terms.

Cardinals occupy initial place in composition when they stand in an adjective relation: as—

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ne'guti'neni'w^a} & \quad \text{one man} \\
\text{ni'cwü'kwü'g^i} & \quad \text{two women} \\
\text{negu'tìhì'i'w^a} & \quad \text{he is alone} \\
\text{ni'cìwå'g^i} & \quad \text{they are two}
\end{align*} \]

Cardinals are used freely as nouns, and it will be observed that in this connection they do not inflect for number or gender.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ne'nåwå'w^a} & \quad \text{I saw one animate (object)} \\
\text{ne'nät^a} & \quad \text{I saw one inanimate (object)} \\
\text{neyå'ndåw^a'g^i} & \quad \text{I fetched four animate (objects)} \\
\text{ne'pyåt^o} & \quad \text{I fetched four inanimate (objects)}
\end{align*} \]

\( \text{§ 51. Ordinals} \)

The ordinals are combinations with the initial parts derived from cardinals; but the first ordinal has a separate, distinct word. Begin—

\( \text{§ 51} \)
ning with the second ordinal is an incorporated -\(\text{-onameg}'\) or -\(\text{-anameg}'\), the final ending of which is the suffix -\(g'\), met with so frequently in a locative relation; that is the sense of it here. With the eleventh ordinal, and every other after, occurs the numeral element \(\text{tas-}\) between the cardinal and the compound ending -\(\text{-onameg}'\) or -\(\text{-anameg}'\). Ordinals do not inflect for number or gender. They are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me'ne'\text{\textquotesingle}t}' & \text{ first} \\
\text{nic\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ second} \\
\text{nes\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ third} \\
\text{ny\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ fourth} \\
\text{ny\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}an\text{\textquotesingle}onameg}' & \text{ fifth} \\
\text{negutw\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}cig\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ sixth} \\
\text{n\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}hig\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ seventh} \\
\text{nect\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}cig\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ eighth} \\
\text{c\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}nameg}' & \text{ ninth} \\
\text{med\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}so\text{\textquotesingle}nameg}' & \text{ tenth} \\
\text{med\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}swinegut\text{\textquotesingle}tas\text{\textquotesingle}onameg}' & \text{ eleventh} \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 52. Iteratives and Distributives

Iteratives indicate repetition in point of time, as once, twice, thrice. They are derived from cardinals, and take the form of an inanimate, intransitive verb. With the sixth iterative occurs the numeral element -\(\text{tas-}\), denoting quantity; it is incorporated after the cardinal elements, and is found with all the rest of the iteratives. The iteratives follow thus in order:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne'gute'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ first time} \\
\text{ni'cenw}' & \text{ second time} \\
\text{ne'senw}' & \text{ third time} \\
\text{ny\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}wen}' & \text{ fourth time} \\
\text{ny\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}ane'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ fifth time} \\
\text{negutw\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}cig\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}tase'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ sixth time} \\
\text{n\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}hig\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}tase'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ seventh time} \\
\text{ne'cwig\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}tase'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ eighth time} \\
\text{c\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}tase'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ ninth time} \\
\text{me'd\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}\text{\textquotesingle}dase'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ tenth time} \\
\text{med\'{\text{\textquotesingle}}swinegut\text{\textquotesingle}tase'\text{\textquotesingle}nw}' & \text{ eleventh time} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Distributives express the number of things taken at a time, as each one, two at a time, every third one, four at a piece. The distributive idea is expressed by reduplication of the first numeral syllable. In the following are some distributive cardinals:

- na'negutwá' each one
- na'neswá' each two
- na'neswá' or na'neswá' each three
- na'nyáwá' or na'nyáwá' each four
- na'nyána' each five
- na'negutwá' each six
- na'nyáhi' each seven
- na'necwá' each eight
- ca'cagá each nine
- ma'medadá each ten
- ma'medá each eleven
- na'nicwábita' each twenty
- na'nicwábita' each twenty-two
- na'nicwábita' each thirty
- na'nyáwábita' each forty
- na'nyána each fifty
- na'negutwá' each sixty
- na'nongá each seventy
- na'necwá each eighty
- ca'cágá each ninety
- na'negutwá' each hundred
- ma'medá each thousand

Examples of distributive ordinals are—

- mämenétá every first
- na'nicönáme' each second
- na'nesönámeg each third
- ma'medásonáme' each tenth
- na'negutwá' each hundredth

Distributive iteratives are expressed in a similar way.

na'negutwá' it is once at a time
These distributives are often followed by the local demonstrative adverb i'c', denoting TOWARD, MOVEMENT AWAY TOWARD SOMETHING. The adverb adds to the distributive notion the idea of movement by groups.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nā'nicwi'c} & \text{ two at a time} \\
\text{nā'neswi'c} & \text{ three at a time} \\
\text{nā'medāswinīcwineswi'c} & \text{ thirteen at a time} \\
\text{nānīcwābi'agītasōn'amegic} & \text{ every twentieth} \\
\text{nā'nōhigataseswi'c} & \text{ every seventh time}
\end{align*}
\]

In the multiplication of two numbers, the cardinal is the multiplier, and the iterative the multiplicand.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne'gutina'negule'nw} & \text{ one is taken once at a time} \\
\text{ni'cwi'nicwē'nw} & \text{ two is taken twice at a time} \\
\text{ne'swi'nānes'nw} & \text{ three is taken thrice at a time}
\end{align*}
\]

Note.—Half and fourth are the only fractions made use of by the dialect. The word for HALF is expressed absolutely by a'pe'ta'w, an adverb denoting half. It forms the denominator, while a cardinal is used in the numerator.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{negutā'pe'ta'w} & \text{ one half} \\
\text{nīcwā'pe'ta'w} & \text{ two halves, two parts}
\end{align*}
\]

The word for FOURTH is a'sepā'n, an adverbial form of a'sepā'na RACCOON. The term comes from the fourth of a dollar, which was the price paid for a raccoon-skin at the trading-store. It is the denominator, while the cardinal is the numerator.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{neguta'sepā'n} & \text{ one-fourth, quarter of a dollar} \\
\text{nēswā'sepā'ne} & \text{ three-fourths, seventy-five cents}
\end{align*}
\]

There is a demonstrative adverb īna' with the meaning usually of THERE, AT THAT PLACE. When it comes after such phrases as have been given, it has the meaning of PLUS; the fraction is partly broken, and the terms then express addition.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{negutāpe'ta'wina} & \text{ one and a half} \\
\text{negutāsēpa'nina} & \text{ plus a fourth}
\end{align*}
\]

§ 53. Adverbs

There are numerous adverbs that express great variety of relationship. By far the greater number of them are used as adjuncts. As

\[
44877°—\text{Bull. 40, pt 1—10—55}
\]
adjuncts, some have great freedom of position, and others have not that freedom. Among the adverbs of free position are those expressing time.

\[ i'nug' \, d''pyāyā'n' \text{ to-day was when I came} \]
\[ pyā'w' \, a'cawa'iy' \text{ he came long while ago} \]
\[ ask'^tcimā'n' \, n'i'py'a \text{ by and by I will come} \]

Other adverbs are less free as to position. Such are those that do the double office of prepositions and conjunctions.

\[ ne''kani \, pe'pōn' \text{ during the whole year} \]
\[ ne''kani \, ū''pemātesi'te' \text{ during all the time that he lived} \]
\[ ā'yā'pwā'w' \, nā'wa'kā'g' \text{ before noon; before mid-day} \]
\[ ā'yā'pwā'w' \, pyā'te' \text{ before he came} \]

These limited adverbs occurring in first position really perform the office of initial stems. The following examples show adverbs in composition with secondary stems:

\[ tc'i'gepyā'g' \text{ at the edge of the water} \]
\[ a'kwita'pa'kwi \text{ on top of the lodge} \]

Some adverbs express a modal sense, and have the force of either a clause or a sentence.

\[ kaci'wāto'w' \text{ of course it is true (said in answer to a question)} \]
\[ kaci'wi'to'w' \text{ I don't care what happens; it makes no difference} \]
\[ ma'sātci \, pyā'w' \text{ he had a hard time getting here} \]

The qualifying force of some adverbs is so extensive as to make them into conjunctives. Amongst their many values as conjunctives are—

General connectives:

\[ nā''kK' \text{ AND, as—} \]
\[ kī'na \, nā''kani'n' \text{ thou and I} \]
\[ ce'wān'a \text{ BUT, in which an objection is implied, as—} \]
\[ ā'tc'i'mohā'p' \text{ ce'wān'a} \, wa'n'i'kā'w' \text{ he was told, but he forgot} \]

Introductives:

\[ nahi' \text{ WELL, I SAY, as—} \]
\[ nahi', ni'atēsō'kānā'w' \text{ —— well, I will tell the story of him ——} \]
\[ kaho', with much the same meaning and use as nahi' \]
\[ ka'cinā'\text{ WHY! HOW NOW! as—} \]
\[ ka'cinā'\text{ why, thou hast not gone yet!} \]
\[ ka'cinā'gw' \text{ is much like ka'cinā'w} \]

§ 53
§ 54. Interjections

There are also numerous interjections. Naturally most of them have to do with the expression of subjective states of the mind. There are two interjections of very common use, and they will be the only ones to be mentioned. One is tai'yâna' would that I have my wish! It is used with the subjunctive to express a prayer.

Tai'yâna' pyâ'te! oh, I wish he would come!

The other interjection is tci, expressing wonder. It can and often does occur alone, but it is more common as a suffix.

dpyâtcitci! when, lo, here he came!

§ 55. CONCLUSION

On account of the limitation of space, the description of the grammatical processes of this Algonquian dialect is to be taken rather as a general summary. A good deal of matter has been lightly touched upon, and much has been wholly left out. It has been the plan to point out in as few words as possible such features as would give an intelligible idea of what the grammar of this one Algonquian dialect is like. The description will close with the text of a myth that was purposely abbreviated in the telling. It is told in a straightforward idiom without any attempt at rhetorical emphasis, which often goes with the language of myths. The translation keeps close to the order of the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of some of its morphology and syntax.
Ma'kwani
they who are in pursuit of him.

Bear

Inipi long ago

acawaïy it was once

neguten it was winter

a'pepog when it was snowed

a'A'skime'pug when first it had snowed

while the first snow was on

Apa'tâ'kig where it was thick with growth

On the hillside

a'pe'kwisasAga'k bear

ma'kwani bear

a'pitci'kawânite in making a trail.

[Cf. Fox Texts, pp. 70-74.]

Inipi

It is said

acawaïy long ago

neguten it was once

a'pepog when it was winter

a'A'skime'pug when first it had snowed

while the first snow was on

Apa'tâ'kig where it was thick with growth

On the hillside

a'pe'kwisasAga'k bear

ma'kwani bear

a'pitci'kawânite in making a trail.

[Inipi combination of an introductory and a quotative (7'ni [§ 47] singular, inanimate, demonstrative pronoun used as an Introductory; 7'pi impersonal quotative, occurring usually as a suffix [§ 41]).

a'cawaiye temporal adverb expressing remote time in the past (§ 53).

ne'guten iterative (§ 52) in the form of the third person singular, inanimate, intransitive verb of the independent series (§ 28).

d'ap'pepogi third person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the indefinite conjunctive mode (d-temporal augment; pep initial stem used to express notions of winter, cold, snow [§ 16]; -gi suffix with a locative sense [§ 42]).

e'askime'pug third person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode (me-temporal augment; -pe initial stem denoting movement past; -e' inanimate, pronominal ending of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

akima'w'pú'gi same kind of verb as in note 6 (aski initial stem signifying early, soon, first [§ 16]; -me initial stem common with words for snow, ice, cold; -mpu-to snow).

a'askmete'pug an impersonal verb of the intransitive conjunctive mode (ask same as in note 7; -me secondary stem denoting state, condition; -gi suffix with locative sense).

ne'niwa'gi animate, plural noun, subject of the following verb (ne'niwa nominative singular; -gi suffix denoting plurality [§ 42]).

acéci'edte'c (edte'c initial stem to hunt; third person plural, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

e'cawaye'c first person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode (e-cawaye'c initial stem signifying head, part of; -ci'edte'c third person plural, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode, used with a subordinate subject in the subjective relation (pitl initial stem denoting movement into an enclosure [§ 16]; for the -te'c of pitl cf. pyâci- under pyâci also § 8; -ka secondary stem expressing the notion of making an imprint, sign, track, and of moving, going [§ 18]; -ed connective stem [§ 20]; -ni incorporated representative of an objective relation, and parallel in construction to -ni in ma'kwani. It belongs with -te'c in nite, and so enters into a subjective relation (§ 34)).

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Neguti18 a'pitçìnàgàntâc119 à'a'cì'kahwâtc119 "Wâtcîkesiyâgcisâwâl!"120 One he went in following after him he set him to going. "To the place whence the source of cold is he going fast!"

àhinâtc122 witâmâtcîn123 said he to him whom he accompanied.

Wâtcîkesiyâgyâ 24 wàse'kâg119 "Wàtcînâwâ'kwâgcisâwâl!"126 âhîtcî127 From the place where it is round by way of. "Towards the place whence the midday is he hurrying!"

Ini126 nà'kâ124 wàtcînâwâ'kwâgitâc126 wàse'kâg119 "À'pâgcîmugicisâwâl!"31 Then he went to the place whence the source of the noon.

âhîtcî127 said he.

Aiyâco'kâ ä'kîwînâmû'tâititâc126 Askâtcîp133 petêtîgîyàyt134 To and fro long did they together keep him in flight from them. "To and fro long did they togethe keep coming.

A'gîhâginîpitîc135 à'a'skipâgâmê 'kwîsinîpitîc136 keyâhâpîyî127 à'pemê127 on the ground as he lay with a green surface lo, it was the fact to a place above

18 a'spit cardinal (§ 50) used as an adjectival modifying a noun understood.

19 a'pitcinda'tgân third personsingular, animate, transitive verb of the conjunctive mode (pits same as in note 17; -nagâ-initial stem meaning TO FOLLOW AFTER [§ 16]; -n-an intervocalic causal particle [§§ 8, 21]; -d-objective pronominal element referring to the licar; -tc(pronominal sign standing for the third person singular subject, conjunctive [§ 29]).

20 a'sv'kahwâtcî same kind of verb as in note 19 (-ka-singular, same as in note 17; -he-causal particle [§ 37]; -c-same as in note 19).

21 wâticèsiyâgcicidâcîd! third person, singular, animate intransitive verb of the independent series (wâtic- initial stem from utcî, a locative adverb meaning WHERE, SOURCE FROM, AWAY FROM [§ 16]; ketîpl-initial combination expressing COLD: -gi locative suffix denoting PLACE WHERE [§ 42]; wâticèsiyâgîs WHERE COMES THE COLD is an inanimate participle construction; -cî a locative adverb denoting HITHER, AWAY, TOWARD; it often occurs as a suffix [§ 52]; wâticèsiyâgcic to the place whence comes the cold takesthe place of an initial stem to the rest of the combination; -d- secondary stem expressing SWIFT MOVEMENT [§ 19]; -cî third person, singular, pronominal sign representing an independent animate subject, lengthened from wa [§§ 6, 28]).

22 dîníctîcî same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 (d- as in note 15; -hi-initial stem meaning to SAY [§ 16]; -n-as in note 19; -cî as in note 19).

23 wâmîdînîcî third person singular, animate, transitive participle (wâ- initial stem denoting COMPANY, PARTNERSHIP [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -d-secondary stem denoting CONDITION; -m- animate causal particle [§§ 21, 37]; -d-animate objective sign; -ticî contains both subject and object, being a possessive, transitive participial [§ 33]).

24 Explained in note 21.

25 Participial (§ 33), intransitive animate: hence the termination -ga, not -t (see § 34). -ka-a secondary stem meaning TRACK, IMPRINT [§ 18].

26 utcî-as in note 21; nudawàwâgitâc (§ 53); the final 1 elided (§ 12) before inci- (§ 16), the final 1 of which is likewise lost; -cîcî as in note 21.

27 hi an initial stem as in àhinâtcî (note 22); the form is the third person singular animate intransitive of the conjunctive mode (§ 29).

See note 3.

28 An adjectival (§ 53).

29 See note 26.

30 ñ-prefix; pyâgi-an initial stem meaning to STRIKE (§ 14); -cîcî as in notes 21, 26; gi locative suffix.

31 wàticèsiyâgcicidâcîd! an initial stem cognate with ki- (§ 16); -n-an intervocalic (§ 8); -d-a secondary stem often used to indicate FLIGHT (§ 19); -m-instrumental particle (§§ 21, 37); -d-sign of middle voice (§ 40); -'a-an intervocalic (§ 8); -d-is not clear; -d-sign of reciprocity (§ 38); -ticî sign of third plural animate intransitive conjunctive mode (§ 29).

For askâtcîpi; askâtcî cognate with aski- (§ 16); ipi as in note 3.

32 petêtî-an adverb; gi locative suffix, as in notes 7, 8, 14; pyâgàtâ contains pyâd an initial stem denoting MOVEMENT HITHER (§ 16); pyd-an initial stem meaning the same (see below àyâdâtcî, note 41); from the analogy of pyâgàtâ (from pyâd) it is likely that the true stem is pyd; -ta-termination of the animate intransitive participial, third person singular (§ 33).

33 For askî'gi + àhînîpitîcî; askî'gi ON THE GROUND; -gi a locative suffix (§ 42); àhînîpitîcî (d-tci [§ 29]); -h- (§ 8); -i for inci tüs (§ 12); -n- (§ 8); àpi TO SEE.

34 -en-a connective stem meaning RECLINING, LYING DOWN (§ 20); -d-gi as in note 6; -tcî (§ 54).

35 I have altered àpemêgi of Dr. Jones to àpemêgî. The first can not be analyzed; the second can, and is supported by àpemêgî of the Fox Texts (72 1). The àpemêgî of the Fox Texts at 72:2 apparently is a typographical error. The analysis is à-d, as in note 6.
was the way along which the bear. At the thick growth they were led by a tetepine'kawāwāte'.

keyahapaiy' was really the time into the above when they went.

INU a'koweyā'at a'kwātcin'. 'Matāpyē'. Thereupon came behind him who was next to him, they went cry out to him, "Matapye"!

kiwātāwē'. A'pemegiku' keteciwengonanā'! ahinātē'. "O Union-of-Rivers, rivers back!" let us turn into the sky truly he is leading you and me away!" him

han', celewāna' a'pawipememētagute'.

Mātāpyē' tcāwine k' pāmipahūt' wisagenūhāhan' ahutaihite'. in the middle above him, little Hold-Tight did he have for his pet.

Tagwāning in the fall of the year then they overtook him bear-him; then they killed him:

In themiddle he who ran past little Hold-Tight did he have for his pet.

kicinesawāte' after they had slain him oak boughs much did they cut them, nā'ka ma'komicyān; šahapackinaināhawāte' ma'kwan'; kiciwina-likewise sumachs; then they put him to lie on bear-him; when they
nihāwātc'61 āwäpinenýåskwâ'kâwâtc'62 Wātâpâgîc63 áhnâ'kâwâtc'64 finished skinning then began they to throw them Eastward was where they threw and cutting him up everywhere.

uwîc'65 pâpôgîn66 â'katawiwâpâg67 anâgâwc'68 nêtciwâgâpâgé'69 his head; in the wintertime when nearly morning stars are they accustomed to rise;

Inipiyo'we69 ini ma'kîwic'70 Nâ'ka29 uta'tâgâgwânc171 â'e'g'72 It is said in times that bear-head and his back-bone also past Wâtâpâg173 áhnâ'kâwâtc'. À'égâpec'74 pepôg75 nâwâpl76 anâgâwc'77 to the east was where they threw. Also it is wont in the winter they are seen stars äsipôcîgîc'.77 Inipiyo'we69 ini uta'tâgâgwânc171 that they lie close and it is said of old that his back-bone. Inipi3 nák29 iyôwe wînâwânc178 Ini79 nîganî nyâwi anâgâwc'80 pâmîne'kâwâtîgîc'.78 Tâwîwêne'kîtecâ71 nák37 tâgî anâgâ56,83 acîtâ'kwâgô-i they who were in pursuit. Truly in the middle there little tiny stars that are seen close and it is said of old wise Inipi3 nák39 iyôwe wînâwânc178 Inigi79 nîganî nyâwi anâgâwc'80 in the past these four bear stars. Ênâ ma'kwâ80 nák39 petegi neswi inipiyo'we81 ma'kwânî that bear and behind three they are said in the past to the east was where they threw. Also it is wont In the winter they are seen stars asîpocîgîc'.77 Inipiyo'we69 ini uta'tâgâgwânc171 that they lie close and it is said of old that his back-bone.

Tagwâgîcîgîn77 me'tegunîcîyân80 nâ'ka29 ma'kwicîyân89 wâcîmîsîcî- Every autumn oaks and sumachs why they are
They who are in Pursuit of the Bear

It is said that once on a time long ago when it was winter, when it had snowed for the first time, while yet the first fall of snow lay on the ground, there were three men who went forth to hunt for game early in the morning. At a place on the side of a hill where there was a thick growth of shrub did a bear enter in, as was shown by the sign of his trail. One (man) went in after him and started him going in flight. "Away toward the place from whence comes the cold is he making fast!" called he to his companion.

He who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the cold, "In the direction from whence comes the source of the mid-day time is he hurrying away!" he said.

Then another who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the noon-time, "Toward the place where (the Sun) falls down is he hastening away!" said he.

Back and forth for a long while did they keep the bear fleeing from one and then another. After a while, according to the story, as one that was coming behind looked down at the earth, lo! the surface of it was green. For it is really the truth that up into the sky were they led away by the bear. While about the place of the dense growth of shrub they were chasing him, then was surely the time that into the sky they went.

Thereupon he who came behind cried out to him who was next, "O Union-of-Rivers, let us turn back! Verily, into the sky is he leading us away!" said he to Union-of-Rivers, but no reply did he get from him.

Union-of-Rivers, who went running between (the man ahead and the man behind), had Hold-Tight (a little puppy) for a pet.
In the fall they overtook the bear; then they slew him; after they had slain him, then many boughs of an oak did they cut, likewise sumachs; then with the bear lying on top (of the boughs) they skinned him and cut up his meat; after they had skinned him and cut up his meat, then they began to scatter (the parts) in all directions. Toward the place from whence the dawn of day hurled they the head; in the winter time when the dawn is nearly breaking, (certain) stars were wont to appear; it has been said that they were that head. And his back-bone toward the east did they also fling. It is also common in the winter time for (certain) stars to be seen lying close together. It has been said that they were that back-bone.

And it has also been told of them (viz., the bear and the hunters) that the (group of) four stars in front was the bear, and that the three behind were they who were in pursuit of the bear. There in between (the star in front and the star behind) a tiny little star hangs. They say that was a little dog, Hold-Tight, which was pet to Union-of-Rivers.

As often as it is autumn the oaks and sumachs redden at the leaf for the reason that when they (the hunters) place (the bear) on top of (the boughs), then stained become the leaves with blood. That is why every autumn the leaves of the oaks and sumachs redden.

That is the end of the story.
SIOUAN

DAKOTA (TETON AND SANTEE DIALECTS)

WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

BY

FRANZ BOAS AND JOHN R. SWANTON
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§ 40. Particles expressing tenses and modalities

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§ 43. Demonstrative pronouns

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§ 47. Interjections: Teton

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Teton text

Winnebago text
§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Siouan languages are spoken in a considerable number of dialects. One group of tribes speaking Siouan languages lived on the western plains, extending from the northern border of the United States far to the south. Another group of dialects was spoken by tribes inhabiting the southern Appalachian region; and two isolated dialects belonged to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, east of the Mississippi river and the lower Yazoo river, respectively. At present the last two groups are on the verge of extinction.

The following sketch of Siouan grammar is based mainly on the Santee and Teton dialects of the Dakota language, which embraces four dialects—Santee, Yankton, Teton, and Assiniboin. Santee and Yankton are spoken by the eastern Dakota bands, Teton by the western bands, and Assiniboin by those of the northwest. The material for the present sketch is contained mainly in the grammar, texts, and dictionary of the Santee, published by S. R. Riggs (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vols. vii, ix). This account has been the basis of Dr. John R. Swanton's studies of a series of Teton Texts, in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, written by George Bushotter, a Teton Dakota. In the summer of 1899 Doctor Swanton revised these texts on the Rosebud Indian reservation with the help of Mr. Joseph Estes, a Yankton Dakota, who had been long resident among the Teton, and who was at that time teacher in one of the Government schools. Doctor Swanton's notes, contained in the present account, refer to the Teton dialect, while the material based on Riggs's published Santee material has been discussed by F. Boas.
The Ponca material has been gleaned from a study of J. Owen Dorsey's work, The Ñeigaha Language (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. vi). The Winnebago material is based on the unpublished collections of Mr. Paul Radin. The notes on both of these dialects have been written by F. Boas. Page references in the sections describing Santee and Ponca refer to the publications by Riggs and Dorsey referred to before.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Since Riggs, in his grammar and dictionary, does not distinguish the aspirates and surd stops, which were first discovered by J. Owen Dorsey and which are of such frequent occurrence in American languages, we give here the description of the Teton as obtained by Doctor Swanton. In order to preserve as nearly as possible the usage employed in printing Dakota books, Riggs's alphabet has been adhered to; but $p', k', t', c'$ and $c'$ have been added to designate the aspirates of the corresponding surds. Doctor Swanton also distinguishes a fortis $g$ and $g'$; $a$ is an obscure vowel, related to short $o$ and $c$.

TABLE OF SOUNDS OF TETON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Continued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>Sourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$p$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorso-palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open breathing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pure</td>
<td>$i$ $\partial$ $e$ $a$ $o$ $u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasalized</td>
<td>$i^n$ $e^n$ $a^n$ $o^n$ $u^n$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affricatives have been placed in the group of stops because they are closely associated with them. It is doubtful whether the fortis velar occurs.

The affricative ĝ series corresponds to the English ch in church; the ĝ series to z in azure and to sh in shore; ĥ to the velar ch in German.

The phonetic system of Santee is quite similar to that of Teton, except that ĭ is absent and is replaced by ď and ēn. Teton ēn is either initial or follows ĕ or ĝ.

In Ponca, y of the series of sounds enumerated before is absent, and is throughout replaced by ě (English sonant ∫). According to Dorsey, this sound approaches the ĭ and r of other dialects; i.e., it is pronounced slightly laterally and with a tendency to a trill. The sonant of the affricative series, ĭ, occurs in Ponca, and ĭ is absent. In Kansas, which is closely related to Ponca, the Teton y is replaced by ĭ.

In Winnebago the Teton y is replaced by a weakly trilled linguo-apical r. Two ē sounds are found, one, ēn, more strongly sonant than the other ēn. In the velar series the sonant continued sound ĭ occurs besides the surd ĥ.

In the printed Ponca texts published by Dorsey an alphabet is used that does not conform to the Dakota alphabet used by Riggs and in later publications based on Riggs. Dorsey’s alphabet agrees in many respects better with the systems of transcription used in rendering American languages than Riggs’s alphabet. Nevertheless we have adhered here to the Riggs system and have avoided the awkward inverted letters used by Dorsey.

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Riggs} & \text{Dorsey} \\
p, t, k & d, \varphi, \gamma \\
s, ě & s, ĝ \\
Č & ľ \\
p', t', ě' & p, t, k \\
s', ě' & (?) \\
c' & tc \\
p, ī, ě & p', t', ě \\
Č & tc' \\
Č & ī \\
j & ğ \\
Č & ĭ \\
g & g(?) \\
gy & ĭ(?) \\
\end{array}\]

\[1\text{Supplementary symbols used in this sketch.}\]
We are not quite certain whether the sounds s and š occur in Ponca. The sounds s and c of Ponca have been rendered here by analogy by s' and š', but their character has not been definitely ascertained.

In Santee consonantic clusters in initial position are common, while they are absent in terminal position. In these consonantic clusters three groups may be distinguished,—clusters with initial surd stops; those with initial m and h; and those with initial s, š, k. The first of these groups never occurs in Ponca, the second shows a remarkable variability in different dialects, while the third seems to be common to Dakota, Ponca, and Winnebago.

The following table illustrates these three groups of consonantic clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t, k, s, š, ć, d, n, b, m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t, k, s, š, ć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k, t, s, š, ć, k, ś, kć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m, d, n, b, m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h, d, n, b, h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s, š, ś, sć, sđ, sн, šb, šm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š, ś, ść, śđ, śн, šb, šm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k, k, kć, kł, kć, kł, kć</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these clusters which belong to the stem, or to pronominal forms, others are admissible. These originate by composition of a stem ending in a consonant with another stem beginning with a consonant. We have found in this series—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th} & \\
\text{mt} & \text{mk} \quad \text{ms} \\
\text{šć} & \\
\text{kk} & \\
\text{gs} & \text{ğć} \quad \text{ğb} \\
\text{np} & 
\end{align*}
\]

and it is likely that others occur.

It will be noticed that in the stem, sonants, affricatives, and n do not occur as the first sound of a consonantic cluster; that sonants, except d and b, and h, do not appear at the end of a consonantic cluster. Fortes occur neither in initial nor in terminal position. No sound except § 2
s and ʃ occurs with another one of the same class. Clusters of three consonants may occur when a stem beginning with a biconsonantic cluster follows a stem with terminal consonant, but these combinations are rare.

In Ponca and Winnebago stems the following consonantic clusters occur, which, however, are never terminal.

### Ponca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Winnebago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant</th>
<th>Second consonant of cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 3. Syllables and Accent: Teton

Syllables of Teton may consist of single vowels, a consonant followed by a vowel, or two consonants followed by a vowel. In the last case the first consonant is never a sonant or fortis (see p. 882). In other instances an obscure vowel sound is heard between the two consonants, which may either be inserted for euphony or be a sign of composition. On the other hand, such stems may be considered as having been originally dissyllabic.¹

¹This view, expressed by Doctor Swanton, does not seem to be supported by the phonetic characteristics of other dialects. It has been pointed out before that the consonantic clusters beginning with the surd stops, p, t, k, do not occur in Ponca and Winnebago; while those with initial s, ʃ, ʒ, are quite common in these dialects. Winnebago has a strong tendency to repeat the vowel of a syllable between certain consonantic clusters (see pp. 888, 923), but it does not seem probable that this is an original condition from which the consonantic clusters of Dakota and Ponca have originated.—F. B.
The sounds $s$ and $l$ are almost the only consonants found closing a
syllable in which no contraction is known to have taken place, although
it seems significant that both these sounds result from supposed
contraction of syllables.

The placing of the accent is said sometimes to constitute the only
difference between words, but it is possible that other vocalic modifi-
cations, not hitherto observed, may be involved.

§ 4. Phonetic Changes

In this section we give a summary of the phonetic changes occurring
in Teton, Ponca, and Winnebago.

**TETON**

1. After a nasalized vowel or the syllable $ni$ there is a strong tend-
ency for the following vowel to be nasalized; and this tendency is
particularly marked in the causative auxiliary $ya$, as in the following
cases:

- $ki^{\prime}ya^n$ to fly
- $toha^n/nu^n/ni^n/ya^n$ as long as
- $iciteha^n/ya^n$ far apart
- $ta^n/ya^n$ well
- $wo^aci^n/yapii$ they trusted to him
- $niya^n$ he cures him (literally, causes him to live)
- $wiyuski^n/ya^n$ in a holy manner
- $kipa^n/ya^n/pi$ they caused it to be softened with water
- $teu^n/ya^n/pi$ we caused him to die

*Ya to go* sometimes changes similarly, as—

- $u^n/ya^n/pi$ we go.

2. After $o$, $u$, $o^n$, $u^n$, the semivocalic $y$ is apt to change to $\nu$, espe-
cially in the imperative forms, as—

- $w^{\text{ci}}$, $u$ $\text{wo}$ be coming, O grandmother!
- $ta^n/ya^n$ $\text{\text{c\text{\text{d\text{\text{n\text{\text{o}n\text{\text{we well have you done}}}}}}}}$

Here may belong forms like—

- $no^n/\text{wa^n}$ he swims
- $\text{\text{lo\text{\text{w\text{\text{a{n\text{\text{p\text{i}}}}}}}}}$ they sing

3. The final $a$ of most verbs is changed into $i^n$ when followed by
$na$ AND, or $k'tu$ (the future particle).

- $\epsilon^e\text{ya^n-pi^n}$ na you roast and — (instead of $\epsilon^e\text{ya^n-pa^n} \text{na}$)
- $ya^n/ki^n$ na he sat and — (instead of $ya^n/ku$ na)

§ 4
keyi'na he says that and— (instead of keya' na)
yu'zi'na k'ta he will take her (instead of yu'za k'ta)

Final a is usually treated similarly.

hec'o'ma'n na she was doing that and— (instead of hec'o'ma'na)
ed'to'wa'n na he looks at and— (instead of ed'to'wa'na)

4. Terminal a very often changes to e, but it is not certain that this change is of a purely phonetic character. It occurs before the sounds of the s and š series:

slolay'd šni he knew not (for slolayu' šni)
yuzi'v k'te šni he will not take her (for yuzin k'ta šni)
kini'v k'te še'de he will revive perhaps (for kini'v k'ta še'de)
kivi'ye še it flew, as it were (for kiv'ya še)

ye hēehaw'v he went just then (for ya hēehaw')

This change also occurs when the following word begins with e:

unyi'k'tecki'ya she said to him, “We will go” (for unyi'k'ta ecki'ya)
k'te eći'v "I will [travel],” he thought (for k'ta eći'v)
le eha'n'tanš if you go (for la eha'n'tanš)

It occurs before the articles k'i and k'o, and before the conjunction keya'k. In all these cases it is connected with a change of the initial k sounds of these verbs into the corresponding affricative. Examples are given under 5.

Since verbs change into nouns by a transformation of final a to e (or by change of suffix a to suffix e), it is not certain that these phenomena can be considered as purely phonetic in character.

The change from a to e usually accompanies word composition. Examples are:

tuwe'ni whoever (for tuwa' ni)
tuwe'wak' a'ni what is holy (for tuwa' wak'a'ni')
hēehaw'v just then (for hēca-haw'v')

da'k'ap'eya to throw beyond the bounds (from a'k'ap'a the outside)
ak'a'sp' a and ak'a'sp'eya to be provoked

The rules relating to terminal a suffer many exceptions. The verbal stem ha to have, and some verbal stems, like ra and ta, seem to be invariable:

bū̂huha'sni I have not
wii' a' yak' u'ra k'te you will treat them (wii' a them; ya thou)

iya'kita šni he did not cause him to behave

§ 4
5. The palatals k, ƙ, and ƙ', when preceded by e or i, change to the corresponding dental affricative.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{le'k} & \text{ he did this} \quad \text{ka'k} & \text{ he did that} \\
\text{le'k} \text{' } & \text{this sort} \quad \text{to'k} & \text{' } \text{that sort}
\end{align*} \]

This happens most frequently in the case of the articles ƙi' and ƙo', and the conjunction keya's even, though.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{i'sta'gamuzu } & \text{ći in the eyes closed (instead of i'sta'gamuzu ƙi')} \\
\text{k' } & \text{ći' } \text{ha} \text{ in if he will (for k' } \text{ta } \text{ći' } \text{ha} \text{)} \\
\text{yu'ka' } & \text{he } \text{ći' } \text{he was lying in the past (for yu'ka' } \text{ha } \text{ko')} \\
\text{hi'yu } & \text{ye } \text{ći' } \text{ha} \text{ in he caused it to come forth (for hi'yu } \text{ya } \text{ko' } \text{ha} \text{')} \\
\text{y } & \text{s'ke' } \text{ } \text{cyay } \text{a' } \text{ although he sat (for yu'ka' } \text{kay } \text{a' )}
\end{align*} \]

This change is regular only when the preceding e stands in place of a of the independent forms of the verb; but the change also takes place at times, although not regularly, when the verb ends in e.

\[ \text{k' } \text{ći' } \text{in kill the (for k' } \text{te } \text{ći')} \]

According to Riggs, the same change takes place after i, in verbs, when the k is followed by a vowel.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{i'c} & \text{alu } \text{fan (from i-, prepositional prefix [see §12]; kalu' to blow away with hand)} \\
\text{i'c} & \text{asla a scythe (from i-; ka'la' to cut off)} \\
\text{k} & \text{icable' } \text{c } \text{a to break for one by striking (from k- for; kable' } \text{a to break by striking)}
\end{align*} \]

The analogous changes occur throughout in Santee.

6. Contraction. Words ending in certain consonants followed by a, when compounded with other words that follow them, and when duplicated, lose their final a and change their consonants as follows:

\[ \begin{align*}
P' & \text{ to } b \text{ or m} \\
\dot{c}, t & \text{ to } l \\
\dot{k} & \text{ to } g
\end{align*} \]

Examples:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tob } p'a & \text{sa'la' } \text{t } \text{a } \text{p } \text{ they stick four into the ground (for } \text{t } \text{v' } \text{p' } \text{a)} \\
\text{wa & } & \text{y' } \text{g} \text{- } \text{i'c } \text{i'la' he thought himself strong (for } \text{wa'sa' } \text{ka)} \\
\text{kah } & \text{wa' } \text{i' } \text{e' } \text{asi he told them to make (for } \text{ka' } \text{ju)} \\
\text{yu & } & \text{s'ige' } \text{yi' } \text{ holding him, he sent him (for } \text{yu' } \text{za)} \\
\text{p' } & \text{a } \text{m' } \text{pa' } \text{m' } \text{za } \text{a } \text{soft (re duplicated from } \text{p' } \text{a } \text{m' } \text{za)} \\
\text{ap' } & \text{s' } \text{il } \text{ and } \text{ap' } & \text{s' } \text{ie' } \text{ca to jump on} \\
\text{owy' } & \text{ and } \text{owy' } & \text{tu to eat}
\end{align*} \]
When a word ending in one vowel is compounded with another one beginning with the same vowel, the two vowels are generally contracted.

hiyotanka to come and sit down (for hi iyotanka)

Terminal a before the particle lo (see p. 933) changes to e because it requires a preceding particle ye, which with a is contracted into e.

bala'he lo I am going

PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

Ponca and Winnebago have vocalic changes analogous to those of Dakota.

The negative auxiliary, the future, the quotative, and the plural of Ponca change terminal e and ai to a.

ik'ágéwotcai I have you for friends 711.13
ik'ágéwawá-maži I do not have them for my friends 711.13
šk'áge thou doest
ti šk'ágá-baži thou doest it not 711.19
né t'ai you will go 689.6
ná-baži you (plural) do not go 689.3

The same change takes place in verbs followed by -bi, -biama IT IS SAID.

ai he said 60.8
á-biama he said, they say 60.7
iŋtěšk'áge thou makest for me 640.1
gágá-biama he made, they say 60.5
ačé he went 9.1
ačáb he went, it is said 9.10
zugfe with him
zugša-bi he with her, they say 331.18
dañbái-ga see him! 60.6
dañbái-biama they saw, they say 58.10

The change of terminal e to a occurs also in Winnebago in the plural, when the verb is followed by the negative and is in the present tense, and when followed by á'ñaŋga AND.

de I go
dañvi we go (-vi plural ending)
raše thou buriest
rañiwi ye bury

In Winnebago, r changes regularly to n when following a nasalized vowel. This n differs in the strength of its nasal aspiration from the ordinary n.

hinu'gas he tears me by pulling (for hiⁿ-ru-gas)
The dialects here treated demonstrate a close relationship between certain groups of sounds. These are notably—

\[ m b p \quad y \quad d \quad r \quad n \quad l \quad g \quad h \quad k \quad t \quad (k \quad \epsilon) \quad n \]

These relationships appear partly in consonant changes required by the rules of euphony of each dialect. It has been shown before that, in cases of contraction in Teton, \( p \) may change to \( m \), \( t \) and \( \epsilon \) to \( n \); and that \( k \) and \( k \) after \( a \) transformed into \( e \), and in a few other cases, change to \( \epsilon \) and \( \epsilon \).

When discussing consonantic clusters, we called attention to the peculiar groups of clusters which occur in Santee, beginning with \( m \) and \( h \). These show a great variability in different, closely related dialects, and exhibit some of the relationships of sounds to which attention has been called. Thus we find the corresponding groups in Santee, Yankton, and Teton:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santee</th>
<th>Yankton</th>
<th>Teton</th>
<th>Ponca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( m\alpha )</td>
<td>( m\alpha )</td>
<td>( b\alpha )</td>
<td>( b\epsilon )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( h\alpha )</td>
<td>( k\alpha )</td>
<td>( g\alpha )</td>
<td>( g\epsilon )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( h\beta )</td>
<td>( k\beta )</td>
<td>( g\beta )</td>
<td>( g\mu )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The close relationship between \( t \) and \( k \) appears in Santee whenever the sound precedes \( p \). Thus we find—

\( k\alpha \beta \)pa and \( k\alpha \beta \)pa end of a thing
\( wak\alpha \beta \)pa and \( wat\alpha \beta \)pa river

The relations between \( n \) and \( l \) in Santee and Teton, and those between \( y \), \( \epsilon \), \( r \), \( l \), in Santee, Ponca, Winnebago, and Kansas, have been mentioned before.

An important phonetic law relating to the Winnebago was formulated in 1883 by J. Owen Dorsey in the following words:  

“A triliteral monosyllable \( \lambda \)iere (and often the corresponding ones in Dakota and Ceqiha) is changed into a quadriliteral dissyllable in Hotcañigar, when the first letter of the monosyllable is a mute, a palatal spirant, or a spirant sibilant, and the second consonant is a labial or dental mute, or a dental spirant. The first consonant of the Hotcañiga dissyllable is always a surd; the second is, as in the corresponding \( \lambda \)iere word, a labial or dental mute, or else a dental spirant; and each consonant (in Hotcañiga) must be followed by the same vowel sound. In no case, as far as examples have been gained, can any mute stand next to one of the same order; e. g., a labial cannot precede a labial.”

1 Swanton hears here an indistinct vowel between the consonants of the cluster. This is true of a great many groups of two consonants.


§ 4
Examples illustrating this law are:

- **sa'rasi** thou breakest with mouth (s-r- equals Ponca ūn; ru- Winnebago WITH THE MOUTH)
- **burul'kiš** thou breakest by pulling (s-r- equals Ponca ūn; ru- Winnebago BY PULLING)
- **haku'rugas** I tear my own (k- one's own, followed by the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; ru- BY PULLING)
- **haku'rašiš** I break my own with mouth

Compare also—

- **kavoa'naŋga** for këwë a'naŋga AND HE ENTERED
- **hítat'a'naŋga** for hítëtë a'naŋga AND HE SPOKE

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are expressed by juxtaposition, composition, and reduplication. The limits between juxtaposition of words in a fixed order and of word composition are ill defined, since the independent words that enter into the sentence are liable to considerable phonetic modification, which is due entirely to the closeness of the connection of the adjoining elements. The phonetic decay of different words, under these conditions, is not the same everywhere; and certain elements appear exclusively in combinations, so that they may be considered as affixes. Prefixes, suffixes, and in some cases infixes, occur, although the latter may have been originally prefixes which appear now as incorporated in a compound, the parts of which are no longer discernible. The total number of affixes, however, is small, the entire number not reaching thirty-five. Composition of independent words is resorted to with great frequency. In these compounds the subordinated element is usually modified by the elision of the terminal vowel and the correlated modification of the preceding consonant, so that the component parts form a very firm unit. Modifications of terminal sound of one word and initial sound of the following word occur in many cases, and express the syntactic relations of parts of the sentence. Phonetic modification of prefixes and of suffixes, particularly of the pronominal elements, and irregularities of their positions, make the verbal forms of the Siouan languages very irregular in appearance. Far-reaching substitutions in the labial and dental series occur in all dialects.

Duplication of stems occurs in verbs and in some nouns derived from them. It is almost always confined to the principal stem. The final
consonants, which in the unduplicated word are followed by terminal
\(a\), are modified as in other types of composition (see § 4).

The syntactic relation of words is often expressed by position. On
the whole, there is a strong tendency to place particles indicating the
function and relationships of groups of words following those groups.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The categories of noun and verb are clearly distinct, although in
some cases the same word may be used both as a noun and as a verb.
In other cases there is at least a slight modification of form, which
consists in a change of suffixes. In the Dakota dialects there is no
classification of nouns, except in so far as verbs of existence imply
form; but in Ponca the classification, which is expressed by particles,
is elaborate. Animate and inanimate—the former at rest and mov-
ing; the latter as round, upright, horizontal, etc.—are distinguished.
Plurality of the noun is expressed, not by means of a nominal
plural, but rather by a device which expresses the plural idea of the
whole sentence. In the possessive pronoun the ideas of inalienable
and alienable possession are distinguished. Distributive forms of
verbs expressing states or conditions are often expressed by redupli-
cation.

The subjective and objective personal pronouns are clearly distin-
guished. The former are the subjects of all verbs expressing activi-
ties; the latter are the objects of transitive verbs, and the subjects of
verbs expressing conditions. The Siouan languages have the tendency
to include in the former class all declarative terms, even those that
imply only a slight amount of action.

The pronouns are not well developed. There are only three funda-
mental forms,—i, thou, thou and i. Forms with incorporated
object are generally composed of the subjective and objective forms
of these elements, but a few cases occur of combinations that can
not now be explained as compounds of subjective and objective pro-
nouns. The pronominal forms give rise to new combinations, owing
to the marked exactness with which the action directed toward an
object possessed by the subject is differentiated from other actions
directed toward objects not so possessed.

In the verbal stem a few instrumentalities and locatives are ex-
pressed. Complex ideas are expressed very frequently by means of
composition. Some of the elements entering into such composition

§ 6
appear with great frequency, and might be called auxiliaries. To these belong verbs like to cause, to become, and nominal classifiers like ruminant. Temporal and modal ideas are almost wholly rendered by means of enclitic particles.

Demonstratives seem to have designated originally four distinct positions, but these are no longer clearly recognizable. The demonstrative ideas are very closely associated with some verbs with which they enter into composition.

While in Dakota there is no indication of the existence of a grammatical distinction of the nominal subject and object, the Ponca differentiates these forms through the use of distinct particles.

The local relations of nouns are expressed with great nicety by means of post-positions, in which Doctor Swanton finds the ideas of rest and motion clearly and sharply distinguished.

Adverbs of various kinds, and a few special adjectival ideas, are expressed by means of suffixes.

**DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-47)**

**Juxtaposition and Composition: Santee (§§ 7-10)**

§ 7. *Verbs*

In the Dakota sentence the component elements are often placed side by side without any connective elements, but so closely connected that two successive elements influence each other phonetically. Compositions of this type appear with great frequency when a number of predicative terms enter into combination. Whenever an element of such a series, that is followed by another element, ends in the vowel *a*, preceded by one of the consonants *p, t, č, k, ģ, z, ž*, contraction (see § 4, no. 6) takes place.

*snayelā yundēn iyeya* it snapped and broke suddenly IX¹ 88.9  
(*sna ringing sound; yundēča to break to pieces; iyeyā to do suddenly*)

*wäsēd ti* he lived and was rich IX 95.1 (*wäsēča rich*)

*ikpilnag u* he came putting them in his blanket IX 88.14 (*ikpilnaka to put in blanket*)

*ikpilnag u* it was in the blanket IX 88.26

*wän̄yag naži* to stand and see (*wän̄yaču to see*)

¹These references indicate page and line in Vol. IX of the Contributions to North American Ethnology.

§ 7
When the first verb ends in a syllable that can not be contracted, the two verbs stand simply side by side.

'icimani hi to come and visit IX 87.22 ('icimani to visit; hi to come)
ođe' i he went hunting IX 117.2 (ode' to hunt; i to go)
apе ya'ka he stayed and waited IX 117.3 (ape' to wait)
čeya viwakunza she cried and wailed IX 117.16

When the first and second verb end in the same vowel, contraction may take place.

hdiyota'ka to come home and sit down (hdi to come home; ijoyotaka to sit down)
hihun'ni to come to the shore (hi to arrive; ihun'ni to land)

While ordinarily the terminal a in verbs that can not form contractions remains, and the two verbs appear simply in juxtaposition, a few verbs, which otherwise do not differ in their usage from those discussed heretofore, require the change from a to e, and thus indicate a more intimate association of the component elements of the group. These are iyeya suddenly; ya (ya') to cause; kiya to cause; u' to be; i to go; u to come.

The following forms are analogous to the preceding groups, and show contraction:

kaptuš iyeya to put down (from kaptuža)
yuohdok iyeya to open out IX 83.15 (from yuohdoka)
ka si to cause to do (from kaša)
sam ya to blacken (from sapa)
pus ya to dry (from puza)
wsiya'd ya to cause to see (from wisya'd ka)

No change of the first verb occurs; for instance, in—
nahi' kiya to cause to stand

Changes of a to e in words in which contraction is impossible are found in—

te ku' to wish one dead
ye kiya to cause to go (from ya)
niwe kiya to cause to swim (from niwa')
niwe u' he is swimming
bakshe i he went to cut (from baksa) IX 115.10
wanase ayu they went buffalo-hunting IX 88.11
hihnaye au they came to marry him IX 144.3
anice waičin to forbid he intended IX 111.17 (this should be, according to analogy, anin waičin)

§ 7
Judging from the published texts, the usage is not quite regular, and some verbs seem to take both forms.

§ 8. Verbs and Nouns

In many compounds of this group an intimate phonetic relation of the noun and verb exists, so much so that the noun sometimes appears in a fragmentary form which never occurs alone, or, at least, with a termination that has undergone far-reaching modifications.

\textit{cante} HEART. From this word are formed—
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{cante}w'za to have courage (with \textit{ti}w'za staff)
\item \textit{cane} to be troubled (with \textit{ze} disturbed)
\item \textit{canto}hnaka to love (with ohna'ka to push in)
\end{itemize}

The complete word appears in—
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{cante}asni to recover one's mind (with asni' to recover)
\item \textit{ha}w'ye tu NIGHT
\item \textit{ha}w'mani to walk in the night (with ma'ni to walk)
\item \textit{ha}v'wa'ku to remain over night (with wa'ku to be)
\end{itemize}

\textit{wo}w'ya FEMALE
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{wo}hdaska'ka to strike one's wife (hdaska'ka to strike one's own)
\item \textit{wona}nalma to conceal a woman (with ina' to hide)
\item \textit{wika}sdleya to molest a woman (with ki'sdleya to molest)
\item \textit{wita}w'sna a virgin (ta'sna alone)
\end{itemize}

The terminal \textit{a} of the noun does not change to \textit{e}, but contraction takes place in compounds of this type.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ma}hki'cana to till a field (from ma'ga field; ki'cana to cultivate)
\item \textit{ma}k'puskica to lie on the ground (from maka' ground; ipuski'ca to press on; with contraction of \textit{a}-\textit{i} to \textit{i})
\end{itemize}

In still other cases the noun modifies the initial sound of the verb.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ti}c'ya to pitch a tent (from ti dwelling; \textit{k}ya to make)
\item \textit{mi}nichtapi a well (from mi'ni water; \textit{ka} to dig)
\end{itemize}

The transition between these forms and others consisting of object and verb, or subject and intransitive predicate, is quite gradual. A number of nouns are used like classifiers, when the sense of the sentence does not require the noun. Thus we find, from—

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ca} WOOD
\item \textit{ca}ka'ska to tie wood together
\item \textit{ca}ba'deka to saw wood
\end{itemize}

\textit{wika} HUMAN BEING
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{wika}w'sna bachelor (compare the true compound \textit{wita}w'sna virgin)
\end{itemize}
At the other end of the series we have forms like—

*hihna' to* to have a husband (*hihna' husband; to* to have)

*hihna' ya* to have for a husband.

In the latter form the same verb that forms the causative compound appears combined with a noun.

§ 9. Nouns

Nouns enter into composition in the same way as nouns and verbs, and presumably there is no fundamental difference between these groups. We find here also abbreviated or contracted forms, more probably stems. These nouns often have a classificatory function.

ta Ruminant

tapa deer-head
t'aceeji' buffalo-tongue
taha' deer-skin

*ho* fish appears in the form *ho*

hoa'mdaška eel (literally, fish-snake)
hoap'e fin (literally, fish-leaf)
hoče'spa fish-scales (literally, fish-warts)

bu'ka domesticated animal appears in the form *bu'g*

bu'gvi'ye mare
bu'gška* bridle (literally, horse-rope)

wida' human being

wica'nasu brain of a man
wica'pi liver of a man

wida'ya* female appears in the form *wi*

wišan' vagina
wito'ka a female captive

*ba* wood

ba'ha' bark (literally, wood-skin)
*ba'ha*pa shoes (literally, wood moccasins)
*ba'ha*sá cinnamon-bark (literally, wood-skin red)

ti dwelling

tiša'tku rear part of tent
tišu'ka framework of tent (literally, tent skeleton)

§ 10. Note on Certain Verbal Compounds

Compositions similar to those here described occur in other Siouan dialects. Perhaps the most peculiar ones are the Winnebago verbal compounds, in which the position of the subject is described as sitting, lying, or standing. Following are a few examples.

§§ 9, 10
ra'ísēn-a na'ńksēn-a he breaks it with the mouth, sitting (ra- with mouth, sis to break, na'ńksēn-a he is sitting, only in compounds)

ra'ísēn-a na'ńksēn-a he breaks it with the mouth, standing (jen-a he is standing, only in compounds)

ra'ísēn-a na'ńksēn-a he breaks it with the mouth, lying or walking (from wa'ńksēn-a he is lying, walking, only in compounds)

Similar forms are not quite absent in other dialects, but they are much less developed. In Dakota we have, for instance,

ta wanka to be dead IX 111.19
ya wanka he went (literally, going he reclined) IX 110.1
ia ha to speak (literally, speaking to stand)
wa'ya-yaka ha en i looking on standing in he came IX 86.12
iyêkiya yanka it is shining (literally, shining he sits)

§ 11. Reduplication

SANTEE

Reduplication in Dakota consists essentially in the doubling of the principal theme of a word. In the process, all monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>bubu' to make a noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pepe' prickly, jagged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>dodo' soft, damp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>giji' brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu</td>
<td>gi'gu' to burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ha'ku' curling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zo</td>
<td>zo'ko' to whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td>hu'ku' made of bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko'ko' quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>papa' (Teton) to bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>po'po' foggy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>sos'o' to cut into strings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa'pa' to yell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdu</td>
<td>mdu'mdu' pulverized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hbu</td>
<td>hbu'hbu' to make a crunching noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sta)</td>
<td>ksta' weak, brittle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The form ha has been classed by Dorsey with the articles (IX, p. 25, footnote), while Swanton classes it as a continuative suffix, because it occurs not only with verbs, as stated before, but also after other parts of speech, especially after demonstratives; as, c'ha' ha then, loka' when. These uses, however, agree with the use of articles.—F. Boas.

§ 11
Bisyllabic words ending in a lose this ending in the reduplicated syllable and modify their last consonant in accordance with the rules described in § 4.

When the terminal consonant and the initial consonant form inadmissible clusters, the former is omitted.

In bisyllabic words beginning with a consonantic cluster the consonant of the terminal syllable is not repeated:

§ 11
An exception to this rule is—

(ya)sm’a’ka (ya)sm’a’gsm’a’ka to indent (with teeth)

When the consonant of the second syllable is a dental or affricative (t or c) and the first consonant a sibilant (z, s, ɬ, ʃ), the dental or affricative is transformed into a k (y).

so’ta
suta
žuta
šiža
(wa”ži’ one)
soko’ta clear
suksu’ta hard
žuku’ta forked
šikši’ža bad
wa”ži’gži some

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected.

s’ti” in sight
mdu pulverized
gu to burn
hde to plan
ša red
to” to give forth
(pta”) to roll

kas’ti” to appear in sight
abo’mdu to bubble up (a- on; bo- by blowing)
aju’aju to burn out something
i”eiyahde i”eiyahdehde to reach one to another
ai”desa in the red flames (a- on; i”cde to blaze)
abo’to”to” to cry out (ho voice)
po”pta”pta” to shake head ([po] head)

The following examples illustrate the use of reduplication of words with suffixes:

tok”ke”a
tok”ke”a different
yukta”kiya
yukta”kta”kiya to cause to bend
yupta”ya”
yupta”pta”ya” to roll over

It would seem that in a limited number of cases the component elements have lost their independence—both the reduplicated stem and the prefix. Instances of stems that do not seem to occur alone will be found in the preceding list. The following cases illustrate the occurrence of prefixed elements that have apparently now no independent meaning:

koška
ku”nja
koška”šku”pi youth
ku”nja”ga proud

§11
Reduplicated numerals show very clearly these principles of reduplication:

- **na'zi'one**
- **ya'mnithree**
- **za'ptafive**
- **ka'kpesix**
- **ba'wi'wseven**
- **nak'ixa nine**
- **wik'exa ten**
- **wa'zi'igzi a few**
- **ya'nmimmi by threes**
- **za'pta'pta' by fives**
- **ka'kkepe by sixes**
- **ba'wi'o'wi' by sevens**
- **nak'ixo'gwa' by eights**
- **wik'ew'xamna by nines**
- **wik'ew'mn'na by tens**

**PONCA**

In Ponca, monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled:

- **Han'always 207.10**
- **Man'level 25.3**
- **Meh' spots. 315.11**
- **8an'each time 264.12**
- **Huh'fish 280.8**

Apparently most stems ending in a consonant are reduplicated without the terminal consonant:

- **Bih' hut'a blowing on 260.15**
- **U4' u'de. bite holes in them 267.7**
- **Pu' pu'di'e drawn up much 282.16**
- **Gagigig'coiled up 282.16 (gagigige 320.3)**
- **Uju' k'hehehe one after another 307.9**
- **M4'am'dema' shake me repeatedly 310.3**
- **Jiji'ga little ones**
- **Vasi'jige active 9.14**
- **Hihi'ge to crush often 20.3**
- **Bi'e'bi'je to break in by pressing 20.4**
- **Nah'aje kicking out with the legs 24.1**
- **Nah'i'ja made people afraid to carry 756.5**
- **Vakeke'ga sick ones (vakega sick)**

Since the suffixes of Ponca are not well known to me, it is quite likely that some of these stems may be monosyllabic. We find also examples of reduplication, including the terminal stem-consonant.

- **Vahat'aze 267.6**
- **Vahat'ab'aze 267.13**

§11
In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected:

- \textit{ičan'ča} suddenly and regularly 9.5
- \textit{ovčača} one by one 314.7
- \textit{Čisp'Čsp'a} pulled to pieces 17.3
- \textit{ukšiškšača} they run unequal distances 756.16
- \textit{uščāovšča} in a line with 261.4
- \textit{Čk'iščiščiši} sitting on one another 320.4
- \textit{ičišk'išči} much tangled 591.16
- \textit{uča'hača} floating in little waves 279.5 (see \textit{uča'ha} 282.4)
- \textit{čačči} without stopping 261.8
- \textit{čpičči} good ones (\textit{pi} good)
- \textit{učiščiščiščišča} he turned round and round 260.8.

**WINNEBAGO**

Monosyllabic stems with terminal vowel are doubled:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t'č</td>
<td>hit'del'č to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'o</td>
<td>rap'Čp'ča'naŋa to puff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'o</td>
<td>ĩhiwak'Čok'č to skip about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'an</td>
<td>woą'Čra'na the ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛgi</td>
<td>nańińińgi to walk over something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţi</td>
<td>rukšikši to disturb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţi</td>
<td>ruzizi to point at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'č</td>
<td>ĩr'čč to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛghu'</td>
<td>nańińgů'ńghu' to hear often</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel (see p. 888) are treated in the same manner as monosyllabic stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiri</td>
<td>kirikiri he comes again and again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'inč</td>
<td>ĩrūnińpini to turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šara</td>
<td>šarašara bald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ono</td>
<td>worūpōňōpōńō to smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poro</td>
<td>poroporo round</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all stems ending in a consonant do not repeat the terminal sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuč</td>
<td>horukšu'kuč he looked again and again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rak</td>
<td>ɾařiškši to shriek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zić</td>
<td>ɾozišziš to strain one's eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gas</td>
<td>ɾuqą'gas to tear in pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumč</td>
<td>rukšuńkšuń to shake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čas</td>
<td>hiračačas to chatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šiz</td>
<td>bosišiń to shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šińč</td>
<td>šińńč to sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rić</td>
<td>ririč to squeak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{§ 11}\]
There are three prefixes, consisting of the pure vowels a, i, and o, which have very general meanings of prepositional or adverbial character. Since these elements have no influence upon the structure of the following word to which they are attached, they might be considered as proclitic particles.

1. a signifies on. It is also employed to indicate that one thing is accompanied by another, and therefore becomes a kind of plural.

   a
   wi’baya they put on (many sticks)
   anat’i she ran (thither)
   aké’ti he put on the fire
   awa’k’eya he covered it (with a robe)
   awb’ac wa’u I bring them
   aks’sta’pi they poured on him

2. i indicates that an action has taken place with some definite object in view, and therefore often occurs in words denominating instruments; it also forms ordinals. Sometimes it may be translated by for.

   i
   ipa’l’a sewed with
   iya’ha” he was going to (a hill)
   iya’wika’k’iya’ he passed it to them
   ilona’pi they sing of it
   ina’zi’u he stood there (to look into the lodge)
   iya’kasakpi they hid it there
   i’a’pe thing that they strike fire with
   iwa’salohe stone balls

§ 12
izap'ta the fifth time
ito'pa the fourth
iyu'ha all
iwaw'ka' above it

3. o signifies in, within, inside of. It is frequently employed with verbs signifying to speak; and also when indefinite actions are to be expressed, when it becomes partly antithetical to i.

oslo'he coasting (into the water)
opawićakta' she packed them up
oma'hihi'pa'ya I fall into
ao'nawvićat'a'ka he closed them in
ohar'hepi night-time
obu'ha place for a certain article (bag)
oya'te people
oya'si' all
ohun'kaka' myth
d'gale coat
obala'ye level place
oma'ni he walked (about)

PONCA

The corresponding elements are also found in Ponca:

1. a (Dakota a) on
   áhe to glue on 84.19
   áqgh' to sit on 84.6
   áqšá to drop on 234.18
   ágqta'hk'a' he poured on his own 234.19

2. i (Dakota i) from, with, out of, by means of
   igagi to make of it 97.22
   it' in to hit with 433.3
   ik'ide to shoot with 369.10
   ihe to die from 690.11.

3. u (Dakota o) in, into
   ubága' to push into 232.6
   váqš'udo I broke a hole in it 96.17
   ugšame split inside by hitting 81.18
   ubósma' to push into 75.8
   ugš'i' to sit inside 85.17

¹ Probably in oma'ni one is represented as traveling about within a certain area, for the word for prairie or level place is obala'ye.

§ 12
§ 13. Instrumental Prefixes

TETON

1. na- to do a thing by means of the foot.
   - *nahta'ka* he kicked (the ground)
   - *naho'to* he made it cry by stepping on it
   - *nata'pi* they trampled her to death
   - *na'kinpiti* they stood
   - *nabu'bu* stamping often

2. wa- (Santee ba) to accomplish by cutting.
   - *wabsalawripi* they cut it open
   - *wavsw'wun* she cut it in many places
   - *wakpin* she cut it out (i.e., the ground)
   - *wak'bu* he cut it off

3. wo- to accomplish by shooting or punching, also by blowing, and derivatively by the falling of rain.
   - *wogala'kiniya* to cause to glance (as a bullet)
   - *wohsw'kapya* to make fall by shooting
   - *woko'kela* to make rattle by shooting

   This prefix seems to be used less often in Teton than does its corresponding form *bo* in Santee.

4. pa- to push with the hands.
   - *pasala'tapi* they drove it into the ground
   - *opawvitakta*' she packed them up
   - *pahsalokapi* they punch a hole
   - *epata* he cut it up or butchered it
   - *paww'kapi* they pushed it down

5. ka- to accomplish by striking; also applied to other actions by derivation.
   - *kahuw'wunpi* they gashed it in many places
   - *kaliw'ja* he broke it up
   - *kako'ja* he made a grating noise
   - *kapo'jana* it puffed out.

6. ya- to accomplish by means of the mouth.
   - *aya'sta* he stopped singing
   - *atiyapi* they talk about it
   - *iya'kasaki* they tied it there by means of the mouth
   - *iwo'gasakapi* they spoke about their own (here the *y* of *ya* has either been omitted before *i* or changed into it)
7. *yu-* to accomplish by any means, but more especially by handling.

- *yu'ja* she took hold
- *yuvu'kapi* they pulled him down
- *yuha'* he had him
- *ayu'sta* she let him alone
- *yu'zu* he pulled apart
- *ziyu'ta* I choke you to death

Most of these have come to have uses varying considerably from the significations given above, which seem to be the original meanings.

**Ponca**

In Ponca have been found nine instrumental prefixes, all of which form transitive verbs, like the analogous Dakota prefixes:

1. *na*- (Santee *na-*) by pressing with the foot.
   - *nahá* he kicked 314.16
   - *wana' te* stepping on them 235.19
   - *wana'kihi* crushing them with the foot 235.19
   - *na'snáha* he slipped in walking 97.14
   - *na'jáge* to make cry by kicking 96.11

2. *ma*- (Santee *ba-*) by cutting.
   - *ma'ga* he cuts head off 11.1
   - *wúmañáza-i-ga* rend it for us with a knife 76.6
   - *umásnai-ga* split it with a knife 318.14

3. *mu*- (Santee *bo-*) by shooting.
   - *mu'ağje* to exterminate by shooting 628.6
   - *umísi'ta* to remain from shooting 399.14

4. *ba*- (Santee *pa-*) by pressing with the hand.
   - *basnú* he pushed along 318.3
   - *bahiaá* he pushed down 80.14
   - *ubása* to push (a tail) into (a tree) 75.8
   - *ba'ibe* he forced a way out 369.13
   - *bahi'etá* he pushed it away 331.3
   - *ba'sít'ana* to make straight by pushing 234.14

5. *ga*- (Santee *ka-*) by striking (and by action of wind and water).
   - *ga'io* to die by falling 163.9
   - *ugáni* he split by hitting 81.18
   - *ugák'iba* he made a crack by hitting 81.12
   - *gaşálu* to strike a rattle 315.10
   - *gasnú* wind blows 324.7
   - *gamú* to empty by pouring out 17.11
   - *gap'úk'í* to make sound by hitting 266.10

§13
6. *ca*—(Santee *ya*-) with the mouth, by blowing.
   *calis* to drink 266.18
   *casniw* to swallow 79.12
   *caheki* he made him put it in his mouth 99.7
   *naaba* he bit and tore them in many places 267.13
   *nae* he made it emerge by biting 124.9

7. *ci*—by pulling.
   *ciis* to drag 306.3
   *ci*p'asi he pulled pieces apart 17.7
   *ci*pu'de he shook by pulling 318.8
   *ci*da*'-ga* pull on it! 96.9
   *cihe*da he pulled it out 131.5

8. *na*—by heat.
   *ndte* to die by heat 222.7
   *nasahe* blackened by fire 259.5
   *nziit* made yellow by heat 237.2
   *ndi* it is consumed by fire 673.6
   *ndit* it burns brightly 235.15
   *nidad* fire sends out sparks 234.18
   *nata* he cooked them to pieces 232.19

9. *bi*—by pressure.
   *bic* to break in by pressing 20.4
   *bihi* blowing on 260.15

WINNEBAGO

In Winnebago eight instrumental prefixes have been found:

1. *na*—(Santee *na*-, Ponca *na*-) by pressing with the foot.
   *na* he breaks by pressing with the foot
   *na* he tears with the foot
   *na* to accomplish with the foot (to dance)
   *na* to push with the foot.

2. *ma*—(Santee *ba*-, Ponca *ma*) by cutting.
   *ma* he breaks by cutting
   *ma* he tears by cutting
   *ma* to cut to pieces

3. *bo*—(Santee *bo*-, Ponca *mu*) by force, by blowing.
   *bo* he breaks by shooting
   *bo* he pushes

4. *wa*—(Santee *pa*-, Ponca *ba*) by pushing with the hand.
   *wa* he breaks by pushing with the hand
   *wa* he saws
5. gi- (Santee ka-, Ponca qa-) by striking.
   gi'siš to break by striking
   gi'sa'k to kill by striking
   gi'čiš he cuts by striking

6. ra- (Santee ya-, Ponca qa-) with mouth.
   rašiš he breaks with the mouth
   račiš he cuts with the mouth
   rašja'n he accomplishes with the mouth (he sings).

7. ru- (Santee —, Ponca či-) by pulling.
   rū'siš he breaks by pulling
   ruga's he tears by pulling

8. da- (Santee —, Ponca na-) by heat.
   dasę'pi to blacken by heat
   dač'ki'n to wither by heat

The pronominal forms of all these prefixes show certain peculiar-
ities, which will be treated in § 32.

§ 14. Modal Prefixes: Teton

Two elements may be mentioned here which are difficult to classify.
The one (1) might seem to be better classed as a proclitic particle,
while the other (2) is closely related to syntactic forms of the verb that
will be found treated on p. 909.

1. hir- indicates that an event happened suddenly, as—
   hiri'pa'yapi they dropped it at once
   hir'na'pa he came out quickly
   hir'gal' it became suddenly
   hir'ha'n'i early in the morning
   hir'ya'ka po now wait ye!

2. wa-. Verbs, especially when used with other verbs, sometimes take
   on a passive or infinitive form by prefixing wa-. It is probable
   that this prefix is equivalent to something or thing.

Thus we have—
   waya'tapi ku you will have something (just referred to) to eat
   tah'aka'n nal'ta'y wač'w what he wanted was to kick on her neck
   "mi'ye" t'oke'ya wan'gi "wač'miyej 'cim'ála'k'í'te" cuy' the ghost
   said, "You will have something put down for me first"
   u'ma saha'wa' wat'é'ke hiya'ya the other went slipping along

Often this is used in the formation of nouns and adjectives, as—
   wak' ci' good, beautiful (from stö to esteem highly)
   waki'n'ya' the thunders (from ki'n'ya'n to fly)

§ 14
wana'gi ghost (from na'gi soul, spirit)
wak'į' a pack of goods (from ki' to carry)
wak'a'w holy
wap'a'kita bundle
wap'a'ha war-bonnet (from p'a'ha human hair [?])

With the prefix o- it forms wo-:
wo'yuha property (from yu'ha' to have)
wo'sica cause of trouble (from si'cabad)
wo'k'oya'ke clothing

§ 15. Verbal Suffixes: Teton

Although the existence of verbal suffixes is not so readily recognized, a careful examination of the language renders it almost certain that several verbal elements exist which are analogous in form to the verbs kiya and ya, which will be referred to later (p. 931). These are ka, pa, ja, ta, za, and ęa (or g, b, l, l, s, and š), and are identical with those referred to in the section on phonetics as undergoing certain morphological changes. The ęa there mentioned I do not include, because it is nothing more than ka after a weak vowel. Of the remainder, I can only suggest the significance of the first two or three with any plausibility, and am obliged to infer that the others were of similar character merely from the similar manner in which they are used.

-ka (or ęa) is practically equivalent to the English to be; as—

ya'm'ka she sat
yu'n'ka he lay
t'a'na'ka it is large
č'ın'ka (however) he did wish
owa'šakupi they have no strength
ovč'sika poor
ta'kuka whatever it is (ta'ku what)
ži'ngži'n'ča snorting
wawa'čěčala gentle
p'te'ččuka they were real bison
šiča'ku it was bad (šiča bad)
oya'ka he told it (ya to say)
těši'ka difficult
niya'ka alive (niya caused to live)
wikímič'pi they scrambled for them
ana'p'teča to hinder or obstruct

§ 15
-pa probably means to go and do; or, at any rate, some sort of motion.

wok'm'yuwpapi we two take hold of you
t'ate'ya'apa the wind blows
eowi'au'n'papi they lay them down (i.e., they go and lay them down)
kawoi'awapa I excel them in it
yu'o'gipa it (branches) closed on his hand
wato'papi they paddled

-ga appears to mean to make or to do, although it is used so often in referring to a harsh noise or rough action that something of that sort may be connoted. Examples are—

ti'ga he grunted
nahukul'ga he broke it with his foot
yamenu'ga making a crunching noise
oma'go'ga I awoke
wo'gogapi they gashed it
ka'ga he made
ka'ke'ga to make a grating noise
'i'nu'n'ga he asked her a question
yakogaha'pi they were gnawing the hard substance
owd'kahansige sni I did not understand
igalagdel'gapi they painted themselves in all styles
patku'ga to break in two by striking

-ta is exemplified in the following:
pakim'ta he brushed it
pasalatapi they set the pole in the ground
nagd'lgata he kicked out his feet
ogalukun'ta he put his hand in it
ayuna he looked at it
wida'yuksalatapi they pinched them
yupota she cut to pieces
kaski'ta to press
olo'tapi they borrowed
kasa'ta to make forked with an ax
kapota to tear in pieces

-za.

wobsalu'za it burst
oi'yokpaza dark
wohuk'ezza war-spear
kagwetzapi they painted in many lines
iya'za he went to each one

§ 15
§ 16. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The development of the personal pronoun in the Siouan language is very weak. Distinct pronominal forms occur only for I, THOU, THOU AND I. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second person by a dental, and the inclusive by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns, which designate the subject of an activity, are differentiated from objective pronouns, which express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state. In Santee these forms are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun Type</th>
<th>Subjective Pronouns</th>
<th>Objective Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>ma (mi or m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ni (or n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no pronoun of the third person. The plural object of the transitive verb is expressed by wica. This term, however, is not a pronoun, but signifies PERSON, as is evidenced by the occurrence of the terms wica male, human being, and wicašu man. The plurality of the pronoun is expressed by the suffix (or enclitic) pi, which will be discussed in § 39. Added to the inclusive, this element forms the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.

1This attempt to reduce the bisyllabic words of Sioux to compounds of two monosyllabic elements, each ending with a vowel, does not seem to me quite successful. The unity of idea claimed for the groups In-ka, -ta, etc., is not convincing. It seems to me more plausible that we are dealing here with stems ending in a consonant which are amplified by the terminal vowel a, so that the so-called contracted forms are rather the stems. There is good evidence that -ka is a suffix of very weak meaning, since many words occur with and without it. I doubt, however, if this element occurs in law'ka, yaw'ka, yuv'ka.—F. Boas.

§ 16
Examples in Teton are—

- **t'i** I dwell
- **wa't'i** I dwell
- **w'a't'i** thou and I dwell
- **w'a't'ipi** we (he and I, or plural) dwell
- **t'ipi** they dwell

- **maš'ca** I am bad
- **oma'hékipa'ya** I fall into
- **nič'aw'kapí** ye are large
- **muč'ku** I lie
- **yuč'ku** he lies
- **eč'amo** I do it
- **uč'ku** we live

§ 17. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the first person always precedes the second. The combination 1—thee is expressed by ́či. The object **wiča**, expressing the third person plural, precedes all pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>maya-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>́či-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wuyi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wuyu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>wičawa-</td>
<td>wičaya-</td>
<td>wičau-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in Santee:

- **k' te** to kill.
  - **maya'k'te** thou killest me
  - **maya'k'te-pi** ye kill me
  - **wiča'k'te-ha** she was killing them
  - **maya'kuška** thou tiest me (from kaška to tie)
  - **wiča'kuška** you and I tie them
  - **eča'ška** I tie thee (kaška after i changed to čaška [see § 4.5])

§ 18. Pronouns of Verbs in y-

Verbs beginning with **ya** or **yu** in the third person—with very few exceptions—have pronouns of a different form. These are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teton</th>
<th>Santee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>bal-</td>
<td>md-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 17, 18
Examples are—

Teton: *yu'za* he takes  
    *balu'za* I take  
    *lu'za* thou takest  
*yawo* he counts  
    *balu'wo* I count  
    *lu'wo* thou countest  
*ya* he goes  
    *balu* I go  
    *lu* thou goest

Santee: *yuosta* he finishes  
   *bendo* I finish  
   *dendo* thou finishest  
*yaoka* he bites in two  
    *bendo* I bite in two  
    *dendo* thou bitest in two

The most important exception is the verb *ya* to cause, which occurs in last position in compounds, and which has always the pronouns as described in § 16.

Santee:  
*napsinya* he makes jump  
    *napsinya* I make jump

§ 19. Other Exceptional Forms

Other exceptional forms may be grouped as active and neutral verbs. Irregular active verbs are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TO ARRIVE</th>
<th>TO GO (future)</th>
<th>TO START TO COME</th>
<th>TO SAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teton</td>
<td>Santee (regular)</td>
<td>Teton (Riggs)</td>
<td>Santee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person .</td>
<td><em>mana</em></td>
<td><em>wahi</em></td>
<td><em>mni kta</em></td>
<td><em>hibu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person .</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>yahi</em></td>
<td><em>ni kta</em></td>
<td><em>hidu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person .</td>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td><em>hi</em></td>
<td><em>yina kta</em></td>
<td><em>hiyu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Santee verb *yaoka* to weave basketry, to weave snowshoes, is analogous in its forms to Teton *mana*:

1st person: *mana'na*  
2d person: *nana'ka*  

§ 19
It will be noticed that in all these forms, except in *e'ha* thou sayest, the labials and dentals, respectively, appear for the first and second person pronouns. In the forms in *mn* for the first person we have apparently verbs in *y*, in which for the regular *l* (Santee *d*) the nasal *n* is substituted; while in *hibu* I start to come and *e'pa* I say, the dental element has been lost. Perhaps all the forms of the verbs in *y* may be explained as a transformation of the pronominal labial and the stem-dental into *b*d- (Santee *md-*) in the first person, and as a loss of one of the dentals in the second person, so that instead of *yy*, *l*- (Santee *d-*) remains. As pointed out by J. Owen Dorsey,\(^1\) this theory is substantiated by the correspondence of the following forms:

Santee: *da*—(2d person of verbs in *ya-*)

Ponca: *sna-* *hna-

Winnebago: *cara-

All verbs beginning with *yu-* generally drop this prefix (see § 13) in the inclusive. *yu'ta* to eat drops it also in the first and second persons.

Two Santee verbs—*yuka* there is and *yakon* there are—defective, and similar in their treatment to *hiyu*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>TO USE</th>
<th>TO SMOKE</th>
<th>TO BE</th>
<th>TO LIE DOWN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>mum</em></td>
<td><em>wmum</em>pa</td>
<td><em>manka</em></td>
<td><em>muka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d person</td>
<td><em>nu</em></td>
<td><em>wnu</em>pa</td>
<td><em>naka</em></td>
<td><em>nuka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td><em>wakun</em></td>
<td><em>wakunpa</em></td>
<td><em>wu'akun</em></td>
<td><em>wu'ana'ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person</td>
<td><em>wu</em></td>
<td><em>wupa</em></td>
<td><em>yu'ka</em></td>
<td><em>wa'ka</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Smithsonian Report for 1883, p. 924). See also §§ 21 et seq.
Quite irregular are the following Santee verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>3d person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kamo</td>
<td>-kamo</td>
<td>-kō'nu</td>
<td>-hō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to do</td>
<td>to think</td>
<td>to wear</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 20. Verbs with Indirect Object and Reflexives

Whenever a verb takes an indirect object or when the object belongs to the subject, one of two peculiar forms is used. One of them is regular, and is characterized by the introduction of the element ki after the compound pronoun expressing subject and object. When the pronoun ends in an i, this form changes to ci. Thus we have—

*bawa'kiksa* I cut off my own

*ēśidowaa*pi* I sing for you IX 110.14 (from *dowa* to sing)

A second set of forms is irregular. The forms are in Santee—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maye-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>ē'i-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>ye-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>u*ye-</td>
<td>w*ki-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The k of the third person seems to be characteristic of most Siouan dialects; but it seems doubtful whether it is justifiable to explain the forms *we-*, *ye-*, *mi-*, *ni-*, as originating through contraction of *waki-*, *yaki-*, *maki-*, *niki-*, as Riggs does. The Ponca forms are not in favor of this theory.

The uses of these two forms are peculiarly irregular. It seems that etymologically both must be considered as distinct, since their relation to the pronouns as well as to the stem is different. The *ki* which enters into regular composition with the pronouns forms exceptional forms with certain stems.

(1) Before stems beginning with *k* and *y* (and *hi* in Teton) it forms *gal* (Teton) and *hd* (Santee).

---

1 With the demonstratives *e, he, kr, to*, this verb forms *etow*, *hetow*, *ketow*, *to'kom* (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

2 With the demonstratives *e, he, kr*, and *wa, aya*, this verb forms *c'ēsin, he'tisin, ke'tisin, wak'isin, awa'tisin* (see § 43). It does not occur alone.
(2) Before stems beginning with p, it forms kp.

According to Riggs's Dictionary, these forms always indicate that the object belongs to the subject.

Swanton gives the following Teton examples of these forms before yu-, ya-, and hi:

- galuha' they had their own
- gala'ška he tied his own
- gala'hâ he was going back
- gali' he got back

The forms in ki which form an irregular pronominal series, according to Riggs, express sometimes the same relation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3d Person</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiča'</td>
<td>weča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiča'ga</td>
<td>weča'ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiča'kča</td>
<td>wečakča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kičo'wa</td>
<td>wečuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikte'</td>
<td>wekte'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinarily these forms express an indirect object with the meaning of our preposition to or for:

- kičahi to rummage for one (from kahi)
- kihna'ka to keep for one

There are, however, many cases in which the ki that does not form irregular pronouns is used in this sense.

- e'ya to say
  - e'ya to say to some one
  - ewakiya I say to him
  - emayakiya you say to me

- dowa'n to sing
  - wakidowa'n I sing for him

In still other cases both forms are in use with the same meaning:

- kitō'n to wear
  - wetō'n and wakito'n I wear
- kisō'n to braid for one's self
  - wesō'n and wakiso'n I braid
- kihma'n to look like
  - wehma and wakihma I look like

It would seem, therefore, that a considerable amount of confusion between these morphologically distinct forms has developed.

Related to the pronoun ki, which tends to become assimilated by the stem, is the reflexive iči, which, before verbs beginning with k and y, assumes the forms igł (Teton) and ihd (Santee), while before verbs beginning with p it becomes ik. It will be seen that this form is simply the first ki with the prefix i.

§ 20
bai'ćik'k'6a to cut one's self in two (from ksa)

ikpa'pta' to turn one's self over (from papta'6)

ihda'ksa to cut one's self off

The following Teton examples are given by Swanton:

oi'pi they paint themselves

mitHcaga I have made myself

un'kic/ya'we two exchange between ourselves

These forms are neutral verbs, and take the objective pronouns.

Derived from the second ki is also the form kići, meaning almost always for, which forms the pronominal forms weti, yeti.

ki'çi,un' to make a mistake for one

ki'ći,so' to braid for one

Another form kići means WITH, TOGETHER, and is generally followed by the pronoun:

3d person 1st person

ki'ći,ti'da' kići,wa'tida' to ride with one

kići'yuta kići,wa'ta to eat with some one

Swanton considers COMPANIONSHIP as the original significance of the form, which occurs also as a post-positive meaning WITH, ACCOMPA-NIED BY. Teton examples are—

oko'lakiii society (literally, friends to one another)

oki'tiyusii they two got into trouble with each other

kići'k'tepì they killed each other

Personal Pronouns in Ponca (§§ 21-29)

§ 21. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The two classes of pronouns, subjective and objective, occur here in the same way as in Dakota, but the modifications of their forms with various classes of verbs are more numerous. By far the majority of verbs may be combined in one group, which show what may be called the normal pronominal forms.

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix -i, corresponding to the Dakota -pi. The inclusive, by addition of this suffix, is transformed into the first person plural. While the object, third

§ 21
person plural, is expressed by wa-, this form does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples of verbs of this class are the following:

**Subjective pronouns:**
- and'an I heard it 670.2 (from nd'an to hear)
- at'i I have arrived 671.6 (from t'i he arrives)
- uat'i thou hast arrived 715.3
- and'an thou hearest it 665.1
- a'man'itini we walk 713.5

**Objective pronouns:**
- a'man'ego I have none 715.2 (from iŋe he has none)
- a'wo'p'ani I am poor 719.2 (from w'p'ani poor)
- u'at'ego thou hast none 70.17
- wawak'egat we have been sick 662.1 (from w'k'ego sick)

§ 22. **Transitive Verbs**

Transitive verbs with incorporated object appear in the same forms as in Dakota. The object has the same form as the subject of the neutral verb. In the combinations of subject and object the first person precedes the second and third, and the third person precedes the second. As in Dakota, the combination of the first person subject and the second person object is expressed by a special form, wi-. The object of the third person plural after the inclusive dual and first person plural is always wa-. The plurality of the object is expressed by the suffix -i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Thou</th>
<th>We</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>an'fa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>wi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wa'fa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>awu-</td>
<td>wa'u-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**I—thee:**
- wind'a'w I hear thee 87.14
- nd'i I hit thee 62.3
- wi'ti I give you 706.10

**I—them:**
- awo'wa I have heard about them 676.1
- awo'pi I gave them 652.14

**Thou—me:**
- a'ma'gi'elj thou dost not remember me 652.6

§ 22
§ 23. Pronouns of Verbs in $c$: Second Class

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with $y$, we have the following forms of the verb in $c$:

1st person singular $b$-
2d person singular $s$-$n$-, $h$-$n$-, $n$-
3d person singular $\xi$-
Inclusive dual $a$-$n$-

According to Dorsey, $s$-$n$- is the oldest form of the second person, while $h$-$n$- and $n$- are more modern forms. The sound $h$-$n$- has not an oral $h$, but expresses a very full breathing through the nose with $n$ closure of the tongue.

Examples of these forms are the following:

$b$-$\iota$ I receive 670.1 $n$-$\iota$ thou receivest it 745.3
$ka$-$\iota$ $\iota$ I wish 704.4 $ma$-$\iota$ $\iota$ you walk 744.5
$ka$-$\iota$ $\iota$ I walk 706.2 $hi$-$\iota$ $\iota$ ye finished 436.9
$ka$-$\iota$ $\iota$ I hope 706.4 $ln$ $\iota$ ye go 436.8
$eb$-$\iota$ $\iota$ I think that 706.6 $ga$-$\iota$ $\iota$ he wishes 50.8
$se$ $\iota$ you went 738.2 $eb$-$\iota$ $\iota$ he thinks that 757.13
$u$-$\iota$ thou tellest 58.17 $a$-$\iota$ $\iota$ we were 727.5
$sk$-$\iota$ $\iota$ thou wishest 741.10 $a$-$\iota$ $\iota$ we think 727.8

§ 24. Pronouns of Verbs in $b$, $d$, $g$: Third Class

Verbs in $b$, $d$, and $g$, provided the pronoun is not infixed, are treated in the following manner:

1st person singular $p$- $t$- $k$-
2d person singular $g$-$p$- $s$-$t$- $s$-$k$-
3d person singular $b$- $d$- $g$-
Inclusive dual $a$-$b$- $a$-$d$- $a$-$g$-

1See the Cogima Language, note on page 534.
2Infixed pronoun.
3Double conjugation. See § 24.
4Compound verb.

§§ 23, 24
The second persons of this group reveal their close relationship to the verbs in ę, a relationship which is still clearer in Winnebago (see § 32). Following are examples of this class:

- páguy I write 488.8
- píga'n I blow it 575.7
- iṣp'aha'n thou knowest 435.14
- ṣt'ar'be thou beholdest 635.10
- da'nbe he saw 116.3
- ṭa'nbe thou knowest 50.8
- ṣk'ad'ągęe thou makes 582.14
- ga'n'ɛa' he wishes 50.8
- ga'qę he made 10.13
- aŋdągai we do 686.5
- aⁿdo'nbe we see 132.8

In verbs beginning with b-, d-, g-, the objective form, and also the combined form voî I—thee, are prefixed to the subjective forms, which take the pronominal subjective according to the second and third classes, as described before (p. 916).

Examples:

- voita'n'be I see thee 644.16
- voib'ąhą'n'i I pray to you 775.4 (from çaha'n' to pray 189.14)
- voibągu I write to thee 750.11
- voáb'ę'n' I have them 751.2
- waśt'ăn'be you saw us 752.6
- waamb'ęn'be I desire them 751.3

§ 25. Pronouns of Verbs in i:- Fourth Class

In verbs beginning with i we find modified forms of the pronoun, due principally to the insertion of an intervocalic į in cases in which the inserted pronoun begins with a vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECTIVE PRONOUN</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE PRONOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>1st person plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d person plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT AND OBJECT COMBINED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1—them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other persons are regular. Examples are—

iñāmage I ask him a question 737.5

1Double conjugation.
i'ap'aha I know 659.12
a'apa'wank'égai I am sick on account of 714.8
a'apa'wanka ke knows me 475.6
a'apa'wanka we know it 657.9
weábaha'1 they know us 389.13
weátafai they hate us 679.19
wémage he questioned them 40.5
wefai they found them 440.14
wefafa-mází I do not find them 151.20
weán'fai we found them 440.15

Other regular forms are—

iwip'aha I know thee 728.4
ibahan'ı they know him 728.8

§ 26. Pronouns of Verbs in u-: Fifth Class

In this class the following modifications occur:

Objective pronoun, 1st person singular .... a'ana-

Subjective pronoun, inclusive dual ....... a'amu-

Examples are—

a'ana'bit'a' he presses me down 23.15
a'ana'na'a he heard about me 39.19
a'n'quńkani' we aided him 748.3

Other regular forms are—

ubit'a' he pressed him down 23.15
und'a' he heard about something 40.8

§ 27. Irregular Verbs

The following verbs are irregular:

p'i I arrive 453.6
ši thou arrivest 555.7
hi he arrives 555.7
mańk'á we who
nańk'á 667.8 ye who
hnańk'á 231.5 they who
ñańk'á they who 624.3
ehá I say 665.6
ešč thou sayest 674.12
ešč he says 194.5

Here seems to belong the negation

mańzt I not
bińzt thou not
dańzt he not

1 The stem takes at the same time the forms described in § 24.
Examples of its use are—

\[i\k^\'\acute{a}geav\acute{a}ta-m\acute{a}zi\] I do not have them for my friends \textit{711.13}

\[\xi \xi \k^\acute{a}ga\-bd\acute{a}z\acute{t}\] thou dost not do it \textit{711.19}

\textbf{§ 28. Forms Expressing Object Possessed by Subject}

Possession of the object by the subject is expressed by forms analogous to those of the Dakota.

1. In most verbs \textit{gi-} is prefixed. Examples are—

\[\xi^\ obsolete\ he carries \textit{306.6}

\[\xi\xi^\ obsolete\ he carries his own \textit{296.13}

\[\xi\xi^\ I carry mine \textit{45.15}

\[\xi\xi^\ thou carriest thine \textit{45.11}

\[\xi\xi^\ with him \textit{305.5}

\[\xi\xi^\ with his own \textit{305.3}

\[\textit{uhd\ he follows} \textit{289.4}

\[\textit{u\xi\g^i\i\ha\ he follows his} \textit{306.14}

\[\textit{\xi\k^\'ipa\ he met him} \textit{50.1}

\[\textit{\xi\xi\k^\'ipa\ he met his own} \textit{299.3}

\[\textit{\xi\xi^\ he abandons} \textit{84.3}

\[\textit{\xi\xi\b^\'e\a\ I abandon it} \textit{50.5}

\[\textit{\xi\xi\b^\'e\a\ I abandon mine} \textit{756.2}

2. Verbs in \textit{\xi\-} have the form \textit{g\xi\-}

\[\textit{\xi\iz\ to take} \textit{298.3}

\[\textit{\xi\iz\ he took his own} \textit{298.16}

\[\xi\xi^\ obsolete\ to have \textit{288.15, 290.11}

\[\textit{\xi\xi\d^\'ab\xi^\ obsolete\ I have my own} \textit{755.10}

3. Verbs in \textit{\xi\a-} have probably also forms in \textit{g\xi\-}, but I have not been able to discover examples illustrating this point.

4. Verbs in \textit{\xi\-}, \textit{\xi\-}, \textit{\xi\-}, have the forms \textit{g\xi\-}, \textit{g\xi\-}, \textit{g\xi\-}.

\[\xi\xi\be\ he saw\]

\[\xi\xi\b^\'a\-\ma\-\acute{z}\acute{t}\ I do not look at mine \textit{756.2}

\[\xi\xi\b^\prime\ai\she saw her own \textit{306.7}

\[\xi\xi\b^\prime\ai\he knows\]

\[\xi\xi\b^\prime\ai\he knew his own \textit{295.1}

\[\xi\xi\b^\prime\ai\she knew them \textit{289.8}

\[\xi\xi\ge\ to make\]

\[\xi\xi\ge\he made his own \textit{299.9}

\[\xi\xi\ge\he wrapped it\]

\[\xi\xi\ge\he wrapped his own \textit{208.4}

\[\xi\xi\xi\ to put on \textit{47.3}

\[\xi\xi\xi\I put on my own \textit{43.9}

\[\xi\xi\xi\]


§ 29. Verbs with Indirect Objects

I give here only a series of the most important forms, since the total number of modifications and combinations is very large, and it is hardly possible to reconstruct from the texts each separate series.

1. The indirect object is ordinarily expressed by the following series of forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for me</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>i(^n)fe-</td>
<td>i(^n)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for thee</td>
<td>voi-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>i(^n)i-</td>
<td>i(^n)fe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for him</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>ge-</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>i(^n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for us</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>we(^n)fe-</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for them</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>we(^n)fe-</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>irea(^n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

**I FOR THEE:**

- wi\(^n\)pa\(^n\) I make for thee 723.10
- wi\(^n\)k\(^n\)b\(^n\)a I desire for thee 725.3

**I FOR HIM:**

- ek\(^n\)a\(^n\)b\(^n\)fe I desire for him 778.3

**I FOR THEM:**

- ev\(^n\)e\(^n\)b\(^n\)^i\(^n\)a I fail for them 673.8
- ev\(^n\)k\(^n\)a\(^n\)b\(^n\)fe I wish for them 663.8

**THOU FOR ME:**

- i\(^n\)\(^n\)fe\(^n\)h\(^n\)k\(^n\)a\(^n\)ge thou doest it for me 726.2
- i\(^n\)\(^n\)fe\(^n\)w\(^n\)a\(^n\)sh\(^n\)k\(^n\)a\(^n\) thou makest an effort for me 758.2

**THOU FOR HIM:**

- e\(^n\)ga\(^n\)\(^n\)fe\(^n\)\(^n\)a\(^n\) thou dost so for him 439.5

**THOU FOR US:**

- we\(^n\)fe\(^n\)h\(^n\)k\(^n\)a\(^n\)ge thou doest it for us 752.7
- we\(^n\)e\(^n\)n\(^n\)i\(^n\)a\(^n\) thou hast failed to do it for us 752.8

**THOU FOR THEM:**

- we\(^n\)e\(^n\)\(^n\)h\(^n\)k\(^n\)a\(^n\)na thou desirest it for them 767.3

**HE FOR ME:**

- i\(^n\)\(^n\)t\(^n\)e\(^n\)h\(^n\)i it is difficult for me 755.4
- i\(^n\)\(^n\)te he dies for me 775.1

**HE FOR THEE:**

- \(^n\)\(^n\)ga\(^n\)\(^n\)e\(^n\)a\(^n\)i they work it for thee 741.11
- \(^n\)\(^n\)e\(^n\)i\(^n\) he has it for thee 741.6
- \(^n\)\(^n\)t\(^n\)e\(^n\)h\(^n\)i it is difficult for thee 517.10

**HE FOR HIM:**

- \(^n\)\(^n\)t\(^n\)e\(^n\)h\(^n\)i it is difficult for him 729.4
- \(^n\)i\(^n\)lad\(^n\) it is good for him 758.5

§ 29
HE FOR US:

\( \text{w\text{\textregistered}ud\text{\textregistered}a} \) it is good for us 758.4

\( \text{w\text{\textregistered}l\text{\textregistered}hi} \) it is difficult for us 752.12

HE FOR THEM:

\( \text{ve\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}d\text{\textregistered}j\text{\textregistered}a} \) they do it for them 767.3

WE FOR THEE:

\( \text{i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}li\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}ka} \) we sing for thee 439.4

\( \text{i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}b\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}j\text{\textregistered}i} \) we wish for you 680.13

WE FOR HIM:

\( \text{i\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}a} \) we wish for him 758.13

WE FOR THEM:

\( \text{ve\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}p\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}i} \) we wait for them 454.16

2. Verbs in *u-* have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>they</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\epsilon\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}a</em></td>
<td><em>\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\epsilon\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}a</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td></td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}j</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}j</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}j</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}j</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to them</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}</td>
<td>\text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

\( \text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}b\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) I tell thee 755.10

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}b\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) I tell him 443.7

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered} \) I say to them 437.17

\( \text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}f\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) thou sayest to me 671.1

\( \text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}c\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}h\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) thou sayest to me 500.6

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}f\text{\textregistered}h\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) thou sayest to him 497.8

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}c\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) thou sayest to us 633.1

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}c\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) thou sayest to them 507.4

\( \text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}e\text{\textregistered} \) it remains to me 501.2 (from \( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}c\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}e \) 501.2)

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}c\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) he helps you 508.3

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) he says to him 656.8

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered} \) he says to us 503.1

\( \text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}n\text{\textregistered}K\text{\textregistered} \) he they say to me 670.2

\( \text{\textregistered}u\text{\textregistered}e\text{\textregistered}t\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered} \) they say to thee 678.12

3. Verbs in *g-* lose their *g* after the pronominal forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to me</td>
<td>( \text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}e ) 39.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
<td>( \text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}j\text{\textregistered} ) 735.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to him</td>
<td>( \text{\textregistered}i\text{\textregistered}d\text{\textregistered}a ) 152.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to us</td>
<td>( \text{\textregistered}w\text{\textregistered}a\text{\textregistered}g\text{\textregistered}i ) 735.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Personal Pronouns in Winnebago (§§ 30-34)

§ 30. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The principles of classification of the verbs are the same as those found in the Ponca dialect. The most common forms of the subjective and objective pronouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>ha-</th>
<th>2d person singular</th>
<th>ra-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>hi'n-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix -wi, except the third person plural, which has the suffix -ire. By addition of this suffix the inclusive dual is transformed into the first person plural. The third person plural object is wa-. This does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples are:

- hāhe' I bury
- ra'he' thou buriest
- hi'n-maăngā's you and I tear with a knife
- hi'n-sibre I am falling
- ni'n-sibre thou art falling
- wa'ngāsibre' wi we are falling

§ 31. Transitive Verbs

The transitive forms of the Winnebago verb resemble those of Ponca and Dakota in the development of the combined form i—thee, and the occurrence of the third person plural object. The forms for the first person plural subject has the same pronominal forms as the corresponding singular forms, from which they differ by the plural ending -wi. The forms he—them and i—them differ in accent. I—them, evidently originating from wa-ha-, is always accented wa', while the third person has the accent on the stem. wā'he' I BURY THEM, but wa'he' he buries them.

- me - hina-
- thee ni'n-
- us - hina-wi
- them wa'- wara-

Examples:

- ni'n'he' I bury thee
- hi'n'ale thou buriest me

§§ 30, 31
§ 32. Pronouns of Verbs taking $ in the Second Person: Second Class

Verbs corresponding to the Dakota verbs in $ and to the Ponca verbs in $, and those corresponding to the Ponca verbs in h, d, and g, are treated alike, thus suggesting a later differentiation of the second and third classes in Ponca. Verbs of this class begin in the third person with a vowel w, r, or with j, t or g. If we indicate the first vowel of the word by $, the pronominal forms may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>2d per. sing.</th>
<th>3d per. sing.</th>
<th>Inclusive dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$v$</td>
<td>$w$</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td>$j$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>$hv$</td>
<td>$pv$</td>
<td>$dv$</td>
<td>$év$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>$sv$</td>
<td>$svwv$</td>
<td>$svv$</td>
<td>$kév$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>$v$</td>
<td>$vv$</td>
<td>$rv$</td>
<td>$fv$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive dual</td>
<td>$hv$</td>
<td>$hv xv$</td>
<td>$hv yv$</td>
<td>$hi$ $nv$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plurals are formed as in the verbs belonging to the first class—by the suffix -wi in the first and second persons, by -ire in the third person. The first person plural, instead of being formed from the inclusive, as in the first class, is formed from the first person singular by suffixing -wi. The repetition of the vowel in the second person which is characteristic of the first three types of this class in Winnebago has been referred to before.

| 'àn he does          | ha' àn' wi we do          | hi'n' àn' you and I do          |
| wa'tgis he saws      | p'a'tgiswe saw           | hi'n'wa'tgis you and I saw      |
| p'a'tgis I saw       | p'a'tgiswe saw           | hi'n'wa'tgis you and I saw      |
| b'wa'tgis thou sawest| hi'n'wa'tgis you and I saw |
| hiv'sunìc he is near | hiv'sunìc we are near    |
| hiv'sunìc I am near  | hiv'sunìc we are near    |
| hìwusunìc thou art near | hìwusunìc they are near |
| wë'we'ñ he thinks   | pë'we'ñwi we think       | hi'n'we'ñ you and I think       |
| pë'we'ñ I think      | pë'we'ñwi we think       | hi'n'we'ñ you and I think       |
| bë'we'ñ thou thinkest | hi'n'we'ñ you and I think |
Verbs belonging to the second division of this class are rather rare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rabis he breaks with mouth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'bis I break with the mouth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'rabis thou breakest with the mouth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru'gas he tears by pulling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du'gas I tear by pulling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu'rugas thou tearest by pulling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rë he goes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dë I go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sérë thou goest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of this class take their objects, including the composite form ni—THEE, preceding the subjective pronoun, which is treated as described before.

ni'p'ëwëgis I saw thee (from waëgis he saws)
hi'wëwëgis he saws me
ni'p'ëwëwi I think of thee (from we'wëm he thinks)
hi'sbu'rugas thou tearest me by pulling (3d per. ru'gas)
hi'sbu'wusûnëc thou art near me (from hiwu'sûnëc he is near)

1 Occasionally the verbal forms expressing a lying position are formed with mi'këkë, which belongs to the first class of verbs.
§ 33. Contracted Pronominal Forms

In many cases the verb begins with a prefix which forms contractions with the pronominal forms here described. Contractions also occur with infixed pronouns. These may be grouped under the following rules:

1. Verbs in $gi$ with preceding pronoun lose the $g$ in the first and second persons.

- ha-$gi$ becomes hai
- ra-$gi$ becomes rai

- hai'tgis I cut in two by striking
- rai'tgis thou cuttest in two by striking
- gi'gis he cuts in two by striking
- hi'ngi'gis you and I cut in two by striking

2. Verbs with prefixes ending in $a$ or $a'$ and followed by a pronoun beginning with $h$ lose the pronominal aspirate. At the same time two $a$'s that are thus brought into contact form a single accented (or long ?) $a$, while $a$ and $i$ form a diphthong. When one of the vowels is nasalized, the contracted form is also nasalized.

- ma'ñgas I tear with a knife
- mañga's he tears with a knife
- mai'ñgas he tears me
- maina'ngas thou tearest me

- na'nüs I break by pressure
- na'nüs'he he breaks by pressure
- nai'nüs he breaks me by pressure
- na'nai'nüs thou breakest me by pressure

3. Verbs with prefixes ending in $o$ (except ho- and wo-) also eliminate the $h$ of the pronoun, but form no diphthongs.

- bo' açp I push down
- bo' açp he pushes down
- bo açp he pushes me down

- ro' açpun I wish
- ro açpun' he wishes
- ro açpun he wishes me

4. Words with the prefix ho- contract:

- 1st person subjective .... $ho$-$ha$- into $wa$-
- 1st person objective .... $ho$-$hi$- into $hu$-
- Dual inclusive .... $hi$-$ho$- into $ho'$-
- 3d person plural object .... $wa$-$ho$- into $wo$-
- 1st person plural object .... $wañga$-$ho$ into $wañgo$-

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5. Verbs with the prefix wo- contract:

First person subjective wo-ha- into wo-.

I have no example of the treatment of the first person objective.

\[ \text{wo'hi I win} \]
\[ \text{word'hi thou winnest} \]
\[ \text{wo'hi he wins} \]

6. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial hi form contraction illustrated by the following examples:

\[ \text{yap'erez I know (for hi-ha-pererez)} \]
\[ \text{hi'pererez you and I know (for hi-hi-pererez)} \]
\[ \text{ni'pererez I know thee (for ni-hipererez)} \]
\[ \text{hini'pererez thou knowest me (for hina-hipererez)} \]
\[ \text{hi'pererez he knows me (for hi-hi-pererez)} \]
\[ \text{wid'pererez I know them (for wa-hi-ha-pererez)} \]
\[ \text{wa'ngipererez'zire they know us (for wa'nga-hi-pererez'zire)} \]

The third person plural object wa- is always contracted with hi to mi.

7. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial 'a- contract the first person 'a-ha into 'uwa-:

\[ \text{'uwa'ngi'gi I compel (for 'a-ha-gi'gi)} \]
\[ \text{'u'pi'ngi'gi thou compellest me (for 'a-hi-gi'gi)} \]

8. The causative suffix hi has the forms ha and ra for the first and second persons, respectively.

\[ \text{t'el'ha I killed him} \]
\[ \text{t'el'ra thou didst kill} \]
\[ \text{t'el'hi he killed} \]

The causative suffix gi'gi is regular.

\[ \text{rea'gigi'n} \]
\[ \text{re'a'gigi'n} \]
\[ \text{re'gigi'n} \]

§ 34. Indirect Object and Reflexives

The indirect object is expressed by the same forms that are used to express the direct object, but the indirect object is indicated by the prefix gi which follows the pronoun. The initial g of this prefix is never elided.

§ 34
ni'ñke I bury thee  nigi'ñke I bury for thee
hi'nai'égis thou cuttest me in  hinai'égis thou cuttest it in two
boišl'p he pushes me down  boisišl'p he cut it down for me
hi'nai'pə thou hittest me  hinai'gip'ə thou hittest for me
ni'p'ěwi' I think of thee  ni'gip'ěwi' I think for thee

The reflexive forms take the regular subjective pronouns followed by the prefix ki-. In these forms the prefixes are contracted in the usual manner with the pronouns; ki- and the prefix gi- by striking combine to form ki-.

haki'ke I bury myself  haki'égis I cut myself (for ha-ki-gi-égis)
bo'a'kišišp I push myself (for bo-ha-ki-šišp)
maňk'gas I tear myself (for maň-ka-ki-gas)
yakipe'rēz I know myself (for hi-ka-ki-pe'rēz)
waki'jīn I strike myself (for ho-ka-ki-jīn)
hakip'đe'gis I saw myself  hakip'đe'gis I tear myself

The last two examples show that in the reflexives of verbs of the second class the stem takes its pronominal forms in addition to the pronominal forms prefixed to ki-.

The forms indicating that the object belongs to the subject are formed by the prefix kara- in all verbs of the first class, while verbs of the second class take kv- when v indicates the first vowel of the stem. All these verbs have the ordinary subjective pronouns which are contracted with the pronouns in the usual way. The prefix kara- and gi- by striking combine to form karai-.

haka'rahe I bury my own  haka'rahe I bury my own
hakarai'égis I cut my own (for ha-kara-gi-égis)
boaka'rašišp I push my own (for bo-ha-kara-šišp)
maňka'rašišp I tear my own (for maň-ka-kara-šišp)
ha'karašiš I hit my own (for hi-ka-kara-šiš)
yac'karašiš I know my own (for hi-ka-kara-perēz)
wakarajīn I strike my own (for ho-ka-kara-jīn)

Examples of the second class are the following:

hakawacgis I saw my own (from wačgis he saws)
yaku'rusūńe I am near my own (from hu'usūńe he is near, for hi-ka-rusūńe)
haka'rašiš I break my own with mouth (for ha-ka-ra-šiš)
hakurugas I tear my own (for ha-ka-ru-gas)
§ 35. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective forms of the pronoun. In Teton we find—

mi'ye I
ni'yethou
i'yehe
vPki'yethou and 1

The suffix -pi is added to express the plural. It stands either with the pronoun or with some following word. Emphatic pronouns are formed with the ending $ (see § 41): mi$k, ni$k, i$, and v$ki'$s or v$ki'$y$.$

The independent personal pronouns in Ponca are:

wei I 736.3, 715.5
$'i$ thou 711.18
aŋgu we

Position of Pronoun (§§ 36, 37)

§ 36. Position of Pronoun in Dakota

Ordinarily the pronouns are prefixed to the stem, other etymological prefixes preceding the pronouns; but there are a number of cases in which the pronoun precedes other prefixes. A number of verbs of more than one syllable that can not be reduced to compounds of an etymological prefix and a monosyllabic stem place the pronoun after the first syllable, so that it appears as a true infix.

According to Riggs's Grammar and the material contained in his dictionary and texts, the following groups of forms may be distinguished:

1. In monosyllabic words the pronouns are always prefixed. Examples of this class have been given before (§ 16).

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined to a certain extent by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with l or k: prefix the pronoun:

TETON EXAMPLES

laka to consider in a certain way
lowa$a$ to sing
ka$ja$ to make

valaka I consider
valowa$a$ I sing
yaka$ja$ thou makest

§§ 35, 36
Verbs beginning with c, s, m, or n, or a vowel, often infix the pronouns after the first syllable:

**Santee Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čapa</td>
<td>to stab</td>
<td>čawa'pa I stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>četi</td>
<td>to build a fire</td>
<td>čewati I build a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čopa</td>
<td>to wade</td>
<td>čew'ipi we build a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buta</td>
<td>to miss</td>
<td>šuw'ipi we miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mano</td>
<td>to steal</td>
<td>ma'ni I walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ni</td>
<td>to walk</td>
<td>ma'ni I walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oapa</td>
<td>to follow</td>
<td>owapapa I follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anši</td>
<td>to be well</td>
<td>anši I thou art well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Riggs states that verbs with initial n belong to this class, I have not found a single instance of this kind. On the other hand, some verbs, apparently not compounds, beginning with other sounds, infix the pronoun.

**Santee Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pačita</td>
<td>to bind</td>
<td>pawalita I bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokšu</td>
<td>to transport</td>
<td>towakšu I transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towa</td>
<td>to be</td>
<td>towa I am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towaa</td>
<td>to go to see</td>
<td>towaa I go to see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixed pronouns before the sounds here enumerated are, however, not rare:

**Santee Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čeka</td>
<td>to stagger</td>
<td>maćeka I stagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeya</td>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>waćeya I cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>škata</td>
<td>to play</td>
<td>waskata I play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuni</td>
<td>to wander</td>
<td>wanuni I wander</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In verbs of this class the first person dual is often prefixed, even when the other persons are infixed.

wopapapi or opapapi we follow (from oapa)

3. Verbs containing the prefixes ka- and pa- (see § 13), and Teton verbs in kpa- (tpa-), gla- (Santee hda-), and glu- (Santee hdu-) (see § 20), prefix the pronouns.

---

1 In this word the vowel is not a prefix. 2 In this word, pa- is not a prefix (see § 13).
4. Verbs which take the prefixes **a-**, **i-**, **o-** (see § 12), and prefix the demonstrative **e**, have the pronouns in the same position in which they would be if the verb had no prefix.

5. Verbs with the prefixes **wo-** (Santee **bo-**), **wo-** (Santee **bo-**), and **na-** (see § 13) have the pronouns following the prefix.

6. Compound verbs consisting of two verbs of equal order either take their pronouns each independently of the other, or the second verb is used without pronoun.
hiyo’kipaya to come and alight in
kiya’kapta to come over a stream
iyaya to have gone
kiyu’ke to hate one
kiyu’ska (from yuška) to release
wahiyowahiyowapamda I come and alight in; also wahiyowahiyowapamda I come over a stream
wahiyowahiyowapamda I come over a stream
imdamde I have gone
wakimduše I hate him
wakimduška and wakiyuska I release

7. Compounds having the auxiliary verbs kiya, ya, yac, place the
pronoun preceding these, while the first verb is often used in contracted
form.

Santee Examples
iya’pa(ka) to be offended
iya’paya to offend
iya’mapaka I am offended
iya’pe to wait for
iya’peto wait for
iya’peya to cause to wait for
iya’peto wait for
sdoča’ to know
sdoča’ to know
sdonwagaya I know
sdonwagaya I know
wa’nya’ka to see
wa’nya’ya to come to see
wa’nya’ya to come to see
wa’nda’ka I see
wa’nya’ya to come to see
wa’nya’ya to come to see

§ 37. Position of Pronoun in Ponca

The position of the pronoun in Ponca is quite similar to that found
in Dakota.

1. Most monosyllabic verbs prefix the pronoun.

‘i” he gave it to thee (*i” to give) 739.9
‘i” he carried them (*i” to carry) 10.7
ač I die (č to die) 630.9
ač I have arrived 671.6

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be
compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being deter-
mined by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with j, s, k, m, or n, or a vowel, often infix the
pronoun after the first syllable.

jugfe to be with somebody  juwı̄gfe I am with thee 739.6
305.5
jahe to stab  jačahe you stab
bigfe to unload  bı̄gfe I unload
nanpe to fear  nanı̄pe you fear
manči” to walk  manči” I walk 706.2
uha to follow  uha I follow
kuhe to be frightened  kuahe I am frightened

§ 37
Modal Suffixes and Particles (§§ 38-40)

§ 38. General Characteristics

The Siouan languages have a large number of elements which may be in part considered as suffixes, while others are undoubtedly enclitic particles, which express modalities of the verb. These are evidently related to similar particles that appear with the noun and with adverbs, and which will be treated in §§ 41 and 42, and from which they cannot be sharply separated.

§ 39. Plurality

Plurality of animate objects is indicated in both verbs and nouns by a suffix, -pi.

TETON

\( \hat{t}a \) he died
\( \hat{t}a'pi \) they died
\( slo'laya \) he knows
\( slo'laya'pi \) they know
\( k'o'ska'laka \) young man
\( k'o'skalaka'pi \) young men
\( ca'pa \) beaver
\( ca'pa'pi \) beavers

There is, however, an evident disinclination to employ -pi with nouns, except possessives, and it is by preference placed upon a following adjective.

\( k'o'skalaka' \ yaman'pi \) three young men
\( ca'pa' \ tan'k'a'pi \) large beavers

This seems to indicate that the suffix is properly verbal, and that when it is employed with nouns the signification is they are young men or they are beavers. It might be said that this element pluralizes the whole sentence. Examples in Santee are—

\( wi'oskanam \ Tcupi \) they gave him two maidens IX 86.6
\( siyo \ keya \ hiyaha'pi \) grouse of that kind alighted IX 99.24

PONCA

The corresponding element in Ponca is -i.

\( ci'ngo-hna''i \) they have none regularly 335.12 (\( ci'ngoe \) there is none; \( hna'' \) regularly)

It is not used with nouns, since the articles (see § 42) express plurality.

§§ 38, 39
§ 40. **Particles Expressing Tenses and Modalities**

**TETON**

Temporal and modal relations are marked in Dakota by particles placed after the verb.

1. **Future.** For the future, k'ta is used.
   
   \begin{align*}
   bala' & \text{ I go} \\
   \text{(According to Riggs, the Santee use ke instead of kte [the a of kta being changed to e] before } & \text{ before eci' and epæa.}
   
   \text{"ito de wa'ka ke," eci' "lo! this I will dig," she thought IX 83.13}
   
   \text{\textquotedblleft mëa ke,\textquotedblright epiæa \textquotedblright I will go," thought I)}
   \end{align*}

2. **Habitual.** Habitual action is indicated by m.
   
   iha'kob iyda'ya sa he went after it habitually

3. **Regular repetition** is expressed by ŋna.

4. **Imperative.** The imperative is expressed by four elements:

\begin{align*}
\text{Singular} & \quad \text{Plural} \\
yo & \quad po \\
ye & \quad pe
\end{align*}

ye sna yo go not thou! wakta'ya n*po' on guard be ye!

The forms yo and po are used by men; while ye and pe, which seem to express a milder form of request, are used by women.

\"lena' awa'nu*kiciyakapi ye,\" eya' \"watch these for us, please,\" she said

After u and o, yo and ye change to wo and we, respectively, in accordance with the phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 4. Probably po and pe contain the plural particle pi; and it is possible that yo and ye are derived from the pronominal prefix of the second person, ya-.

5. **Declarative Particle.** Declarative sentences in direct forms of address are generally closed by lo. This is usually preceded by ye.

\text{wko'kiciyaka'pi kte sna ye lo we will not tell it to her}

\text{hoki'c'ica hi ye lo I have come to tell you the news}

(In Santee this ending is generally used by young men without preceding ye.

wahi kte do I will come

In this dialect, ye is sometimes used instead of do by women and older men.)

\section*{§ 40}
6. **Interrogative.** The particle *he* indicates the interrogative.

*waŋži* kəni ć’upε mii’an’kapi *he* is there one with large marrow?

When the person addressed is at a distance, *huu* (compounded of *he* and *wo*) is used.

*tōkiya la huu* whither do you go?

Riggs mentions also *to* in the same position in Santee.

*duhd* *sni* to? why dost thou not have it?

The particle *će* (Santee *ći*) is an interrogative particle, calling for an immediate reply.

7. **Negative.** The negative is expressed by the particle *sni*.

*ulɔdyε* *sni* he knew it not

*tuwε* *ni* ěl no*we* *sni* no one swims there

8. **Optative.** The optative exclamation *toki*’n’ *oh* *if* requires a terminal *ni*, which in position and form is analogous to the other particles here discussed.

*toki*’n’ *paŋi* ćən’ iyε’wya ni oh that I might find some sunflower roots! (*iyε’ya* to find)

9. A number of other particles appear in the same position. They seem to merge gradually into adverbial expressions and conjunctions.

*se’ca* (Teton) evidently.

*tiyata’ne ḳpe’ya wahi’yu se’ca* lo evidently I have come to an abandoned lodge (*t’i* lodge; *ya’ta* at; *hiyu’* to come to)

*nace’će* (Teton) perhaps.

*one’ki’nahα*’s *he* nitu’kuyεpι *nace’će* lo perhaps those are your relatives (*one’ki’nahα*’s perhaps; *he* those; *taku’ye* relative)

*Ni’ca* very (see § 41.3).

*ki’han* (Santee) when, if.

*yuhi* *ki’han* when thou comest

*ća, eća* (Santee); *ćan*, *ćan’aha* (Teton). According to Riggs, this particle is used “when a general rule or something customary is spoken of, and is generally followed by *će* or *eće* at the end of the sentence.”

*yahi* *ća* *piwada* *će* when thou comest, I am glad

*vaniyetu* *ća* *wapa* *će* when it is winter, it snows

*kεha*” (Santee), *ko’ha*” (Teton), when; according to Riggs, this particle always refers to past time.

*coi*” (Santee) when.

*kes* although.

§ 40
The corresponding forms in Ponca are as follows:

**PONCA**

1. **Future.** *t'e [t'a, t'ai]* designates the future.
   
   - *ga t'e* he will die from a fall 236.1
   - *šné t'e ha* you will go 230.3
   - *wácát'e gét'i' t á ak'á* he will be sitting eating them 235.16
   - *užéti šk'áge t'ai* ye will make a hole for a pole 615.1
   - *šaw'šk'áge t'ai áča* indeed, ye will do enough 144.14

   *t'e* changes, according to a general phonetic rule, to *t'ai* before the article and also before the plural-*i*. Thus *t'ai* is the regular plural future.

   By the use of a double future, *t'at'e* and *t'ait'e*, the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.

   - *gaw'hi' i t'at' é* it will be that way 227.4
   - *aŋ'osp'ana* t'ät'é you surely will gaze on me 230.5
   - *éš'tá čičide t'ai't' é há* your eyes will (shall) be red 578.2
   - *ágži'k'agí s'á* they shall not come back continually 235.5

2. **Imperative.** *ga* and *a* express the imperative, *ga* being used by men, *a* by women.

   - *iča-gá!* send it here! (said by a man) 702.15
   - *i héčait- ga!* lay ye it down! (said by a man) 231.19
   - *gigšai- a!* enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.1
   - *gét'k'íchšai- a* cause ye him to sit! (said by a woman) 591.18

3. **Oral Stops.** A number of particles perform the function of oral stops. As in Dakota, some of these have distinct forms, according to the sex of the speaker. Their principal function seems to be to give a certain tone or modality to the predicate, and for this reason they might be more properly considered with the modal particles.

   - *a* and *é* are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.

   - *ha* and *he* express the period.

   - *áha* and *éha* express the exclamation.

   In all of these the *a*-forms are used by men, the *e*-forms by women.

   - *a'češ' ičánahíw 'a*! truly, I am fat (said by a man) 567.9
   - *čičíčévéčči ičánahíw 'i* é truly, you hateful one! (said by a woman) 152.2
   - *šaw'šant' wibšaša* now I petition you all (said by a man) 690.1

§ 40
wak'anda wátiğe št'ëwaŋ agik'ang bęa-máži he I do not desire to
take any mysterious power for my husband 614.12
gá'te şt'i ga'n-naŋ áhaŋ she has done that regularly! (said by
a man) 591.7
wanán'dešayéži chun! you do not loathe him! (said by a woman)
591.18

ha and he are frequently used following imperatives.
maŋqeĩŋ-ga há begone! (said by a man) 620.17
gišči·á he enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.13

They are also used as interjections. Since há and he are found
printed occasionally instead of ha and he, it seems justifiable
to consider the exclamations há and he as the same particles.

há, tušp'á! ho, grandchild! (said by a man) 620.9
hé, šp'atašaŋ! ho, grandchild! (said by a woman) 589.7

4. Interrogative.  difíc marks the question.
gáti'na edéyaŋ dá? what does that one say? 233.1
t'í a? has it come? 709.2
cáti'na čanúži'ni a? why do ye stand? 23.4
ádan (commonly translated therefore) occurs also apparently
as an interrogative particle.
čán'hi'i čšni'na ádan? what great (person) are you? 23.12
cáti'na ádan? why? 27.20
cbéli 'ív čš ádan? to whose lodge does she go carrying it? 591.3

§ 41. Adverbial Suffixes: Teton

1. -š is an emphatic suffix. Its use with the personal pronoun has
been noted in § 35.

Very often emphasis is added to a word or clause by means of a
suffixed š, and this sometimes involves a change of meaning.

wa'na now
wa'na's now the story runs as
follows
ak'š' again
ak'š's again (with emphasis)
čé'ya those or some
čé'ya's although
to yes
toš yes, indeed!
tákš'oh, bother! or, my good-
ness!
th'as but
th'as but then
čéčle' therefore
cba'nlęż at that particular mo-
ment
mi'ye I (independent pronoun)  
\( w^k'i'ye \) we two  
\( i'ye \) he

2. -la is usually given as a diminutive suffix; but its use is very much broader, and sometimes it seems to be rather intensive than diminutive. The English adverb QUITE translates it best, though at different times it is found equivalent to ALMOST or LITTLE. Possibly the independent adverb lila very is this same suffix doubled.

Examples:

- wiča' hécalu an old man  
- hok'í'la a small boy  
- kita'í'la a little more  
- hàke'í'la youngest  
- henda'í'la enough  
- wiči'í'taln a girl

- iwa'stda nicely, in good order  
- ikna'í'la alone, or only  
- ite'yela exceedingly  
- t'oye'í'la bluey  
- a'tayela directly  
- ičik'i'yela near to each other

3. héca, héin. Although their proper meaning is REAL, TRUE, or GENUINE, more often they have the force of VERY. Originally their difference in form was probably nothing more than a euphonic change, but it has now been seized upon to mark a distinction in use; héca being always employed after nouns either expressed or understood, and héin after adverbs and connectives. They occur independently or in composition. lila, which also means VERY, always depends directly on a verb, or an adjective used as such.

Examples of the use of héca are the following:

- č'a'pa wa'n t'aw'kahéca a very large beaver (beaver, a, large, very)  
- wakte'héci'in the very beautiful (beavers)  
- wa'as' héka'í'na the real red paint

Examples of the use of héin:

- eht'eléci'in lastly  
- ečë'hein just in the same way  
- ēnaht'éci'in right there  
- iča'tula'héci'in just then

- ma'za héka'ka real iron (i. e., steel)  
- mila wa'n gi héca a very rusty knife  
- wiča'hécalu an old man  
- tua'héca deer (the real ta, or animal of the deer genus)

Examples of the use of héin:

- wa'nzh'éci'in whether there is one  
- iye'eléci'in just like  
- hé'tenáléci'in immediately  
- hécha'nul as soon as

§ 41
4. -l. When it is desired to express motion to the situation which demonstrative adverbs and post-positions indicate, -l is suffixed: viz.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aka'nl on</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eha'nl</td>
<td>then something was done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leha'nl</td>
<td>then something was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toha'nl</td>
<td>when (something is done; e.g., under one's own volition)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

't'eha'nl for a long time or over a long space, more often the former

e'c'ar'n then

c'eha'n for a long time or over a long space

5. -na. Some adverbs appear to have a separate suffix, -na, for the stationary form, but it is probably only an adverb meaning THERE, which never occurs independently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e'na</td>
<td>here (something was)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'na</td>
<td>here (something went)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'na</td>
<td>there (something was)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>there (something went)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'e'na</td>
<td>being in this condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'e'na</td>
<td>going along in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'e'na</td>
<td>being in that condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'k'e'na</td>
<td>going along in that way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'k'ena</td>
<td>being in an indefinite condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'k'el</td>
<td>going along in that indefinite way</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have tried to translate these rather in accordance with the evident intent than in the most literal manner, they being among the hardest words in Dakota to render properly.

6. -ta to, at, or into, is possibly identical with the -l just considered, into which it would change according to the laws of euphony.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dakota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to the ground</td>
<td>mak'a'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the lodge</td>
<td>t'iya'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in future</td>
<td>tok'a'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upward</td>
<td>wa'ka'taki'ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the spirit land</td>
<td>wanda'giya'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the middle</td>
<td>tok'a'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at the north</td>
<td>wazi'ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under</td>
<td>oksla'teya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 41
7. -ta\" FROM.

Examples:

*eta\" from this
*eha\'na\"ta\" or *eha\'na\"ha\"n\" from (literally, from being in the preceding position)
*eta\" ha\"n from that time
*eta\" ha\"n from that time on
akata\" ha\"n from on the outside

Many independent post-positions appear to contain a suffix -kab; but this is probably nothing more than the verb ka'pa to excel, surpass, go beyond, contracted in composition.

iha\" kab behind or after
it\'o' kab before
iwa\" kab above
ako' kab before the time

§ 42. Articles

These important elements are only weakly developed in Dakota, while they are very important in Ponca.

In Dakota we find three articles—ki\" (after an a or a\" transformed, including the preceding vowels, into e\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{cin}}})\); ko\" (after an a or a\" transformed into e\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{cino}}}[\text{\textsc{Santee}}, \text{\textsc{cino}}[\text{\textsc{Teton}]})\); and wa\". The following Santee examples illustrate their use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki&quot; expresses the idea of the definite article.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>wiča&quot; hi&quot; ki&quot; iye'ya wa&quot;ya'kapi</strong> the stars shining <strong>IX 83.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(<strong>wiča&quot; hi&quot; star; iye'ya to shine; wa&quot;ya'ka to see</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ki'ta&quot; na iye'liya ya&quot;ke' e(\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{cin}}</strong> the one that shines a little <strong>IX 83.4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ki'ta&quot; na a little; iye'liya to cause to shine; ya&quot;ke' to be)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ko\" indicates the definite article in the past.

u\"ma ko\" the other aforesaid one **IX 83.8**

ni'na iye'ge e\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textsc{cino}}** the one aforesaid that shines much **IX 83.7**

wa\" is the indefinite article.

**oya'te wa\"** a people **IX 83.1**

**mako'ce wa\"** a country.

The articles of Ponca are much more highly developed. We have to distinguish between inanimate and animate articles; and the latter are differentiated as subjective and objective, singular and plural.

Following is a general review of the forms that I have found:

I. Inanimate articles.

1. ka\"e horizontal objects.
2. a\"e standing objects, collective terms.
3. qa\" rounded objects.
4. ge scattered objects.
II. Animate articles

A. Subject.
1. ak'á singular animate object at rest.
2. amá singular animate object in motion; plural.

B. Object.
1. t'á singular animate object standing.
2. 4i*n singular animate object moving.
3. ma plural animate objects.
4. 4i*n singular animate object sitting.
5. 4a*n plural animate objects sitting.

III. Indefinite article.

wi*n.

Following are a number of examples of the use of these articles:

k'e (I. 1) is used regularly of horizontal objects.

- t'an'de k'e the ground 24.4
- ma*ge k'e the sky 26.4
- ni k'e the water (i.e., stream) 55.1
- wa*t'he k'e the cradle 560.14
- wahí k'e the bone 564.8
- pahi k'e the neck 564.10
- 4ide k'e the leg 564.10

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article k'e:

- wé* a k'e the snake 27.1
- ši*gaži'n ya k'e a child lying down 560.13 (in this case, the child being dead, the article may refer to the body of the child stretched out)

The following expression is peculiar:

- an'ba k'e the day 611.6

t'e (I. 2) is used with several classes of nouns.

(a) It denotes standing objects.
- ti t'e the lodge 555.17
- 4i*ábé t'e the tree 277.2
- ti*še t'e the door 46.12.

(b) It is used to express plurality and collectivity of inanimate terms. According to Dorsey, it expresses in this sense a single rectilinear collection of horizontal objects. This idea, however, is not brought out clearly in the examples.

- 4ande t'e the plums 559.4
- pá t'e the heads 123.12
- te-ánit'a t'e animal limbs 565.1
- ma*ša t'e the feathers 26.19

§42
\[\text{\textsuperscript{91}}\text{Handbook of American Indian Languages}\]

\(\text{\textsuperscript{57}}\text{the feet} 570.9\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{the entrails} 279.4\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{59}}\text{the clothing} 559.12\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{the tongues} 123.12\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{disposition} 583.2\)

(c) It denotes abstract nouns.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{the killing} 16.8\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{the word} 667.14\)

(d) It denotes acts “as past and as seen by the speaker” (see Dorsey, The 
\(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{she did the (act) 554.13}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{he cried out 600.14}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{he exceeded 609.1}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{they went for him 583.7}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{he wore as a robe} 246.6\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{(I. 3) denotes rounded objects and parts of objects.}\)

(a) It denotes rounded objects.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{13}}\text{the snare} 13.12\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{the sun} 13.12\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{171}}\text{the eye} 171.7\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{91}}\text{the head} 91.6\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{773}}\text{paper} 773.1\)

(b) It denotes part of an object.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{598}}\text{the bent part} 598.8\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{611}}\text{part of the rump-bone} 611.5\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{624}}\text{face part} 624.10\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{279}}\text{the part of a buffalo-hide towards the feet} 469.7\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{33}}\text{buffalo-hearts} 33.4\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{572}}\text{pieces of fat} 572.2\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{593}}\text{scum} 593.9\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{278}}\text{bones} 278.16\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{559}}\text{raccoon-skins} 559.3\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{735}}\text{fences} 735.7\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{633}}\text{the animate singular subject at rest} (see Dorsey, note 633.3, p. 634).}\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{549}}\text{Ishtinike awoke, it is said 549.4}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{549}}\text{the chipmunk said, “tsi-tsi-tsi!” 549.9}\)
\(\text{\textsuperscript{549}}\text{the robe (considered as possessed of voluntary action) had returned 549.6}\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{591}}\text{US} 9.6\)

§ 42
puhe-wášahuni ak'á ibahaⁿ'-biama the hill that devours knew him, it is said 32.6

With numerals ak'á is used in a plural sense.

(II. A. 2) denotes the animate singular subject in motion, or the plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

(a) It denotes the animate singular object in motion.

mašč'ín'ge-íⁿ' amá até amáma the rabbit was going, it is said 9.1

Išt'ínik'ē amá ašá-bí Ishtinike went, it is said 549.1

žabe amá nižá ašá-bí beaver went to the water 553.9

ki wiwu amá wa'úi and the woman was following close behind 615.15

amá is also used when the predicate does not express motion, but when the subject is conceived as moving.

išádi amá ígipahaⁿ'-biama, it is said his father recognized him 610.18

d-biama mašč'ín'ge-íⁿ' amá rabbit said, it is said 10.2

(b) amá denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

wazi'n'ga amá giaⁿ' ašá-biama the birds went flying, it is said 588.3

e-naⁿ'-biama niši'n'ga amá the people said often, it is said 574.9

P'añ't'k'a amá ašci'íi the Ponca have come back 723.2

Umáha amá učúgicaí the Omaha are sorrowful for their relations 772.4

niš'ašáhi amá ašča-bážíí the chiefs are sad 649.2

t'á'n (II. B. 1) denotes the animate singular object standing.

nižinga t'aⁿ' é vašik'á-bí the boy meant that his own 556.2

šíš't'ē, héga šét'aⁿ' fie! this buzzard! 549.5

téšít'e t'aⁿ' . . . naži'n' a scabby buffalo was standing 582.5

šyú šét'aⁿ' k'idá-gá shoot at this prairie-chicken 117.19

et'n (II. B. 2) denotes the animate singular object moving.

dádaña čin' piš'gů či'n áhaⁿ! I'll blow that into the air 575.7

kičá či'n šet'oⁿ' amá the eagle was that far, it is said 581.3

edádaña či'n št'ewaⁿ' teče-naⁿ'-biama whatsoever he usually killed, it is said 586.6

witande či'n aščiⁿ' giya bring my son-in-law here 589.3

niši'n'ga či'n vašišišge áhaⁿ! he is active! 9.14

niši'n'ga či'n ičatábičí hů I hate that person 13.9

kágé či'n éllihí the crow reached there 599.8

či'n is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.

§ 42
wanit'a ꞌi ꞌa the quadrupeds 628.6
Paŋ'k'a ꞌi ꞌa the Ponca 748.9

ma (II. B. 3) denotes the animate plural object. This form is regularly printed as a suffix. The examples, however, do not indicate that it differs in character from the other articles.

wanit'a-ma wėbaⁿ-biamá it is said he called to the animals 571.5
taŋ'ga-ma ácz'ul' án wačizá-bi án he took the large ones at once, it is said 578.4
wažiŋa-má vėbaⁿ-biamá it is said they called the birds 580.1
wažiŋa-ma . . . mínaž'í he put the birds in his belt 586.4
nik'asîⁿ-ga-ma wač'igaže čwök'áⁿbēa I wish the people to dance 601.5

wačaⁿit'i-ma wiaⁿ one of the servants (obj.) 616.2
važhe-ma úsk' án etai k' án a'=baⁿbašaⁿ-baž'í we do not know the customs of the white people 629.2
nik'asîⁿ-ga-ma če-ma šk' án ma'alî'n'-ma wataⁿ'be há I have seen these people walking about 756.1

čin'k'é (II. B. 4) denotes an animate singular object in sitting position.
ž'íbe čiŋk'édí bęé t'ášé I must go to the beaver 552.2
egiče itani'ge čin'k'é wałp'ániwit'iaⁿ čin'k'é amá and behold! his sister was very poor 144.18
wa'ú čin'k'é enů-hč'i ušt'é amá only the women remained, it is said 11.5

čaŋ'k'á (II. B. 5) denotes the animate plural object in sitting position.
úga-biamá Isť'ink'é ak'á nișaⁿinga čaŋ'k'á it is said Ishtínike told the persons 64.17
izin'ge čaŋ'k' é wawagik'á-biamá meaning his sons, it is said 100.4
ak'εšaḥa mašt' iŋ'ge čaŋ'k'á wiⁿ waa'í-ga ha give them one of the rabbits 119.16
é wa't'ú čaŋ'k'á ūnak'í e goⁿ' eui t'č he desired to talk to the women 624.3
wagazi sínudaⁿ čaŋ'k'á he commanded the dogs 111.8

The two forms čin'k'é and čaŋ'k'á are not true articles, although they seem to perform their function. They are true verbal forms, as is proved by the occurrence of the pronominal forms.

1st person singular . . . . . . . . . . miŋk'é
2d person singular . . . . . . . . . . niŋk'é
2d person plural . . . . . . . . . . naŋk'á

§ 42
be'tá mǐnk'e I who will go 13.4
p'i t'á mǐnk'e I who will arrive there 496.2
Pāci'n ni'k'agdhí na'ńk'áše ye who are Pawnee chiefs 685.2

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs
ya'ńk'á, wa'ńk'á.

\(\text{wi}^n\) (III) denotes the indefinite article.

\(\text{saa}^n\ \text{wi}^n\ a\ \text{Dakota} \quad 367.8\)
\(\text{nǐaśi'nga} \ \text{wi}^n\ \text{a person} \quad 267.1\)
\(\text{wa'tú} \ \text{wi}^n\ \text{a woman} \quad 166.1\)
\(\text{t'a'wańq'άna} \ \text{tuńgáhi} \ \text{t'i} \ \text{wi}^n\ \text{a very large village} \quad 166.14\)

§ 43. Demonstrative Pronouns

TETON

The demonstrative pronouns proper are \(e, le, he, \text{ka},\) and \(to\). The first of these always refers to something that has just been said, and its use is more syntactic than local; \(le\) corresponds very nearly to English this, and \(he\) to English that; but when an object is very remote, the proper form is \(ka\). \(to\) indicates that what is referred to is indefinite; and it would not have been classed as a demonstrative had it not been employed in a manner absolutely parallel with that of the other demonstratives. Plurals are formed for all of these by suffixing -\(na\).

The demonstratives are employed regularly as prefixes to the verbs meaning to say, to think, and to do.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>(e'ya)</th>
<th>(le'ya)</th>
<th>(he'ya)</th>
<th>(ke'ya) (not found)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>think</td>
<td>(e'ín)</td>
<td>(le'ín)</td>
<td>(he'ín)</td>
<td>(ke'ín) (tok'ín)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>(e'ó)</td>
<td>(le'ó)</td>
<td>(he'ó)</td>
<td>(kak'ó) (tok'ó)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms with \(e\) are used after the statement of what is said, thought, or done; and the forms with \(le\) or \(he\), before. \(ke'ya\) they say is employed like a quotative, though there is a true quotative \(sk'e\). The element \(to\) occurs rarely with these verbs.

In addition to these forms, there is a syllable \(t'e\), meaning far in space or time, which is employed in an analogous manner.

\(t'e\)h'\(a\)n a long time
\(t'e\)h'\(a\)ñ far

The definite article \(k\)\(n\) is probably formed from the demonstrative \(ka\) by rendering the phonetic change to \(i\)\(n\) permanent. To indicate something which happened in the past or some person or thing spoken of in the past, this article takes the form \(ko\)\(n\) or \(ēi\)ko\(n\), but the latter rarely in Teton (see § 42).

§ 43
In the plural, and when combined with certain particles, *to* performs the function of an interrogative pronoun.

*to'na* how many
*to'keći* however much

In fact, the regular interrogative and relative pronouns *tu'we* who, and *ta'ku* what, are properly indefinites, and so related to *to*; and from these, or parts of these, other relative and indefinite pronouns are compounded: viz.,

*tuwe'ni* whoever (probably who lives)
*tuk'te'l* somewhere
*tuk'te'k'te* sometimes
*ta'ku keçe ya şi* whatsoever

**PONCA**

The most common demonstrative pronouns are *eće, še, gâ, and ć*. The first three of these are very often followed by the article; and in this case they are always printed in the texts as one word, although there is apparently no difference between the use of the article with the demonstrative and that with nouns. Demonstratives also take enclitic adverbial terms in the same way as nouns, and in these cases also the demonstrative and the adverb appear in print as one word. The demonstrative *e* does not seem to be followed by the article. As in Dakota, they form part of a few verbs.

1. *eće* refers to what is near the speaker.

*eće ėgima* I do this 9.6
*eće će'će'na' bai t'o* this (is) as you see me 26.14
*ćeak'a ćabći* zani ćeća-ćiaamá it is said he killed all three of these 46.16
*ćeća'ma na* cip'ai these fear thee 23.17
*ćeća juba* these few! 28.9
*ha* eće hići a gita'be ka'na'bëa I desire to see mine this very night 367.5
*eće ga* and, thus they say 35.2

2. *štë* refers to what is near the person addressed.

*štë ėgija* you do that 26.14
*štë veci* you told him that 26.19
*štë večita* that my own 89.4
*štëak'a maše ińge-žë ak'a pade vagaţi that rabbit told us to cut it up 23.10
*štëińk'e k'ida-gâ* shoot at that! 109.1
*štëu* there where you are 640.4
*maža' šta cun* the land yonder by you 487.7

§ 43

44877°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——60
3. **gá** refers to the unseen, also to what follows; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

   - **gá** tuwa'be t'á I shall see that 28.2
   - **gá** gé hñá'e t'ai-éde you should have eaten those 28.10
   - **gá** niñke házi čišade t'ai (that) you shall be called grapes 550.7
   - **gá** in Ilágiye is a'n'ga tek'ičai that one Hágiye killed his brother for him 235.8
   - **gá** e inch'igei'ntša'n-gá put that on something for me 121.14

4. **é** refers to something referred to before.

   - **é** ni that water (referred to in line 2) 559.12
   - **é** gisa-biamá it is said she rejoiced at that 21.1
   - **é** iš'ti ina'sa'w'i t'ë that too they stole 85.8
   - **é** ga'ga'baźi'i-gá há do not ye do thus! 618.8

5. **du** is a form which is comparatively rare, and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

   - **diak'a** this one here 58.5
   - **ukp'ë** t'ë diat'ë the bowl on this side 574.1
   - **dida** this way 191.8, 192.15
   - **didiha** this way 553.3, 556.5

6. **gu** is also comparatively rare, and designates what is farther off than **du**.

   - **gidiha** that way 587.15, 614.1, 630.20

§ 44. **Possession**

**Teton**

Inalienable or at least very intimate possession is indicated by prefixing the objective personal pronominal prefixes, and suffixing -pi for plural forms. The dual is distinguished in the same manner as in the subjective and reflexive pronominal prefixes.

Examples:

- **mič'w'k'si** my son
- **hu** his leg
- **t'ač'ke'ya'pí** their sister
- **w'č'w'če'te** our two selves' two hearts
- **w'č'w'če'tepí** our hearts (more than two)

Sometimes **ma** is used instead of **mi**; and, according to Riggs, this is when those parts of the body are referred to which exhibit no independent action.

- **ma'p'a** my head
- **mano'ge** my ears

§ 44
Alienable or more distant possession is indicated by another prefix, t'\textit{a}, which occurs in conjunction with the prefixes above given.

\textit{t'awo'wasi} his servant

Often, however, these forms are prefixed to a syllable \textit{wa} placed after the noun.

\textit{wo'k'oya'ke} \textit{t'a'wa} her clothing

The noun to which \textit{t'a'wa}, etc., refers may be entirely omitted; as,

\textit{wino\textasciitilde{a}kala} \textit{t'a'wa} \textit{ki'yo'ta} the old woman's was exceedingly good
\textit{ni't'awapi} \textit{ki'yo'ta} \textit{lu'\textasterm{ta}} yours is exceedingly scarlet

Terms of relationship take in the third person a special suffix \textit{-ku}.  

\textit{hunu'ku} his mother
\textit{hingana'ku} her husband
\textit{atku'kupi} their father
\textit{sun'ka'ku} her younger brother
\textit{tibalo'ku} her elder brother
\textit{kun'ku} his mother-in-law
\textit{tak'o'sku} his son-in-law or daughter-in-law

This suffix is probably identical with the \textit{ku} in \textit{taku what}, which is used entire in \textit{t'ita'kuye his relations} and \textit{taku'witaye kindred}.

After \textit{i} or \textit{e}, pure or nasalized, the \textit{k} of this suffix either changes to \textit{c} in conformity with the tendency already noted, or a \textit{t} is inserted just before it.

\textit{t'awo'wasi} his wife
\textit{leko'sku} his uncles

Many terms of relationship have a syllable \textit{si}, which evidently had once some special significance, though it is now impossible to say whether it is properly an affix or part of a descriptive term. Such are \textit{leko'sku}, \textit{kun'siku}, and probably \textit{tak'o'sku}, above given; as also—

\textit{mičin'skii} my son
\textit{hokši' boy}
\textit{t'awo'si} younger sister
\textit{tan'ha'si} my cousin (male)

\textbf{PONCA}

The following independent forms were observed in Ponca:

\textit{wita} my 633.11, 635.6
\textit{wivita} my own 477.9, 482.12, 493.1
\textit{\textasterm{gita}} thy 485.2, 635.4

§ 44
The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix -ta as a prefix in terms of relationship.

\[ \text{wi- my } \quad \text{\(\phi\)-thi} \quad \text{i- his} \]

Examples:

- \(w\text{k}\text{a}'\) my grandmother 9.3
- \(w\text{it}\text{imi}\) my father's sister 9.3
- \(w\text{ineg}\text{i}\) my mother's brother 10.16
- \(w\text{itan'de}\) my daughter's husband 349.12
- \(w\text{ini}\text{g}\text{i}\) my child 44.13
- \(w\text{ineg}\text{i}\) thy mother's brother 10.15
- \(w\text{ika}' \) thy mother 348.3
- \(w\text{ik'i}\text{ge}\) thy friend 487.4
- \(i\text{g}\text{a}\text{t}\text{e}\text{a}\text{n}\) his wife 348.13
- \(i\text{zi}\text{n}\text{g}\text{e}\) his son 345.2
- \(i\text{za}\text{n}\text{g}\text{e}\) his daughter 345.1

With the words father and mother the first person possessive has an exceptional form.

\[ \text{in'na'h}\text{a my mother 481.1, 638.1} \]
\[ \text{in'd\text{\d\text{d}}di my father 26.5, 151.15} \]

§ 45. Adverbs: Teton

Adverbs may be divided into several classes. Some are quite simple, and are used much like corresponding adverbs in English:

- \(w\text{ana}'\) now \quad \(\text{h}\text{ca and}\)
- \(a\text{k}'\text{e}'\) again \quad \(k'\text{o also}\)
- \(l\text{\text{\l}}\text{\text{\l}}\text{a very}\) \quad \(\text{nak}'\text{o}'\text{ also}\)
- \(h\text{ci}'\text{n very}\)

while others are compounded from other parts of speech; notably, verbs and demonstratives. The former of these are usually changed into adverbs by using the auxiliary \(y\text{a}\).

\[ \text{su't}\text{ya firmly} \quad \text{a't}\text{ya entirely}\]
\[ \text{ha'ke'ya at last} \quad \text{kua'be'ya in all directions}\]
\[ \text{ta'n}\text{ya}'\) well \quad \text{u'ga'n}\text{a'ha'keya suddenly}\]
\[ \text{wa'ka't}\text{akiya upward} \quad \text{ka'kiya there}\]

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... appears to be compounded of wan'ca one and the auxiliary ka.

Others take la either alone or in conjunction with ya.

- iska'la alone
- ek'la only
- w'ganha'la suddenly
- la'gyela suddenly

Demonstratives are usually adverbialized by means of another particle, e'a (or k'a) sort or kind; as,

- he'c'el that sort
- he'c'ena right off
- to'k'el how
- to'k'esk'e in what way

e'a is also used after entire clauses, where it may almost equally well be described as an adverbial particle or a connective.

§ 46. Connectives: Teton

Connectives are so closely related to adverbs as to be at times indistinguishable. Yow'ke'a and then, and e'a'k'c'e' so, are most often used to introduce sentences; while na and, nai's or, and tk'a but, are the ordinary co-ordinate conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions, such as e'a or e'a'na when, k'k' or keya's though, follow the subordinate clause, and are to be correlated with the post-positions like on account of, for the purpose of; ob with; mahel into. The definite articles ki'n and ko'n, and the adverbial particle e'a sort or kind, are employed in such a way as to suggest a relationship to these.

Nearly all of the simple subordinating conjunctions and post-positions are given above. The rest—and there is a very large number of them—are principally compound. Some are formed by means of demonstratives; as,

- eca'nl during (from e, e'a, and l)
- etan' from (from e and ta)
- hea'n then (from e and ha)
- toha'nl when (from to, ha, and l)
- ek'ta'to (from e and ta)

Another long series contains the verbal prefixes a, i, and o (§ 12), and are in some cases, probably the majority, taken from verbs. Among these are—

- ai'nam on the other side of
- akey kab above
- ikey'el like
- ikeyel' near to

§ 46
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§ 47. Interjections: Teton

Ho is introduced when there comes a change in the thread of the narrative, and so may be said to mark a paragraph. The following are used quite frequently in Teton:

- it' o' suppose!
- ho' well!
- yu' oh! (indicating pain)

For a long list of Dakota interjections, see Riggs's Dakota Grammar, p. 54.

§ 48. VOCABULARY: Teton

The simplicity of grammatical forms in Dakota is necessarily accompanied by the use of great numbers of stems.

Verb-stems usually consist of single syllables such as the following:

- t'i to dwell
- ya to say
- k' te to kill
- hi to arrive coming
- ha' to have, possess
- zin' to stand
- k'sa' to bend
- ta' to eat
- ka' to dig
- u' to be on route coming
- to' to cover
- u' to live, or be accustomed to
- ya' to go
- p'a' to flee
- i to arrive going
- bi' to command
- p'sor' to break off
- ni' to live, exist
- p' ta' to answer
- k'sa' to break
- gj' to rust
- o' to wound

The stems with terminal a have been treated in § 15.

The causative ya may be placed after any of these, as also after nouns.

- kpaya'pi they were caused to lie
- kak'siyapi they made him suffer
- wasti'ya to cause to be good

§§ 47, 48
\(\text{vani'ly}a\) caused to be without
\(\text{kahi}ya'\) caused to be made
\(\text{sana'd}ya\) he had it for a robe (\(\text{sana}\) robe)
\(\text{kivo'i}ya\) he caused them to be red (\(\text{ka}\) red)
\(\text{cina'vi'ka'ya}pi\) those that they had for children
\(\text{su'ng}a\) náp'eyapi they caused the horses to be frightened

Very naturally it is often used in the formation of adverbs.

\(\text{sogya}'\) thickly (literally, caused to be thick)
\(\text{t'oye'lla}\) bluely (literally, caused to be like blue)
\(\text{kultkiya}'\) caused to be down, or downward
\(\text{to'kiya}\) anywhere, or caused to be in an indefinite direction

A considerable number of substantives consist of but one syllable. Such are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'a})</td>
<td>a general name for animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ho})</td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{p'\text{a}})</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'o})</td>
<td>robe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{hu})</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{we})</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{hi})</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{p'te})</td>
<td>bison; specifically, female bison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'i})</td>
<td>lodge, dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e'\text{a}})</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{hi})</td>
<td>fur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{i})</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wa})</td>
<td>snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{he})</td>
<td>horn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A much larger number, however, have two syllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wo'\text{e}})</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{si'h})</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{no'\text{ge}})</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{p'aha})</td>
<td>beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e'\text{a}})</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{mat'\text{o}})</td>
<td>grizzly bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{a'p'ada})</td>
<td>daylight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{i'sta})</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ma'ya})</td>
<td>cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ti'wo})</td>
<td>small of back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'ahu})</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{biyo})</td>
<td>prairie-chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{k'a'w}ta)</td>
<td>plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'ate})</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{e'oku})</td>
<td>flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{t'o'ka})</td>
<td>foe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is quite possible that many or all of these were originally compounded from simpler words, as is still done in numerous cases.

\(\text{p'ehi}\) hair of the head, or head-hair
\(\text{cabo'\text{t'}i}\) beaver-house (literally, in which dwell beaver)
ma'za wak'a'n supernatural iron (i.e., gun)
su'ka wak'a'n supernatural dog (i.e., horse)
ma'za wa'ha' e a'ka iron shield
wiče tegala'ya raccoon (literally, spotted face)
tat'a'ka buffalo bull (literally, big ta)
wiče'ha'ala old man (very much of a male)
wi'vén'ala girl (literally, female child)
kupa wakigala'ka bat (literally, little leather wings)
p'as'ul nose (literally, head-seed)
wiča'ho human voice
ma'n'i wak'a'n supernatural water (i.e., whisky)
ma'za wa'hi' o-sta'pi iron arrow-head fitted in (i.e., flintlock gun)
wiče ot'i many lodges (where people go after death [literally, in them they live])
ta'hi'ca deer (literally, true ta)
wiño'n'ha' old woman (very much of a female)
héka'cta elk (literally, branching [hé'cta] horns [he])

In those descriptive terms which contain a substantive and adjective, the latter may be regarded equally well as a verb. Many other nouns, however, are taken from verbs (or adjectives) in a much more direct manner, as follows:

kahami' an inside corner, a bend; verb the same, meaning to
BEND BY STRIKING
ol'wa' song (from lo'wa' to sing)
tek'ka hardship (from tek' hard)
wok'a'n tek'ca sorrow (from e'ante' heart, and ki'cu bad)
ol'yo'kpa'za darkness (from kpa'za it is dark)
wa'ma'k'aska' animals (from mak'a' earth, and ska to move; i.e.,
things moving on the earth)
wiče'ganakapi or ganaka'pi burial-scaffold (from ganaka' to lay
up)
olwa'kak'a' myth (from hitu'kak'a' to tell tales)
hla'hla rattle or bell (from hla to rattle)
wak'i' a pack of goods (from k'i to carry)
wak'in'ya' the thunder-bird (from kinya' to fly)

Verbs ending in a, when they become substantives, sometimes
change the a into e:

ak'a'hip'a to cover
ē'ya to say
wau'tequa' to be observing
wau'skup'a to stick on
a'p'a to strike
obala'ya it is flat
k'oya'ka to have on

ak'a'hip'e covering
we ye a saying, verse, sentence
wau'te've an observer
wau'skup'e a sticking-plaster
oap'e strokes, beatings
obala'ye a level place or prairie
wok'oyd'ke clothing

§ 48
Stripped of their affixes, the terms of relationship are the following (see Riggs's Grammar, pp. xviii-xx):

- t'un'k'a'n grandfather
- k'u'n grandmother
- k'o'k'o'z'a grandchild
- a'te father and father's brother
- h'u'n mother and mother's sister
- t'u'n'w'i'n father's sister
- l'e:k'si mother's brother
- t'i'ne man's elder brother
- t'i'm'd'o woman's elder brother
- t'a:n'k'e man's elder sister
- t'ku'we woman's elder sister
- s'u'n'k'a younger brother
- t'a:n's'k'i man's younger sister
- t'a:n'k'a woman's younger sister
- t'i'n's'k'i son
- t'u'n's'k'i daughter
- h'a'n man's brother-in-law
- s'i:ce woman's brother-in-law
- h'a'n'k'a man's sister-in-law
- i'ce:p'a woman's sister-in-law
- t'o:n's'k'u woman's sister's son
- t'o:s'ka woman's brother's son
- t'u'n'z'a man's sister's daughter
- t'o:z'a woman's brother's daughter
- k'o:s son-in-law and daughter-in-law
- h'i:h'na husband
- w'i'n wife or woman.

In direct address several terms are used slightly different from the above; as, u'c'i' GRANDMOTHER.
Spider's Adventure with the Water Monster

[Originally transcribed by George Bushotter, a Dakota]

Spider it happened now in a certain place travel was going it is said.

Yun'k'an 8 wana' 3 forest from one to another eating was going.

And then now forest from one to another eating was going.

Wak'pa'la 11 o'huta 12 there he stood and water on the other side to go wished.

although there was he might start not, and he was saying it is said. "Oh that.

Kowa'kata 15 mani' 22 ni 13 ec' i' c' i 14 nawa'zi 17 eya'. 26 Yun'k'a 8.

on the other side I sit might thinking this I stand," he said. And then.

1 A shortened form of Ik'to'mi (the Spider), who is the great trickster and charlatan among the Dakota.

2 he'c'ez he that; c'a sort; - a emphatic.

3 wana' perhaps contains the passive prefix wo-.

4 ka demonstrative indicating something that happened at a remote time or in a remote place; k'e c'a sort or kind; na probably a locative particle used instead of - l to indicate that he was already at the place where the event happened.

5 a diminutive suffix.

6 o- prepositional prefix meaning in, the idea being that the traveling was done within a certain region; when there is a definite object in view the form is itima'ni; ya motion away in general as distinguished from starting and arriving; - ha continues a suffix.

7 k' e quotative.

8 Introductory connective.

9 c'a as an altered form of c'a woods; k'o're thick, the final vowel was altered in nominalizing.

10 wol sos-something, and ya to eat, contracted into l.

11 ya- perhaps passive prefix; - a diminutive.

12 o- prepositional prefix; hu'ka shore.

13 e demonstrative; - l motion to that place.

14 l prepositional prefix indicating purpose; na- instrumental prefix indicating action done with the foot; - in to stand.

15 kowa'kata on the other side of the river; - ha from; - ha continues to be.

16 A compound verb; - in to wish.

17 k'aya'k; k'ya usually equivalent to something and the emphatic suffix - a.

18 to indefinite demonstrative; c'a sort or kind, which is altered to k' after o, and a syllable ni often suffixed to adverbs of this kind when the verb is followed by the negative particle. It may be the stem of the verb ni to live.

19 This seems to contain the ordinary stem of the verb to go and the causative auxiliary. Final a is altered to e before ni.

20 he demonstrative referring to what follows; ya to go; - ha continues.

21 to indefinite demonstrative; his the definite article.

22 ma- objective pronounal prefix before ya'ka.

23 The sign of the optative.

24 e demonstrative; - in to wish, duplicated to show repetition of the mental process.

25 na to do with the foot; wa- subjective personal pronounal prefix; - in to stand.

26 e demonstrative; stem ya.

954

954
**Used indifferently as an interrogative pronoun meaning WHAT? and an indefinite pronoun meaning SOMETHING.**

**The final syllable of han'ska LONG is duplicated for the plural of he.**

**yin is probably the causative auxiliary ya altered to yin after on.**

**tak' WIND AGAINST THE CURRENT, AGAINST THE WIND; ya causative; he perhaps a contraction of han.**

**alt: TO ARRIVE AT A PLACE APPROACHING ONE.**

**-i the prepositional prefix: e as conjunction; -i suffix indicating motion.**

**Definite article referring to ta'ku he han'skaska.**

**Alternate form with e, indicating something already in place.**

**he demonstrative; ki changed to ki after e, indicating that the verb takes an object; ya stem.**

**Post-position containing the prefix e- and referring to ke.**

**a- prepositional prefix, which indicates here that the subject of the verb went in company; e-1-you; ya to go, altered to yin before k'ta, the sign of the future.**

**-i prepositional prefix; we'ka to be on guard; e'i-you; causative ya, changed to yin before k'ta.**

**Future participle k'ta altered to k'te by incorporating the ye of ye to.**

**ye lo is usually employed in closing declarative sentences in direct address.**

**e demonstrative referring to what has just been said; e for ki to or for; stem ya.**

**mi- possessive prefix, first person singular.**

**Probably the indefinite demonstrative to.**

**e demonstrative; eon to do (probably compounded of a prefix e and on); ma-objective, first person singular; ya-subjective, second person singular; hi to command, to bid.**

**It will be noticed that ki'w is used referring to the entire preceding sentence.**

**e demonstrative; eon to do (probably compounded of a prefix e and on); ma-objective, first person singular; ya-subjective, second person singular; hi to command, to bid.**

**Conjunction introducing the next sentence.**

**Contraction of tank'a.**

**hi to arrive coming; u to be coming along with a continuous motion; ya causative, changed to ye before eon.**

**-o verbal prefix.**

**-on first person subjective; us usual or customary condition or state.
C'a'k'e' wana' leya'53 "Toha'nl 54 malipi'ya wa'p' 1 55 now he said this, "When cloud one somewhere.

So ci'kala 56 ta'n'ya 57 ya' 58 ke ci' 59 eci' 59 oma'kiya'ka yo. 60 He' ci' el small visibly sits the in that case tell me thou. So eci' 56 nawa'pi 61 k'te na mani' sme e'ltkiya 62 waki'ya'ki 63 k'ta' c'e', 64 in that I see will and water deep thither I go back to will case.

eya'. Yu'k'a' heya' "Misun' he'c'a'no' 65 kiha' 66 mis 67 to'ke'ske' 68 said he.

And then he said as "My younger you do that if I in what way

follows, brother, wahaa' 70 k'ta he'70 eci' 71 ya'. Yu'k'a' "to'k'sa toha' 70 omayakila'ke 70 I understand shall I? he said to And then "in that case

ciha' 71 lec'e 71 ehe' 71 ciha' 71 wa'cag 72 kipa's ibala'bale 73 ci' 74 to'k'sa when in this way you say when at once doubling I start to go so the by and by up (when)
o'ruta ekta' 74 nya'pan 75 k'te lo'," eya'. " 'Misun' nitu'n'k'a'sila 76 you say when Thunders that roar when

is coming down, you say when Thunders that roar when

hehi' 78 k'te lo'," eya'. you say will " said he.

45ke this; ya.

46to the indefinite demonstrative; ha as continuous; -i suffix indicating motion.

47be indefinite particle, also found in tu'ag who; -i suffix indicating motion.

48-ka diminutive suffix.

49na' visible; adverbialized by means of the auxiliary ya, which is here nasalized after the preceding nasalized vowel.

50The e in ci' has been changed from k after the vowel e.

51the demonstrative; ki's article altered as above.

52- prepositional prefix, often used with verbs meaning to say; ma- first person objective; ki- dative sign; ya- auxiliary; ya imperative particle singular.

53ma- instrumental prefix, indicating action by means of the feet; wea- first person singular objective; p'a changed to pi before k'ta.

54Probably e demonstrative; -i suffix indicating motion; -i -la to; ki- the dative sign; ya causative in waki'ya'kin.

55e- pronominal prefix; ki- the dative sign; ya to go; ki- ka to he.

56Evidently e'a altered before he e in e'ya'.

57he that; e'a (see note 2); m- pronominal prefix; oe stem.

58ki's article; ha as continuous particle.

59Emphatic form of the independent personal pronoun, -i the emphatic suffix.

60lo indefinite pronoun; k'e- c'a sort.

61Irreverent particle.

62- prepositional prefix; ma- objective pronoun; ya- subjective pronoun; ki- dative sign; ya to say, la in the second person singular; ka, auxiliary. In this case both the final vowel is altered to e, and the initial consonant of the succeeding word is changed from k to e in sympathy. This often happens where there is no apparent necessity.

63Second person singular of e'ya to say; e demonstrative.

64p'ata' one + g, perhaps the contracted form of the auxiliary.

65perhaps from the verb t to arrive, though the sense of this verb is quite distinct; bala' first person of ya, which is doubled.

66e demonstrative; -la post-position; k' inserted for emphasis.

67p- prepositional prefix; ya- pronominal subject; p'a stem; p'a probably causative, altered before k'ta.

68m- possessive pronominal prefix, first person; -i diminutive suffix.

69Here ha is contracted to he without the usual phonetic reasons.

70The waki'yawan are the famous thunder-birds. The word means literally flying things (from ki'ya' to fly, with the passive prefix wet). Possibly the final syllable of ki'ya' is the causative auxiliary.

71ho voice; tov stem; pi plural suffix.

72he demonstrative that, second person singular of the verb ya to say, the final vowel being furthermore altered to o before k'ta.
Spider happened to be traveling along alone in a certain place, it is said. And he was going along through a forest, eating. Then he stood on the edge of a river; and, although he wanted to get across, there was no way; and he said, they say, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'" Then something with long horns came swimming up against the current. And he said again, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'"

Just then the creature with long horns stopped there, and said to him, "Ho! I will take you across this water, but I will have you be on the watch for a certain thing." Then the Spider said, "Come! my younger brother, I will do whatever you command me." So he said to him, "Well! I always swim in the water with my head not extended above it. So you shall be on the watch for me." Then he said, "Yes."

So he said, "When one small cloud becomes visible, tell me. Then I will flee and go back into deep water." Then he said, "My younger brother, what will become of me?" And he said, "In that case, when you tell it to me, and I double up and start off, you will fall close to the shore. When you say, 'Your grandfather is coming,' it will mean that the Thunders roar."

So he was going along in the water sitting upon the horn. And when he was going along near the shore, black clouds were coming. So he said, "My younger brother, your grandfather is coming." So all at once the water moved about roaringly. And whither the Spider went, he did not at all remember. And a long time afterward, lol he came to himself lying partly in the water. Then he looked at the water. Then upward the water was grayish, and he did not see the thing with long horns, and he also heard Thunders roaring.

Now the Spider traveled on from this place just as usual, it is said. I remember only this far.
WINNEBAGO TEXT

By PAUL RADIN

Hiān'jihi'wira1 jagu'2 haminańęgiresganańk'ū3 hi'peresjinańkēe;4

Our father what does he sit on, it seems he came to, he knew;

ś'gi5 is'ja'nialioń'jē6 pa'kē7 e'gi kē s'i' wewi'ni;8 hånkē9 wajån'ni9 any thing

and tears flowed he wept; and not long he thought not anything

of it;

hajani'jē,10 hånkē wajån'ni9 nın'gēnańṅenijē.11

he did not not anything, not anything was (there) anywhere.

Ja'gwaminąńęgiresganańkē gį'ji12 haminańęgennańka, e'ja wajai13

What he sat on it seemed he sat on that which, there something

hanigu'jē, hanigu'ńaña14 manańęgerę15 e'ja16 nın'gēnįk17

he took from, he took that which the earth there a little piece

wa'gį'ūńjē,18 e'gi19 hominańęgennańka20 k'ūha'hi'regi21 howahujįjis.22

for them he and that which he sat on below him towards he sent it.

for it was made:

1 hi'jőe father; hihi'wirę 1st plural of possessive pronoun of terms of relationship; ē softens to f when followed by any syllable.
2 jagu' regular interrogative and relative pronoun.
3 Contraction for ha-mińųk-hię'ęę-gę'ąńk'ū; ha on; mińųk he sits; hię' it seems; -ąńk a suffix implying uncertainty; -ęę'ęę suffix denoting sitting position; 'ū as he does, auxiliary verb (1st person ē'ja, 2d person ē'ja, 3d person ē'ja).
4 hi-peres-ji-ńk-či; hi prefix generally meaning with; peres he knows; ji he comes; -ńk suffix denoting sitting position; -či a suffix denoting present completed action.
5 e'gi conjunction, sometimes with the force of then. Composed of two elements,—e, the demonstrative pronoun of 3d person; and -gi, an adverbial suffix. For the demonstrative expressing position near the 1st person it is me'gi, and for that near the second person de'gi.
6 (h)įja-ni-hąńk'jū'jē źye'wa'ń-į-ąńk-či-ęę-it flow on—present time.
7 ya'k'čē he went—present time.
8 uč'ęiń he knows; ni negative particle following adverb hänkē or -č or -č not, and always inserted at the end of the stem of the following verb.
9 wajan'niąj an indefinite pronoun composed of wejįą, something; and hi'jan one, a. The n following the nasalization is a glide.
10 wajan'nięja negative particle; present (1st person hąja', 2d person hąja', 3d person hąja').
11 nińęjęńęgị nińęję any (thing); sitting position; negative particle; present.
12 e'gi an adverb generally meaning so. Often used as a stop.
13 Contraction for wa'gį hįįę. The elision of the a, the union of two vowels to form a diphthong, and the shifting of the nasalization, are very common in Winnebago; for example, naa'hi'ja form naa'ja a three; maan'hi'ja form main'ja a year.
14 Haną-ų-ųńąłka to have, to take from; ha from (1st person ha'ni, 2d person ha'ni, 3d person hani'). This verb is used also as one of the possessive pronouns. Ė gi comes in direction towards subject of action (1st person hą'u, ągu, ągū; nąńkē, sitting form of demonstrative pronoun ga that. Here used with force of relative pronoun.
15 man-ąńęgerę earth; demonstrative plural pronoun from ga; idiomatically used as the plural definite article.
16 waję adverb. Probably composed of demonstrative ē and hi'ja there.
17 nińęjęńęgị a piece, a little; nińę is the regular diminutive suffix. Sometimes used to express an indefinite object.
18 wa'gįńęjį plural objective personal pronoun; for; he did; present time. There are four elements of gi that have to be carefully distinguished,—the instrumental prefix, the preposition for or to, the temporal suffix, and the verbal stem.

959
Hoku'rulujega'ja

He looked at his own (to) this earth

and it became; and

nothing appeared upon it

bare it was, and not still it

was this earth turning it was; then "if this way I do

gise'we jina'nikja'ga'a, e'gi "mejegu'nu'ha'gigi"

quiet it will become," he thought so.

Then he made for it that which he sat on; there a grass he took and

he made toward the earth he and then he did he looked upon his

not still it was. . . . Again one did he when he finished the tortoise

him.

Ho-mina'nik-nahka; ho is a nominalizing prefix. Nominalization, however, requires generally not only this prefix or its related wo, but also the suffixing of the definite article ra or some demonstrative, as in this case.

Kwam'ha-hi-re'gi below; hi auxiliary or causative (1st person ha, 2d person ra or , 3d person hi); re'gi is an adverb with a prepositional force not very clearly shown in this case because the various elements in the word have been closely united to form a distinct preposition. In spite of this close union, however, the auxiliary is regularly conjugated for the 1st, 2d, and 3d persons; i.e., kwam'ha-re'gi, kwam'ha-re'gi, kwam'ha-re'gi. The re'gi denotes that it is immediately below the subject of action; ra is a demonstrative pronoun, which seems to denote immediate proximity, and to be stronger than me this (for the first person). But its exact meaning is uncertain.

Ho-nah-ku'ru'-rej; ho-adv. adverb denoting TOWARDS, AWAY FROM SUBJECT OF ACTION; huhi to send (1st person huha', 2d person hura', 3d person huhi'), TO SEND AWAY FROM SUBJECT OF ACTION; for to send TOWARDS SUBJECT OF ACTION, the verb 1st person re'ha', 2d person re'ra', 3d person re'hi', is used.

Ho-ku-ru'hu'ru'-gadj; ho preposition generally meaning in; he pronoun referring to what belongs to one's self, either of one's own person, property, or relations. Its vowel conforms with the following vowel (see § 4); ru'hu're is in this case either the instrumental prefix or part of the stem. If it is the prefix, its original meaning with the mouth has been entirely lost. A similar case is found in the verb duhu'ru'gig, buhu'ru'ru'gig, ru'ru'ru'gig, TO OBTAIN, TO ACCOMPLISH; ga'djig an adverb almost always used as a stop.

Ji'gig an adverb meaning that kind, that way.

Ha-tri-mi'j; ha on; re'p it pushes, it grows, appears; ni negative particle; je present tense.

Au' skin; sa'ra' bare, naked; na'ikka sitting position.

Ha'k a or ke not; gise'we quiet; ni negative particle.

Me this near me; jegu' an adverb meaning thus, indeed; ha causative 1st person; gi'ji conditional.

Ji to come; na'ik from na'ik, which becomes lengthened in the future; -k unique future particle. The simple future particle is ji'a, but to express an indefinite future the particle na' is always suffixed. Without the na' it has the force of a mild imperative. (Cf. also note 43.)

1st person ya'ra', 2d person hir'a'ra', 3d person hir'e to think.

Hi'yu' to do with; gi for.

La's'ud weed, grass; ja' contraction for hi'ja'.

Ru'ra or ru's (1st person dus, 2d person durus, 3d person ru's) to take; a'na'ga, a conjunction connecting closely related sentences.

Man'ga-hu'ce-huhi'ji'ya; as for ra, the r of which changes to a after a nasalization (see note 22).

Ji'gig an adverb meaning thus, indeed; ha causative 1st person; gi'ji conditional.

Ji' to finish and the third person of the causative hi. Both elements of the verb are conjugated. Thus ha'un'ce'na'na, s'un'ce'na'na, 'un'ce'na'na; -gi'ji is used here as a temporal particle.

Kc'itik or kci'gig large species of turtles; kci alone is also found meaning TURTLE; -ya a regular possessive pronounal ending, used with terms of relationship, or for persons to whom respect is to be shown. It is always used in indirect address, somewhat in the sense of or so and so. It is appended to all proper names; for instance, ku'na'ga elder born, etc. But in direct address the -ya is dropped.
hig'jë. 38 Hunubi'mani 40 wogù'zerā 41 wa'gì'gira 42 "Jeja' 43 he called him. Two-legged walkers at the end of his thinking he made. "To end kā'ro'ha'kā'ana 44 ma'na 45 pis'ün 46 se'rekjā'na 47 ke'ço'ngēra. 48 "They are about the earth you make it good you are going to you, tortoise." Jegū'ñ'hi'a'ñ'gani ma'hi'bi'jë 49 hanigijë'gijë. 48 Ma'negi'gigi'ji 50 wona'yirē 49 and after he did a knife to possess he gave On earth when he was wars him. he did the creation not at looked he for him; and again not bogi'ruhi'nuj'jegjë 51 e'sge 52 ji'gigu 53 kuru'ssē 54 ... Hagi 55 he looked for him thus again then he took him back. ... There at c'ī'ra 56 hoikē'wejē. 57 "Hā'ha'na 58 ku'nika, 59 hio'ca'ra ku'nika was're 60 the house went he in. "Say grandmother, my father grandmother work he sent me for I have accomplished; his creation fix it right he sent me for 61

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38 1st person pu'gi, 2d person hi'ragi, 3d person hi'gi, TO CALL.
39 Conversion for hu-nā'p-hi'ma'ni leđo-two-he walks with. As it has no nominalizing prefix, correctly rendered, it ought to read the two-leg-to walk with. It is used here idiomatically as a noun. The verb is 1st person hi'manî, 2d person hi'ma'ni, 3d person hi'ma'ni.
40 co-' is a nominalizing prefix probably composed of wa indefinite pronoun and ho. It is used far less frequently than ho. jejan'ja is a contraction for jejan' to end and ē'ja THERE, with prepositional force.
41 wa'gù'zerā 42 (1st person ha'guw, 2d person ra'gH"i, 3d person guw) to CREATE; the article -ra has the force of a relative pronoun here.
42 1st person ha'kč'ē'ro'ha', 2d person ra'kč'ē'ro'ha', 3d person kč'ē'ro'ha', TO BE READY, TO BE ABOUT: ak or aŋk 3d person singular of suffix denoting WALKING or LYING. (1st person ma'kč'ē, 2d person ha'kč'ē, 3d person -aŋk); -aŋ is a suffix of uncertain meaning that never appears alone, but is always followed by -ma. It is generally suffixed to the elements denoting SITTING and LYING or WALKING. Indeed, I know of no instance where -ma is directly suffixed to the above forms of the verbs, -aŋ being always inserted before it. It must not be confused with -e, from which in actual conversation it can hardly be distinguished. -ma is a suffix denoting general indefinite action.
43 From p'is' good, TO BE GOOD, and i'Hn 2d personsingular of auxiliary 'e (see note 3).
44 From irregular verb, 1st person de, 2d person e'ri', 3d person re, TO GO; e'ri' future; -me a suffix of the same nature as ē, never appearing alone, but always followed by -ma; it is generally suffixed to verbs in the standing form.
45 -ma is the 2d person singular of the possessive pronoun. Used here in a vocative sense. For this reason the regular -ga is omitted.
46 ma'kč'ē is an IRON KNIFE. This term was used to designate the first white people with whom the Indians came in contact.
47 aŋk with prepositional force of WITH, POSSESSING; gi'pi an auxiliary verb (1st person ha'gigi, 2d person ra'gigi, 3d person gi'gi) TO MAKE, with the idea of some force being used in the action.
48 Conversion for ma'-aŋgi'-jë'-gi'jë' earth-the-here-he came-when; -jë' is an adverb here, used in a prepositional sense; for jë see note 4.
49 This means literally SOMETHING TERRIFYING (from nafla'te to be scared).
50 ho'- preposition IN; gi'- preposition THEN. The demonstrative e is occasionally used for the 3d person singular when it is to be expressed. -mi negative particle.
51 mañjë' is an adverb meaning THEREFORE, ON THAT ACCOUNT.
52 Hañjë' reflexive (see note 23).
53 Adverbial expression; hañ in composition often means AT.
54 e' (1st person ha'č'ē, 2d person ra'č'ē, 3d person č'ē) TO LIVE. It is also used as a noun.
55 1st person wa'kč'ē'wē; 2d person horakč'ē'wē; 3d person ho'kč'ē'wē; ho means IN; it is probably gi'for, with the g elided (see § 33). It may, however, be an idiomatic substitution for aŋ, a possessive particle. The verb means he IS GOING TO HIS OWN HOUSE. If it were not his own house, the forms would have been 1st person wa'gikē'wē; 2d person horagikē'wē; 3d person ho'gikē'wē. The stem of the verb is kč'ē'wē.
56 Used in the sense of HALLO, SAY, and often simply to begin a narrative.
57 Grandmother is hio'ca'rotē; but in direct address K'u'nika is used, just as ja'ji' and ma'nī are employed for FATHER and MOTHER.
58 1st person wa'č'ē, 2d person wa'č'ē, 3d person wa'č'ē, TO WORK. The 3d person singular of verbs is at the same time the absolute form, to be translated by our infinitive.
59 kejective personal pronoun 1st person. For gi'gi and -ma see notes 48 and 46.
60 " means participial force.

44577°—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——61
I have accomplished it their life, my uncles my aunts.

The same as myself they will be."

And grandson how did you

make just as you how could you it is not

that way our father indeed he created (them) that is so (but) not he made

it thus could he."— "Grandmother something to them she for not

like it does she is saying that I killed them." He thought. "No, no, she

grandson, not that way ya're wahanina 'nksana, c'uga'no grandson, thinking

our father bodies the falling (to die) he made me eating to fall short

they would make one another because of that, therefore death for them to have he made.

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*va'ak* means MALE HUMAN BEING: *va'ak'k* is generic name for HUMAN BEINGS, and secondarily for INDIANS. (h)oa'ga is the nominalized form of the verb first person a'ga, 2d person ra'ga, 3d person ra, to act, to live.

*hidek's uncle;* waha'ra 1st person plural of possessive pronoun, used for terms of relationship.

*contraction for wa-ya-ka'ra-ki'sge; wa indefinite pronoun; karareflexive-possessive; 1st person yaki'sgi, 2d person hi'raki'sgt, 3d person hiki'sgt.* Seenote 63.

*ja'sgthow: kj{future;-jt interrogative particle. The whole expression has acquired a force in ordinary usage which makes it practically an exclamation.

*je'gat ha'ning that is not my way; ha'ning is a possessive pronoun.

*gi's he created; ge a causal suffix, because, for that reason.*

*An expression similar to je'gati'ho'hak'anyag; gi has adverbial force.

*p'ii to be good is often used as an auxiliary verb with the force of to be able, can.*

*This means she must be related to them; wa plural objective personal pronoun 3d person -a causative. It must not be forgotten that the causative is really an auxiliary verb and is often used as such, -a'na temporal suffix implying a probability that is almost a certainty. The other suffix denoting probability, -a'na, has no element of certainty in its meaning.*

*we she says changes to we after a negative. The verb is irregular, 1st person ha'ka, 2d person hite', 3d person he. The h of he is always omitted. The sa preceding a indicates that the subject of the principal verb and of e is the same. If they had been different, the e would have remained unchanged; na'ka'ni is a contraction for na'ka'ni, the suffix denoting sitting position and the suffix denoting probability. K'unika does not actually say the above words, but the supposition seems so true to Whist'ga, that it almost amounts to a certainty, and therefore -a'na is used instead of -a'na.*

*le' dead; wa them; hagi'gi I did (see note 48); -ro that (see note 46); 1st person fa'ka, 2d person t'era, 3d person f'chi, to kill.*

The short e is changed to d on account of emphasis.

*See notes 74 and 43.

*1st person ha'kow'ga, 2d person ha'ra'kow'ga, 3d person ha'kow'ga, to fall.*

*his me; gi's to make; la'na (see note 43).*

*1st person du'ce, 2d person ku'ru'd, 3d person ru'd, to eat. The wa is indefinite.*

*1st person hi'kiri'ji'a, 2d person hi'kiri'ji'a, 3d person kiri'ji'a.*

*With the preceding verb. E'i's auxiliary verb (from 1st person ha'k'us, 2d person ra'k'us, 3d person k'us, to do, to make, be, f'ce, f'fe, f'fe, suffix used to indicate 3rd person plural of almost all verbs. It is really an auxiliary verb. For na' see note 48. When suffixed to future, it makes the latter more indefinite.*

*ge'fni or heg'fni conjunction. The latter form is rarely found.

*fa'many, really an adverb; wahit' he made them; ge causal suffix.*
The earth crowded they would not make one. He made a place to die.

And the hare not like it she does this something, to them she is taking.

For-ge'jini see note 82.

Verb 1st person rai'p'in, 2d person rai'p'i, 3d person rai'p'i. The force of gi in verbs elide it in the first and second persons is obscure, although it is generally the instrumental prefix. In this case it is the gi, meaning for, to; it is PLEASING TO ME. ni negative particle; ka'jA, contracted for -nai-ka'jA (see notes 74 and 22).

The verb is found only in the reflexive form, 1st person wa'kara'fik, 2d person wa'ra'ka'fik, 3d person wa'kara'fik. -k is a glide.

- Conjunction, meaning in spite of, notwithstanding. -ji, concessive conjunction meaning if; -gi'ji is often used with the same force.

The verb is an exclamation employed by women (see note 115); ma'ja, a year, time. -ji, objective personal pronoun 1st personsingular; ko'nAfik stem of verb to follow; nihe'nihe, 3d person nihe'. It must not be confused with nihe', which is not conjugated and appears as a suffix with the meaning of had; -je, they do; for ne'nAn seenote 43. wa-niobjective personal pronoun 2d personsingular. The stem appears either as -nak or nak (h)amike (see note 101).

- Adverb. The ending -aj would seem to indicate that it is really the imperative form of a verb.

- Imperative form (see note 100); we indefinite pronoun.

From [nai-] MAN, and [nai-] to have, to possess (see note 14).
As our father came to consciousness, he thought of the (substance) he was sitting on. His tears flowed and he cried, (but not long did he think of it). He saw nothing. Indeed, nothing was there anywhere. He took something of the substance he was sitting on, and made a little piece of earth for them (our ancestors), and from the place on which he sat (he) cast it down below. Then he looked at what he had made, and he saw that it had become very similar to our earth. But nothing grew upon it; bare it was, and not quiet, but revolving. "How shall I make it become quiet?" he (Earth-Maker) thought. Then (from what he was sitting on) he took some grass and cast it toward the earth; and he looked upon what he had made, but it was not quiet.
. . . Again he made a man; and when he had finished him, he called him Tortoise. At the conclusion of his thinking (i.e., when he had come to consciousness) he had made the two-legged walkers (human beings). (Then he spoke to him thus: "The evil spirits) are about to destroy (my creation), and you, Tortoise, are being sent to bring order into earthly things again." Then (Earth-Maker) gave him a knife. When he came on earth, he began to make war, and did not look after the creation (of Earth-Maker); indeed, he did not look after it; so (Earth-Maker) took him back. . . . There he (the Hare) went into the house.

"Say, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished; his creation I have fixed for him, and (all that I was sent out for) I have accomplished. The lives of my uncles and my aunts (human beings) will be like mine (i.e., immortal)." (Then the grandmother answered,) "Grandson, how did you make the lives of your uncles and your aunts like your own, for how could you do something in a way our father had not (intended) it to be? He could not create them thus."—"My grandmother must be related to them (those I have killed); she does not like what I have done, for she is saying that I killed them (the evil spirits)." The Hare thought to himself. "No, grandson, I am not thinking of that, I am saying that our father made death, so that there should not be a dearth of food on earth for all, so death he made to prevent their overcrowding each other. He also made a spirit-world (in which they were to live after death)."

But the Hare did not like what she said. "Surely," he thought to himself, "grandmother (does not like it); she must be related to the (evil spirits), for she is taking their part."—"No, no, grandson, it is not so; but as you have been sore at heart for a long time, (to appease you) your uncles and aunts will obtain a sufficient number of years, and they will attain to old age." (Thus she spoke:) "Now, grandson, stand up, (you) they will follow me forever, and I shall follow you forever; so try, grandson, to do (what I tell you) with all your power; and (remember) that you are a man. Do not look back after you have started." Then they started to go around (this earth). "Do not look back," she said. (Thought the Hare,) "(I wonder) why she said it!" And then he turned just the least little bit to the left; and as he looked back toward the place from which he had started, everything caved in (instantaneously). "Oh, my! oh, my!" (exclaimed the grandmother), "grandson, a man you are, but I thought you were a great man, so I greatly encouraged you. Now, grandson, even (if I wished to), I could not prevent death." This, it is said, she meant. Around the earth they went to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth); that way they went, it is said.
ESKIMO

BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER
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§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Eskimo language is spoken by hardly forty thousand individuals, who live in small groups on the northernmost shores of America, from Alaska to East Greenland. Their territory extends south of Bering sea and includes the easternmost point of Asia. Since the main groups have been separated for at least six hundred years, more likely for a thousand years or longer, it is but natural that their language should have split up into a number of dialects. It becomes evident, from a comparison of these widespread dialects as recorded by different authorities, that their differentiation has developed largely through phonetic and sematological changes, and only to a slight degree through intercourse with Indians. The dialectic differences are important, although not so extensive as to obscure the identity of the Eskimo languages of Alaska and of Greenland. We even find dialectic deviations from fiord to fiord. Nowadays an East Greenlander does not understand a West Greenlander until both have become accustomed to each other's speech; and the Greenlander has to learn the peculiarities of the dialect of the Baffin-land Eskimo to carry on conversation with him. The dialects of western Alaska differ fundamentally from the Greenland dialects, about as much as English and German or English and French differ from each other.

Owing to lack of material, it is at present difficult to draw safe conclusions concerning the historical relations of these dialects as regards

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1 The ancestors of the present Central and South Greenlanders (the Kalaallit tribe) appeared in Greenland in the fourteenth century, but they must have separated more than a hundred years before that time from their fellow-tribes on the opposite shores of Davis strait (G. Storm, Monumenta historica Norvegia, 76, 205; Thalbitzer III, 111-112, and IV, 208).

2 H. Rink, in his "Eskimo Tribes" (Meddeleker om Grønland, XI, 1887-91), was the first to undertake such a comparison; Thalbitzer, I, 181-269 (Phonetic differentiations in the Eskimo dialects).

3 This was tested by a Greenlander who had an opportunity to meet with some Eskimos of Baffin land. See Atuagagdliaalit (the Greenlandic periodical), No. 1, pp. 2-3 (Godthaab, 1861).
their common origin. All that can be done is to indicate some of the main lines of dialectic differentiation.

It is not known how many dialects there are. In Greenland at least five may be distinguished, three of which (those of Upernavik, Disco bay, and Ammassalik) have been closely examined by me. In this sketch I shall describe the dialect of the largest two fiords of West Greenland,—that of Disco bay (69°-70° N. lat.) and of the neighboring Oommannaq fiord (70°-71° N.). Of course this does not imply that that dialect is more typical than any of the others.

Notwithstanding the fact that the dialects of western Alaska differ essentially from the Eskimo dialect which is spoken at the mouth of the Mackenzie river, yet these dialects have certain peculiarities in common which show that genetically they belong together. We may speak of a western Eskimo group of dialects, comprising the many different dialects of Kadiak island, Bristol bay, the mouth of the Yukon river, Norton sound and Kotzebue sound, Point Barrow, and the mouth of the Mackenzie river, as opposed to the eastern Eskimo group of dialects; namely, those of Labrador, Baffin land, and Greenland. Within the eastern Eskimo branch I have presumed a closer relationship to exist between the dialects of Labrador and Central or South Greenland (from about 63° to 66° N. lat. on the western coast) than between those of the other parts of the group. The latter comprises the four northernmost dialects, which are now widespread, but which perhaps less than a thousand years ago were still a unit,—the dialects of Baffin land, Smith sound, Upernavik, and Ammassalik (East Greenland). It is probable that these Eskimo reached the shores of Davis strait at a later period than the Labrador and South Greenland Eskimo. Finally, I shall only touch on the group of dialects that are spoken on the western shores of Hudson bay, Southampton island, Melville and Boothia peninsulas, and in part of Baffin land,—properly the central dialects. It remains undecided as yet with which group these dialects must be classed.

It is fitting to add here that I feel indebted to Professor Franz Boas for his kind and valuable assistance in the revision and finishing of this grammar.

1 The Danish Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland arranged for two investigations of the Eskimo language in Greenland,—first, in 1900-01, in West Greenland (see Meddelelser om Grønland, XXXI, Copenhagen, 1904), and again, in 1905-06, in East Greenland.

2 Thalbitzer, I, 237, 260, 262-265.

§ 1
The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river, respectively.

Authorities have been quoted as follows:


**S. Kleinschmidt**: I. Grammatik der grönlandischen Sprache. Berlin 1851.


**H. Rink**: I. The Eskimo Language, etc. (The Eskimo Tribes I, in Meddelelser om Grønland XI). Copenhagen 1887.
§ 2. Sounds and Sound-Symbols

Following is the system of sounds, or phones, of the dialect of Disco bay, West Greenland, symbolized by phonetic symbols:

**CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stopped consonants</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>q</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td><em>ŋ</em></td>
<td><em>ŋ</em>[n]</td>
<td>voiced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open consonants (fricatives)</th>
<th><em>f</em></th>
<th><em>s</em></th>
<th><em>s</em></th>
<th><em>x</em></th>
<th><em>r</em>[s]</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th><em>i</em></th>
<th><em>u</em></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed vowels</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td><em>u</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-closed</td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-open</td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
<td><em>ë</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Open | *a* |   |   |   |   |   |   |

§ 2

PHONETICS (§§ 2–12)
The majority of the symbols here used are in accordance with the signs employed by the Association phonétique internationale. I prefer the simple \( r \) instead of the \( r \), and \( w \) instead of \( b \) of the Association, that the Eskimo words may not look more difficult than necessary; nevertheless, \( r \) and \( w \) in the Eskimo language mean something very different from the English \( r \) and \( w \). The same is true of my signs for the \( s \)- and \( a \)- sounds, and, of course, of all the uvularized vowels, all of which only in part agree with sounds of any other language that I know of.

: indicates length of the preceding vowel or consonant; e.g., \( a: = aa \) or \( a' \); \( m: = mm \) or \( m'. \)

I prefer in ordinary orthography to double the sign to indicate length of sound: thus, \( aa, mm, ss \), etc. A single consonant is always to be considered short.

' stands before the stressed syllable of a word. Degrees of stress are indicated thus: '\( a \), strong stress; "\( a \), very strong stress; ',\( a \) or \( a \), weak stress.

\( \sim \) indicates nasalization: \( \ddot{a}, \ddot{q}, \ddot{r} \).

\( \breve{a}, \breve{a} \) mean glides of the preceding vowel: \( a' \) [\( a\ddot{a} \)] or [\( a\ddot{u} \)], \( a\ddot{u} \) [\( a' \)] or [\( a\ddot{u} \)].

\( \ddot{w}, \ddot{r} \) mean labialization and uvularization.

Following is a detailed description of these sounds:

\( a \) uvularized \( a \), or followed by a uvular, in my ordinary transcription \( ar \), or pronounced with the soft palate (the velum) strained and lifted. It is like \( a \) in English \( f a r \), followed by the Eskimo fricative \( r \) (or \( q \)); see under \( r \).

\( ar\ddot{sa}q \) a ball

\( a \) as in French \( ãme, patte \) (rarely like French \( pâte, pas, \) or English \( father \)).

\( ar\ddot{naa} \) his woman, mother

\( a\ddot{taa} \) beneath it

\( a \) about as in \( man \); a short \( a \) modified by closed consonants and point-consonants (or dentals) (Sweet, "A Primer of Phonetics," §§ 50 and 190).

\( qil\ddot{a}k \) sky

\( n\ddot{a}nuq \) bear

\( pim\ddot{m\ddot{a}}t \) as he came

---

1 Le Maître phonétique, 1906: Exposé des principes de l'Association phonétique internationale.—


3 In my ordinary transcription I have tried to avoid diacritical marks.
meergat children
aappat his companion
\( \ddot{a} \) about like the vowels in French lait, German denn; between \( e \) and \( \ddot{a} \) of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, “Petite phonétique comparée,” §§ 241 and 248; Jespersen, “Lehrbuch der Phonetik,” §§ 152 and 156), rather wide than narrow.

arnat [arn:ät] plural of arnaq woman
'natt'eq a seal
kissi'anne but

c stopped front palatal, voiceless (Passy, l. c., § 187; Jespersen, l. c., §§ 118 and 168); in ordinary transcription tj or kj. Common in some Eskimo dialects; for instance, Mackenzie river, tchipimat [citimat] four; also in the dialects of Upernavik and Ammassalik in Greenland. (Thalbitzer I, 90, 190–191, 209, 221, 259.) \( \dddot{a} \) is the same sound very far forward.

\( \dot{a} \) as in German ich.

ixxia [ip:ia] his throat (see under \( r \)).

\( \ddot{o} \) see after \( o \).

\( e \) more closed than \( e \) in French été, and a little more forward. When it is used long, it sounds about like a long \( i \).

qaane over it, on its surface
neesaq [ni:saq] a porpoise

The “European” \( e \), as in German see, may, however, occasionally be heard. Notice the different pronunciations of my ee pure, and eer which I use in my ordinary transcription for eer. The first sound is about like a long \( i \); the latter, rather like \( \ddot{a} \).

\( e = e \), uvularized \( \ddot{a} \) (cf. \( a \) and \( r \)).

erneq [ern:eq] son
meercaq [me:raq] child, plural meergat [me:rgat]

\( e = e \) uvularized, farther back than \( e \), and sometimes like \( \ddot{a} \) (Thalbitzer I, 107, 109) on account of the rounding of the innermost part of the mouth.

peerpoq [pe:rpoq] it is free, it is off

\( \ddot{a} = \ddot{o} \) uvularized, short mid-vowel.

\( f \) bilabial fricative.

sarfaaq [sarF:aq] a current (Central and South Greenland, Labrador)
\( g \) is a \( j \) articulated as deep in the mouth as a \( k \), voiced. It is usually symbolized as \( g \) in North German regen, bogen, and in Danish

§ 2
DAGE, VIGE. Central and South Greenland, East Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river. q occurs rarely in the northern part of West Greenland instead of y. The corresponding voiceless sound is x or partly g.

iga (South Greenland), iya (North Greenland), a pot

j a high narrow vowel (Bell and Sweet), as in French fini.

ittaq many years ago
illin thou

r between i and e, especially before n, m, y.

inaa [ma:] its (the bird's) nest

j like y in yard, or like j in German ja.

ajaa his aunt

nujoq smoke

q, r, r, and n are uvular consonants, so called because they are articulated at the uvula. The posterior part of the velum and the root of the tongue are drawn back and up toward the back of the fauces, whereby the space in that part of the mouth seems to become larger. q is a stopped voiceless consonant (tenuis), probably identical with the qof of the Arab (Passy, l.c., § 189).

qaggaq [qag:aq] mountain
arqa [aq:u] his name
erqaane [eqa:ne] in the vicinity

k as in French cas without aspiration; only before i, e, and u, it may be heard aspirated.

kaapog he is hungry (pronounce k like voiceless g), but
keeawa it bit him (more like [kpe:wa:]).

l and L are articulated nearly alike, bilaterally, with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. They have the latter feature in common with the Eskimo t and n. The voiceless l [L] is of rare occurrence in Indo-European languages, but it is well known from many other languages both in America (lh of the Nahuatl, l of Kwakiutl) and in Africa.

ila certainly
ulo woman's knife
illo house
arluk grampus

l, see l.

§ 2
a sort of l, with the tip of the tongue bent up toward the alveolar arch, in some districts assuming the character of an untrilled palatal r, like the English r in ARAB, but with a firmer pressure against the palate; for instance, in the southern part of Egedesminde district (Disco bay) awpaarlartoq instead of awpalaarartoq red.

m as in English, but it is often long in Eskimo.

ammissiit [am:as:ät] capelans.

n articulated like t and l, at the lower edge of the upper teeth or at their posterior surface.

y like ng in sing, singer (notice that the combination yg does not occur in Eskimo). Frequently this sound is so loosely articulated that it may be described rather as a nasalized g [g] fricative.

ayakkoq shaman
eya pot
ayut man, father
paniya or paniŋa my daughter

x see q.

o is a little more closed than the French o in rose.

sukko implement (used for hunting)

anore wind

oo is more like a long u (q.v.); but oor means, in ordinary transcription, uvularized o [o] or [o], which is more open.

oomeq [u:neq] a burn

o uvularized o rather closed like o in so, followed by the Eskimo fricative r or q.

gooy urine

ornippua he comes to him

o uvularized o, more open, like o in English more, or like a in all, followed by r or q. See o, o.

orsoy [o:ss:oy] blubber

p as in French pas without aspiration.

panu mouth of a river

q uvular nasal = x (Passy, l. c., § 196).

ermit (dialect of Disco bay) lakes=ermit, singular imeq fresh water; in Oommannaq fiord also intervocalic: anose=anogé wind, instead of anore.
r uvular fricative, voiced, is related to q as g is to k and v to y; usually articulated as far back in the mouth as q. It is quite another sound than the English r, but it has some resemblance to the French and German back -r, when untrilled, and especially to the Danish r, produced by friction right by the back of the fauces (Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," § 141; Passy, l. c., § 222). It is the r of the Association phonétique internationale. Its articulation is especially tense when it is followed by q; e. g.,

sarqaq the sunny side
aarqat gloves

rq is nothing but a modified form of long q [qː]; other combinations with r in Greenlandic are rt, rs, rf, rz, ry, rm, rn, ry, rn. A vowel preceding one of these sound-groups is always strongly uvularized. The r modifies the character of the vowel, and is anticipated in its pronunciation. The two sounds—the vowel + the r—in reality make up a phonetic whole (Thalbitzer I, pp. 110 and 152), and the following consonant is nearly always geminated (long). It might be symbolized thus:

arqa his name = [aɹqa] [aqːa]
corssaq blubber = [ɔɹsaq]
cernaq son = [ɛrnːeq]

When the r stands alone between vowels, its place of articulation is often somewhat advanced, and the friction not very tense; e. g., in nerivnoq eats. In some districts (for instance, in the Oommannaq fiord) the outgoing air is apt to escape through the nose-passage, causing r to be nasalized, or [ɬ]; this nasal is related to ɬ [ŋ] as ɬ to ʃ or as ɬ to m.

nerivnoq (Oommannaq) eats

ʀ indicates a voiceless r, short or long, = ʃ of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 222). It is something like ch in German (Swiss) bach.

marraq clay
corropaa washes it

ʃ see after l.

s is usually voiceless. In rs it resembles the English s, only that the articulation is a little looser and the aspiration stronger. In ts the articulation of s is tenser and it is farther forward than
the English sound, because the t is nearly interdental. Therefore there is a difference between the s-sounds in arssaq a ball, and nätseq a seal. In other words, an s [s] is heard, which, although not quite identical with the s or f of the phoneticians, as in English she, bears some resemblance to it; e. g.,

*aaseet* [aːseːt] (West Greenland) of course

*aawsaq* [aːwsaq] summer

*saa* [saː] its front

In the articulation of this s, not only the blade, but the whole anterior portion of the surface, is raised; the blade of the tongue being a little retracted and formed like a shallow groove, through which the air escapes without any strong pressure.

_t_ as in French, without aspiration, especially before the vowels _a_ and _o_.

*taawna* [tɑːwna] that there

*tooq* [tɔːq] a mattock

But before _i, e, u_, often aspirated, especially when the _t_ is long, as in the imperative plural _-tte_ in Northwest Greenland (= _-tte_ in Central and South Greenland). It might be symbolized as _r_.

*areq* a name

*nareq* the floor or bottom

*tikeq* forefinger

*arerpq* he goes down

*tärrit* the lakes (nearly like [tätsit])

The articulation of _t_ is very different from that of the English _t_, the tip of the tongue being stretched against the lower edge of the upper teeth. The Eskimo _t_, like the _n, l, l_, are alike in this respect, being sometimes nearly interdental.

_t_ see _t_; _j_ see _c_.

_u_ like _ou_ in French _jour, rouge_.

*uffa* there!

*una* he (she, it)

_v_ between _o_ and _u_ stands for long _u [uː]_; e. g.,

*kook* [kvʊk] river

*oommannaoq* [ʊmːɑnːɑq] common place-name

_w_ is the voiced sound that corresponds to _r_, articulated alike, the lips hardly touching each other; but in West Greenland often so that the under lip is slightly drawn toward the upper front teeth. It differs from the English _w_ in that the lips are

§ 2
not rounded and there is no raising of the back surface of the tongue. \( \omega \) is the \([\omega]\) of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 210; Jespersen, l. c., § 125).

*aawaa* the back part of the head

*sawik* iron, knife

\( \mathrm{r} \) the \( \rho \) of the Association phonétique internationale, see under c. It stands also for the \( \mathrm{x} \) of the Association (Passy, l. c., § 221; Thalbitzer I, 86–87).

*axxertoq* (Central and South Greenland, Labrador) approaching \( \ddot{u} \) between \([u] \) and \([y]\) in French jour and rue, German früh; mid-vowel with slight lip-rounding. Occurs especially between \( s, \, n, \, j, \, t \); for example:

\( \mathrm{toyoso}-\mathrm{nniippoq} \) it is sweet (to taste)

\( \mathrm{too}-\mathrm{ssuit} \) a beam of the house

\( \mathrm{nuju}-\mathrm{lttoy} \) tame, not shy

\( \mathrm{itui}-\mathrm{ppoq} \) goes across

\( \mathrm{r} \) is related to \( \ddot{u} \) as \( i \) to \( i \), \( v \) to \( u \).

\( \text{suna} \, [\text{syra}] \) what

\( \text{tuttut} \, [\text{ttrtrt}] \) reindeer

\( z \) voiced \( s \), occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eskimo dialects (Thalbitzer I, 209, 215).

### § 3. Accent and Quantity

In the Eskimo language two or more long sounds may follow each other in a word without being shortened. Every sound of the language, whether consonant or vowel, may be short or long (geminated), apart from the fact that the voiced consonants, in case they are lengthened, become unvoiced (the nasals only excepted). The combination of the sounds being thus entirely independent of their quantity, four types of combinations are possible, and do occur (the same, e. g., as in Finnish):

1. Short vowel + short consonant, as in *nuna land*.
2. Short vowel + long consonant, as in *manna this*.
3. Long vowel + short consonant, as in *moane here*.
4. Long vowel + long consonant, as in *maanna now*.
The dynamic accent in a great many words is uncertain or only slightly differentiated. Examples are:

- *pania* his daughter
- *nulia* his wife
- *awoya* toward the north
- *unnummat* as it became night
- *ornippaa* he comes to him

There is always a marked stress on the vowel before a long (geminated) consonant, or on a long vowel. Accordingly, all the syllables of the words just mentioned—*unnummat, ornippaa*—are stressed. Besides, the final syllable has a tendency to attract the stress to itself: *ti'keq, panioq, seqineq, ig'ut'qaq, a'niaq'me*. Words of irregular form prove, if distinctly pronounced, to be very irregularly stressed; or the stress undulates through the syllables in varying degrees of strength, according to the psychic importance of each syllable or according to the traditional rhythmical formation of the language. But even the longest Eskimo word, in the flow of conversation, is kept together as a whole, or stamped as a unit, by means of a true word-stress concentrated on a single syllable, which in most instances will be found to be near the end of the word. In most words consisting of more than three syllables we may distinguish at least three, or even four, degrees of stress (1, weak; 2-3, middle; 4, strong); e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stress Level</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 2 1 1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 3 1 2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 2 3 1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 1 3 2 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to their stress, we may distinguish between two kinds of primary words or word-stems,—oxytone, having strong stress on the last syllable; and paroxytone, having stress on the penultima.

**Oxytone:**
- *tu'peq* tent
- *a'teq* name
- *a'put* man, male
- *ti'pik* smell
- *sa'vik* knife

**Paroxytone:**
- *'orsoq* blubber
- *'illu* house
- *'ernejq* son

§ 3
It is noteworthy that in the development of the language, in a great many words a shift of stress has taken place, whereby oxytones have become paroxytones, or vice versa. This is shown by many inflected forms and derivations in the Greenland dialect here mentioned, and also by comparison of other dialects.

Greenland a’meg a skin > plural a’ammit skins
Greenland ma’lik a wave > verbal ma’lerpoq the sea is rolling
Greenland ’illit thou < casus obl. ’linnut to thee
Greenland a’teq a name = Alaska ’atly (Barnum 325)
Greenland aku’taq bastard = Alaska a’kutak mixed dish
Greenland il’mut yes, truly = Alaska il’mun (ibid. 336)
Greenland ’tallinnat five = Alaska ta’lemuun (ibid. 367)
Greenland a’tarrseq one = Labrador attausseq = ’attnu seq?
Labrador ’ittamut four = Alaska sla’amun (ibid. 365)
Greenland nå’teq bottom, floor = Alaska nå’trok (ibid. 355) boot-sole
Greenland ’uwLLume to-day = Caribou lake1 upelumi to-day
Greenland qallit the uppermost = Caribou lake kpalépit (superposes)
Greenland ’axerpoq ap proaches = Alaska aqqe’irtöa [ak:’eirt:oa] (Barnum 319) I draw near, come in view

§4. Changes of Palatal Consonants

The following instances show that shifting of consonants occur partly in connection with the shifting of stress and partly without such.

If the final syllable of a word that ends in q or k becomes penultima by the addition of a suffix, the syllable loses its stress and the consonant may assume an intervocalic position. In these cases the consonant becomes voiced, q shifting to the voiced r, and k to g, which, in turn, changes to y. The same changes of these sounds sometimes occur when the part added is not a suffix, but an independent word.

q>r. q becomes r in the plurals of many nouns; e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti’keq</td>
<td>tikerit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’nerley</td>
<td>nerlerit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mackenzie river, Petitot Vocabulaire, p. 7.
For further examples see Thalbitzer I, 245.

Toq'noq how; toq'rippa how is it; toq'runna how is that; toqor-
d'qarqap how did he say

'ern'neg son; 'ernme'ra (<ernneg+a) his son
s00q why; 'soorunna yes, certainly (so0q uma why do you ask)
oqarqap (West Greenland) he says; orarqap (East Greenland);
orarqap (Mackenzie river, Petitot, p. xxxiv, oqakluartuark)
seqineq (West Greenland); seriniktenqa (Baffin land, Boas I)
the sun
neqi (West Greenland) meat; nerivoqqa (West Greenland) I eat
(cf. Southwest Alaska nqapha I eat)

$g > r$. The shift $g > r$ in the Mackenzie-river dialect is doubtful; e.g.,
in uqagut (Southwest Greenland) we, uwarut (?) (Mackenzie
inger, Petitot) we.

$g > [u]$. This shift is found in the terminal sound of many words
of the Baffin-land, Smith-sound, and Ammassalik dialects, which
have their terminal sounds nasalized, whereas the other dialects
keep the oral tenuis $g$. Also the dialect of the Mackenzie-river
Eskimo bears evidence of a similar tendency, as shown by some
few examples of it; e.g.,

Smith sound tulung [tuluun] raven Central Greenland tulung
Baffin land sirinirn [serinii] the sun Central Greenland seqineq
Mackenzie river aten [aten] a name Central Greenland ateq

$r > q$. This shift takes place in the dialect of Oommannaq fiord in
North Greenland in those words in which $r$ occurs between
vowels; e.g., in—

Oommannaq Fiord

neq'ivoq
anoq

Disco Bay

nerivoq he eats
anore wind

$\kappa > q$. This shift appears in a comparison of some of the possessive
and verbal endings of the Greenland and Southwest Alaska
dialects.

Southwest Alaska

-kã my, I
atkakã atórakã (Barnum 312),
my coat I put it on (atkuk native fur coat)
-kü, -kë it, them
atorlakã (Barnum 312)
atoryakomakã (ibid.)
atorjluke (ibid.)

South Greenland

-ga my, I
kapitaga atoriga my coat I
who use it (kapitak a kayaking coat)
-gø, -git it, them
atorlugo he using it
atorjino do not use it
atorlugo he using them

§ 4
\( k > y \), probably through an intermediate \( g \), is a shift well known in the Greenland grammar; e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kihik boundary</td>
<td>killit</td>
<td>killiqa its boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooilik loon</td>
<td>toollit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assik picture, portrait</td>
<td>assiyit</td>
<td>assiya his portrait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older \( g \), from which the \( y \) developed, may be traced in the long vowel in the plural of such words as mannik eeg, plural man-neet, probably < manniqit (Thalbitzer II, 250).

The shifting from terminal \( k \) to \( y \) is known in many other dialects. \( y \) appears as a final sound in nearly all the dialects, excepting those of West Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river; but most of the dialects that present forms with \( y \) abound in examples of other words ending in \( k \). We get the impression that either the speakers' own pronunciation must have been somewhat fluctuating on this point, or else the recorders must have vacillated in their interpretation of the sounds heard.

Baffinland saviy; West Greenland and Labrador savi'k knife
Baffinland inuy; West Greenland and Labrador inuk man, etc.;
\((y \text{ passim in Baffin land})\); but also—
Baffinland iyaluk (Boas IV, 47); West Greenland and Labrador egaluk salmon
Baffinland qarodluk (ibid. III, 127); West Greenland and Labrador qaqulluk fulmar
Baffinland kouk (ibid. IV); West Greenland and Labrador hokk river

(The differences in pronunciation in Baffin land are individual differences. In 1884 the old men from the east coast of Cumberland sound used throughout the oral stops; while women and young men used nasalized consonants. It seems that the nasalization is in this case due to an extension of the characteristic pronunciation of women to the male sex.—F. B.)

Smith Sound gopanung [gopanuy] Greenland gupalu (arsu) sparrow
Smith Sound marluy or mappyu Greenland marluk two
Point Barrow madrivin [-riy] Greenland marloruk twins
Point Barrow ujaruñ [ujaruñ] Greenland ujaruk a stone
Point Barrow -viñ [viñ] Greenland -vik place (suffix)

\( \S 4 \)
For examples of forms ending in $y$ from Southwest Alaska, see Barnum, “Grammatical Fundamentals,” the stories passim, e.g., p. 286; but in his vocabulary, and elsewhere in his grammar, the words end in $k$ or $q$.

$g > y$. In most of the dialects the fricative $g$ is frequently used; but in the northeastern group it is regularly replaced by $y$, sometimes by $\tilde{y}$. $g$ is found also in Labrador and in the southern part of West Greenland, between Holstensborg and Julianehåb ($61^\circ$–$66^\circ$ N. lat.); whereas north of Holstensborg the same words are pronounced with $y$ instead of $g$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern West Greenland</th>
<th>North of Holstensborg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ajagaq</td>
<td>ajayaq cup and ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naalagaq</td>
<td>naalayaq master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igippaa</td>
<td>igippaa he throws it away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iga</td>
<td>iya (inya) kettle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paniga</td>
<td>paniga my daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaquito</td>
<td>qaquito when (in the future)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. the Labrador forms ajagaq, iga, panniga, qaquito, toogoq walrus-tusk.

Another example is:

South Greenland oqarfigaa he says to him; North Greenland oqarfiyaa (Upernavik oqarpiyaa; Ammassalik oqarpewaa)

$g$ and $w$ shift in the Labrador and North Greenland forms; e.g., in—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador (and South Greenland)</th>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tulugaq</td>
<td>tuluwawq raven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oogaq</td>
<td>oowawq codfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inugaq</td>
<td>inuwak toe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interchange between $g$ and $y$ in uwaya 1, and uwayut we, may also be appropriately mentioned here. It suggests that -$ya$ in uwaya may have originated from -$qa$, although at a very early period, since the Southwest Alaska form of this word is huëngå (Barnum 68); i.e., u'weya.

§ 4
§ 5. Changes of Dental and Labial Consonants

$t > n$ as terminal sounds: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/Area</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Greenland</td>
<td>$i!p!u!t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baffin land</td>
<td>$i!p!u!n!,o!a!r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith sound</td>
<td>$a!p!u!n!,s!n!o!w!,o!n!,t!h!,t!h!e!,g!r!o!u!n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith sound</td>
<td>$q!u!l!i!n!,t!e!n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Alaska</td>
<td>$q!a!m!o!t!i!n!,,(T!h!a!l!b!i!t!z!e!r!,1,,225)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackenzie river</td>
<td>$a!y!u!n!,m!a!n$, male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$n$ takes the place of $t$ at the end of words in all the dialects except those of Labrador and West Greenland, but including that of Smith sound, though terminal $t$ may occur sporadically in most of the dialects. The $n$ may have originated through the nasalization of $t$, corresponding with the shifting of $k > y$.

We see this shift in the Northwest Greenland dialect, too, in some instances:

- $kikkun\,u\!k\!o\,$ who are they; $s\!o\!o\!n\,u\!'k\!o\,$ what are they. Kikkun and soon are special forms of kikkut and soot (in the singular kina who, and suna what).

The same shift may have stamped the declension of nouns in the plural, since the suffixes in the oblique cases are added to a nominal plural stem ending in $n$ instead of $t$; e. g.,

- $qag\!q\!a\!t\,$ mountains; $qag\!q\!a\!n\!u\!t\,$ to the mountains; $qag\!q\!a\!n\!e\,$ in, on, the mountains (but in the singular $qag\!q\!a\!m\!u\!t\!$, $qag\!q\!a\!m\!e\!$).

$p > m$. This shift is of rare occurrence now in Greenland. It may occasionally take place in the relative (or genitive) juxtaposition of two nouns, the latter of which begins with a vowel (cf. Egede, “Grammar,” p. 2, “$B$ finale mutatur in $M$, sequente voce a vocali incipiente” [this $B$ means $p$]; e. g.,

- $\!i\!l\!l\!u\!m\,$ isERTARFIA the entrance of the house (instead of $\!i\!l\!l\!u\!p$)

The same shift is attested by records from other dialects; e. g.,

- West Greenland $a\!m\!p\,$ yes; Ammassalik $a\!a\!m\!\,o\!r\!\,e\!e\!m\!\,i\!n\!\,a\!a\!m\!i\!l\!a\!$, $e\!e\!m\!i\!l\!a\,$ yes, certainly; Cape York $e\!e\!m\!\,i\!l\!a\!\,$ yes

[In Baffin land the old pronunciation of men was $t$; that of women and of younger men is $n$ (see p. 985).—F. B.]

1 In some irregular plurals these suffixes, -nut-me, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e. g.,

- kikkut who, plural kikkunnut (<kikkutnut) to whom, kikkune (<kikkutu) in, at whom (plural).

The above-mentioned regular endings may have been formed after the analogy of these “irregular” ones.
Southwest Alaska am'ín kolk'ānun [amín gol ... ] above the door (Nelson, tale from St. Michael, Norton sound, in "Eskimo of Bering Strait"); cf. Greenland amnim qulaanet above the skin

Southwest Alaska nunam of the land (Barnum, 9), cf. Greenland nunap

[In Baffin land both p and m occur in the same way as r̃g, r̃y, t̃n, are found. See p. 985, and note 1, p. 987.—F. B.]

\[m > w\] or \[m > w\]

- Labrador imnaq
- Baffin land taimna
- Baffin land imna (Boas II, 348)
- Baffin land uvammule but to me (ibid.)
- North Alaska ūmnun [uamnun] (Ray 56)
- Southwest Alaska kümlök
- Southwest Alaska pëkâmkin mine thou art

\[p (f) > w\] or \[p > w\]

- Greenland (Egede, 1750) ibrít
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) illipse
- Labrador (nowadays) igrít
- Labrador igrít
- Baffin land igrít
- Mackenzie river tapkoal
- North Alaska kabln
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) kablo
- Greenland (Egede, 1750) kablnak
- Mackenzie river krappti
- Southwest Alaska kafchin [qarcein]
- Southwest Alaska 'aprùn main trail, regular passage
- Mackenzie river (coast of Hudson bay) nippiakiak

§ 6. Shifting of Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives

It is a characteristic feature of the Greenland language, and probably of the Eskimo language as a whole, that no voiced consonant occurs which is long (geminated), with the sole exception of the nasal consonants, \[m\] (ammit skins), \[n\] (anneq the greatest one), \[y\] (iyyik...
TOP OF A MOUNTAIN), n (onna armpit). The other voiced consonants of the language (w, l, j, g, r) are always short, and are found only between weak (unstressed) syllables or in the transition from a weak to a strongly stressed syllable. If the weak syllable has the stress owing to derivation or inflection of the word, the fricative consonant becomes unvoiced and long; e. g.,

\[ r > rr. \]

West Greenland ma'rralluk
morass, swamp
West Greenland ner'i'woq

\[ n > n. \]

West Greenland taaq
darkness, shadow
Mackenzie river tapapk

\[ l > ll. \]

West Greenland a'loq
a sole
West Greenland il'inne
at, by thee

\[ w > ff. \]

West Greenland i'wik
(a blade of) grass
West Greenland awa
north
West Greenland a'wippaa
divides it in two pieces
Mackenzie river avitoak

§ 6
In the evolution of the Greenland group of dialects the shift $j > s$ appears to have been of special importance. In a great many words the dialects west of Davis strait have $j$, which has grown into voiceless $s$ in Greenland.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$t &gt; s.$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t \mu &gt; ts.$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The original sound may still be traced in some words of the dialects of Ammassalik (köjärma) and of Smith sound (Thalbitzer I, 192, 215).
In Southwest Alaska the \( j \) seems to have changed to \( s \), too, in some few words; e. g.,

Southwest Alaska

\[ 'ukiuk \text{ winter} < *\text{ukju}k \] \quad \text{Greenland} \quad \text{uki}'og \text{ winter} \\
\[ \text{nesqoq head} < *\text{najqoq} \] \quad \text{Mackenzie River} \quad \text{niapqoq head} < \text{najaqoq} \]

\[ 'kashpruk \text{ (Barnum 341) water-proof shirt} \quad \text{Kaypak ROBE DE POIL.} \]

\[ \text{kashbruk (Schultze) storm-coat} < *\text{(kajFrak]} \]

### § 7. Shifting of Voiceless Fricatives and Stopped Consonants

The \( r \), \( x \), and \( \z \) do not exist in the dialects of Upernavik, Smith sound, and Ammassalik. In this "northeastern group" these sounds are replaced by \( g \), \( k \), and \( p \). In addition to this, the Ammassalik dialect has even carried this shifting of open and stopped consonants through in changing \( l \) to \( t \) (Thalbitzer I, 202).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central and South-west Greenland</th>
<th>Upernavik</th>
<th>Ammassalik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>R-q.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>arre'umik</strong></td>
<td>aq'eesunik</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eekor'loko</strong></td>
<td>eqqor'loko</td>
<td>eqqertig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **X-k.** | | |
| naaxxa | naakka | - | no approaches |
| axxerpoq | akkerpoq | akkerpoq | a thin-haired skin |
| saxxaq | sakkaq | sakkaq | |

| **F-p.** | | |
| sarfaq | surfaq | surfaq | current |
| arfaj | arfah | arfah | whale |
| oqarpiaq | oqarpiq | oqarpeewaa | he says to him |

| **L-t.** | | |
| iperlune | - | ipertine | singing |
| ilia | - | itiwa | his house |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
<th>Central and Southern Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sittamat</td>
<td>sisamat</td>
<td>sisamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su'na</td>
<td>'suna</td>
<td>'suna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutset</td>
<td>nuttit</td>
<td>nutsat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netseq</td>
<td>nattteq</td>
<td>natseq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naitok</td>
<td>naa'ttooq</td>
<td>naa'tsoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkitok</td>
<td>aqittoq</td>
<td>aqitsoq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following words of the Baffin-land and Labrador dialects may be compared with those just mentioned:

North Labrador naa*vak (South: aukak) = Upernavik naakka no
Labrador magguk [marbuk] Bourquin § 6 = Smith sound maggoy =
Central West Greenland marluk two
Baffin land itirbing [itirpiy] Boas I, 660 = Ammassalik iserpik =
West Greenland icerrik entrance-place
Baffin land majoartune, ingertune Boas II = Ammassalik -tine (ver-
bal ending) = West Greenland -lune

§ 8. The Greenlandic s Sounds

The Greenlandic s (ss) sounds may be traced to different sources. Some have originated from j, others from c, and others again from t. ss [s:] has in many cases originated from a consonant j (voiced or voiceless?).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greenland</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s &lt; t.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisamat</td>
<td>sittamat</td>
<td>tsiamat [ci]</td>
<td>stamen four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitit</td>
<td>site</td>
<td>tchiti [citi]</td>
<td>entres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a fox</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iserpoq</td>
<td>itterpoq</td>
<td>itertapk he en-</td>
<td>t'traîutkā I bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ters</td>
<td>it in with me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| s < ts [j]. |          |                |        |
| aperseoot   | appertsuk | ?ateptcdon | ('appran) question |

| ss [s:] < k.j, q.j. |          |                |        |
| nássuk         | nakjuk antler | magjuk or nak- | (=?=neshkōk head |
|                |              | juk [nac:uk]   | [Barnum 355] cf. |
|                |              |                | §6)    |
| sissaq    | sigjak shore | tsigdapk RIVAGE |        |

| wss < pj, w.j. |          |                |        |
| tiwssarluk   | tipjarluk | driftwood      |        |

| ss < rc. |          |                |        |
| issaak' | isgap [ixxsak] | itcipapk LU- | ('ikchāun [irca:w] |
|          |              | snow-goggles NETTES | medicine for the |
|          |              |                | eyes)            |

§ 8
The shift $t > s$ may be observed in those grammatical forms, in which a suffix the usual initial of which is $t$ has to be added after a word ending in $t$, since $t$ between two $t$'s will change to $s$; e. g., in the optative takulisiit would he would see you, $<^*\text{-li-tit}$ but takulitiitit would they would see you, $\text{-lit-tit}$. Likewise in takoyamisiit as he saw you (cf. takoyamitiit as they saw you).

$a^a^a^a^a$ $\text{Laquisit}$ your gun, the guns ($< aa^a^a^a^a^a^a^a^a$ a gun)

$\text{ILLuisiyut}$ through his houses ($< \text{ILLuatiyut}$ through his house)

$kamisiit = \text{Kamitiit}$ (both in use) your boots

$\text{-tippaa} = \text{tippaa}$ (verbal suffix, causative)

The shift $j > s$ has left few traces only in the Greenland grammar; e. g., in the inflection of some few nouns.

$kana'joq$, plural $ka'nassut$ ($\ast\text{kanajjut}$) a sea-scorpion

$qarajaq$, locative $qarasame$ (place-name in Oommannaq fiord)

$pia$ $\text{seiyut}$ through his houses ($< t\text{LLuatiyut}$ through his house)

$\text{kamisiit = Jeamitit}$ (both in use) your boots

$\text{k-q.}$

Labrador Mackenzie River Greenland

$\text{gikertaq}$ $\text{kippektaq}$ $\text{geyeraq}$ island

$nellunaikutaq$ $\text{nelunaykutaq}$ ($\text{signal}$) nälunaargutaq a mark

$\text{erqerqoq}$ $\text{kippektpqoq}$ $\text{erekpkoq}$ fourth

$\text{kaikok}$ $\text{cost}$ of

$\text{Hudson}$ $\text{bay}$

The latter word may be compared with the Alaska forms of the same word, northern Alaska $\text{yia}$ $\text{kutko}$ (Ray), northwest Alaska $\text{etitko}$ (Wells and Kelly), southwest Alaska $\text{ikkolthko}$ (Barnum) $\text{ik:ihqoq}$, cf. Thalbitzer I, 263.

The same shift may be observed by a comparison of the West Greenland $\text{teqeroq}$ a corner of a house, and the East Greenland $\text{tiqeroq}$. These differences are probably due to analogy, and not to successive shiftings of the parts of articulation. The same is true of the examples

§ 9
of this shift in the Greenland language, where it appears in double forms of words, like *nuertloq = nuertluk*, etc. (Thalbitzer I, 176).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>East Greenland</th>
<th>West Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wF</em>-&lt;X-A&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ubva</em></td>
<td><em>unpa</em></td>
<td><em>uxxa or uffa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mackenzie River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>XF</em>-w&lt;8s</td>
<td>nadjuvapotp</td>
<td><em>nârsaarpoq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nagvârpoq</em></td>
<td><em>nadjuvapotp</em></td>
<td><em>nârsaarpoq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[naxfa:r-]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wX-F</em>:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiwqak</em></td>
<td><em>kiwqapk</em></td>
<td><em>kiwaffaq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-w.</td>
<td>As for this shift, see § 4.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 10. Vocalic Shifts

The shifting of *o > e, u > i*, is one of the principal differences between the dialects of West and East Greenland (Thalbitzer I, 196 et seq). Likewise many words of the western dialects, as spelled by the different recorders, bear evidence of vocalic changes of no less importance. In Alaska we often find *u* in the base of the word, corresponding to *i* or *e* in Greenland.

**u-i.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Greenland</th>
<th>East Greenland</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allerqut</td>
<td>attaqin</td>
<td>jaw-bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikut</td>
<td>sikin</td>
<td>sea-ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marlluk</td>
<td>martik</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allâttøq</td>
<td>attâttøq</td>
<td>a seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nânøq</td>
<td>naneq</td>
<td>a bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**u-i.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
<th>West Greenland</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>n upp</em>apa (sound, noise)</td>
<td><em>nipe</em></td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuppsakok</em> (it stinks)</td>
<td><em>tipe</em></td>
<td>smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tûmchinak</em></td>
<td><em>tiw</em>sinak*</td>
<td>fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nûq'yuqtød</em></td>
<td><em>nerisuppoq</em></td>
<td>I want to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kû'v'larsqok</em></td>
<td><em>glerrtoq</em></td>
<td>it glitters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mammqok</em></td>
<td><em>mamippoq</em></td>
<td>it heals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iv'rkûchêk</em></td>
<td><em>erisaq or ermalisaq</em></td>
<td>waterproof boots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kè'llı'g'vøk</em></td>
<td><em>kiwilffaq</em></td>
<td>the mammoth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = Baffin land *t'madlin* a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak.
### Boas II, 331.

#### HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>a-i, e.</strong></th>
<th><strong>East Greenland</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Greenland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>imanna</strong></td>
<td><strong>iminna</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aap ila</strong></td>
<td><strong>[aamila]</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aa^[a]wqooq</strong></td>
<td><strong>ee^[a]wqooq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baffin Land</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aqaarpoq</strong></td>
<td><strong>he says no</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southwest Alaska</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d'manak or muk</strong></td>
<td><strong>i = i'muk</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>u-e.</strong></td>
<td><strong>muk or moq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>i'meq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>na'teq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ni'geq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ili'veq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>iki'neq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>qa'neq</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uj-ut.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mackenzie River</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Labrador</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Greenland</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nuvuta (pl. nuvû-yat)</strong></td>
<td><strong>nuvuta (pl. nuvû-vujat)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>nuia (pl. nu'issât)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>i'valok (pl. i'valut)</strong></td>
<td><strong>ivalo (pl. i'valuit)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ujalo or ujalok</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>sinew</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowel changes like those here mentioned have left distinct traces in many derivatives of the present Greenlandic language; e.g.,**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>a-i.</strong></th>
<th><strong>East Greenland</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>aa^[a]wsaq</strong></td>
<td><strong>aa^[a]wsi-wik</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>upernaaq</strong></td>
<td><strong>uperni-wik</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>illu^[w]tta</strong></td>
<td><strong>illu^[w]titiut</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ernerata of his son</strong></td>
<td><strong>erneratiytut</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>u-i.</strong></td>
<td><strong>East Greenland</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aput</strong></td>
<td><strong>apiwoq (the ground) is covered with snow</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ernutaq</strong></td>
<td><strong>ernivoq gives birth to a child</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ikumawoq</strong></td>
<td><strong>iki-ppaa sets it on fire</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kaputivoq</strong></td>
<td><strong>kapivea stabs him</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>it^[u]ippoq</strong></td>
<td><strong>i^[t]ti^[w]tleeq place where one crosses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ilivea</strong></td>
<td><strong>iliweq or iluweq a grave</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The same sounds are used vicariously in several words in West Greenland.

\( \text{a-t.} \)

\( \text{kamik and kamak boot (kammikka} = \text{kammakka my boots)} \)

\( \text{u-t.} \)

\( \text{kaluu} \text{ssarpq} = \text{kaluu} \text{ssarpq} \) pulls and jerks in order to advance
\( \text{isw} \text{utterpaq} = \text{isiw} \text{utterpaq} \) unfolds or stretches it out
\( \text{qappiropq} = \text{qappuarpoq} \) foams, froths; chatters incessantly

\( \text{§ 11. Mutation} \)

Thus far I have treated the established vowel-shifts belonging to older periods of the language. In addition to these, there is a steady tendency to produce certain slight shiftings of the vowels, in order to accommodate them to the following sounds. This is the Greenlandic (or probably general Eskimo) form of mutation. There are two classes of mutation, based on the same principle as the bipartition of the vowel system:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & > \text{å} (\text{à}) & \text{a} & > \text{a} \\
\text{e} & > \text{i} & \text{i}, \text{e} & > \text{e} (\text{ε}) \\
\text{o} & > \text{u} & \text{o}, \text{u} & > \text{o} (\text{o}) \\
\text{u} & > \text{ü} (\text{y})
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

\( \text{a} > \text{å} \).

\( \text{nå'sa} \text{a} \) his hood
\( \text{arnaa} \) his woman (mother)
\( \text{tå'seq} \) lake
\( \text{sapiinaa} \) to dike, dam
\( \text{awaa'eq} \) a sealing bladder
\( \text{uwaya} \) I

\( \text{a} > \text{à} \).

\( \text{a'torpai} \) is it used
\( \text{siså'maat} \) the fourth
\( \text{qu'laane} \) above it

\( \text{e} > \text{i} \).

\( \text{puise} \) seal
\( \text{tupeeq} \) tent
\( \text{sulå} \) yet
\( \text{taleg} \) arm

\( \text{§ 11} \)
A shifting in the vowels produced by the intrusion of a following uvular consonant may be termed **uvular mutation**. The result of this juxtaposition of a vowel + r, q, or r is the uvularization by which the vowel changes according to the scheme just mentioned. The uvularized vowels are symbolized in ordinary transcription as ar (aq, ar), er (eq, er), or (aq, or). The vowel and the consonant in reality make up a phonetic unit. The vowel is pronounced with uvular friction, while an enlargement of the innermost part of the mouth-chamber takes place (cf. § 2 under q and r). The vowels which are affected in this way have a remarkable hollow and grating sound; in case of o and e it is occasionally somewhat like ò on account of the rounding in the posterior part of the mouth. An e between two n’s and an e between two r’s are acoustically widely different sounds.

### a > A.

- **naasaa** his hood; **naasaq** a hood
- **arnaa** his woman (mother); **arnaq [arn:aq]** woman; **arnara [arn:aro]** my mother
- **qarsaaq [qars:a:q]** a loom; **pl. qarssaat [qars:a:at]**
- **qaggame [qaq:ame]** on, in, the mountain; **qaggaq [qaq:ay]** a mountain

### e > E.

- **amia or amee** his (its) skin; **ameq [a:meq]** a skin
- **e`qe`=e`qe` [e:qe:]** corner; **eqia** his corner of the mouth
- **neriwoq** eats; **ner`ereerpoq [nars:re:rpoq]** has finished eating
- **ernikka** my sons; **ernera[ernera]** my son; **erneq [eq]** a son; **erne [erne]** his (own) son

### o > O.

- **niaqua** his head; **niaaqoq [niaaqoq]** a head
- **nano = nanaq** a bear
- **illo** a house; **illoqomaaq [iloq:omaaq]** a big house

**Kaasasuk** (name)+**rjuk**+**guaq**: **Kaasasorujuoguaq** the little poor wretched Kaasasuk

§ 11
§ 12. Retrogressive Uvularization

Retrogressive uvularization is the name of a phonetic tendency toward uvular anticipation,1 which may have begun in the earliest history of the language, since it can be traced in all dialects. Its transforming activity has asserted itself at different stages in the development of the language, and has penetrated the eastern dialects in a far higher degree than those of the west. It shows itself in the present state of the Eskimo language, in that many words in the Greenland and Labrador dialects have ar, er, or (uvularized vowels), when the western and partly also the central dialects have retained the original sounds, a, i, u. In the majority of cases this change may probably be traced back to a shift of the word-stress whereby the vowel of the syllable that lost its stress has in the course of time disappeared. By this contraction of the word, two consonants have come into contact, and either have been assimilated or have shifted places (cf. Alaska nimra2 and Greenland nerma HIS [ITS] BINDING, both formed from nimeq + suffix a, HIS, ITS). The Alaska form suggests that the r of nerma may be explained as the final uvular of nimeq, shifted to r; and this supposition is strongly supported by the fact that the Mackenzie-river dialect (cf. the vocabulary of Petitot), and the dialects west of Hudson bay, contain some transitional forms stressed in the original manner; e. g., atépêt [at'ereet], the plural of atéŋ [a'teg] NAME, regularly formed, likewise atépa MY NAME (in Alaska atqa, in Greenland arqa). A metathesis of the consonants has taken place in the Greenland marłuk two, which may be compared with Alaska malruk and Mackenzie-river malorok. On account of the assimilation or metathesis of the consonants, the uvular consonant which belonged originally to the suffix or final part of the word has been displaced, and is now found in the middle of the word in the forms east of Hudson bay. In most of the eastern dialects the preceding vowel has thus been uvularized: nirma has become nerma, qitqa ITS MIDDLE (Mackenzie river) has become qerqa (through *qigqa). Intermediate forms are found in the Baffin-land dialect (iq, ir; uq, ur; etc.); but in some instances the assimilation of the consonants (rz) has been carried further, in the dialects of Labrador and Baffin land (Smith sound), than in West Greenland.

---

1 The uvular position of the palate, which originally belonged to the end of the word, is anticipated in the base of the word (Thalbitzer I, 241-242).

2 Ray nimzi THE LASHING OF THE HARPOON-SHAFT.
Examples: 1

West Eskimo

**alr, aLr > arl, arL.**

malruk (Barnum) two

**JADIS**

malruk (Gr.) two; marruk (Lab.) two

alpáne (Petitot Vocab. LXII)

arlaane (Gr.) in the other one;

alththräku [albako] (Barnum) next year

arraane (Lab.) last year

nältkirtok [nalqirtog] (Barnum) it is straight

narlwoog (Gr.) it is straight; (u > i)

qatlräa [kaltt.] (Barnum 342)

see § 10)

white

naaxxowoq (Erdman: naggovok)

kaltcha (Schultze 66) white

(Lab.) it is straight

qarsortog (Gr.) bleached

Elr > erL.

amelrartut (S. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328)

amerlasont (Gr.) many

amalleraktok (N. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) many

amerlagaaqt (Gr.) they are many

amthlerrút (Barnum 75) many

nakdrit (Rink II, 83, no. 21)

geese

nerleg, pl. nerlerit goose

daalkeret (Schultze 55); kdl =

[k] or [rl]?

nëgalek (Ray 55) goose-town

ulr, uLr > orL.

kulthkrët (Barnum 348)

qorlor- e. g., in qorlorpoq (Gr.)

[kulqvit] the shelves in

water falling or streaming down

native houses

kulvaraku (Barnum) I put it

qullarterpaa (<*quyllar-)* (Gr.)

up high [kulvaraku]

lifts it up in the air

*a'tulrân (Barnum 327), verbal

*atorl-, e. g., atorlune (Gr.)

form <atqvitod I sing, use,

using

wear, etc.

1 The abbreviations Al., C, Gr., Lab., M., stand respectively for Alaska, Coast of Hudson bay,

Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river.

2 Perhaps the same word as Lab. **kurgartipa** lifts up in his trousers, etc., which becomes more evident by comparison with Gr. **qullarteraa covers it** (= Lab. kurgartipa [Thalbitzer I, 230] = Al. balvaqalta [I. c., 231; Barnum 339]).

§ 12
West Eskimo

\textit{enr, emr, eyr > ern, erm, ery.}

- \textit{openrak} (Rink) spring-time
- \textit{openachkä} (Schultze 43) 'up'nagkak (Barnum 373)
- \textit{pënrik} socks woven from grass (Barnum)
- \textit{chäpingrätok} (Barnum) it is nothing, it is not an actual thing
- \textit{ingrik} (Barnum) mountain

\textit{pe'ninra} (Barnum 67) the stronger, its stronger one

- \textit{'enrū} (Barnum) a talisman, a charm
- \textit{nima} [nimra] (Ray) its lashing, band

\textit{unr > orn.}

- \textit{un'kid[unra]} (Barnum) his arm-pit
- \textit{katunra} (Barnum) son
- \textit{tungra} (Barnum) a spirit
- \textit{kinggurnra} (Barnum) that or those behind
- \textit{ki'nunwepa} (Petitot)

\textit{sr > rs, gr (cr) > *rj > rs > ss.}

- \textit{az'racharak} (Barnum 327) adulthood
- \textit{ažhrāngna PECCARE CONTRA VI}
- \textit{esrekoak} (Wells a. Kelly) frost-bite
- \textit{katzrak} (Woldt-Jacobsen) white
gra (Wells a. Kelly) (my) eye
guka [ijirka] (Barnum) my eyes
(iqgka my eye)
\textit{nazruk} (Wells a. Kelly) abdomen
kug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) a swan
ug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) bearded seal
\textit{iggru} (Wells a. Kelly) testicles

\textit{East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)}

- \textit{u'pernaaq} (Gr.) spring-time
- \textit{pinne} (Gr.) straw that is
- \textit{perqit} (Lab.) stuck in the boots
- \textit{saperna-} (Gr.) it is impossible (to do)
- \textit{iygik} (Gr.) top of a mountain
- \textit{pimmak} (Gr.) skilled through practice
- \textit{pimariwok, pimmariuterpok} (Lab.) thinks he is a strong man
- \textit{aarnuaq} (Gr.) charm, amulet
- \textit{aar < eer?}
- \textit{nerma} (Gr.) its band, lashing

\textit{orn} (Gr.) his arm-pit

- \textit{qitornaq} (Gr.) child
- \textit{toornaq} (Gr.) a spirit

- \textit{kiyorna} (Gr.) after that

\textit{arssaarpan} (Gr.) deprives him violently of something, robs

- \textit{irsekau} (Gr. Egede, 1750)
- \textit{issequaq} (Gr. now) it is strong cold

- \textit{garsortog} (Gr.) bleached
- \textit{irse} (Gr. Egede, 1750) eye (<*irje)
- \textit{isse} (Gr. now) eye; i'sikka my eyes

- \textit{nässät} (Gr.) abdomen (<*var-jät)
- \textit{quessuk} (Gr.) a swan (<*qurjuk)
- \textit{ussuk} (Gr.) seal (<*urjuk)

- \textit{issuk} (Gr.) testicles (<*irjuk)

§ 12
Here I may mention an Alaska word, part of which is apparently influenced by retrogressive uvularization: *ir'shinhrêt* (Barnum 337) MOUNTAIN SPIRITS is the same word as Gr. *isserqat* (<*irsiningat*?), singular *isseraq*, spelled by Egede (1750) *irserak*. The same is true of the Al. *'käklrok* (Barnum) THROAT, *'käkluk* (Schultze) *LIP=Gr. garlog LIP*.

$tq, Lq, sq > rq$. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Mackenzie River (Petitot)</th>
<th>Baffin Land (Boas)</th>
<th>Labrador (Bourquin)</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atk̂ra (Woldt-Jacobsen)</td>
<td>atk̂pa his name</td>
<td>arqa</td>
<td>arqa</td>
<td>his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at̂ra (Barnum)</td>
<td>at̂épa my name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natrôk (Barnum)</td>
<td>natk̂po FOND</td>
<td>(netteq, nat- narya floor, teg)</td>
<td>bottom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittyp (N. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen)</td>
<td>metk̂pom</td>
<td>migun</td>
<td>mergut</td>
<td>mergut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninyon (S. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen)</td>
<td>mikt̂popk</td>
<td>migung</td>
<td>meryog</td>
<td>meryog hair of animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikkilthkok [ik:] iłqog (Barnum)</td>
<td>ekkaikok (C.)</td>
<td>kpikept̂ropk(ixiyoq)</td>
<td>erqerqog</td>
<td>erqerqog the little finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekkitkaurak (Woldt-Jacobsen)</td>
<td>the little finger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ikqua (Schultze) (itçuk FIN)</td>
<td>iqoa</td>
<td>erqua</td>
<td>erqua</td>
<td>the back end of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kó'ka [Barnum] kpit̂kpa</td>
<td>*qiga qerqa</td>
<td>qerqa</td>
<td>the middle of it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erk̂l̂lu (Barnum) evil</td>
<td>epklo intestine</td>
<td>iqvick</td>
<td>erchavik</td>
<td>erlawik intestines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'guluk (Schultze) intestines</td>
<td>[er:awik]</td>
<td>erl̂q rectum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('ît̂ta [Barnum) (itchuk ANGLE) ige</td>
<td>erge</td>
<td>ege, ege cor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 12
The importance of retrogressive uvularization in the evolution of the Eskimo language is evident. Indeed, this phonetic process has deeply impressed itself on the morphology of the eastern dialects, the vocabulary as well as the grammar. The following sections, treating of the general grammatical features of the language, contain many examples of inflectional forms, that may be understood only when we bear this fact in mind.

Retrogressive uvularization is one of the most influential forces of transformation, due to the change of the word-stress mentioned in § 3.

**CLASSES OF WORDS, BASE AND STEM (§§13-16)**

**§ 13. General Remarks on the Structure of the Eskimo Language**

The structure of the Eskimo language is of a highly synthetic character, which apparently testifies to a typical tendency of the Eskimo mind to concentrate and condense its notions into as few word-complexes, or units of speech, as possible. Therefore a single Eskimo word may represent a whole sentence as compared with our usual mode of expression; e. g.—

- *anerguwaatit* he (a) begs (*quwa*) you (*tit*) to go out (*aner*)
- *aneiaaerguwaatit* he begs you again (*ger*) to go out early (*iaar*)

As a rule, such an Eskimo word or word-sentence can be analyzed and divided into an initial base-word (*aner* to go out), one or several
middle suffixes (*iaar, *ger, *quwa*), and a final element (*atit*). In this chapter we shall consider only the final elements, which are the proper inflectional forms and represent the most important, because the most frequently used, grammatical elements of the language.

§ 14. Base and Stem

Most words of the Eskimo language have two or several inflectional stems. The shortest stem is often identical with the base, and may be an obsolete stem. The base, from this point of view, is the primary stem, or the smallest number of sounds of which the word can consist, without losing its close resemblance to the actual forms of the word; we will call this the base of derivation.

The inflectional stem, or stems, are the secondary or expanded stems, which have originated in the history of the language, owing partly to suffixation and partly to phonetic changes in the bases of the word.

In the dialects of West Greenland (the northernmost at Smith sound excepted), all words end either in one of the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, or in one of the consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*. Of these sounds, only final *p* is confined to a certain class of words (viz., nouns), whereas the other final sounds are common to all classes of words. Words that end in *a*, *e*, or *o*, or in *q*, whether nouns or verbs, are always singular forms; *k* is the dual character, *t* the plural character; but there are nouns that end in *k* or *t* in the singular; e. g., *inuk* A MAN, AN ESKIMO; *sannat* TOOL.

In studying the bases of Eskimo words we shall soon see that several of them end in other sounds than we are accustomed to find in actual words of modern Eskimo; e. g., in *i*, *u*, or *l* (*l*) (see § 15). The Eskimo bases are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic; the stems appear to be bases widened by one or two sounds, and sometimes also affected by change of stress. From this point of view, the bases are hypothetical forms, secondary as compared with the words of the modern language; i. e., they have been reconstructed from these words for purposes of comparison. They are the explanatory connecting-links between related modern words, which may often be found to be very dissimilar.

On the other hand, if bases of this language occur which may end in other sounds than those nowadays found as the terminations of modern words, we are not bound to think that they end thus merely
because they have been artificially obtained by analyses, nor that such endings have never existed. There may have been a period in the development of the Eskimo language when the words occurred in forms different from any words that exist now.

§ 15. Examples of Bases and Stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Stage I</th>
<th>Stage II</th>
<th>Stage III</th>
<th>Stage IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocalic or consonantal.</td>
<td>(a, e, o)</td>
<td>(k, l, p)</td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ciu Al. ché front, bow of a boat</td>
<td>*ciua</td>
<td>*ci'uk, ci'ut Al. chélikka my ear</td>
<td>*ciuaq</td>
<td>*cior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. ti'sulek the first, foremost</td>
<td>Gr. siut ear</td>
<td>Gr. si'ulleq foremost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. sìua, sìua bow of a boat</td>
<td>sìuaq front</td>
<td>sìuarpaq is before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kui Gr. ku'uaa pours it</td>
<td>*kuik (&gt; ku:k)</td>
<td>*kooq Gr. kooppaq streams down</td>
<td>kooraq valley =</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. ku'aq river = Gr. koot &lt; *kuiq</td>
<td>Al. 'kwequm of the river</td>
<td>M. koqinaqk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gut Al. 'gagnun man, male</td>
<td>*gut</td>
<td>*gut &lt; *gutq the front-most, foremost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. ag'ut, man, male</td>
<td>Gr. a'gñultaqtag big buck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. ag'utuq pursuits, hunts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca(*ca?)</td>
<td>*ca-*cao Gr. saa its front</td>
<td>*ca-*can</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. ściók the first, foremost</td>
<td>Al. 'cählen the one before me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. 'cählen the first, foremost</td>
<td></td>
<td>caak</td>
<td>Gr. saoppaq turns front</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ca-*can</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>saoppaa turns to, speaks to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. chèd what thing?</td>
<td>*cana</td>
<td>*cani &gt; *sanni Al. chèn'ttènèk nothing</td>
<td>sanneq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. 'chápik an actual thing</td>
<td>Al. chèn'ttènèk a thing of no value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. chènèk a thing</td>
<td>Gr. sinnit dust (sanik a mote of dust)</td>
<td>'saneppea soils it with dust</td>
<td>saneppea soils it of dust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>saneppea cleans it of dust</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river, respectively.

2 sanik thus appears to be a derivative of the plural collective sanini. saneppea may have been formed after the analogy of ti'merpaq to empty (take [the content] [ina] away), cf.imerpaq fills it (with ima).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Derivative stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocalic or consonantal</td>
<td>Stage I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*cane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *sania its side</td>
<td>*sa'nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *sanimul sideways, athwart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. *k'ulma my elevation</td>
<td>*qula-qule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *quleg the uppermost</td>
<td>Al. *k'ulma straight up above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *gummul &lt;*qummut upwards, up</td>
<td>Gr. ulana above it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*at (or adj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *allay nethermost</td>
<td>*ata-atr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *ammul &lt;*atmul downwards</td>
<td>Gr. ada under it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. *ammatk'antu'tk I throw it down</td>
<td>Al. a'chilq below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *time body; inland</td>
<td>*timi, *time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *timul landwards (on the sea)</td>
<td>timane in the inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. *ma tosso body</td>
<td>timia his body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *awma &lt;*awma he in the north</td>
<td>*auoa-auro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. *wrpa &lt;*wupa there in the north</td>
<td>Gr. *awma in the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. a'wuma' over there somewhere</td>
<td>Gr. *awma to the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. a'wuma'to there</td>
<td>Gr. a'wuma' over there somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t)uw?-*uw (or u=x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. unq he there</td>
<td>*uwqo-uros, *uwsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. *uwpa or *uwq a there</td>
<td>Gr. *uwma there; *uwsu-uros (2) there; *uwsu-uros (3) of him there; *uwsu-uros through there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab. *ubra perhaps</td>
<td>Al. *u'wuma' here; kaq'kis from here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1Gr. *sannert a crossbar.

*awataq means properly something that has its place outside; i.e., on the deck of the kayak.

§ 15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Derivative stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocals or consonantal</td>
<td>Stage I (a, e, o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*uwa-*uec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. uwaapa 1; uwaput we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. huwao 1; huuwaka we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. huw 1; huuwpa of me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ta-lax(?)</td>
<td>*taa-*tao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lab. tappa &lt; *taxa? then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lab. tappa [tax:a] there it is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*taj</td>
<td>*tajja-*tajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. tajja it is—, it is enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. tajjane there; tajjana through there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma</td>
<td>*maa-mao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. maana it is here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al. maan hence by this way (cf. Gr. maona through here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mat</td>
<td>*matja-matjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. massa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. massa; this is—; here is—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr. mana &lt; *manna this one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. tamadaja surely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 16. Classes of Words

The lines of demarcation between classes of words are vague, because a great many of the inflectional and derivative endings (suffixes) are common to words that we are accustomed to consider as belonging to separate classes, such as nouns and verbs. On the other hand, we can not assert that the evolution of this language has not tended toward a fixed grouping of some of the suffixes around certain classes of words (e.g., demonstratives; temporal particles; the terms I and thou; whole and alone). No doubt the Eskimo language shows
a tendency similar to that of our own, of distinguishing between nouns and verbs; but this tendency has been crossed by other tendencies toward demarcation which partially neutralize the former, as will become evident in the following discussions.

Accordingly, instead of basing the distinction between Eskimo word-classes on the same principles as those of Latin grammar, I have chosen to depart from the category of the latter without completely giving up its technical terms of expression, which are useful because they are easily understood. In all branches of science, when proceeding from the known to the unknown, it is necessary to interpret the latter in the light of the former.

Following this method, we may distinguish between the following classes of words:

α. Base-Words

I. Words with full typical inflection
   1. Nouns (*illo house, a-teq name*).
   2. Verbs (*ikiwoq is in, aterpoq goes down*).

II. Words with defective inflection (*tamaq all, uvaya i, the numerals, etc.*).

III. Words with atypical inflection: demonstrative and interrogative words (*una he there, kina who*).

IV. Words without any inflection
   1. Interjections.
   2. Particles, temporal (*qaya when*), modal (*ganortoq utinam*), local (*uffa there*), etc.

β. Suffixes (Actual and Obsolete)

I. Common to all kinds of words.

II. Confined to certain groups of words.

INFLECTION (§§ 17-50)

Typical Inflection (§§ 17-44)

§17. Plural and Dual Inflection

This is the most general kind of inflection in the Eskimo language, applying to all sorts of words with the exception of particles and interjections.

§ 17
There are two sets of typical signs of the plural common to both nouns and verbs. Here we are concerned chiefly with the first set, or the pure dual and plural endings. The dual or plural signs of the other set are closely connected with or incorporated into the other inflectional endings, for which reason they have been more or less completely united with them in form as well as in meaning: e. g., the plural n in *illune* IN THE HOUSES, as compared with the m in *illumue* IN THE HOUSE; or k in *ernikku* MY SONS, as compared with r in *ernera* MY SON.

**West Greenland**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a o e</td>
<td>(by adding k) ak uk ik</td>
<td>at ut it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q k t</td>
<td>(by substitution)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

**Nouns:**
- *nuna* land
- *illo* house
- *isse* eye

**Verbs:**
- *atoraa* he using it

**Examples:**

1. *nuna* land (Boas VI, 109)
2. *qdlu* house (ibid., 101)
3. *al'erse* stocking (ibid., 98); *anu're* wind (ibid., 99)
4. *tulugaq* raven (ibid., 113)
5. *nigirn* south wind (Gr. *nigry*);
   *nirdlirn* goose (Boas I, 664), cf. Gr. *nerieg*
6. *ujjuk* a thong-seal (Boas VI, 114)
7. *irdning* son (ibid., 102)
8. *angun* paddle (Boas I, 659)
9. *patalaugluk* let us two strike (Boas II, 347)
10. *inung* magong tikitong two men are coming (Boas I, 621)
11. *qingmit* dogs (Boas VI, 105); *ujarpâ* he searches for them (ibid.)
12. *tignidjen* the birds (Boas II, 340)

**Baffinland**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a o e</td>
<td>(by adding k) ak uk ik</td>
<td>at ut it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q k t</td>
<td>(by substitution)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mackenzie river**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a o e</td>
<td>(by adding k) ak uk ik</td>
<td>at ut it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q k t</td>
<td>(by substitution)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 17
Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>t'silla</em> weather</td>
<td>$a^1$</td>
<td>$k^2(y^3)q^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>t'oklo</em> intestines</td>
<td>$u^2$</td>
<td>$t^{10}(n^{11})$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>apnè</em> woman</td>
<td>$i^3$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>talepèk</em> arm</td>
<td>$q^4(?)$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>ate²</em> name</td>
<td>$k^5$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>uyapèk</em> stone</td>
<td>$n^6$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>apañ</em> father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>aggut</em> man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Alaska (see Bar-num). . .

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>s'i</em> weather</td>
<td>$a^1$</td>
<td>$k^2(y^3)q^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>irkklu</em> evil</td>
<td>$u^2$</td>
<td>$t^{10}(n^{11})$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>inglu</em> half</td>
<td>$i^3$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>snè [snì]</em> its bank or edge</td>
<td>$q^4(?)$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>pùyòk</em> smoke $k=[q]$</td>
<td>$k^5$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>ingri</em> mountain</td>
<td>$n^6$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>ippàn</em> native spoon or ladle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>cha'nasun</em> native knife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>slin</em> whetstone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <em>snàk</em> the banks (dual); cf. also Barnum 283</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Greenland dialects the formation of the plural of nouns is often accompanied by change of stress: e. g.,

\[ a'meq \quad a \text{ skin} \quad \text{pl.} \quad 'ammit \]

The dual form is much less used than the plural; and I think a great many nouns are never used in the dual, this form being replaced by the plural. On the other hand, there are some few words that occur only in the dual form: e. g.,

\[ marLuk \quad \text{two;} \quad mar'ou'ukt \quad \text{two small ones} \]

\[ puasook \quad \text{the claw of a crayfish; the thumb and the forefinger} \]

\[ issaak \quad \text{goggles} \]

The following words are collective plurals:

\[ attùt \quad \text{a dung-hill} \]

\[ norlut \quad \text{ligature} \]

\[ ullut \quad \text{a bird’s nest (especially the down in the nest)} \]

\[ ars}sarnerit \quad \text{aurora borealis} \]

\[ paurwít \quad \text{a paddle} \]

\[ nuffít \quad \text{a bird-dart} \]

\[ násśít \quad \text{the stomach} \]

\[ qa't'imxxít \quad \text{the back (of man or animal)} \]

\[ assacût \quad \text{the hand (<assak} \text{a fin} \text{ger)} \]

\[ umiút \quad \text{the boat rowed by women} \]

\[ (<umiàq \quad \text{the empty boat)} \]

§ 17
Examples of words that form no plural are:

- **orsaq** blubber
- **nilaq** freshwater ice
- **oguk** mould
- **nuak** snot

**Nouns (§§ 18-29)**

§ 18. CLASS I. PLURAL INFLATION WITHOUT SHIFT OF STRESS

The examples given in § 17 show that two principles are applied in the formation of the plural,—single addition of the plural sign to the singular form; and substitution of the plural sign for the final consonant. We observe the first principle in *illo*, pl. *illut*; the latter, in *ullooq*, pl. *ullut*. In the latter instance, *t* has been substituted for *q*. These two principles may be observed in the whole inflectional treatment of the noun.

On the whole, the plural stems of the nouns are prototypes of their inflection. Many nominal stems are affected by a shift of stress in the plural, which has often been followed by phonetic shifting in the stems of the words. We shall first treat words that show no shift of stress.

The plural ending is regularly *t*, but in some cases *it*.

1. **Singular** | **Plural**
--- | ---
*pana* | *panát*
*tutto* | *tuttut*
*sise* | *sisit*

2. **Singular** | **Plural**
--- | ---
*qaqqaq* | *qaqqát*
*ayakkoq* | *ayakkut*
*gimmek* | *gimmit*
*tikippoq* | *tikipput* (they)

3. -*it* is added to the consonantal stem (i.e., the absolutive) of words ending in *t* (which *t*, when following an *i*, is regularly changed into *s* [cf. § 8]) and to the absolutive of certain words that end in -*eq* and -*ik* (the *q* and *k* being changed into *r* and *y* [cf. § 4]).

| **Singular** | **Plural** |
--- | ---
*sánnát* | *sánnátit*
*merqut* | *merqutit*
*síllít* | *síllísít*

§ 18
4. Singular Plural
ikeq ikerit bay, sound
erneq erneriit son
tikeq tikerit forefinger
illeq illeriit sleeping-place in the house

5. uppik uppenit owl
nuwik nukesit sinew, tendon
mamik mamiyit or mamit the fleshy side of a hide
wkkik wkxkxit gum
assik assenit image, picture

6. -it is added to the vocalic stem of many words that end in k in the absolutive case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unnuq</td>
<td>unnuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inuk</td>
<td>inuit or innuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assak</td>
<td>assaad (&lt;assait)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. -it is added to many words that end in aq in the absolutive, especially to all words ending in -innaq and -ttiaq:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sorqaq</td>
<td>sorquaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utorqaq</td>
<td>utorquaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naaqjaanqaq</td>
<td>naaqjaanqaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umiattiaq</td>
<td>umiattaat &lt; umiät + a medium-sized boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;umiäq + ttiaq</td>
<td>ttaait &lt; ttiaait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. -it is added to some words ending in -eq or -eq in the absolutive case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuloq</td>
<td>nuloit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilorleq</td>
<td>ilorleit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 19. CLASS II (a). PLURAL INFLECTION WITH SHIFT OF STRESS

The following nouns all agree in having in the singular strong stress on their final syllable, and weak stress on the preceding syllable; but in the plural the latter becomes strongly stressed, and accordingly, as a rule, lengthened (cf. § 3). The stress shifts, being thrown back toward the beginning of the word; and this shifting is combined with a change of the quantity of the sounds of the last two syllables, the short consonant between them being either geminated or changed, or displaced by a uvular, in the plural.
9. Singular | Plural
---|---
*a'meq* | *'ammit*
*i'maq* | *'immät*

Singular: skin, hide
Plural: places of open water (in the ice)

10. Singular | Plural
---|---
*a'wattat* | *a'wattat*
*a'wattat* | *a'wattat*

11. In the next following examples the penultimate consonant of the words becomes unvoiced in the plural:

12. Singular | Plural
---|---
*'naa'deq'ag* | *'naa'deq'ag*
*'naa'deq'ag* | *'naa'deq'ag*

13. Singular | Plural
---|---
*'tâ'leq* | *'tâ'leq*
*'tâ'leq* | *'tâ'leq*

14. Singular | Plural
---|---
*'nâ'ljâq* | *'nâ'ljâq*
*'nâ'ljâq* | *'nâ'ljâq*

§ 19

![](image)
15.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nà'saq</td>
<td>'nättät (South Gr. nātsät)</td>
<td>hood, cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki'saq</td>
<td>'kättät</td>
<td>anchor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà'seq</td>
<td>'tàttit</td>
<td>lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'qaaw'seq</td>
<td>o'qaaw'ísit</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoya'seq</td>
<td>qo'ya'xít</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'juaq</td>
<td>a'jussät</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'atu'aq</td>
<td>sa'at'ús'sät</td>
<td>crab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kani'ójq</td>
<td>ka'ni'ssüt</td>
<td>sea-scorpion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iluli'aq</td>
<td>ilu'lisät</td>
<td>iceberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ixxi'ag</td>
<td>'ix'xissät</td>
<td>throat, gullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaseyiaq</td>
<td>qase'yissät</td>
<td>Phoca vitulina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napari'aq</td>
<td>napar'issät</td>
<td>upright, rear piece of the sledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu'kappí'aq</td>
<td>nu'kappí'ísüt</td>
<td>bachelor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last-mentioned examples the ss of the plural seems to have originated from a semi-vowel (or j) that has become audible between the vowels, instead of the hiatus of the singular; so that, for instance, ka'ni'ssüt has developed from a plural form kanijjut, corresponding to a singular kani'ijoq, which form may sometimes really be heard instead of kani'joq. The shift j>s has been treated in § 6.

17.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iwik</td>
<td>'ıffit</td>
<td>grass, reed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'wik</td>
<td>'saffít or sa'veečt</td>
<td>knife, iron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qi'pik</td>
<td>qi'xkkít</td>
<td>feather-bed, blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ini'waq</td>
<td>in'ukkát</td>
<td>toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'lwaq</td>
<td>tu'lukkát</td>
<td>raven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 20. CLASS II (b). PLURAL INFLECTION AFFECTED BY RETROGRESSIVE UVULARIZATION

In the following examples (nos. 19–24) the plural stems admit a uvular which causes a shifting of vowel (uvular mutation) in their penultima.

1 See §12, p. 998.
19. Singular
siq'raq [siq'raq]
pia'raq
d'raq
ta'l'eq

Plural
siq'raq[q:at]
pia'raq[pis:at]
d'raq[og:at]
ta'l'eq[taleq:ut]

sand, granule
a young one
tongue
fore-paw of a seal

20. Singular
sio'raq
pia'raq
qa'raq
ta'l'eq

Plural
siq'raq[aq:at]
pia'raq[piaq:at]
qa'raq[qaq:at]
ta'l'eq[taleq:ut]

name
floor, bottom
marrow
anus
center, middle
eider-duck

§ 21. CLASS III. IRREGULAR PLURAL INFLECTION

Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:

25. Singular
qa'jaq

Plural
qa'jaq[qaq:at]

kayak

26. Singular
ka'laaleq
ma'neelaq

Plural
ka'laaleq[kaa:allit]
ma'neelaq[maa:ellit]

a South Greenlander
uneven land or ice
27. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'qaateq</td>
<td>'qaarqit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meeraq</td>
<td>'meerqâit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kunneq</td>
<td>a'korqit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>poop</td>
<td>pu'xxut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'n'naaq</td>
<td>u'narrât</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uaq</td>
<td>atsît</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuaq</td>
<td>nàssût abdomen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iya'laaq</td>
<td>iya'lässût</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'anno'raaq</td>
<td>'anno'rayssût</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. The suffixes -yuâq LITTLE, -suâq GREAT, and -aluâq FORMER, ELSE, form their plurals by changing -uâq into -uît: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nunayyuâq</td>
<td>nunayyuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunarsuâq</td>
<td>nunarsuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunayaluâq</td>
<td>nunayaluît</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 22. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRREGULARITIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE PLURAL

The formation of the plural of nouns is very irregular, notwithstanding the fact that the plural forms all end in t. The chief element in these irregular formations is a shift of the word-stress, combined with a consonantal increase in the stem of the word. From this we may conclude that there must be some connection between these phenomena. Since the psychical factor must be considered the primus motor in the life of the language, we see the cause of the quantitative change in the shift of the stress. I have set forth elsewhere (Thalbitzer I, § 34) how I think this differentiation in the formation of the plural may be explained. It is not necessary to suppose that the general principle of the plural inflection by adding t or it has ever been set aside, or had to struggle with some other principle, but in certain words the plural ending it was added after the full singular stem (the absolutive) of the word instead of after the vocalic stem: e. g., instead of making malik a wave assume the regular plural form malîit, the ending it was added after the final k, no matter if this k properly pointed out the singularity of the notion; and thus a new

§ 22
plural form, *malikit*, was introduced. The *k* that came to be between vowels changed to *g*, and *maligit* lost the vowel of its central syllable when the stress was drawn back to the first syllable. *Malgit* became *mallit* in Greenland, the *lg* (or *lx?) being assimilated into one sound. In the same manner I think most of the geminated consonants in plurals have originated from the final syllable of the singular, the terminal consonant (*q* or *k*) of this syllable having been retained in the plural. In *mm*, *kk*, *ll*, etc., then, two different consonants appear assimilated in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language, but each of them maintaining its existence in the lengthening (gemination) of the sound.

§23. ABSOLUTIVE AND RELATIVE

The relative case, or *p-case*, of nouns is formed by adding *p* or *up* to the same stem of the noun as that from which the plural is formed. In most instances, in forming this case, the plural sign *t* is simply replaced by *p*.

By the addition of the *p*, the *a*-stems take the ending *-ap*; the *o*-stems *-up*; the *e*-stems, *-ip*; e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>arnaq</em> woman</td>
<td><em>arnaq of the woman</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuna</em> land</td>
<td><em>nunaq of the land</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ayakkooq</em> shaman</td>
<td><em>ayakkooq of the shaman</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>illo</em> house</td>
<td><em>illo</em> of the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taleq</em> arm</td>
<td><em>taleq of the arm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>issee [ˈise?] or [ˈise?] eye</em></td>
<td><em>issee</em> of the eye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*-ip* is added after those words that end in *t* in the absolutive (cf. § 18.3): e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ayut</em> man, male</td>
<td><em>ayut</em> of the man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*-up* is the relative ending of all the nouns of the series nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30 (§§ 18–21): e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>erneq</em> son</td>
<td><em>erneq</em> of the son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inuk</em> man</td>
<td><em>inoop</em> of man (&lt; <em>inu-up</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iserriq</em> entrance</td>
<td><em>iserriq</em> of the entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nunayaluaq</em> former land</td>
<td><em>nunayaluaq</em> of the former land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nateq</em> floor</td>
<td><em>nateq</em> of the floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tupeq</em> tent</td>
<td><em>tupeq</em> of the tent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 23
In the western dialects, $m$ stands for $p$ in this grammatical function:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alaska</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Barnum 13)</td>
<td>(Ibid., 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num dechutane beneath the house</td>
<td>slâm of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenlander inip ataane</td>
<td>Greenland sikup iluane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chikum illoane of the ice in its interior</td>
<td>Greenland silap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the house</td>
<td>Greenland nunap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chikum illdane</td>
<td>Greenland toqquq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the ice</td>
<td>Greenland anorip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in its interior</td>
<td>anorrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slâm of the world</td>
<td>Greenlander towqquq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunam of the land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenland anorip or anorrup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupkib of the tent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anopen of the wind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenlander towqquq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenlander anorip or anorrup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 24. LOCAL CASES

The local case-endings are alike in the singular and the plural, but they are added to different stems of inflection, the nominal stem in the singular ending in $m$, in the plural in $n$. This is the same in the Greenland and in the Alaska dialects. Only the pro-ductive case is excepted; since in the singular it shows a consonantal stem ending in $k$, but in the plural either a lengthened stem ending in $-te$, or a lengthened suffix (-tigut).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaggag mountain</td>
<td>ingrik mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut gaggamut to the mountain</td>
<td>un ingrimën [igrimèn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e gaggame in the mountain</td>
<td>e ingrimë [igrime]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it gaggamit from the mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik gaggamik by the mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut gaggakkut over or through the mountain</td>
<td>kun ingrikën [igrikun]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformative or âEqualis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tut gaggutut like a mountain</td>
<td>tun ingritën [igritun]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaggat mountains</td>
<td>ingrit mountains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut gaggamut to the mountains</td>
<td>un ingrinën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e gaggane in the mountains</td>
<td>e ingrinë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 24
There is only one kind of irregularity, or of deviation from this type of inflection, arising by the retention of the final consonant of the absolutive case in the other cases, this consonant being assimilated with the initial consonant of the case-suffix. Accordingly, only such words as end in a consonant in the absolutive singular may show irregularities; e. g., ulloq, which retains its final \( q \), assimilated into \( r \) in four of the singular cases, but is quite regular in the plural.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Northwest Greenland</th>
<th>Plural (regular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>illo a house, the</td>
<td>illo houses, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-ut ilumut to, into, the</td>
<td>ilumut to, into, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-e ilume in the house</td>
<td>ilume in the houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-it ilumit from the house</td>
<td>ilumit from the houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>-ik ilumik by (with)</td>
<td>ilumik by (with) the houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive-kut, -gut</td>
<td>ilukkut through the house</td>
<td>ilutiyut through the houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ilumste on that day; ilume to-day.

---

1 The prosecutive plural ends, in Southwest Greenland, in -git ( = Labrador), which form is nearer to the Alaska -thun (or -tun?) than is the north Greenlandic form.

§ 24
Other examples:

- na'teq floor
- na'termut to the floor
- na'termme (or naryane) on the floor
- 'ukkaq front wall of house
- 'ukkarmut to the front wall
- ukkarme at the front wall
- ukkakkut through the front wall
- ukkatimnut through the front walls

- imeq fresh water
- i'mermut to the water
- i'mermme in the water
- imikkut through the water

Words ending in -eq (local superlative ending):

- si'ulLeq the foremost one
- si'Llerme at the foremost one
- si'ullermik firstly
- kiy'ulLeq the last one
- kiy'ullermme at the last one
- kiy'ullermik the last time

- ilorLeq the innermost one
- ilorLerrnut from the innermost one
- ilorLermut to the innermost ones
- 'killeq the most western one
- 'kiliLerrmut to the most western one
- 'kilLerrmut through the most western one
- kiltiLerrmut through the most western ones

- ilaTLeq the innermost one
- ilaTLeq the most western one
- ilaTiLerrmut through the most western ones

§ 25. LOCAL CASES—Continued

In nouns ending in -k this sound has been assimilated by the formative endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>sawik a knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>sawimmut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>sawimme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>sawimmik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>sawikkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformative</td>
<td>sawittut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katak inner doorway in the house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- 'sarpiimmik by means of the tail (of a whale) (<sarpi)
- ui'llimmut to the mussel-place (<ui'lulik place where there are mussels)
- noömmit from the point of land (<nook)
- inuttut as a human being (especially Eskimo) (<inuk)
Nouns ending in -t either retain this sound in assimilated shape in the singular declension, or form their cases on a lengthened stem (-te); e. g.,

*aput* snow on the earth (*apummut, apumme, apummik*)

*oommat* heart (*oommammnik or oommatimik* by the heart; *oommatinik* by the hearts; *oommatik* through the heart; *oommatik* through the hearts)

*nappaa*t illness (*nappaa*mmit or *nappaa*tinit from [because of] illness; *nappaa*tinit from illnesses; *nappaa*tik kut through illness; *nappaa*titikut through illnesses)

A few words ending in final *t* are regularly declined after the type of *illo*; e. g., *kammeeumik* or *kammiumik* with the boot-stretcher (<*kammiut*>)

All nouns belonging to Class II (§§ 19–20) and most of the nouns belonging to Class III (§ 21) form their local cases, both singular and plural, on the plural stem. The absolutive case stands isolated among these formations, being apparently irregular. The explanation of this fact is similar to the one set forth in § 22, and I have treated the question more fully in “A Phonetical Study,” § 34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ameq hide, skin</td>
<td>ammit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>(ammip)</td>
<td>(ammit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>amminut</td>
<td>amminut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ammine</td>
<td>ammine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ammimit</td>
<td>amminit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ammimik</td>
<td>amminik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ammikkut</td>
<td>ammitikut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ujaraq stone</td>
<td>ujarqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>(ujarqap)</td>
<td>(ujarqat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ujarqanumut</td>
<td>ujarqanut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ujarqame</td>
<td>ujarqane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ujarqanmit</td>
<td>ujarqanit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>ujarqanik</td>
<td>ujarqanik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>ujarqakhut</td>
<td>ujarqatikut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>kooroq valley, ravine</td>
<td>kooryut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>koorqumut</td>
<td>kooryunit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>koorqume</td>
<td>kooryune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>koorqunit</td>
<td>kooryunit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentalis</td>
<td>koorqumik</td>
<td>koorynik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>kooryakkut</td>
<td>kooryutikut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 25
§ 26. PERSONAL CASES, OR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION, OF NOUNS.

GREENLAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of the noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ya, ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>rπt, rπut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>rse, rse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>rπtik, rπtik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALASKA (BARNUM 19-25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>nka</td>
<td>rka</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>rπn</td>
<td>hππt, hπt</td>
<td>fit</td>
<td>rπt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>nne</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>wut, hπut</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>rπut</td>
<td>mta</td>
<td>mta</td>
<td>mmta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>rse, rse</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>rce</td>
<td>hππce, fece</td>
<td>piec, fece</td>
<td>rπce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>rπ, rπ</td>
<td>tπ</td>
<td>rπt</td>
<td>mg</td>
<td>mg</td>
<td>mmgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing</td>
<td>a, e</td>
<td>aj, e</td>
<td>ak, tπ</td>
<td>an, in</td>
<td>aπm</td>
<td>rπn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ajn, aπt</td>
<td>rπtik</td>
<td>atn, at</td>
<td>aπtn</td>
<td>rπtn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be clear from this synopsis that some of the Greenland singular and plural endings must be accounted for in the dual forms of the Alaska dialect. I have especially in mind the endings beginning in r(<q), rπt our, rse your, rπtik their own, rπt of thy, which in Greenlandic indicate the singular of the thing owned; in Alaska, duality. Likewise the Greenland yik their own two ones, which does not agree in form with the Alaska rπtel, originally must have meant their two selves’ two, since it is in form in accord-

1 I designate by “fourth person” the reflexive, the form expressing that the subject of the sentence is possessor.

2 I have here hypothetically transcribed the paradigms of Barnum in accordance with my own spelling of the Eskimo language.
ance with the Alaska possessive suffix of this meaning: \( \text{rkik} \) (in the relative \( \text{rkenka} \)). The dual system is disappearing in Greenland, but it has been recorded by Paul Egede and S. Kleinschmidt, so that all the original Greenland forms are known. I have only cited two-fifths of the forms in the synopsis above presented; namely, such as express duality of the object possessed. The other forms express duality of the possessor: e. g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor dual</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
<th>Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Object possessed.</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>puk</td>
<td>ppuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>tik</td>
<td>titk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Object possessed.</td>
<td>Relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>unnuk</td>
<td>unnuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>uttk</td>
<td>uttk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>kit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the absolutive first person the two dialects of Greenland and Alaska apparently have interchanged their singular and plural forms, \( \text{puk} \) meaning in Greenland our two selves’ one, in Alaska those belonging to our two selves, and \( \text{wuk} \) vice versa. The double duals especially (of both object possessed and possessor) have been contracted in Greenland, \( \text{rp} \) being assimilated to \( \text{pp} \), \( \text{rt} \) to \( \text{tt} \), etc. The Greenland \( \text{kit} \), of their two selves’ two, may be the remnant of the Alaska \( \text{rkin(ka)} \), exactly as is the Greenland dual absolutive \( \text{kik} \) a remnant of the Alaska \( \text{rkik} \); whereas the last syllable, \( \text{ka} \), of \( \text{rkinaka} \), seems to be a special suffix, perhaps formed in analogy to the \( \text{nka} \) of the absolutive plural first person. It is astonishing to find that the relative endings of the fourth person in the Alaska dialect are identical with those of the first person. The dual forms of that person are probably lost in the Greenland dialect.

The consistent use of the uvular as the general sign of the dual in the Alaska possessive suffixes is worthy of notice, while in the other forms, in the Alaska dialect as well as in the others, the palatal \( k \) per-
forms the dual function. Does this fact perhaps justify us in assuming that the uvular (i.e., $g$) was once used for marking the dual in the Eskimo language? (cf. §17.)

§27. PARADIGM OF THE POSSESSIVE INFLECTION OF NOUNS

GREENLAND DIALECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>2d per. sing.</th>
<th>4th per. sing.</th>
<th>1st per. pl.</th>
<th>2d per. pl.</th>
<th>4th per. pl.</th>
<th>3d per. sing.</th>
<th>3d per. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Absolutive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><strong>Relative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Absolutive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><strong>Relative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Absolutive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>iLLop</strong> my house</td>
<td><strong>iLLid</strong> my houses</td>
<td><strong>iLLuna</strong> your house</td>
<td><strong>iLLort</strong> our house</td>
<td><strong>iLLor</strong> your house</td>
<td><strong>iLLorik</strong> their house</td>
<td><strong>iLLue</strong> his house</td>
<td><strong>iLLue</strong> their house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ullama</strong> my house</td>
<td><strong>Ullwitt</strong> my houses</td>
<td><strong>Ullume</strong> your houses</td>
<td><strong>Ullwtila</strong> our houses</td>
<td><strong>Ullume</strong> your houses</td>
<td><strong>Ullumik</strong> their house</td>
<td><strong>Ullumi</strong> their house</td>
<td><strong>Ullumi</strong> their house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that most cases are formed from the vocalic stem of the word, except three; namely, the first, second, and fourth plural possessive, singular object, absolutive, which are formed on a lengthened consonantal stem, *iLLoq*, as if to emphasize the idea of the singular of the object (one house) as against the plurality of the personal endings (our, your, their) or of those plural cases which end in *uut* (put), se, tik.

The possessive inflection of nouns is apparently always regular, because the endings are invariably the same. The peculiarities in the inflection of many nouns are due to shifts in the word-stems, not in the endings of the suffixes. Exceptions are such occasional assimilations of the initial sounds of the suffixes as follow the linking to different stems: e.g., -$iiti$ thy; **iLLuit** thy houses; -$isl$ in *uvisit* thy husbands (<uwe>); the shifts of $e > i, o > u, a > à$, etc. (cf. §§5 and 10); aaq a SLEEVE, aai < *aau his SLEEVES (i < e HIS).

Only two of the possessive suffixes have alternating forms dependent on the word-stem to which they are to be added:

First person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, absolutive, ga or ru

Second person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, relative *wit*, or *rpit* or **ppit**

§27
-ra is the form of the suffix of the first person singular my in such words as end in q in the absolutive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{erneqa} & \text{ a son} & \text{ernerera} & \text{ my son} \\
\text{arnaq} & \text{ woman} & \text{arnara} & \text{ my mother} \\
\text{qarssaq} & \text{ arrow} & \text{qarssora} & \text{ my arrow}
\end{align*}
\]

All words ending in a vowel add ya; e.g., \textit{illoya} my house. -ya is added to the vocalic stem of words ending in k in the absolutive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{panik} & \text{ daughter} & \text{paninya} & \text{ my daughter} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Words ending in t in the absolutive form their first person and some of the other personal cases on a longer stem ending in -te:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ayut} & \text{ man} & \text{ayuteya} & \text{ my father} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A remarkable fact is the constant identity of the form of the second person singular possessor, singular object possessed, absolute (\textit{illut thy house}) and of the plural form of the word (\textit{illut houses}). There is probably no exception to this rule. Since many words form irregular plurals, either because of retention of the terminal consonant of the singular or owing to internal changes of their stems (cf. § 22), the same irregularity also appears in their second person singular forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taleq} & \text{ arm} & \text{tallit} & \text{ thy arm} = \text{tallit} \text{ arms} \\
\text{talit} & \text{ his arm} & \text{talitit} & \text{ thy arms} \\
\end{align*}
\]

§ 28. IRREGULAR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

Following are some deviations from the typical paradigm given above:

(a) Many words ending in e form their third person possessives exactly as if they were vocalic a-stems (cf. § 15 *tim).

\textit{ise} [i'ise] or [i'ise] \textit{eye}.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{Possessor} & \text{Absolutive} & & \text{Relative} & & \\
 & \text{Singular} & \text{Plural} & & \text{Singular} & \text{Plural} \\
\hline
3d per. sing. & \text{isaa} & \text{isata} & & \text{isata} & \text{isata} \\
3d per. pl. & \text{imii} & \text{isaat} & & \text{isaat} & \text{isaat} \\
\end{array}
\]

§ 28
### **ayut Man, Father < *ayute.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive Singular</th>
<th>Absolutive Plural</th>
<th>Relative Singular</th>
<th>Relative Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutepa</td>
<td>ayutikka</td>
<td>ayutima</td>
<td>ayutima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutit</td>
<td>ayutit</td>
<td>ayutiwir</td>
<td>ayutiwir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutine</td>
<td>ayutine</td>
<td>ayutime</td>
<td>ayutime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ayuterput</td>
<td>ayuterput</td>
<td>ayutiwitta</td>
<td>ayutiwitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutere</td>
<td>ayutere</td>
<td>ayutiwisse</td>
<td>ayutiwisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutertik</td>
<td>ayutertik</td>
<td>ayutimik</td>
<td>ayutimik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ayutaa</td>
<td>ayutaa</td>
<td>ayutata</td>
<td>ayutata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ayutast</td>
<td>ayutast</td>
<td>ayutast</td>
<td>ayutast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some of the personal cases this word has double forms, its stem-terminal being assimilated with the suffix-initial.

- **4th per. sing.** *ayutine*=*ayunne* his (suus) father  
  *ayutime*=*ayumme*

- **4th per. pl.** *ayutimik*=*ayummik*

- **1st per. pl.** *ayuterput*=*ayuppput* our father
- **1st per. sing.** *ayutima*=*ayunna*
- **2d per. sing.** *ayutiwit*=*ayuppit*  

(b) **tā'leq (pl. 'tāLLit) Arm.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive Singular</th>
<th>Absolutive Plural</th>
<th>Relative Singular</th>
<th>Relative Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>tā'lera my arm</td>
<td>tālliika my arms</td>
<td>tāllima</td>
<td>tāllima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>tālli thy arm</td>
<td>tālli or thy arms</td>
<td>tālliwir</td>
<td>tālliwir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>tāllie or her arm</td>
<td>tāllie or her, own arm</td>
<td>tāllie or her, own tāllie</td>
<td>tāllie or her, own tāllie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>tā'lerput our arm</td>
<td>tālliwput our arms</td>
<td>tālliwita</td>
<td>tālliwita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>tāllere your arm</td>
<td>tāllire your arms</td>
<td>tālliwisse</td>
<td>tālliwisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>tālertik their own arm</td>
<td>tālertik or their own arms</td>
<td>tāllimik</td>
<td>tāllimik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>tā'li his, her, arm</td>
<td>tāli his (suus) arms</td>
<td>tāliata</td>
<td>tāliata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>tā'lid their arm</td>
<td>tālid or their (zorim)</td>
<td>tāliata</td>
<td>tāliata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the word *tāleq* is in most of the personal cases declined on the plural stem *tālle*, with shifting of the word-accent and change of the medial consonant (*l > LL*), which becomes geminated and unvoiced in the forms here in question.  

$§$ 28
The following nouns are declined after the analogy of taleq:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural or second person singular</th>
<th>Third and fourth person possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'teq</td>
<td>'allün soles, thy sole; allukka my soles</td>
<td>allün or alle his own sole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'meq</td>
<td>'ammmit skins, thy skin; ammitwun' our skins</td>
<td>qa'mmáne their own kayak (or kayaks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'jaq</td>
<td>'qa'annday kayaks, thy kayak; qa'amakka my kayaks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu'jaq</td>
<td>'nuttáit hair, thy hair; 'nuttáit thy hair (pl.)</td>
<td>'nuttáne his (own) hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'qaq</td>
<td>o'qqát tongues, thy tongue</td>
<td>nu'jaas his (another man's) hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'qaanweq</td>
<td>o'qawntal words, thy word</td>
<td>o'qaas his, its tongue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the words that end in one of the suffixes -yaq, -yak, -ray, -roq, belong here, but others as well; for instance,

allayaq something written; iseraq the upper part of the foot
isiyak (pl. 'siikkát) a toe, the foot

Likewise the words ending in -iaq and -uaq (-uak); e. g.,
assiliiaq picture
uluak cheek

(c) The next paradigm is peculiar, in that the third person is declined on the plural stem throughout.

a'teq (pl. 'argit) A NAME.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>atera</td>
<td>atikka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>argit</td>
<td>attit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>atine or arge</td>
<td>atine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>aterput</td>
<td>attvent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>atere</td>
<td>atise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>atertik</td>
<td>attitik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>arqå</td>
<td>arqye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>argåt</td>
<td>arqit or arge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The explanation of the development of the irregular forms has been given in § 22.

§ 28
This is the method of declension of the following nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural or second person singular</th>
<th>Third person possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'teq</td>
<td>'arLLit harpoon-lines, thy harpoon-line</td>
<td>arlla (a'llikka my harpoon-lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'teq</td>
<td>'narqqit floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom</td>
<td>narqqa (naterput our floor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'teq</td>
<td>'parqqit marrow (pl.), thy marrow</td>
<td>parqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'teq</td>
<td>'gerqqit middle, mid- (pl.), thy middle</td>
<td>qerqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'teq</td>
<td>'cerqqit anus (pl.), thy anus</td>
<td>cerqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'teq</td>
<td>'narqqit floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom</td>
<td>narqqa (naterput our floor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'teq</td>
<td>'parqqit marrow (pl.), thy marrow</td>
<td>parqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'neq</td>
<td>'nermnit bindings, string, thy binding</td>
<td>nermma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'neq</td>
<td>'garntit mouths, thy mouth</td>
<td>garnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssaawneq</td>
<td>saarntit bones, thy bone</td>
<td>ssaarnna (also saerqgit, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'neq</td>
<td>'orsnit armpits, thy armpit</td>
<td>orntta (also orqgit, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tv'eq</td>
<td>'torqit tents, thy tent</td>
<td>torqta (also tulit, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iluweq</td>
<td>ilosratit graves, thy grave</td>
<td>ilosraa or ilorka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numerals also belong here:

arrineq 6  arferyyat the sixth (properly their number 6, or the number 6 of the fingers)
arganeq 11 argargyat the eleventh
arversaneq 16 arversaryat the sixteenth

(d) The peculiarities in the declension of the following paradigm remind us of that just mentioned, a'teq, pl. arqit, a name, to which it is evidently closely related.

kiiLli (pl. kiiLliyt) A LIMIT, BOUNDARY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kiiLe</td>
<td>kiiLi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>killeyt</td>
<td>killeyt or killeyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>killi</td>
<td>killi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kiiLeput</td>
<td>kiiLeput</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kiiLiase</td>
<td>killine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kiiLtit</td>
<td>kili or kili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kiiLepe</td>
<td>kiiLepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>killepita</td>
<td>killepe or killepe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm of kiiLli will serve as a model for the following noun:

assik picture; asseyt or assit thy picture; assitit or assisit thy pictures; asseya my picture, his or its picture; assippit or asserput our picture

§ 28
Some few other nouns that are rarely used except in the third person are treated in the same manner.

*tukik (third person tukeya) the long side of it
*missik (misseya or missaa) line between two points, proportional line
*terLLik (terLLega) his or its safe side (the side from which nothing evil is expected)
qilik (qileya) its bone peg (viz., the bone peg of the throwing-stick)
milik (mileya) that which obstructs a passage or channel
nalik (naleya) its equivalent

erneq A SON, ti’keq FOREFINGER, ‘tillegq PULSE, PULSATION, also belong here:

**erneq (pl. ernerit) A SON.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th></th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ernera my son</td>
<td>ernikka my sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>ernerit thy son</td>
<td>erniit or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>erne his own son</td>
<td>ernine his own sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ernerput our son</td>
<td>erniit or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>ernerse your son</td>
<td>ernise your sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>ernerlik their own son</td>
<td>ernisik or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ernera his (KUUM) son</td>
<td>ernere his sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ernerat their (KORUM) son</td>
<td>ernere or</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 29. LOCAL CASES OF POSSESSIVE FORMS OF NOUNS

The local case-endings (§ 24) may be used with the possessives, the local ending always being placed after the possessive one: (HOUSE) MY IN, YOUR FROM, etc. The combination is not brought about by a mere addition of the endings, but the forces of assimilation and analogy have modified the compounds in the development of the language.

The local endings -ut, -e, -it, -ik, are augmented by an n (thus, -nut, -ne, -nit, -nik) when joined to a possessive inflected noun; and the possessive ending -yut or -kut is apparently augmented by -ti (thus, -tiyut). In first, second, and fourth persons, -nut, -ne, -nit, -nik, seem to be joined to the relative possessive forms of the nouns (though the first § 29
person plural and the second person singular take a very irregular form in the compounds), but in the third person the same endings seem to be joined after the absolute possessives.

Absolutive . . . . . $i l l o$ a house, the house
Relative . . . . . $i l l u p$ of the house
Fourth per. possessive . $i l l u m e$ his (her) own house or houses
Allative . . . . . $i l l u m i n u t$ into his own house or houses
Locative . . . . . $i l l u m i n e$ in his own house or houses
Ablative . . . . . $i l l u m i n i t$ from his own house or houses
Instrumentalis . . . . . $i l l u m i n i k$ by his own house or houses
Prosecutive . . . . . $i l l u m i n u t$ through his own house or houses
Conformative . . . . . $i l l u m i s u t$ like his own house or houses

The Locative Case (-$n e$) Possessively Inflected

$i l l o$ house; $i l l u m e$ in a house, in the house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>Singular and plural</th>
<th>Old Eskimo</th>
<th>Modern possessive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>$i l l u m i n e$ in his house or houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u m e n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u m e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>$i l l u m e$ (also $i l l u m e n e$) in thy house or houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u m e n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u m e n i k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>$i l l u m w i n e$ in my house or houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u m a n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u m a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>$i l l u m i n e$ in their house or houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u m i k$</td>
<td>$i l l u m i k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>$i l l u m w i n e$ in your house or houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u m a n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u m a s e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>$i l l u m w i n e$ in our house or houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u m a n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u m e t t a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular, house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>$i l l u n e$ in his (EJUN) house</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u n a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>$i l l u n a n e$ in their (KORUM) house</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u n a n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u n a t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural, houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>$i l l u n e$ in his houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>$i l l u n e$ in their houses</td>
<td>$&lt; i l l u n e$</td>
<td>$i l l u e$ or $i l l u l i t$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second person the possessive locative ending -$r u e$ is also common; e. g.,

$k i w f f a n n e$ (= $k i w f f a n n u e$) at thy servant (< $k i w f f a y$ servant, porter)

§ 29
The Prosecutive Case Possessively Inflected

siut ear; siuta-a his ear; siutiyut through an ear.

| $4^{th} \text{per. sing.}$ | siutimiyut through his (own) ear or ears | siutime | $<\text{siutimeput}$ |
| $2^{nd} \text{per. sing.}$ | siutikikut through thy ear or $\text{ears}$ | siutit | $<\text{siutipikut}$ or $<\text{siutimakuk}$ |
| $1^{st} \text{per. sing.}$ | siutikikut through my ear or ears | siutima |
| $4^{th} \text{per. pl.}$ | siutimiyut through their own ear or ears | siutime |
| $2^{nd} \text{per. pl.}$ | siutiyut through your ear or ears | siutimik |
| $1^{st} \text{per. pl.}$ | siutimiyut through our ear or ears | siutisce |

Singular, ear

| $3^{rd} \text{per. sing.}$ | siutaatput through his (ejus) ear | siula |
| $3^{rd} \text{per. pi.}$ | siutaatput through their (ekum) ear | siula |

Plural, ears

| $3^{rd} \text{per. sing.}$ | siutaatput through their (ekum) ear | siulaaa |
| $3^{rd} \text{per. pi.}$ | siutaatput through their (ekum) ear | siulaaa |

All the other endings beginning with $n$ are joined to the noun in the same manner as $-ne$.

Other examples:

$-ne$.

i'serFiane at the entrance (iserFik) of it (a)
umiap ataane of the umiak, in (ne) the under-space (ata) of it (a) =
under the umiak
qilaap $k$illiyane of the sky, in (ne) the border (killik) of it (a) =
on the horizon
qaap$^\text{ne}$ne on the top (gak) of me

$-n$uit.

i'iliminut iserpoq he goes into (mut) his (me) house (illo)
killiyanut to the border of it (a)
ilaminut to his or her own (me) house-mate (ila)
ikiyuti$^\text{en}$nut to my ($^\text{en}$) friend or friends (ikiyut [e])

$-nit$.

iniminit from his or its own (mi) place, nest, etc. (ine)
killiyanut from the border of it (a), especially from that time
noop kujataanit of the point of land (nook), from its (a) southern
space (kujat [a]) = from the south of the point of land
qagqap qaaniit of the mountain, from its (a) top = from the top of
the mountain

§ 29
-nik.
'tamminik with his own (me) finger (assak) or fingers
sawimminik with his own knife (sa'woik) or knives (sa'wewet)
alermminnik with their own (min) harpoon-line (aleq)
ameterqaminnik with their own (min) old skin
ammetorqaminnik with their old skins (ameq, pl. ammit)

-yut, -kut, -tjut.
qiyamiyut through or by his own (me) nose (qiyaq)
keenamiyut through or over his own (me) face
qoyasianyut through or about his (a) neck (qoqasey)
keenaatijut through his (ejus) (a) face
niqoqaatijut through his (a) head (niqoq)
timaatijut through his body (time)
siutiluakkut through or by my little ear or ears

Verbs (§§ 30-44)

§ 30. CONJUGATION

The conjugation of the Eskimo verb is based on a set of slightly different stems; i.e., they are derivatives from a common base, which in itself need not be of the character of a verb. The personal verb-suffixes follow the stems as terminals. The suffixes (the verb-signs) have different meanings, constituting at the same time the modes of the verb. Accordingly the stem of the verb alternates during the conjugation. From the base kapi are formed the verb-stems kapiy, kapi'wo, kapi'wa, kapi'le, ka'pio, etc. (see § 31). Since each of these stems has its own set of six or eight personal endings, it becomes evident that the system of conjugation must be very complex. Moreover, there are four classes of conjugation, according to the difference in form of the bases. Examples of these classes are—

Class I, *kapi, the last syllable weak (unstressed), and invariably ending in a normal vowel (a, i, u).

Class II, *piye (piya), the last syllable weak, and ending in e alternating with a.

Class III, *tiki (tikik), the last syllable strongly stressed, but never ending in a uvular.

Class IV, *a'toq (ato), the last syllable strongly stressed, and ending in a uvular (q > r).

Thus the differences in the classes of conjugation depend not only upon the final sound, but also upon the stress, of the bases. These differences affect the constituting suffixes. Class I, for instance, adds

§ 30
in Greenlandic woq in the same modes in which Classes III and IV add poq.

A consideration of the endings of the conjugated verb proves that most of them coincide, partially at least, with the possessive suffixes of nouns. The etymological researches strengthen this hypothesis concerning the common origin of these elements. Only some few of the personal verb-endings deviate absolutely from the present system of possessive suffixes of nouns. They may be elements of a foreign origin or obsolete suffixes.

Of a neutral character, lacking any mark of personality, is the ending of the third person singular -oq (-poq, -woq), dual -uk, plural -ut, which quite agrees with the common absolutive ending of the noun; and in so far we might speak of an absolutive of the verb, but it should be noted that we find no corresponding suffixless relative (-up) in the conjugation of the finite verb. On the other hand, we find, in the system of verb conjugation, not one set, but two or three sets, of absolutive possessive endings, and another set of relative possessive endings.

The modal suffixes are inseparable from the personal endings; but they may be, and really often are, severed from the base by the insertion of other suffixes. Many of these infixes are of a modal character; but since they do not affect the endings of the words, we shall not treat them here.

The only indication of tense in the simple forms of the Eskimo verb is expressed by modes x and xi (see § 32). As for the other modes, the past tense may sometimes be expressed by infixing -aluar(poq), -simawoq); and the future tense, by infixing ssar(woq), in the third person singular contracted to -ssaroq), or -uma(woq), -umaar(poq).

§ 31. SYNOPSIS OF POSSESSIVE ENDINGS OF NOUNS (N.) AND VERBS (V.) ¹

The paradigms in the next following sections are confined to the West Greenland dialect.

¹ The dual endings are left out here (cf. § 26). The Roman numerals refer to the modes (see § 32).
### Simple Absolute Possessives, or Compounds made up of one of the Absolute Singular or Plural Signs, q, k, t, -Possessive Suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>kka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>itt</td>
<td>tit sitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>e ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>rput pput</td>
<td>gut wut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>se se</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>it e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>rik tik tik sikk</td>
<td>rik VIII XII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the compounds, q changes to r before a consonant or between vowels (§ 4).

- *ks* is assimilated to *ss*
- *tk* is assimilated to *kk*
- *kn* is assimilated to *nn*
- *kt* is assimilated to *tt*
- *kp* is assimilated to *pp*

### Relative Possessives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V. x, xI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>ma rma</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>wit rpit</td>
<td>wit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>me mere</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>weta</td>
<td>weta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>wae</td>
<td>wae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>mik rmik</td>
<td>mik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 31
Compound Verbal Endings, Composed of an Unascertained Element \( \text{w} < \text{pf} \) + a Possessive Ending, or of Two Absolute Possessives, or of a Relative Possessive + an Absolute Possessive \((B + A \text{ or } B + D)\)\(^1\)

### SINGULAR OBJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—me</th>
<th>You—me</th>
<th>He—me</th>
<th>They—me</th>
<th>He (se)(^2)—me</th>
<th>They (se)—me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rmma IX XI</td>
<td>sippa III</td>
<td>apa III IX X</td>
<td>III X XI</td>
<td>mippa X</td>
<td>mippa ((&lt;\text{mikpa})) X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—him</th>
<th>You—him</th>
<th>He—him</th>
<th>They—him</th>
<th>He (se)—him</th>
<th>They (se)—him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wkit ((&lt;\text{pt}t))</td>
<td>wsiyutinix</td>
<td>atiput III IX X</td>
<td>atiput III IX X</td>
<td>mispi x</td>
<td>mispi x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—thee</th>
<th>You—thee</th>
<th>He—thee</th>
<th>They—thee</th>
<th>He (se)—thee</th>
<th>They (se)—thee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wkit II I IX X</td>
<td>wkit (&lt;\text{pt}t) III IX X</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—him</th>
<th>You—him</th>
<th>He—him</th>
<th>They—him</th>
<th>He (se)—him</th>
<th>They (se)—him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wkit II I IX X</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
<td>wkit IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PLURAL OBJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—us</th>
<th>You—us</th>
<th>He—us</th>
<th>They—us</th>
<th>He (se)(^2)—us</th>
<th>They (se)—us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>misipul X</td>
<td>misipul X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—thee</th>
<th>You—thee</th>
<th>He—thee</th>
<th>They—thee</th>
<th>He (se)—thee</th>
<th>They (se)—thee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—who</th>
<th>You—who</th>
<th>He—who</th>
<th>They—who</th>
<th>He (se)—who</th>
<th>They (se)—who</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thou—thee</th>
<th>You—thee</th>
<th>He—thee</th>
<th>They—thee</th>
<th>He (se)—thee</th>
<th>They (se)—thee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
<td>sippul II III IX X XI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In this table, \(w, wse, wk\), stand throughout for \(wtt, wse, wkk\), which are phonetically more correct.

2 (\(\text{se}\)) I. e., the Latin reflexive pronoun, here only used to indicate a like grammatical function of the Eskimo \(\text{me, mik, tik, ne, nik}\).
Simple Personal Suffixes Peculiar to Certain Parts of the System of Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>(V) IX</th>
<th>I X XI</th>
<th>I XIV</th>
<th>V X XI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>(po)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>(til)</td>
<td>kit, uik (q)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>yo &lt; po</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo (&lt; po) ku, uk</td>
<td>fuk (&lt; fuk)</td>
<td>suk (&lt; juk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>ta (y)</td>
<td>(igut)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>(se)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>yik (&lt; pig)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yik (&lt; pig), kit</td>
<td>yit (&lt; pit)</td>
<td>yik (&lt; pig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>(tilk)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yo (go) in -mago, -pago, -lugo (South Greenland -mago, -pago, -lugo), seems to be of the same origin as suk, iuk, answering to the Alaskan form -ghwū, -ēū (Barnum 148, 142). The same may be true of -uk in—

atoruk use it!
takuviuuk do you see it?
atorsiuuk you use it!

Thus the original form of this suffix may have been a single o; but between e and o a glide sound (semi-vowel) has sprung up and become self-existent, changing to g, k, j, e, y, at different stages in the history of the language.

yik, kik, probably belonged originally to the dual, but have assumed a plural meaning and stand for yit, to avoid confusion with the second-person forms ending in -yit. The initial y of yik, yit, of course, is derived from g, which sound is otherwise used in these endings instead of y, except in North Greenland.

§ 31
### §32. Synopsis of Verbal Modes of Conjugation (Dialect of West Greenland)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of conjugation</th>
<th>Class of conjugation</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Person endings, A, B, C, D</th>
<th>Name and definition of the mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>y&lt;φ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>A, C, D</td>
<td>Imperative, intransitive, and transitive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>y&lt;φ</td>
<td>r, φ</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Middle voice (medium), intransitive, or quasi-indicative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Quasi-active, or quasi-passive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Quasi-transitive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV, 2d per.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Interrogative, intransitive and transitive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d per.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Optative, intransitive and transitive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V, 3d per.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A, B, C, D refer to §31.

2 *tikhippitit* or *tikhippit* thou didst not come.

3 *tikipit* or *tikittit* come.

4 In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.
## Modal characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of conjugation</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>LLO</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII a</td>
<td>(s)sc</td>
<td>(s)sc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β</td>
<td>(s)so</td>
<td>(s)so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>yi&lt;pi</td>
<td>yi&lt;pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
<td>ya&lt;pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>ma&lt;pa</td>
<td>ma&lt;pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yii&lt;pu</td>
<td>yii&lt;pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per.</td>
<td>ppa</td>
<td>ppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Name and definition of the mode

- **PARTICIPLE**
  - 1st per. sing.: A
  - 2d, 4th per.: B
  - 1st per. pl.: C
  - 3d per.: D
  - Contemorative or associative, attributive; quasi-active or quasi-passive; 1st, 2d, 4th, per. intransitive, 3d per. transitive.

- **Verbal noun or verbal adjective; agent or medial; attributive or predicative.**
- **Passive participle; attributive.**
- **Transitive participle, quasi-active, always comprising both subject and object; predicative (or attributive).**
- **Past tense or causal proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.**
- **Future tense or conditional proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.**
- **Verb abstract.**

---

1. a is the negative character in the third person singular, and the first, second, and third persons plural, of the verbs of class IV: *ierane* he (she) not going in *ier-a-ne*, but *tiikane* (class III) he not coming.

2. May be used without any suffix.
## § 33. MODE I. IMPERATIVE
### INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Class of conjugation)</th>
<th>I. kapı, kapı'y to stab</th>
<th>III. ka'la, kalap to be dropped, or to shed hair, horns, etc.</th>
<th>IV. is'ir, is'ir to enter, to go in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapı'y (thou) stab</td>
<td>kara'y drop!</td>
<td>is'ir'y enter!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapı'yı (you) stab</td>
<td>kara'yı drop!</td>
<td>is'ir'yı enter!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I (me)</th>
<th>III (you)</th>
<th>IV (us)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapi'ya</td>
<td>kapi'i'ya</td>
<td>kapi'i'ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapi'yı</td>
<td>kapi'i'ya</td>
<td>kapi'i'ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapi'yit</td>
<td>kapi'i'ity</td>
<td>kapi'i'ity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Some verbs end in -suk in this class; e.g., titisuk (<titippaa) come to him or to there.

## § 34. MODE II. INDICATIVE
### INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I (wo)</th>
<th>III (ppo)</th>
<th>IV (rpo)</th>
<th>Negative (go'la)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapıwopa</td>
<td>kalappopa</td>
<td>iserwopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapıwopa</td>
<td>kalappopa</td>
<td>iserwopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapıwutit</td>
<td>kalappputit</td>
<td>iserputit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapıwutit</td>
<td>kalappputit</td>
<td>iserputit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapıwog</td>
<td>kalappog</td>
<td>iserwog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapıwog</td>
<td>kalappog</td>
<td>iserwog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the positive dual the first person ends in -yuk; the second person, in -tik; the third person, in -puk.

§§ 33, 34
### §35. MODE III. INDICATIVE

#### TRANSITIVE (C-ENDINGS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>me</th>
<th>thou—me</th>
<th>you—me</th>
<th>he—me</th>
<th>they—me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwarma</td>
<td>kapiwastiya</td>
<td>kapiwaaga</td>
<td>kapiwaagya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalapparma</td>
<td>kalappastiya</td>
<td>kalappaaga</td>
<td>kalappaagya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparma</td>
<td>iserpastiya</td>
<td>iserpaaga</td>
<td>iserpaagya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>us</th>
<th>thou—us</th>
<th>you—us</th>
<th>he—us</th>
<th>they—us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwattiyut</td>
<td>kapiwastiya</td>
<td>kapiwaatiyut</td>
<td>kapiwaatiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappattiyut</td>
<td>kalappastiya</td>
<td>kalappaatiyut</td>
<td>kalappaatiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpattiyut</td>
<td>iserpastiya</td>
<td>iserpastiya</td>
<td>iserpastiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thee</th>
<th>I—thee</th>
<th>we—thee</th>
<th>he—thee</th>
<th>they—thee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwakkit or kapiwaayit</td>
<td>kapiwattiti</td>
<td>kapiwaaatiyit</td>
<td>kapiwaaatiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappakkit or kalappaayit</td>
<td>kalappattiti</td>
<td>kalappaatiyit</td>
<td>kalappaatiyut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpakkit or iserpayaayit</td>
<td>iserpattiti</td>
<td>iserpaaatiyit</td>
<td>iserpaaatiyut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>you (pl.)</th>
<th>I—you</th>
<th>we—you</th>
<th>he—you</th>
<th>they—you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
<td>kapiwasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappasse</td>
<td>kalappasse</td>
<td>kalappasse</td>
<td>kalappasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpasse</td>
<td>iserpasse</td>
<td>iserpasse</td>
<td>iserpasse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>him</th>
<th>I—him</th>
<th>we—him</th>
<th>thou—him</th>
<th>you—him</th>
<th>he—him</th>
<th>they—him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwara</td>
<td>kapiwarput</td>
<td>kapiwral</td>
<td>kapiwarase</td>
<td>kapiwaa</td>
<td>kapiwaaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappara</td>
<td>kalapparput</td>
<td>kalappal</td>
<td>kalappaarse</td>
<td>kalappa</td>
<td>kalappaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserparna</td>
<td>iserparput</td>
<td>iserpal</td>
<td>iserpase</td>
<td>iserpa</td>
<td>iserpaat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>them</th>
<th>I—them</th>
<th>we—them</th>
<th>thou—them</th>
<th>you—them</th>
<th>he—them</th>
<th>they—them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>kapiwakka</td>
<td>kapiwakut</td>
<td>kapiwakal</td>
<td>kapiwakase</td>
<td>kapiwak</td>
<td>kapiwakat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>kalappakka</td>
<td>kalappawut</td>
<td>kalappakal</td>
<td>kalappaarse</td>
<td>kalappa</td>
<td>kalappaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iserpakka</td>
<td>iserpawut</td>
<td>iserpakal</td>
<td>iserpase</td>
<td>iserpak</td>
<td>iserpaaat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### § 36. MODE IV. INTERROGATIVE

#### INTRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of conjugation</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiiwit</td>
<td>kalappit</td>
<td>iserpi</td>
<td>-yyippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiiwa</td>
<td>kalappi</td>
<td>iserpi</td>
<td>-yyippis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapippat</td>
<td>kalappi</td>
<td>iserpi</td>
<td>-yyila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapippat</td>
<td>kalappi</td>
<td>iserpi</td>
<td>-yyilat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of conjugation</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>thou—me</td>
<td>you—me</td>
<td>thou—me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapiiwa</td>
<td>kapiiwa</td>
<td>-yyiliga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iserpi</td>
<td>iserpi</td>
<td>-yyiliga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>thou—us</td>
<td>you—us</td>
<td>thou—us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapiiuwat</td>
<td>kapiiuwat</td>
<td>-yyiliuwat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iserpiuwat</td>
<td>iserpiuwat</td>
<td>-yyiliuwat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>thou—him</td>
<td>you—him</td>
<td>thou—him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapiiuk</td>
<td>kapiiuk</td>
<td>-yyiliuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iserpiuk</td>
<td>iserpiuk</td>
<td>-yyiliuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>thou—them</td>
<td>you—them</td>
<td>thou—them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapiiwit</td>
<td>kapiiwit</td>
<td>-yyilipit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iserpiwi</td>
<td>iserpiwi</td>
<td>-yyilipit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 36
### §37. MODE V. OPTATIVE

#### INTRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapilaya wish I would stab myself</td>
<td>katalaya</td>
<td>iserilaya wish I might enter</td>
<td>-yyikkile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilata</td>
<td>katalata</td>
<td>iserilata</td>
<td>-yyikkili</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>kapilawkkit</td>
<td>kapilawttityit</td>
<td>kapilisit</td>
<td>kapilisit or iserisit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td>kapilaweewse</td>
<td>kapilaweewse</td>
<td>kapilisawse</td>
<td>kapilisewse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>kapilara</td>
<td>kapilarsewse</td>
<td>kapilisuk</td>
<td>kapilisuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl.)</td>
<td>kapilakka</td>
<td>kapilawtput</td>
<td>kapilisuk</td>
<td>kapilisuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative forms are—
- *-yyikkiliuk* he—him
- *-yyikkiliyit* he—them

§ 37
§ 38. MODE VI. CONTEMPORATIVE

Stabbing or being stabbed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive (Active or Passive)</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapillupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilluta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapillutit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapilluse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapillune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapillutik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive or Passive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapillopo&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapillogi&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> That is, I without being stabbed.
<sup>2</sup> That is, he, he, I, etc., stabbing him, or he being stabbed by us, him, me, etc.
<sup>2</sup> That is, stabbing them, or they being stabbed.

§ 39. MODE VII. VERBAL NOUN OR VERBAL ADJECTIVE

α (noun).

Examples:
* asasse [a'sásẹ], with third person possessive suffix asassia the one who loves him, <أساسوئق
* ikioorte, in third person possessive ikiortua the one who helps him, his helper, <يكيورپوق

β (noun or adjective).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiseopa</td>
<td>isertopa I who enter</td>
<td>-ypitolopa I who don't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiseogut</td>
<td>isertogut we who enter</td>
<td>-ypitogut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapilsutit</td>
<td>isertutil thou who dost enter</td>
<td>-ypitutil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiseuse</td>
<td>isertuite you who enter</td>
<td>-ypituite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiseoq</td>
<td>isertoq he who enters</td>
<td>-ypitoeq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapisent</td>
<td>isertud they who enter</td>
<td>-ypitut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 38, 39
§ 40. MODE VIII. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asāssat} & \quad \text{one who is loved} \\
\text{asāssaram} & \quad \text{my beloved} \\
\text{asāssara} & \quad \text{thy beloved} \\
\text{asāssara} & \quad \text{his beloved, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

III

1st per. sing. ........................................... kalattara my dropped one (the thing I dropped)
1st per. pl. ............................................. kalattarput our dropped one (the thing we dropped)
2d per. sing. ............................................. kalattit thy dropped one (the thing thou dropped)
2d per. pl. ............................................. kalattarse your dropped one (the thing you dropped)
3d per. sing. ............................................. kalattina his dropped one (the thing he dropped)
3d per. pl. ............................................. kalattaiit their dropped one (the thing they dropped)
4th per. sing. ............................................. kalattiane his (sk) dropped one (the thing he dropped)
4th per. pl. ............................................. kalattaritik their (sk) dropped one (the thing they dropped)

All the typical endings of the possessive inflection of the nouns (§ 26) are available in this mode.

§ 41. MODE IX. TRANSITIVE PARTICIPLE

kapijima (S. W. Gr. kapigiga) I who stab him of that I stab (stabbed) him

\[
\begin{array}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{thou—me, us} & \text{you—me, us} & \text{he—me, us} & \text{they—me, us} \\
\text{kapiyimma} & \text{kapiyiesi} & \text{kapiyaapa} & \text{kapiyaapga} \\
\text{kapiyittig} & \text{kapiyiesi} & \text{kapiyaatig} & \text{kapiyaatig} \\
\hline
\text{I—thhee, you} & \text{we—thee, you} & \text{he—thee, you} & \text{they—thee, you} \\
\text{kapiyikki} & \text{kapiyite} & \text{kapiyite} & \text{kapiyite} \\
\text{kapiyitesse} & \text{kapiyitesse} & \text{kapiyitesse} & \text{kapiyitesse} \\
\hline
\text{I—him, them (sk)} & \text{thou—him, them (sk)} & \text{you—him, them (sk)} & \text{he—him, them (sk)} & \text{they—him, them (sk)} \\
\text{kapiyenne} & \text{kapiyittenne} & \text{kapiyittenne} & \text{kapiyittenne} & \text{kapiyittenne} \\
\text{kapiyitik} & \text{kapiyitik} & \text{kapiyitik} & \text{kapiyitik} & \text{kapiyitik} \\
\hline
\text{him—I, we} & \text{them—I, we} & \text{him—thou, you} & \text{them—thou, you} \\
\text{kapiyima} & \text{kapiyima} & \text{kapiyima} & \text{kapiyima} \\
\text{kapiyippu} & \text{kapiyippu} & \text{kapiyippu} & \text{kapiyippu} \\
\hline
\text{him—he (sk), they (sk)} & \text{them—he (sk), they (sk)} & \text{him, them—he (sk), they (sk)} & \text{him, them—she (sk), they (sk)} \\
\text{kapijima} & \text{kapijima} & \text{kapijima} & \text{kapijima} \\
\text{kapijianne} & \text{kapijianne} & \text{kapijianne} & \text{kapijianne} \\
\text{kapijittik} & \text{kapijittik} & \text{kapijittik} & \text{kapijittik} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

§§ 40, 41
§ 42. MODE X. PAST TENSE AND CAUSAL PROPOSITION

**kapinama** WHEN (AS) I STABBED MYSELF, BECAUSE I STAB (STABBED) MYSELF

### INTRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing...</td>
<td>kapipama</td>
<td>kalakkama</td>
<td>icerama</td>
<td>kapipimpanama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipawabe</td>
<td>kalakkawbeta</td>
<td>icerawbeta</td>
<td>kapipipinawbeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapipawit</td>
<td>kalakkawit</td>
<td>icerawit</td>
<td>kapipipinawit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipawsec</td>
<td>kalakkawsec</td>
<td>icerawsec</td>
<td>kapipipinawsec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapipawme</td>
<td>kalakkame</td>
<td>iceraame</td>
<td>kapipipinamme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipawamik</td>
<td>kalakkamik</td>
<td>icermamik</td>
<td>kapipipinamik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kutammata</td>
<td>icermata</td>
<td>kapipipimmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kutammata</td>
<td>icermata</td>
<td>kapipipimmat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TRANSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—me, us</th>
<th>you—me, us</th>
<th>he—me, us</th>
<th>they—me, us</th>
<th>he(se)—me, us</th>
<th>they(se)—me, us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapipamsama</td>
<td>kapipawwaste</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kapipisman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawstitgut</td>
<td>kapipawwstitgut</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kapipisman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—thee, you</td>
<td>we—thee, you</td>
<td>he—thee, you</td>
<td>they—thee, you</td>
<td>kapipima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawkit or</td>
<td>kapipawkit</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapipima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawsec</td>
<td>kapipawsec</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapipima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipaw恋人</td>
<td>capi-paw恋人</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapimmat</td>
<td>kapipima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him (se),</td>
<td>we—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td>you—him (se), them (se)</td>
<td>kapipawan</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them (se)</td>
<td>kapipawtinnce</td>
<td>kapipawan</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawttik</td>
<td>kapipawttik</td>
<td>kapipawan</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them</td>
<td>we—him, them</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawttik</td>
<td>kapipawttik</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—him, them</td>
<td>we—him, them</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipawtkko</td>
<td>kapipimmat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 42
§ 43. MODE XI. FUTURE TENSE AND CONDITIONAL PROPOSITION

**kapiyuma** WHEN (in future) I SHALL STAB MYSELF, IF I STAB MYSELF

**INTRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiyuma</td>
<td>katakkuma</td>
<td>iseruma</td>
<td>kapiyugkkuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>katakkusita</td>
<td>iserusita</td>
<td>kapiyugkusita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>katakkusita</td>
<td>iserusita</td>
<td>kapiyugkusita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>katakkusita</td>
<td>iserusita</td>
<td>kapiyugkusita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>katakkusita</td>
<td>iserusita</td>
<td>kapiyugkusita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>katakkusita</td>
<td>iserusita</td>
<td>kapiyugkusita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. sing.</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kutappita</td>
<td>iserpita</td>
<td>kapipparita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per. pl.</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kutappita</td>
<td>iserpita</td>
<td>kapipparita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSITIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>thou—me, us</th>
<th>you—me, us</th>
<th>he—me, us</th>
<th>they—me, us</th>
<th>he (se)—me, us</th>
<th>they (se)—me, us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapiyuma</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>kapiyusita</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
<td>kapippara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—thee, you</td>
<td>we—thee, you</td>
<td>he—thee, you</td>
<td>they—thee, you</td>
<td>he (se)—thee, you</td>
<td>they (se)—thee, you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiywkkito</td>
<td>kapiywkkito</td>
<td>kapipppita</td>
<td>kapipppita</td>
<td>kapipppita</td>
<td>kapipppita</td>
<td>kapipppita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II—him, them (se)</td>
<td>we—him, them (se)</td>
<td>you—him, them (se)</td>
<td>he—him, them (se)</td>
<td>they—him, them (se)</td>
<td>kapippanne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I—thee, you</td>
<td>we—thee, you</td>
<td>he—thee, you</td>
<td>they—thee, you</td>
<td>he (se)—thee, you</td>
<td>they (se)—thee, you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II—him, them</td>
<td>we—him, them</td>
<td>you—him, them</td>
<td>he—him, them</td>
<td>they—him, them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapiyuswse</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
<td>kapippswe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 44. MODE XII. ABSTRACT NOUN

**kapineq** THE ACT OF STABBING ONE'S SELF; THE BEING STABBED (BY ANOTHER); A STAB, WOUND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive singular</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kapineq</td>
<td>kapineq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§§ 43, 44
These forms are inflected alike, following the paradigm of *erneq* (§28); for instance,

1st per. sing. . . . kapinera my stab (stabbing, being stabbed)
1st per. pl. . . . . kapinerput our stab
3d per. sing. . . . kapinera his stab
3d per. pl. . . . . kapinerut their stab, etc.

**Defective Inflection (§§ 45-48)**

§ 45. Prevalence of Possessive or Absolute Inflection in Certain Words

Some words, or groups of words, can take only certain series of the suffixes previously described. All true nouns may take any of the inflectional suffixes of nouns, though of course in many cases the meaning causes one series to be used more frequently than others, or prevents their being inflected equally through all the forms of declension. We have already mentioned some words that are confined either to the plural, or to the dual, or to the singular (§ 17).

Likewise there are words that are nearly always possessive, while others occur generally without possessive pronouns. To the first group belong such words as signify parts of objects; as, for example,

\[\text{itsia the white of an egg} \quad \text{isua (}<\text{is}\text{) the eye of a man (or animal; eye of a needle}}\]
\[\text{siua the bow of a boat or animal; eye of a needle} \quad \text{inua the inhabitant or owner of a thing}\]

To the latter group belong, for example—

\[\text{taseq a lake} \quad \text{sila weather}\]
\[\text{nuna land} \quad \text{nammineq self}\]
\[\text{ukioq winter} \quad \text{naliyinnnaq everybody}\]

Altogether incompatible with possessive inflection are the demonstrative words (§ 50) and *kina* who, *suna* what, *alla* other.

§ 46. Interrogative and Personal Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns have irregular plurals. They form, however, regular local cases from the stems *ki* (singular), *kikkut*1 (plural), *sn* (singular and plural).

\[\text{kina who, plural kikkut (Al. kinkut [Barnum 77]); kimut to wmom, plural kikkunnut}\]

1The suffix -*kut* seems to mean society, family.
The Alaskan cha [ca], plural chat (Barnum 80), which is perhaps related to the Greenlandic *suna* what thing, is presented by Barnum as having both local and possessive inflection; but in Greenlandic these words have no possessive inflection.

Combination of first and second persons and local declension is seen in the personal pronouns:

```
uwaya I; plural uwamut we; uwavonne at me, uwattinne at us;
uwunnut to me, uwattinnut to us; uwattut like me
ililt thou; plural ilivisse or ilisse [ilisse] you; illinnut to thee,
ilivvinnut to you; ilittut like you, etc.
```

§ 47. Words Signifying **ALONE, WHOLE, ALL**

The following three nouns, signifying the abstract concept **ALONE, WHOLE, ALL**, in relation to persons or things, receive exclusively relative possessive endings, aside from the third person singular. They remind us of the inflection of modes x and xi of the verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per. sing.</th>
<th>kisima I or me alone (only)</th>
<th>ilooqarma I or me whole (all over the body)</th>
<th>tamarma I or me whole (wholly)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per. pl.</td>
<td>kisimuttta</td>
<td>ilooqawtta</td>
<td>tamawttu all of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per. dual</td>
<td>kisinnuk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. sing.</td>
<td>kisivit</td>
<td>ilooqarpit</td>
<td>tamarpilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. pl.</td>
<td>kisivisse</td>
<td>ilooqaxse</td>
<td>tamaxse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d per. dual</td>
<td>kisivttik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. sing.</td>
<td>kisimnë</td>
<td>ilooqarme</td>
<td>tamarme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th per. pl.</td>
<td>kisimnik</td>
<td>ilooqarmik</td>
<td>tamarmik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. sing.</td>
<td>kisiiit</td>
<td>ilooqaat</td>
<td>tamaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d per. pl.</td>
<td>kisicessa</td>
<td>ilooqawa</td>
<td>tamasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 48. **Numerals**

The distribution of the Eskimo numerals¹ may be symbolized in this manner:

```
I 2 3 4 5  II 2 3 4 5 (= 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10)
III 2 3 4 5  IV 2 3 4 5 (=11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20)
```

The word for 20 is *inuk naatelojo* A MAN BROUGHT TO AN END, all his fingers (or hands, I and II) and toes (or feet, III and IV) being counted.

¹Thalbitzer V (1908), 1-25.

§§ 47, 48
The numeral system of the Eskimo is quinary, closely following the fingers and toes of man. An Eskimo always has recourse to his fingers in counting, lifting his hands in front of him. Nevertheless the terms for the numerals are not identical with those for the fingers or toes. (See examples below.)

The numerals lack the possessive inflection except in the third person, by means of which the ordinal numbers are formed.

The following numerals quoted from Thalbitzer (V), Bourquin, Petitot, and Barnum, are slightly transcribed according to my phonetic orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal numbers</th>
<th>West Greenland</th>
<th>Labrador</th>
<th>Mackenzie River</th>
<th>Southwest Alaska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>ataaueq</td>
<td>ataaueq</td>
<td>ataeq</td>
<td>ataaueq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>marbluk or</td>
<td>marbluk or</td>
<td>mabraluk</td>
<td>marbluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arlaa</td>
<td>appa [azza]?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sialmat</td>
<td>sialmat</td>
<td>sialmat</td>
<td>sialmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lalatmat</td>
<td>lalatmat</td>
<td>lalatmat</td>
<td>lalatmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(6)</td>
<td>arpinuneq or</td>
<td>arpinuneq</td>
<td>arpinuneq</td>
<td>arpinuneq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arpinunllitt</td>
<td>arpinunllitt</td>
<td>arpinunllitt</td>
<td>arpinunllitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>marbluk</td>
<td>aggardat</td>
<td>aggardat</td>
<td>marbluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
<td>piaqar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sialmat or</td>
<td>sialmat</td>
<td>sialmat or</td>
<td>sialmat or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gualatualt</td>
<td>gualatualt</td>
<td>gualatualt</td>
<td>gualatualt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>gualt</td>
<td>gualt</td>
<td>gualt</td>
<td>gualt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gualt [gualt]?</td>
<td>gualt</td>
<td>gualt</td>
<td>gualt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III(11)</td>
<td>arqaneq or</td>
<td>arqaneq</td>
<td>arqaneq or</td>
<td>arqaneq or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arqanillitt or</td>
<td>arqanillitt</td>
<td>arqanillitt</td>
<td>arqanillitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>istkaneq or</td>
<td>istkaneq</td>
<td>istkaneq</td>
<td>istkaneq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>istkankanillitt</td>
<td>istkankanillitt</td>
<td>istkankanillitt</td>
<td>istkankanillitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV(16)</td>
<td>arpersaneq or</td>
<td>arpersaneq</td>
<td>arpersaneq</td>
<td>arpersaneq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arpersanillitt</td>
<td>arpersanillitt</td>
<td>arpersanillitt</td>
<td>arpersanillitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(21)</td>
<td>unna or</td>
<td>unna or</td>
<td>unna or</td>
<td>unna or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unnisit</td>
<td>unnisit</td>
<td>unnisit</td>
<td>unnisit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *Lik, plural of -lik having, supplied with; in plural also -leet, leet; same as M. -leerli, Al. -lizzin (Petitot LIV) (Barnum 41: lik, plural likit).
2. Quile UPPER ONE, in third person possessive quile + iual INNER ONE (i.e., the fourth finger, the forefinger).
3. Plural of quile THE UPPER ONES (the hands or fingers as opposed to the toes).
4. Corresponds to the Greenland ordinal arpeypal THE SIXTH.
5. Cf. aggap-two = Gr. arlaa (ordinal).
6. Cikpaq, cf. ciku RESTE, RETAILLE, Al. ciploq IT EXCEEDS, Gr. siwmnera SURPLUS.

§ 48
Irregular Inflection (§§ 49, 50)

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *kina* and *suna* have irregular relative cases formed without *p* or other labial modification; thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kina</em> is who</td>
<td><em>kun</em> of whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>suna</em> is what</td>
<td><em>sua</em> of what (or *soop &lt; <em>so-up</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 50. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the following manner:

**SINGULAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>he (she, it) there</th>
<th>the one referred to (in speech or thought)</th>
<th>this here</th>
<th>that yonder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>na, pa</td>
<td>una</td>
<td>taawa</td>
<td>manna</td>
<td>ippa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>(gu)na</td>
<td>ooma</td>
<td>taawsumma</td>
<td>maluma</td>
<td>isuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>mappa</td>
<td>oomoppa</td>
<td>taawsumoppa</td>
<td>malumoppa</td>
<td>isumoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mane</td>
<td>oomane</td>
<td>taawsumane</td>
<td>malumane</td>
<td>isumane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abative</td>
<td>moppa</td>
<td>oomayopa</td>
<td>taawsumayopa</td>
<td>malumayopa</td>
<td>isumayopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentals</td>
<td>moppa</td>
<td>oomipopa</td>
<td>taawsumipopa</td>
<td>malumipopa</td>
<td>isumipopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>moona</td>
<td>oomoona</td>
<td>taawsumoona</td>
<td>maloomona</td>
<td>isoomona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLURAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>'he (she, it) there</th>
<th>the one referred to (in speech or thought)</th>
<th>this here</th>
<th>that yonder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>ko or</td>
<td>'ako</td>
<td>taawko</td>
<td>makko</td>
<td>ikko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Relative)</td>
<td>koa</td>
<td>'akoa</td>
<td>taawkoa</td>
<td>makkoa</td>
<td>ikkoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>moppa</td>
<td>ukunoppa</td>
<td>taawkonoppa</td>
<td>makunoppa</td>
<td>ikkunoppa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>ukunane</td>
<td>taawkonunane</td>
<td>makununane</td>
<td>iikununane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abative</td>
<td>moppa</td>
<td>ukunayopa</td>
<td>taawkonayopa</td>
<td>makunayopa</td>
<td>iikunayopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentals</td>
<td>moppa</td>
<td>ukunipopa</td>
<td>taawkonipopa</td>
<td>makunipopa</td>
<td>iikunipopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td>moona</td>
<td>ukonona</td>
<td>taawkononona</td>
<td>makunonona</td>
<td>iikkonona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

§§ 49, 50
In the same way is inflected *iwa*na (relative *iwa*ssuna) THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED (Latin ILLE).

There are some other demonstrative pronouns—

*iwa*na he (she, it) in the north
*qwa*na he in the south; he in there (in the house); he out there (outside of the house)
*pwa*na he up there in the east
*sawa*na he down there in the sea
*ka*na he down there
*ki*na he there in the south
*pi*na he up there in the east

All of these follow the paradigms of *taa*na and *iya*. And just as the latter forms with the prefix *la* *ta*ya (the one previously mentioned we are speaking of), so all these pronouns may take the prefix *ta* and signify the one we are just now speaking of (or thinking of); as *tamanna, taqwa*na, *taswa*na, *takana*, etc.

These words have no possessive inflection. Still more defective is the inflection of the demonstrative local adverbs, in which three of the inflectional endings of the demonstrative pronouns appear; e. g., —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>here</th>
<th>there</th>
<th>yonder</th>
<th>in the north</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td><em>maane</em></td>
<td><em>uwayne</em></td>
<td><em>ikane</em></td>
<td><em>awane</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td><em>pa</em></td>
<td><em>maa</em></td>
<td><em>oppa</em></td>
<td><em>ikopa</em></td>
<td><em>auopa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>ppa</em></td>
<td><em>maap</em></td>
<td><em>uoppa</em></td>
<td><em>ikappa</em></td>
<td><em>auappa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutive</td>
<td><em>ona</em></td>
<td><em>maona</em></td>
<td><em>w</em>xoona</td>
<td><em>ikoona</em></td>
<td><em>avoona</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PARTICLES (§§ 51–54)**

Although words lacking inflection are not in themselves affected by the manifold changes due to inflection, some of them at least exert a certain influence on the syntactic structure or on the grammatical forms of the words governed by them. This applies especially to the modal and temporal particles (§ 52 and § 53), and will become clear from the examples given below:

§ 51. Interjections

*a* amazement or bewilderment.

*isse* *ajisse* *'a* how terrible the cold is! (literally, the cold its badness, a!)

*ta,* *ata,* calls attention to something: LOOK HERE!

§ 51
aja sighing, especially used by women and children.
aja qasqqaqya how tired I am!

eeq or teeq expresses scorn or irony.

na 'aa sudden pain.
kakkaak, assaasakak, surprise, wonder, admiration (M. apkalé
ah! [admiration.])

For hunters' calls, see Thalbitzer I, 323-326:

drrr . . . drrr . . . used in decoying young gulls.
qu'teeq qu'teeq to old female gulls.
taka'teeq taka'teeq qrg to the three-toed gulls.
ha'rrum ha'rrum to auks.
qar qar to ravens.

§ 52. Modal Particles

aa calling attention to something. In some cases it is used as a prefix:

'aauna, 'aauna look here, here it (una) is! the same as aajuna
In other cases it is used as a suffix; e. g.,
ooma-aa you there, come here! (ooma is the relative case of una,
thus meaning of him there)

aa is very much like the sign of the a vocative in such cases as—
ataata-aa father!
aa-makko they, there!

atayo lo! behold! (with future tense of the verb following it.)
atayo usissayit try it and you shall see you will be all right

sun'aauffa (<suna what + uffa there) expresses surprise.
usë (bringing something back to his memory) now I remember.
usiuuffa (<use + uffa) I thought that——. This particle is always
followed by a participle or a noun.

usiuuffa takussayiya I thought (expected) I should have seen him

qanortoq Latin utinam, followed by optative of the verb.

massa takussariya ilimariyyilara although I have often seen him,
I do not know him

soorLo as, as if.

§ 52
§ 53. Temporal Particles

ittaq a long time ago (South Gr. itsaq).
ippassaq yesterday (M. ikpektciak).
ullume to-day.
qlamik soon (M. kpillamik).
istorna last year (literally, the one just before).
kiiyorna hereafter (M. kiunapagun).
qyya when (in the preterite).
qaqonyo when (in the future).

qa'qutiyut at times, from time to time
aqayo to-morrow.

§ 54. Particles for Expressing Question and Answer

aap yes (M. il).
naaxa no, no (M. tchuütop, diunak; West coast of Hudson bay naaga).
naamik no (there is no; it is not there).

naark where

sooq why

sooruna certainly.

massame certainly, indeed.

ilumut indeed, I do not lie.

immaqa perhaps (M. tabliu; West coast of Hudson bay iluukuni).

asukiak I do not know, maybe.

taasaqa I hardly believe.

ai is it, do you (M. tutchayotin aïn comprends-tu?).

qa'noq how (M. naw-kut, naw-naw, kpano-kpano).
i'laa isn't it so?
qujanaq thanks (M. kpoyanapa).

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 55–60)

§ 55. General Characteristics of Suffixes

In the Eskimo language suffixes (and infixes) are used to an extent quite unknown to European languages.¹ It has been shown in the preceding chapters that all the grammatical and syntactical ideas of our languages are expressed by this means, and that these forms differentiated into a highly elaborate system. Besides this, many concepts that enrich the subject-matter of our sentences, and which

¹ Thalbitzer II, 60–62.
we express by means of adjectives and adverbs, are in Eskimo suffixes attached to the words expressing fundamental ideas. Nearly one-sixth of the Eskimo "words" (bases, stems, and suffixes) are suffixes.

One suffix may be linked to another, and in this way the fundamental idea of the base-word is gradually more and more specialized and enriched. A whole sentence may be expressed in a word—in a word-sentence.

All suffixes are imperfect words—i.e., sound-complexes or single sounds—each of which has a definite signification. Without much practice it is difficult to recognize the suffixes included in compound words, because at the beginning and at the ending of the suffix phonetic assimilation by the preceding and following sounds occurs.

The order of the suffixes is of importance, and full freedom is not allowed in their use. The independent fundamental word must be placed at the beginning of the word-sentence, and the suffixes are attached to it to explain it more fully. Such suffixes as describe the qualities of the fundamental idea or its modes of action, or which refer to size or time, follow these, and appear inserted between the leading stem and the inflectional endings. These, in turn, are attached more closely to the whole word-cluster than the syntactical suffixes which may terminate it; e.g., -lo and, -ttaaq also.

The majority of the suffixes may be freely attached to any word. Thus- liorpog to make or create may be attached to any word which signifies something that can in any way be made or created. But there are also many suffixes the use of which is restricted to a certain class of ideas, and which may be attached to these only. The suffix -(r)nar- means for the first time, but only in the sense of noticing something for the first time: takornarpara, tusarnarpara I see it for the first time, I hear it for the first time. With other words, like to use a thing, or to make a journey, for the first time, another suffix, -(r)yaar-, is used: atorgaarpara I use it for the first time.

There are many adjectival and adverbial notions for which no suffixes exist. When for this reason it is not possible to express a group of ideas in one word, or in one compound, then the cluster will be broken up, or the expression will be divided into two or several parts. The logical relations between these parts are often shown in the inflection of the word expressing the idea that has been separated. In some cases, however, it can not be recognized by the
inflectional form, but must be deduced from the connection. If the
Eskimo wants to say I HAVE A LARGE KAYAK, this may be expressed
in one word, because there are suffixes to denote LARGE (senuaq), HAVE
(garpooq), and I (ya, ra); but I HAVE A RED KAYAK must be expressed
in two words, because there are no special suffixes to signify colors,
so that the idea RED must be isolated and expressed by an independent
word. The former sentence is expressed by qajarssuaqarpopa (KAYAK-
LARGE-HAVE-I); the latter by aapalaartumikqajaqarpopa; here the
first part (RED) is a participle of the verb aapalaarpq IT IS RED,
used in the instrumentalis (-mik), so that the whole phrase translated
literally means RED (OR REDLY) KAYAK-HAVE-I, very much as one
would say I ROW QUICKLY IN A KAYAK.

§ 56. Classes of Derivative Suffixes

The suffixes are divided into two classes, according to their use.
Some are employed to transform the nominal or verbal quality of
the independent words, so that nouns are turned into verbs, and verbs
into nouns; others, merely to further develop the independent words
by enriching them with attributive ideas, but without transforming
their nature. Thus it may be seen, in regard both to the suffixes and
to the initial stems, that a distinction may be drawn between nouns
and verbs, nominal and verbal suffixes, and consequently four funda-
mental types of arrangement may be observed, and symbolized thus:

$N > v = V$; i. e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming

a verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb Suffix</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>-liorpoq</td>
<td>iLLuliorpoq he builds a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>-sunnippoq</td>
<td>pujorsunnippoq it has the smell or taste of smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>-erpaa</td>
<td>ameerpaa takes the skin off it, skins it (e. g., the seal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horn</td>
<td>-mijarpaa</td>
<td>nassumijarpaa horns him, butts him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$V > n = N$; i. e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix, and so making

a noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun Suffix</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrives</td>
<td>-qut(e) companion</td>
<td>tikeryataa his arrival-companion, his fellow-traveller</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 56
\( V + v = V \); i. e., a verb developed more fully by a verb suffix, the whole constituting a more complex verbal notion:

- \( \text{uter(poq)} \) he returns + \( -\text{asuar-} \) \( \text{uterasuarpoq} \) he hastens to return

\( N + n = N \); i. e., a noun more fully developed by a noun-suffix, the whole constituting a more fully developed noun:

- \( \text{illo house + mio dweller} \) \( \text{illumio house dweller} \)
- \( \text{illo house + korest, remnant} \) \( \text{illuko a ruin} \)
- \( \text{illo house + yyyuaq little} \) \( \text{illoyyuaq a small house} \)

Any compound ending in a suffix may be transformed or further developed. The suffixes thus used for purposes of development and transformation may even succeed each other within the same group. Thus \( \text{pisinooq he gets (si) a thing (pe)} \), of the formation \( N > v \), may be further developed by verbal suffixes and become \( \text{pisinialerpoq he begins (-ler-) to try (-niar-) to get a thing (i. e., he begins to buy a thing), which is consequently the formation } N > v + v + v \). The latter is again transformed by a noun-suffix into \( \text{pisinialerfik a place, or the place (-fik), where one (he) begins (or began) to buy a thing (or the thing), in which change the formation } N > v + v + v + v > n \) is produced; and this may again be transformed into a verb \( \text{(pisinialer-riya) by means of the verbalizing -a (in the third possessive singular) he has it (or him) as a place where he began to buy the thing (i. e., it was in that place where, or of that person of whom he began to buy the thing). In this case the last change gives the formation } N > v + v + v + v > n > v \).

§ 57. Comparison of Eskimo and Indo-European Derivative Suffixes

In the first instance the Eskimo suffixes are distinguished from those of our own languages by their number; but they differ no less in the vitality of their meanings and in their movability. Thus the diminutive endings in the German \( \text{Rösslein, Häuschen, in the English brooklet,} \) and in the Latin \( \text{homunculus, servulus, impress us as being fossils in comparison with the Eskimo adjectival suffixes, which may be attached freely to all words. In quite another sense than in our languages, the words of the Eskimo are born on the tongue on the spur of the moment. Where we possess finished, fully developed words or phrases, the Eskimo create new combinations specially} \)
formed to meet the claim of every situation. In regard to word-formations, the language is incessantly in statu nascendi.

The greater number of the suffixes of our languages may be proved to have been originally independent words (e. g., the English -ly, -ship, -dom, -some, -ful, -less, etc.). How far the Eskimo suffixes have ever been independent words is extremely doubtful; at any rate, there is nothing to show that such is the case.

The Eskimo mode of expression differs essentially from ours in the peculiar power that the suffixes have of linking themselves not simply to an independent word-stem, but to each other, with the result that a complex of ideas may be developed and enlarged within the limits of a single word. We think in sentences, but the Eskimo's thought lives and moves in the word as an embryo in the womb. Even the object of the verb is included in the word-sentence; e. g., illoqarpoya I HAVE A HOUSE.

§ 58. Inflection and Polysynthesis

These peculiar characteristics have determined the viewpoint taken by philologists in regard to the Eskimo language. This may be seen in the work of the Danish scholar Rasmus Rask, who knew the language through the grammars of the missionaries Paul Egede (1760) and Otho Fabricius (1791, 2d ed. 1801), and who has described it in a chapter of his "Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse" (1818).

H. Steinhthal referred the Eskimo and the Mexican languages to a special type, the so-called einverleibende type of W. v. Humboldt, which "draws the object into the verb and usually also combines the governing word (regens) and the attribute into a whole. . . . The word-formation has swallowed up the sentence-formation, the sentence merges into the word; those who use these languages do not speak in sentences, but in words." According to Steinhthal, this type of language belongs neither to the agglutinative nor to the stem-isolating type; it must be called a "formless" type of language.

Lucien Adam, who, at the Americanist Congress of 1888, spoke on the relation of the Greenland language to other languages, arrived at the conclusion that the Eskimo language is not polysynthetic, as are many other languages of North America, but is only a derivative lan-

1H. Steinhthal, Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues (Neubearbeitung von Mistell, Berlin, 1888).
guage. He set forth that the derivation à l'infini of this language is due only to exaggeration of a method which is common to all polysyllabic languages, and that the Eskimo language differs from other American languages, and from the Ural-Altaic language, merely by the exaggeration of the derivative method.

As regards the descriptive term polysynthetic, it would seem that it very appropriately expresses the conglomeration or clustering of ideas which occurs in Eskimo word-sentences. To use this term as applying to the Eskimo language as a whole is an exaggeration, only in so far as that not all ideas are expressed polysynthetically, but articulate sentences also occur.

We are no doubt as fully justified in speaking of form-endings and inflection in the Eskimo language as we are in speaking of them in those languages that are specially regarded as inflectional. Thus in the Eskimo language both nouns and verbs are inflected to indicate number, case, person, etc., and, as mentioned above, the syntactic relation may likewise be expressed by means of special endings.

On the other hand, it can not well be denied that in the signification and use of the forms certain logical and fundamental differences from the grammatical system of our languages occur, which differences give evidence of marked peculiarities in the psychic basis of the Eskimo language.

§ 59. Noun and Verb

In the Eskimo mind the line of demarcation between the noun and the verb seems to be extremely vague, as appears from the whole structure of the language, and from the fact that the inflectional endings are, partially at any rate, the same for both nouns and verbs. This is especially true of the possessive suffixes.

The part played by the possessive suffixes in the Eskimo language extends far beyond the use which our languages make of the "possessive pronouns." The person-suffixes of the Eskimo verbs prove to be identical with the possessive suffixes of the nouns (equivalent to my, thy, his, our, etc.), which may be regarded as an evidence of the noun-character of the verb. Even the verb-forming suffixes -woq and -poq (third person singular, mode ii) appear to be inseparable from the structure of the noun. Therefore these endings for the third person indicative must be regarded as impersonal forms (kapíwoq there is a stab, one is stabbed), or as marking the neutral form of the finite verb,
which assumes a personal meaning only when the purport of the sentence as a whole forces upon the speaker and hearer the idea of a third person that is in a certain condition (passively or reflexively). Thus it happens that personal and impersonal verbs show the same forms throughout.

\[ s'\mathring{\text{u}}\text{allerpoq} \] rain is, it rains
\[ atorpoq \] use is, it is used
\[ tiki\text{ppoq} \] arrival is, he arrives
\[ kapi\text{w}oq \] stab is, he is stabbed, or he stabs himself

Accordingly the inflected verb in the indicative intransitive is properly translated in this manner:

\[ atorpo\text{ya} \] my use = I am used
\[ atorpu\text{tit} \] thy use = thou art used
\[ atorpoq \] use = one is used
\[ = \text{he, it, is used} \]
\[ tiki\text{ppo\text{ya}} \] my arrival = I arrive
\[ tiki\text{ppu\text{tit}} \] thy arrival = thou arrivest
\[ tiki\text{ppoq} \] arrival = one arrives
\[ = \text{he arrives} \]

The same applies to the transitive forms of the finite verb; thus—

\[ atorpo\text{rara} \] my its use = I use it
\[ atorpu\text{pat} \] thy its use = thou usest it
\[ atorpo\text{a} \] his its use = he uses it
\[ kapi\text{w}ara \] my its stab = I stab it
\[ kapi\text{wat} \] thy its stab = thou stabbest it
\[ kapi\text{w}aa \] his its stab = he stabs it

In case an independent word is added as subject, it is used in the relative case:

\[ \text{Peelip kapi\text{wa\text{aya}}} \] Peele's my-his-stab = Peele stabs me
\[ \text{Peelip kapi\text{w}a\text{atit}} \] Peele's thy-his-stab = Peele stabs thee
\[ \text{Peelip kapi\text{w}aa} \] Peele's his-his-stab = Peele stabs him (another)

It is worth noticing that the base of the verb seems to have a passive or reflexive sense; e. g., Peele kapi\text{w}oq P. STABS HIMSELF, OR P. IS STABBED. Our transitive sentence construction (HE STABS ME) is based on the idea of an active relation between subject and object. The corresponding Eskimo form of speech is based on a passive or reflexive relation between the subject and the object; that is to say, in the Eskimo language no strictly transitive use of the verb is

§ 59
known. The verb is treated as a noun + a verb-forming suffix (-wo, -wo; -po, -pa) which gives the noun a passive or reflexive signification, + the mark of the absolutive (-q) or of the person. If we translate an Eskimo verb as an active relation between subject and object, it is only quasi-transitive. Its fundamental idea is rather that of a passive than that of an active verb. The Eskimo does not say HE STABS ME, HE SEES ME, but rather MY BEING STABBED BY HIM IS, MY BEING SEEN BY HIM IS.

Judging from these considerations, we get the impression that to the Eskimo mind the nominal concept of the phenomena of life is predominant. The verbal idea has not emancipated itself from the idea of things that may be owned, or which are substantial. Anything that can be named and described in words, all real things, actions, ideas, resting or moving, personal or impersonal, are subject to one and the same kind of observation and expression. We are accustomed to conceive activities or qualities as essentially different from the things in themselves, and we have a special class of words (viz., the verbs) to express them. They seem to impress the Eskimo mind, or to be reflected by it, as definite phenomena of the same kind as the things, and accordingly are named and interpreted by means of the same class of terms as are used for naming things. The Eskimo verb merely forms a sub-class of nouns.

§ 60. List of Suffixes

The following abbreviations have been used in the list of suffixes:

v. is suffixed to verbs only.

N. is suffixed to nouns only.

N > v is suffixed to nouns after they have been transformed into verbs.

If neither v. nor N. is added, the suffix may be attached to either class of words. The nominal or verbal character of the suffix may be determined by its signification or by its form.

intr. = intransitive.

ntr. = neutral, i. e., transitive or intransitive, according to the significance of the leading word.

áct, áit N. or v. (marks a question or a polite invitation) how?

please; e. g., illit-áit you, how? i. e., is it you (or yours)?

ajwppog v. ntr. frequently

aluag (N.), aluarpoq v. N > v, ntr. otherwise; former (with proper names); late; although; certainly, it is true—but —— (forms conditional mode in verbs)
alparpoq v. ntr. preliminarily, provisionally; first, yet
araq n. miniature, diminutive; a young one; a little
araaoq v. ntr. is in the habit of. In mode x, first person singular ariyama or ararayama.
asuarpoq v. ntr. hastens to ——; in a short time, speedily
erpaq n. deprives it of, removes the —— of it
erpoq has lost its ——; sells
erserpoq has lost something he possessed
erxiwoq has some part of his body frozen
fik, ffrik v. place-of time
fiqaa v. has him (or it) (B) for his (A) place to ——, he (it) is his place to ——, i. e., he (B) is the object of his (A’s) action.
g-, see y
iiaarpoq, see jiarrpoq
iaq, liaq, siaq n., in third person possessive, made by him; in first person possessive, made by me
iaq (v.), iiaarpoq, tariaarpoq v. intr. he (it) is to be ——ed (the sense of this suffix corresponds to that of the gerundive in Latin)
iarpoq n. deprives it of several parts, or deprives it of its —— several times (cf. erpaq)
iarpoq n. has got it (his weapon, etc.) injured; broken
 iarpoq, liarpoq n. intr. goes to (a place); is out hunting ——
 iartorpoq v. ntr. goes or comes in order to ——; more and more
iniwoq v. ntr. somewhat, very little more ——
innaq n., innarpoq v. ntr. only; exclusively, constantly; without hesitation
ioq v. ntr. also, too; indeed
iorpoq, liorpoq n. works, manufactures; transitive, works (something) for him
iuppaa, liuppaa n. works or makes a —— of it, uses it for making a ——
ippaa, liippaq n. intr. has arrived at (a place)
ippaaq is without; is not ——
isorpoq n. intr. has gone or come to fetch ——
issarpoq, liissarpoq n. intr. takes a —— with him; carries (something) with him
jaarpoq v. ntr. early
jawoq v. intr. is apt to, may easily ——
juippoq, suippoq v. intr. never
gaadq v. ntr. (intensive) very much, strongly
garpoq n. intr. has ——; there is ——
gat, in third person possessive, his companion, fellow; another of the same kind
gatiyaa has him as (for) his companion
§ 60
qattaarpooq v. ntr. many in succession; several times
qinaawoq v. ntr. it might easily come to pass; wish he (it) would not
qut n. or v. appurtenance; instrument by means of which —
kanneq n., kannerpoq v. towards; nearly, not far from —
karpooq v. intr. suddenly
kaarpooq v. intr. with long, equal intervals
kasik n., kasippooq v. ntr. vexatious, bad; odiously, badly; unfortunately
kaussak n., kaussapooq v. intr. vexatious, vexatiously; ugly
katapooq ntr. has got too much of —; is sick of —; is tired by —
kippoq n. intr. has (a) little; has little —
koo n. refuse, waste; remnant; cast off, left off
kootaarput or -rrpaa n. (by numerals) at the time
kuluk n. pitiable; wretched
kuluppoq v. ntr. rather little, tolerably
kkuppaa v. regards, deems, takes him for —
kkut n., family, society, company
llapooq, llattiarpoq v. ntr. a short time, a moment
lluttaarpooq ntr. now and then, from time to time
llarpoq v. ntr. with speed; with might and main
llarqippooq v. ntr. he is very clever in —
laarpooq v. ntr. but little; slowly
lawooq v. intr. impulsively; in an unsteady state
le n. or v. but
lerivooq, erivooq n. intr. is occupied with, has something to do with —
lleq n. (local superlative) the extreme one as to place, the —most
lerpoq v. ntr. begins to —; is about to —
lerpaa, serpaa (cf. erpaa) n. supplies him (it) with a —; places a — on it
lerssaaarpooq v. ntr. intends to
leritorpoq v. ntr. in short time
liaq I, see iaq; liarpoq, see iarpoq
liaq II n. one who travels to a (place); one who is out hunting —
or gathering —
liorpoq, see iorpoq
lik, pl. llit n. having —, supplied with
lo n. or v. and; lo—lo, both — and
looneet or; looneet—looneet, either — or
lluarpooq v. ntr. well, right; opportunely; completely; at all
lluinnarpooq v. ntr. wholly; completely

§ 60
lluppoq, luppóq N. intr. has (a) bad — — ; v. intr. badly — — ; has a pain (in some part of his body)
luussinnarpoq v. ntr. in vain
lusooq N. or v. like, as if it were
mmaaq v. one who is practised in — — , skilled in — —
mmaawoq v. is practised in — — , skilled in — —
mawoq v. ntr. is in the state of — —
me N. or v. (intensive) indeed, then
munersorpoq v. ntr. long time, long
mmippoq rmippoq N. (instrumentalis) makes a movement with — — (that part of his body)
mineq N. a piece of — — , a fragment of — —
mio N. inhabitant of — —
misaarpoq v. ntr. by little and little; weakly
mmioq, rmioq v. ntr. (rare) after all
mivq see imivq
mukarpoq, mmukarpoq N. intr. goes (is gone) in the direction of — —
mukaarpoq N. intr. is situated in the direction of — — , faces — —
nay, rnaq N. peculiar.
nnaaq, nnaayua N. his dearest one, favorite, pet
nnaarpoq v. ntr. enjoys to — — , with pleasure, continues to — —
nararpaa, nnaarpa v. makes it too — — ; finds it beyond his expectations
narpoq, nnarpoq v. (this suffix gives the third person of the finite verb a subjective sense; the third person is used thus for I as a form of modesty; the impersonality = I); (passive; thus used in all persons) is to be — ed, is — ed
naraa v. he thinks it — ing
nawiarpoq v. ntr. there is a risk that — — ; most probably it will — —
naweeroq v. ntr. there is no longer any risk that — — ; now he (it) can not more — —
naweersarpaa v. prevents him from — —
ney (verb abstract; mode xii)
negqarpoq (passive suffix, especially of such verbs as are not used in mode xi)
nararpaa v. says that he (it) — — , says that he is — —
nerluppoq v. ntr. wrongly (cf. lluppoq)
nerroq v. ntr. I wonder whether — — , or if — —
neruwoq v. ntr. (comparative) more
níaq, niarpoq ntr. aims at; endeavors
nnarpoq (suffixed to local adverbs) goes (to) there
nnippoq (verbal derivative, of the verb abstract, mode xii)
§ 60
yaa, raa has him (it) for ——, he (it) is his ——; takes him (it) for ——; thinks him (it) to be ——

yajak N., yajappoq v. ntr. nearly, almost

yasaarpoq N. is much frequented, full of ——

yaarpoq v. ntr. in a high degree, very much

yee, yeet, reet; yeepu, reepu n. (or v.) pair, joined in pairs; reciprocally, mutually

ynilaq v. ntr. not (forms the negative conjugation in the verbs; see §§ 32 et seq.)

nippoq, rippoq N. ntr. is good, has good —— or nice ——

yooq (gooq), rooq n. or v. it is related, it is said to be ——

yoorpoq N. intr. becomes, grows; trans. makes him (it) become ——

ynuaq N., ynnuarpoq v. ntr. little ——, dear little; with pleasure

ypolpoq (guppoq) N. intr. longs for ——

paat, passuit n. a multitude, a great many

palaaq N., palaarpoq v. ntr. worthless; trash

pallappoq, paluppoq ntr. looks as if, sounds as if, behaves as if ——

pal'laarpoq, see wallaarpoq

piluk n., piluppoq v. ntr. evil, bad

rpoq, rpoq N. has caught a ——; has put —— (one's clothes) on raa, see yaa

reerpoq v. ntr. has done with ——, has already ——

riarpoq v. ntr. (in epic style) eagerly

rippoq v. ntr. is skilled in ——, is master at ——

rqad'nioopu v. ntr. in emulation; they contend with ——

rqajarpoq v. ntr. nearly, had nearly ——

rqammerpoq v. ntr. just, just now

rqarpoq v. ntr. hardly, with difficulty

rqaarpoq v. ntr. first

rqippoq v. ntr. again

rqippoq (cf. llarqippoq) v. ntr. is able to

rqissicov v. ntr. is or can better now than before

rqissuarpoq v. ntr. doing to the best of one's ability; diligently

rqoortpoq v. ntr. presumably, most likely

rqortoq n. has a large ——, has a great ——

rquppoq, rquppaq N. goes that way, along that side of it

rquruaq v. ntr. wants him to ——, bids or asks him to; intr. wants himself to be —— ed by some one else

rlaad v. newly, recently

rujuk n., rujuappoq v. ntr. improper, improperly

rujonnuaq wretched; miserable, pitiable

rujussuaq enormous; awfully ——

§ 60
rusuppoq v. ntr. is inclined to ——, should like to ——
sarpoq v. (causative) works that he (it) ——
sarpoq, see tarpoq
ssaq n. future; something that may be used for ——
*ssawoq v. ntr. (future tense) shall, will (cf. ssooq and ssua)
ssarpoq v. intr. manifoldly
ssarpoq v. ntr. has ceased to ——
ssanawoq v. ntr. thinks that he shall or will ——
sarpoq, see lerpaq
siaq n. bought; got into one's possession
sinawoq v. ntr. (preterite, especially the perfect tense) presumably, likely
sinnaawoq v. ntr. is out hunting ——; is in search of ——; moves, travels in or on ——
siwoq, ssiiwoq gets or has got ——; comes into possession of ——; comes across ——
ssippaa n. manufactures (that) to him which he shall have
ssooq < *ssawoq (q. v.), 1 sing. sssooya; 2 sing. sswooit; 3 sing. sssooq;
1 pl. sssoonyut; 2 pl. sssoose; 3 pl. ssapput
soraa, sopaa v. thinks that he (it) ——, supposes that ——
ssuaa < *ssawaa (see ssawoq), mode iii, 1 sing. ssuaara; 2 sing.
ssuat; 3 sing. ssuaa; 1 pl. ssapput, etc.
ssuaq n., ssuarpoq v. great, big; large; wide; greatly, strongly, largely
sunnippoq n. intr. has a smell or taste of
ssweig v. (verb abstract, cf. ney)
ttaarq, ssaaq n. and v. also, too
taaliwaa v. prevents him (it) from ——
taq, saq, ssaq v. (passive participle, mode viii)
taq, saq, n. a part of ——; belonging to ——
taaq, ssaq n. a new ——
ttarpoq, ssarpoq n. has got a new ——
tarpoq, sarpoq v. ntr. (iterative) often, frequently; used to ——,
is in the habit of ——; knows how to ——
te v. (verb noun, mode vii)
tiyaaq v. intr. is so, is such
tiyaa v. is to him such; has him for his ——
tippaa, sippaa v. (causative) occasions him (it) to ——, makes him ——; intr. makes himself ——
toqaq, soqaq n. old
torpoq, sorpoq, rssorpoq employs it several times; eats it; uses it
toorpoq v. ntr. it occurred to him that ——
tterpaa, serpaq; tteeroq v. waits for ——
ttiiq n., ttiarpoq v. ntr. middling, moderate; pretty; a short time
§ 60
tuag N., tuarpooq v. ntr. the only one; only, only one time

tuinnarpooq v. ntr. assiduously, continuously

tuunooq N. intr. has a great ——; has many ——

uarpooq N. has too many ——

unaarpooq, jumaarpooq v. ntr. (future tense) will or shall in the future, not immediately, but later on

umawooq, jumawooq v. ntr. (future) will, wishes to ——

unnarpooq, junnarpooq v. ntr. probably, most likely

unnaarpooq v. ntr. no longer, no more

uppaarv. (this suffix transforms an intransitive verb into a transitive, or gives the transitive verb another object) with regard to him (it); and the other one too

useq v. state of ——, quality of

usag, ussaq; russaq, yussaq N. similar to ——; imitation of ——

uwaarpooq, ussaarpooq N. represents ——, makes it represent ——;

plays that it is ——

ut (ssut; t) v. vehicle, instrument, medium, means by which ——;

the cause of ——

uutigaa v. by means of that; on that occasion, for that reason

ut N. owned; belonging to ——

uwoq N. intr. is ——, is a ——

wallaarpooq, pallaarpoq v. too much; in a very high degree

wik, see Fik

wiynga, see Fiyga

wik N., wippoq v. ntr. proper; properly, strictly

§ 60
Kaaasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dung-able to taken him up hill

they used to throw his place-fellows

houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him

wanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife he able to them

used to say to her growth he is unfortunately on the dung-throw him they threw him hill out

(she) being without any an old woman she took him in the front having her place hope of (any other) foster child

Kaaasukorjouuaq

Kaasisorujouuaq 1 allineq ⁴ ajormmat ⁴ tiylumissaluarluoroq ⁵ attanut ⁵

Kaaasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dung-able to taken him up hill

they used to throw his place-fellows

houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him

wanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife he able to them

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(she) being without any an old woman she took him in the front having her place hope of (any other) foster child

1 Kaaasukorjouuaq < Kaasuk + ruju(k) POOR WRETCH + gnaq LITTLE. u > o before r and y ( §§ 10–11).

K. is the object of tiylumissaluarluoroq (pijarpaat).

alineq GROWS, alineq verb abstract.

ajorm mode IX of ajorpoq is UNABLE TO.

tiumissaluarluoroq (= tiylumissaluar) he TAKES HIM WITH HIS HAND OR INTO HIS ARMS. Suffixes: se(s) + ataaq + logo (mode vii).

Atulative of attat (only in the plural).

ipo(paa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural.

iga COMPANION, FELLOW (house-fellow or place-fellow), third person plural possessive.

ipga(poq) + ataaq + logo (mode viii).

ujara(k) + a<(<) (poq) + ipaa(loga) mode viii.

api(poq) is big + ssol (mode vii) + se(s). In plural se(s).

ceptor, something + niar(poq) + lo(q) mode vii + nik instrumental.

utilaark poq) is filled + toq, plural tute, mode viii.

naak(aa) (conjugation II) + sar(paa).

alilo(paa) (cf. note 2) + sar(paa) + uma(paa) + toq, mode vii third person singular.

tinaa(woq) + sar(paa) mode III.

nul + e fourth person singular.

loop(woq) (see note 8) + furpoa (conjugation Ii) + seui<sewua future tense. mode III, third person singular.

ajo(rpoq) + kasi(k)(poq).

imperative transitive singular (cf. note 6).

Cf. note 6.

Tnisi(woq) TAKES HIM TO HERSELF (e.g., as her foster-child) (cf. notes 4, 15) + seia + eura(paa).

mode x, third person singular (as, since).

arma(q) WOMAN + quasa(q) (obsolete) OLD.

The transitive verb corresponding to the intransitive ticusiwog (cf. note 21).

Locative singular <okkaq.

The place + qar(poq) + lune mode vi, fourth person singular.

1066
and after having the hunters they being angry the old woman Kaasassuk

t Disqusimmit 28 torsoonoot 29 pissippaa't torsooneelerppoq 30 ullaakut 31
because she had into the entrance- they moved he began to live in the on the morrow
taken him his passage to her entrance-passage

ani erunik 32 kammuit ti nussuaat 33 anaat aralono 34 qimmit 35 torsoon-
when they were the boot- they would take using it to thrust the dogs because they
about to go out stretcher it

neetarmmata 36 arnaq asaario 37 ilanul lo no 38 anaalert tarrp poq 39
usually stay in the and the old woman considering her as they used to thrust her
his partner

anuniarunik 40 tikik kunik 41 anusimallutik 42 katammik Kaasassuk
when they caught when they came having caught seals from the inner Kaasassuk
seals home

nuissooq 43 qinasinut 44 assamminik 45 qaissuaat 46 anussatik 47 qalatta-
he shall ascend by the nostrils with their fingers they would lift him their capture when it
rinjata 48 natsermmut 49 poonutaq ilissuaat n erer quis illitu tillo 50
was boiled on the floor a dish they would and when they were invited
put it to eat

nerississappput 51 Kaasassuk kisime 52 saweqarane 53 mikanair-
they would get the meat Kaasassuk he only having no knife using only
LLune 54 nerasarppoq 55 ar qalann era 56 sualupp at 57 kinutaai peer-
his teeth he used to eat the tearing it off if he scolded his teeth they taking

"Of note 23, mode X + lo AND.

< ka' opaq) mode VI, fourth person plural.

Note 30, mode X, third person singular.

See § 47.

Other thing.

< ayu(waq) catch + niar(pooq) mode XI.

< tikip(pooq) mode XI.

< ayu(waq) [cf. note 40] + sima(waq) mode VI.

< n ii(waq) + seu(aq) (future).

< giga(q) in the prosecutive.

< aakk in fourth person possessive and instrumental plural.

< qaoi(waq) + seu(aq). 

< ayu(waq) catch + niar(pooq) mode XI.

< tikip(pooq) mode XI.

< ayu(waq) [cf. note 40] + sima(waq) mode VI.

< n ii(waq) + seu(aq) (future).

< giga(q) in the prosecutive.

< aakk in fourth person possessive and instrumental plural.

< qaoi(waq) + seu(aq). 

< ayu(waq) catch + niar(pooq) mode XI.

< tikip(pooq) mode XI.

< ayu(waq) [cf. note 40] + sima(waq) mode VI + lo AND.

< aakk in fourth person possessive and instrumental plural.

< qaoi(waq) + seu(aq). 

< ayu(waq) catch + niar(pooq) mode XI.

< tikip(pooq) mode XI.

< ayu(waq) [cf. note 40] + sima(waq) mode VI + lo AND.
Loqit 58 killinneq ajulissuaq 59 nerissane 60 kinotaarotariname 61 them out the biting he began to be his food because he was deprived of his teeth

ataatip 63 nallinileraanaamiq 63 sawinminik 64 tunisarpaa 65 isu-one because she (or he) used to pity him her (or his) knife she used to give him he

malillerpoq 66 inuit pissassartartut 67 nakuarsuanpallullitoq 68 begins to ponder men using to train their and growing very strong strength

ilaa'ne 69 it'erame 70 qaqqamut majuurpoq qaqqilonoqolo 71 torllo-once upon a when he awoke on the mountain he ascended and climbing he called day

laarpooq piissap inuwa 72 naaw maaneepoja alakkarpaaloo 73 loudly strength's its genius where here I am and he made his appearance to him

terianniaq anisorojuussuaq 74 maaneepoja ersilerporlo 75 qaarquaalo 75 a fox immensely big here I begin to be and he begins to be able to approach

ersaqunnane 76 qorrnippaa 77 tikikkaane 78 qaqqarpoq 79 pa'miuma 80 bidding him not to fear he went towards he arriving at he (the fox) said "Of my tail one becaueshe (or he) used to pity him her (or his) knife she used to give him he

nootatinnuq 81 tejoonja 82 tijuwaa 83 immuppaalo 84 'pi'ssipporlo 85 by the end of it take hold of me" He took hold and he wrapped it around himself a jump

silaa'narmilo 84 qa'naatarpooq 'tukkamilo 85 anninjarlaq 86 qaarfiinalo 87 and in the air he rose afoot and falling down he felt no pain and he said to him, on the earth

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58 pe (cf. note 11) + sar(poq) mode vi, third person plural.
59 Cf. note 18, + ler(poq) + sesa(a).
60 Cf. note 55, mode viii, fourth person singular.
61 kipula(q) + erup(poq) + tare (cf. note 48).
62 aataseq one (in the relative atatiip or atatiip).
63 nallip(a) conjugation i + ler(poq) + aa(p) mode x, fourth person subject, third person object, singular.
64 sawi(k) third person possessive, instrumentalls.
65 tuni(waa) + sar(paa).
66 inuma thought + iro(poq) makes + ler(poq).
67 piisaa(k) strength + sar(poq) get + sar(poq) in mode vii.
68 nakuwa(q) strong + sua(q) great, very + yor(poq) mode vi, fourth person plural + lo and.
69 ila in the locative, literally in (on) one of them (viz., the days).
70 t'erpooq mode x, fourth person singular.
71 qa'qip(paa) (mode vi, third person singular) + lo.
72 inak in third person possessive singular.
73 -lo and.
74 apis(eequ) is big + so(q) (mode vii) + raju(k) + sesaq.
75 -lo and.
76 erup(a) is afraid of + gw(waa) + sa negative, fourth person singular.
77 -moippaa mode iii, third person singular.
78 Mode ix, fourth person singular he (Kasassuk) arriving at him (the fox). The object of arriving at is the same person as the subject of the governing verb (qaqarpoq), viz., the fox; therefore the fourth-person suffix is used. If the meaning of the word had been he (the fox) arriving at him (Kasassuk), the compound suffix would have been (k)jine.
79 The fox is of course the genius of strength.
80 pamioq tail first person singular, relative.
81 nook (the third person possessive singular nook) possessive case.
82 Mode i, first person singular <tijuwaa = tiguwa.
83 -lo and = lo (I becomes unvoiced after k, q, l).
84 sila the space outside of the house, the air, the weather + innaq only, mere + me (locative) + lo and.
85 lutup(poq) mode x, fourth person singular + lo.
86 annner(poq) smart, aches + ypiilaq negative.
87 qoar(poq) says, tells + -pipaa + lo and.
kerjumut98 qiviareet99 takuvaalo penjuat katasmiallonjo90
"back look behind you!" and he saw playthings (the fox) shaking it off
and the fox said, "growing the reason why because you have been without
you are unable to plaything
allineq ajoottut aamalo94 pa'miu'ma nooattinut tinumma95
growth you are unable Once more of my tail by the tip of it take hold of me."

immuppaqissipporlqorlennilaqogarrinaalo tassa nakuarsuannoq98
he wrapped it and he (fox) he (K.) did not and he said to "this is growing very strong
around made a jump fell down him
a'ternearit97 at'erlune immintut98 malonjilerpoq99 nakoanimalsune100
go down" he going down to himself he began to feel himself growing strong
ujarasulilo101 aji'sorssuit102 sarmmillonit103 artonnilaai104 illullo105
and the big stones enormous upsetting them he mastered them and of the
(boulders)
killinanut106 pimmat107 meeraqataasa108 aluttaaat109 etc.
the border of it as he came his fellow-children they were fascinated etc.
with him,
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